

Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (circa 1811-1880) and the Java War (1825-30): A Dissident Family History

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Introduction:¹

I am not an art historian, merely an historian of early nineteenth century Java, so I will not be dealing here with Saleh's artistic *oeuvre* but with the historical context in which

¹ Please be advised that the present article is based on the information available to me at the present time, much of it provided by the Raden Saleh scholar, Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet of The Hague. Given the misinformation which continues to circulate about Suroadimenggolo and his family it is certain that it will need to be updated. For example, Raden Mas Saleh's (Ario Notodiningrat, ca. 1800-72) biographer, Raden Soekanto, alleges (*Dua Raden Saleh, dua nasionalis dalam abad ke-19; Suatu halaman dalam sejarah nasional Indonesia* [Djakarta: Poesaka Aseli, 1951], pp.55-6) that the Kiai and his eldest son, were interned from the second (1826) to the last year (1830) of the Java War in Ambon, and were eventually allowed to be moved to Sumenep following Diponegoro's arrest 28 March 1830), arriving on 24 April 1830. Furthermore, according to this same source, Suroadimenggolo is supposed to have lived seven years (1830-37) under the benign protection of his son-in-law, the Sultan of Sumenep, Pakunataningrat (Sultan Abdurrahman, r. 1811-54), dying on 20 July 1837. This sequence of events has been accepted by Suroadimenggolo's surviving family in Bogor (Annie Soedasma) and in Jakarta (Pak Muh. Mansoer Werdisastro). But, sadly, this is a fairy tale and Soekanto, as Head of the Indonesian National Archives in 1951-57, should have done his research better. The only association between the Kiai and the Sultanate of Sumenep is his final resting place in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard (see footnotes 6-7).

he grew up in early nineteenth-century Java. In particular, I will be telling you something about Raden Saleh's family which was a very remarkable and important one. One has to remember too that at its heart, all Javanese history is family history.

But first, I would like to say a brief word about Java's passage into the modern age in the early nineteenth century. All such historical transitions are fraught with difficulties—one thinks here of my own country's passage from a pre-industrial to the industrial age between 1750 and 1850. But at least in Britain's case that transition took place over the best part of a century. In the case of Java the transition was much more abrupt and brutal. One could say that within the space of four years between the coming of Marshal Daendels—one of the only two non-French marshals (the other was the Polish prince, Poniatowski) in the imperial forces—in January 1808 to the British-Indian invasion of August 1811 and their attack on Yogyakarta the following year (20 June 1812), Javanese society was turned on its head. Caught in the vortex of the Napoleonic wars, it was as though a *tsunami* had ripped through the island. Gone was the era of the Dutch East Indies Company, born was the high colonial age, an age where Europeans looked down on those outside Europe as inferior beings. One recalls here the words of Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) who spoke of the 'moral righteousness' of the modern age in Europe and the racist views which held non-Europeans in contempt and disdain.

The Leiden lawyer, Willem van Hogendorp (1795-1838), who served as an adviser to the Belgian Commissioner-General L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (in office, 1826-30), would later sum it up in a series of pithy letters to his father Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762-1834), one of the architects of the post-1813 modern Dutch state. Reflecting that it was not 'the [Java] War as such or the number of our enemies' which constituted his greatest concern for the future of Dutch rule in the Indies, but rather what he termed 'the spirit of the whole population of Java from one end to the other and I include here the spirit of [the inhabitants of] our most important outer island possessions in Borneo, Makassar and throughout Sumatra [...]. They are tired of us [...]'. He went on to point out that 'the feeling of unrest is extremely great throughout Java [...]. As concerns the cause [of this] it is nothing else than that the Dutch Government [...] has made itself over the past ten years most vile in the eyes of the Javanese.' Even in distant West Java under the watchful eye of his Belgian painter-mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), the nine-year-old Saleh could not have been indifferent to the transition which his country had passed through as it was brutally wrenched into the modern age.

In Java's case there was an alternative—that of the creolized Dutch-Portuguese-Indies elite families, who held political power at the end of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) era—the Altings, Van Braams, Van Riemsdijks, Engelhards, and Wieses—who might, given different historical circumstances, have provided a bridge between Java's old order and the modern age. One thinks here of the role of a similar creolized elite and its leadership in South America with figures such as Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), founder of the Republic of Gran Colombia (1819-31), and the Argentine-born General Don José de San Martín (1778-1850), the founder of the Republic of Peru (1822). This could perhaps have enabled Javanese society to negotiate the transition to modernity in an altogether gentler and more culturally sensitive manner. But it was not to be. For sure, this creolized governing class would ultimately have been swept aside—along with the

VOC (think here of the demise of the English East India Company in 1867)—by the emergence of a new Indonesian nationalist elite in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but they would have allowed a breathing space for the Javanese to adjust to the new era. Instead, a tide of European newcomers—first British (1811-16) and then—post-1816—Dutch (75 percent of whom had never set foot in the colony)—would descend on the island bringing with them the values of post-Revolutionary Europe. One of the outcomes of this cultural shock of Java's brutal transition to the modern age was the Java War (1825-30) and the reaction of the island's indigenous political (*kraton*) and religious (Islamic) elites to the challenge of European imperialism. Diponegoro (1785-1855) would be its most famous and tragic protagonist – Java's very own Hamlet, lamenting like the Prince of Denmark that 'the times were out of joint, o cursed spite, that ever I was born to set them right!'

Like Diponegoro, Saleh's family in Semarang (Torboyo) was a direct victim of this abrupt transition. They too suffered as a consequence of the Java War. Indeed, they suffered under a double suspicion in the eyes of the post-1816 Dutch regime. Not only were they highly intelligent, but they were also very pro-British. Saleh's uncle, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, the *bupati* of Torboyo (ca.1770/75-1826, in office 1809-22), was one of Raffles' key informants, providing—along with others such Javanese-Madurese luminaries as Adimenggolo's son-in-law the Panembahan (later Sultan) of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54), and Pangeran Notokusumo (1764-1829; post-1812, Pakualam I) of Yogyakarta, much valuable information on Java's history, law, archaeology, customs and belief systems for Raffles, which the lieutenant-governor subsequently used—unacknowledged—in his famous *History of Java* (published in London by Black, Parbury & Allen in early May 1817).

It is interesting here that the two greatest pioneers of modern Indonesian art—Affandi (1907-90) and Saleh—both stemmed from *peranakan* (mixed race) families, the first Indonesian-Chinese and the latter Arab-Javanese. In fact, Saleh's family was unusual in that the Hadhrami Arab al-Alwi family, from whom he was descended, had come to Java from western India (Surat) and not directly from the Hadhramaut (present-day South Yemen). They also had made good marriages into the Javanese aristocracy: one of Saleh's relatives—Kiai Tumenggung Danuningrat, alias Sayyid Alwi—had married into the family of the second sultan of Yogyakarta (his wife was a daughter of Pangeran Blitar I, circa 1784-1828) and served as Bupati of Kedu in the years preceding the Java War [in office, 1813-25]. They were thus culturally different from their fellow Hadhrami Arabs who had made their way to the archipelago directly from the Arabian peninsula. Indeed, it was not just the men who were prominent—the women too were highly educated—and Suroadimenggolo's wife, the youngest daughter of Mangkunegoro I (Raden Mas Said, 1726-95; r. 1757-95), and her three daughters were singled out by the British scholar-administrator John Crawfurd as intelligent and well educated young women who spoke three languages (Arabic, Javanese and Malay).²

² Ratu Angger's education and command of Arabic and Javanese literature are mentioned in John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1820), I: 48-49: '[...] Adimanggolo [Suroadimenggolo V], chief of the province of Samarang [Semarang], [is] a man for vigour and understanding, sagacity and intelligence far superior to all his countrymen. This respectable chieftain

In July 1812, Raffles persuaded his friend Suroadimenggolo to send his two sons, Raden Mas Saleh, later Raden Ario Notodiningrat, *bupati* of Probolinggo in Java's Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821)³ and Lasem (ca.1821-24) (born Torboyo c.1800-died Semarang 1872) and Raden Mas Sukur (born Torboyo c.1802–died in exile in Ternate pre-March 1856), to Calcutta to pursue their education. They sailed for Calcutta on 16 July from Semarang on a frigate under command of the second son of the Governor-General of Bengal, Lord Minto (in office, 1807-1813), the Honourable George Elliot (1784-1863). Part of the frigate's cargo consisted of some 68 chests containing 408,414 Spanish dollars in silver coin from the plundered Yogyakarta treasury which was now being sent to Bengal as prize money for the credit of the officers and men of the victorious British expeditionary force. In this fashion, much of the wealth extorted by the sultan through his harsh fiscal policies of the first eighteen years of his reign travelled with him into exile. But it would not be his to enjoy. The blood and sweat of a nameless generation of south-central Javanese peasants was now the spoil of a foreign conqueror.

As for Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) and Sukur, they represented Java's conflicted future. As members of the first cohort of the nineteenth-century Javanese elite to receive a European education, their prospects seemed bright. Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), in particular, who had won prizes in geometry, algebra and drawing, at Mr Drummund's Academy in Calcutta—the so-called Durrumtollah Academy—very close to where one of my ancestors, the Baptist missionary and scholar of Indian languages, Reverend Dr William Carey (1761-1834), rented rooms (at 34 Bow Bazaar between Durrumtollah and Colootollah Streets) while teaching at Fort William College (1801-1831)—and returned to Java 'a complete English gentleman' was made acting *bupati* of Semarang when he was still only fifteen years old in 1816 and took his father's place for a period (1815-1816) during a dispute between Suroadimenggolo and the British Resident, William Boggie (in office, 1815-16).⁴

bestowed the most unwearied attention upon the education of his whole family. His wife [Ratu Angger], born a princess, whom, according to the custom of the country, he espoused while yet a girl [12 years old], he educated to make him a rational and equal companion, and both she and his three daughters made proficiency in Arabic literature and were skilled [in the literature] of their own country [Java] [...].'

³ After the death of the Regent of Kudus in ca. 1821, Adimenggolo asked the Inspector of Finances, Hendrik Jan van de Graaff (1782-1827; in office, 1820-26), if his son, Ario Notodiningrat, could be appointed to this post, because, according to the Kiai, Probolinggo was far away, and a father liked to have his children close to him. But this did not happen and in 1823, the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis, wrote that Ario Notodiningrat was then serving as Regent of Lasem (ca.1821-24), see P.H. van der Kemp (ed.), *Brieven van en aan Mr H.J. van de Graaff (1816–26); Een bijdrage tot de kennis der Oost-Indische bestuurstoestanden onder de regeering van G.A.G.Ph. baron van der Capellen. Geordend, zoomede van een geschiedkundig overzicht, aantekeningen en alphabetisch register voorzien* (Batavia: Albrecht / 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1901-2), Vol.II (1901), pp.201-2, Domis to Van de Graaff, 3 Aug. 1823. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 5 July 2020.

⁴ See De Haan 1935:505, "[Boggie's] period as Resident was characterized by conflict with the Regent [*bupati*] of Semarang [Suroadimenggolo V] and his [two] sons [Saleh and Sukur], foster children of Raffles, mainly as a result of forced land acquisition [by Boggie] from the regent in Bojong (Pragata),

But both his career and that of his brother were blighted by the Java War and the pull of their identity as Javanese Muslims. Sukur's trenchant report on the immiserisation of the Javanese peasantry in Kedu under Dutch rule in the immediate pre-war period, to which we will refer in greater detail below, his decision to rally to Diponegoro early in the conflict in late August 1825 and his adoption of a new Muslim name—Raden Hasan Mahmud—implicated his whole immediate family who suffered degradation, imprisonment and exile. Both Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), were arrested "for being privy to the rioting in Java [*van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn*]" in early September 1825 by the local Dutch authorities, namely the Resident of Semarang, Hendrik Jacob Domis (1782-1842; in office 1822-27). On 9 September, they were embarked on two separate warships in the roads of Semarang: Suroadimenggolo on board the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, and his son on the corvette-of-war *Pollux*, the same ship which would transport Diponegoro to Manado from Batavia (Jakarta, 3 May-12 June 1830). Three and a half months later, on 23 December, just hours before the *Pollux* sailed for Surabaya, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was transferred to join his father on the *Maria Reigersbergen*, which would transport them on 1 February 1826 from Semarang to Surabaya where they arrived four days later. There they were held for a further three weeks until 27 February when they were transferred to a guardship (*wachtship*), *Dageraad*, in Tanjung Perak harbour.⁵ The Kiai and his eldest son's initial arrest was also reported in an official

even though this was the [site of the] tombs of the regent's family. The regent was offended because he faced repeated instances of rudeness from Boggie, and sometimes outright anger in public places [eg the *alun-alun*, great square in front of the Regent's offices]. [Among other insults], he was forced to surrender his kris and was escorted home as a prisoner to his own home [under house arrest]. One of the regent's family members was beaten repeatedly with a sabre and his official dress torn from him. Local native heads were dragged off to prison and forced labour (*corvée*) demands increased insanelly."

Zijn bestuur kenmerkte zich door akelige standjes met den Regent van Samarang en diens zoons, proteges van Raffles, speciaal naar aanleiding van den afstand door dezen aan den Regent van een deel van Bodjong (Pragata), als zijnde dit een familiegraf. Met groote ruwheid, niet razen en tieren, heet de Regent in het publiek door B. bejegend te zijn; op den aloen-aloen werd deze gedwongen zijne kris af te geven en in arrest naar huis te gaan; één familielid kreeg klappen met een sabel en de kleeren werden hem van 't lijf gerukt; hoofden werden in de gevangenis gestopt en de heerendiensten weder danig ingescherpt.

⁵ See *Bataviasche Courant*, 8-02-1826 and 15-02-1826, on *Maria Reigersbergen*'s departure from Semarang on 1 February and arrival in Surabaya four days later. Their embarkation on the warships on 9 September 1825 in Semarang harbour is noted in the *Pollux*'s logbook for the years 1824-27, which also refers to the reasons for their arrest: NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601_0121 states that '*beiden waaren als verdagt van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn* [both were suspected of being familiar with the rioting in Java]'. Naval First Lieutenant (*luitenant-ter-zee-der-eerste-klasse*) Pieter Troost (1791-1846), who kept a subsequently published diary of the Dutch naval frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* and corvette-of-war *Pollux* around the world in 1824-26, confirms that Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son were kept on different warships and their transferral to the guardship (*wachtship*) *Dageraad* in Surabaya harbour took place on 27 February 1826, see P. Troost, *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reis om de wereld; met het Fregat de Maria Reigersberg [sic] en de Korvet de Pollux, in de Jaren 1824, 1825, en 1826* (Rotterdam: De Weduwe J. Allart, 1829), pp.314, 340, 354-55. Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son's movements following the transfer to the *Dageraad* are unclear. This guard vessel, which watched the approaches to Surabaya (Tanjung Perak) harbour and the Madura Straits, did not move from its position for the next

dispatch from Governor-General, G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848, in office 1816-26), of 13 September 1825 to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, C.Th. Elout (in office, 1824-29), in The Hague and relayed in the official government gazette, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, on 4 February 1826.⁶

What happened subsequently is yet to be properly researched. What we do know is that the guardship, *Dageraad*, to which they had been transferred, did not move from its fixed position for the next fifteen months (it was still there in June 1827). But by that date Suroadimenggolo had been dead for nearly eight months. He expired on 15 November 1826 in Semarang and news of his death ‘after a lengthy decline’ (*naar eene langdurige sukkeling*) was announced by his nemesis, the Resident, H.J. Domis, in the local Semarang press from whence it was picked up in distant Curaçao (Dutch West Indies) on 16 June 1827 (see footnote 5). Exactly when the Kiai was allowed back to his old residence in Torboyo, Semarang is still unclear. It might even be that his ‘lengthy decline’ was hastened by his detention either in Fort Oranje in Surabaya or in the altogether less salubrious confines of the seventeenth-century Dutch fort, Benteng (citadel) Semarang, later (1835-40) renovated and renamed Fort Prins van Oranje, in the Poncol district of Semarang.⁷ But it would seem not so long after his transfer to the *Dageraad* on 27 February 1826.

What then of his grave in the Asta Tinggi graveyard of the ruling Sumenep family overlooking their court city in eastern Madura, and the elaborate memorial and mausoleum erected by his son-in-law, Sultan Paku Nataningrat, alias Sultan Abdurrahman (r. 1811-54)? Was his body moved to Sumenep from Semarang following

fifteen months (it was still at anchor there in June 1827); I am grateful to Marie-Odette Scalliet, the Hague-based Raden Saleh expert, for this precious information, electronic communication 1 July 2020. But by then Suroadimenggolo was long dead—his death on 15 November 1826 was announced by the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis, in the *Bataviasche Courant* of 6 December 1826 no.49, the death notice also being translated and printed in Malay (in Arabic characters) and Javanese (in Javanese script, *aksara Jawa*) in the same newspaper, see ‘*Uittreksels uit Nederlandsche Kouranten*’ in *De Curaçaosche Courant* no.24, 16-06-1827 [*Berigten uit Batavia den 6den December (1826) melden [...] De resident van Samarang heeft in de nieuwspapieren aangekondigd het overlyden van den regent dier plaats, Kiai Adipatti Soero Adhimenggolo, en by die gelegenheid de trouwe diensten, door denzelfden aan het Nederlandsche gouvernement bewezen, geredelyk erkend.— Dit berigt is in dezelfde nieuwspapieren in het Maleisch met Arabische, en in het Javaansch met Javaansche karakters herhaald*]; the announcement of claims from debtors and creditors on the late *bupati*’s estate (*boedel*) was twice announced in the *Bataviasche Courant* of 12-05-1827 (no.31) and 15-05-1827 (no.32).

⁶ *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* no.30, 04-02-1826, p.1, ‘*Een der zoons van den oud-regent van Samarang [Semarang], Adi Mangollo [Adimenggolo], heeft zich van Samarang verwijderd en bij de muitelingen vervoegd. Het is gebleken dat zijn vader en broeder, Saleh, niet onwetend waren van deze omstandigheid, en het is nodig geacht, beide, ten minste tijdelijk, in verzekerde bewaring te houden, waarom zij aan boord van de Maria Reigersbergen en Pollux zijn overgebracht*’ [One of the sons of the former regent of Semarang, Adi Mangollo (Adimenggolo), left Semarang and joined the rebels. It was evident that both his father and his (elder brother), Saleh, were not ignorant of this fact, and it has been deemed necessary to detain both of them, at least temporarily, in safe custody and for this reason they have been brought on board (the frigate) *Maria Reigersbergen* and (the corvette) *Pollux*.]. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 5 July 2020.

⁷ “Semarang Kota Kenangan: Benteng Pendem”, kenangan.bogspot.com, Semarang, 28 February 2015.

his demise?⁸ The existence of a suppressed ‘obituary’ of the former Semarang *bupati* in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.72 of 18 August 1827 by the then Resident of Madura and Sumenep, François Emanuel Hardy (1781-1828, in office, 1824-10 October 1827), would seem to point to a Sumenep location for Suroadimenggolo’s possible re-interment. Although the date of this re-interment is not given on the Kiai’s tomb/mausoleum at Asta Tinggi, the 20 July 1827 might seem to be a possibility because that was the date of Suroadimenggolo’s supposed ‘death’ given in Hardy’s suppressed obituary notice.⁹ One can speculate that this re-interment was carried out at the invitation of Sultan Paku Nataningrat in the light of his father-in-law’s detention during the first year of the Java War and the involvement of his younger son in Diponegoro’s uprising. This may well have made the existence of a tomb of Suroadimenggolo in the Bojong (Pragata) family graveyard (see footnote 5) or an embarrassment to pro-Dutch family members who remained in Semarang, some of whom were subsequently appointed to high positions in the colonial administration in the post Java War period.¹⁰

According to Raden Mas Saleh’s biographer, Raden Soekanto, who served briefly as head of the Indonesian National Archives (now Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, then Arsip Negara) in the early 1950s, the former Durrumtollah Academy-trained prize-winning student had written a letter (15 December 1825) to the Dutch colonial authorities pleading with them to allow them back onto dry land given that his father’s health had steeply declined due to constant sea sickness (Soekanto 1951:23-24). Although this request was not immediately acted upon—as we can see from the *Maria Reigersbergen*’s 1 February 1826 voyage from Semarang to Surabaya, and Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son’s transfer to the *Dageraad* on 27 February—it is possible that their presence in Surabaya would have been reported to the Kiai’s son-in-law. He may even have offered to arrange for his father-in-law’s reburial in Sumenep on 20 July 1827 (?) after his 15 November 1826 demise in Semarang.

⁸ Paku Nataningrat erected a special mausoleum with the inscription which reads in Malay: “*Justru Kangjeng Kiai mertua saya dikubur pada depan kubah saya agar anak keturunan cucu saya, masyarakat [Sumenep], dan rakyat Jawa pada umumnya, menziariahi beliau terlebih dahulu sebelum sesepuh raja-raja [...] di Sumenep* [Precisely why I have buried His Highness Kiai (Suroadimenggolo), my father-in-law, in front of my own mausoleum is so my children, grandchildren and their descendants, as well as the people of Sumenep and Javanese more generally, will visit his grave first before those of the ancestors of the rulers of Sumenep]” (visit to Astana Tinggi graveyard of Suroadimenggolo and his family in Sumenep, 24 October 2014).

⁹ Hardy’s censored/suppressed obituary notice refers to Suroadimenggolo’s ‘death’ on 20 July 1827, so there is a strong possibility that he is in fact referring to the date of the Kiai’s re-interment in Sumenep. Sadly, there is no date on the inscription on his grave/mausoleum at Asta Tinggi. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet of The Hague for this reference, electronic communication, 10 July 2020.

¹⁰ One such was Raden Adipati Ario Kartadiningrat, Bupati of Majalengka (ca.1800-62; in office, 1839-62), a kinsman (first cousin) of Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman’s parents and of Suroadimenggolo V, who intentionally omitted any mention of the Semarang family branch of the Bustaman, and Suroadimenggolo’s name in particular, when he authored the infamous “Silsilah Bestaman [Bustaman family tree/genealogy]” in 1840, see further the notice regarding this genealogy in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [TBG]*—Boepati Madjalengka Raden Adipati Aria Kartadiningrat “Salsilah Bĕstaman”, *TBG*, 42 (1900), pp.135-43. I am grateful to Dr Werner Kraus and to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this information, electronic communications, 3 June and 5 July 2020.

Whether Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) joined his father in Semarang (either back in the family home in Torboyo or in detention in the Dutch fort, Fort Oranje) in the eight and a half months (27 February-15 November 1826) of life which remained to him or was exiled further east to Ambon, or even accompanied his father's body to Sumenep in July 1827 and elected to stay there for the duration of the war is unclear. Soekanto purports to refer to a Decision (*Resolutie*) of the Commissioner-General, L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (in office, 1826-30), dated 10 July 1829, referring to an Ambon exile for Suroadimenggolo and Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), which makes no sense given that the former Semarang bupati had died on 15 November 1826 and his death had been announced publicly by the Dutch authorities (see footnote 5 above). Soekanto's 'evidence' is frankly unreliable. His *Dua Raden Saleh: Dua Nasionalis dalam Abad ke-19; Suatu Halaman dari Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* [Two Raden Salehs: Two Nationalists from the 19th Century; A Page for Indonesian National History] booklet (Jakarta: Poesaka Aseli, 1951), is full of conjectures. This is odd, given that he was serving as Head of the Indonesian National Archives (Arsip Negara; post-1959, Arsip Nasional; post-1967 Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia/ANRI) at the time (1951-57) and one might have expected greater accuracy on his part when it came to knowledge of the colonial records.

What we know for certain is that Raden Mas Saleh was in Java shortly after the end of the Java War and was resident in Salatiga in April 1834. This can be seen from a letter which he wrote to the then Governor-General Jean Chrétien Baud (in office, 1834-36) from Salatiga on 2 April 1834.¹¹ Subsequently, there is a reference in the colonial archives, by the Minister of the Colonies, Count Johannes van den Bosch (in office, 1834-40) himself no less, that Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was "wandering about in Java [*hij dwaalt thans op Java rond*]"¹² What we know for certain is that he later moved back to his native Semarang, where he lived for many years in a substantial residence in Jalan Poncol in the Purwosari district of North Semarang where he died in his 72nd year on 16 February 1872.¹³ These were difficult years for the remnants of the

¹¹ This letter is in the Baud private collection in the Dutch National Archives in the Hague (Baud 2.21.007.58 inv. 502) and was published in facsimile in Baharudin Marasutan's study of Raden Saleh (1973:26-27). Once again I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference.

¹² Nationaal Archief (The Hague), NL-HaNA, Staatsecretarie 2.02.01, inv. nr.5781B, 6 July 1835 *geheim*. Reference from Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet, electronic communication 1 July 2020.

¹³ See *Samarangsche Courant* (17-02-1872) and *Java-Bode* (24-02-1872) which has the following obituary notice: "De Samarangsche Courant van 17 Februarij meldt nader omtrent wijlen den ex-regent Radhen Adhipatti Ario Notto di Ningrat: "Een in vele opzigten merkwaardig man is eergister middag in hoogen ouderdom aan den Pontjolschen weg overleden. Wij bedoelen den 72 jarigen ex-regent van Lassem, Radhen Adhipatti Ario Notto di Ningrat, die vele zijner laatste levensjaren in het bekende huisje aan den Pontjolschen weg doorbragt. Behalve door vele andere bijzonderheden, onderscheidde hij zich door zijne voor een Inlander verrassends kennis der Engelsche en Fransche talen en zijn ijver voor de mohamedaansche propaganda, terwijl een in vroeger jaren aan Britsch-Indie gebragt bezoek hem dikwerf aanleiding gaf, om urenlang dit onderwerp met dezen of genen belangstellenden weetgierige te bepraten. Dat hij ondanks vele eigenaardigheden tot zelfs op het laatst zijns levens bij de muselmannen bijzonder was gezien, bewees zijne gister plaats hebbende begrafenis, waarbij een zeer groot aantal mohamedaansche priesters en leeken, benevens eenige Europeanen tegenwoordig waren, 't Zou ons zeer

Suroadimenggolo's family, and even though the Kiai himself seems to have found an honourable final resting place in Sumenep and his eldest son would return to live out the majority of his post-war years his native Semarang, the memory of what had happened during the war cut deeply. This was especially true for Raden Mas Sukur, who had allied himself directly with the Java War leader and would end his days as an exile in Ternate dying there in miserable circumstances sometime before March 1856.¹⁴

The same iron in the soul—and torn loyalties—would be evident in the career of their first cousin, Raden Saleh Syarief Bustaman, whose personal life and artistic *oeuvre* would intersect in interesting ways with that of the exiled prince during his last years in Makassar. Significantly, Prangwedono (Mangkunegoro II) specifically forbade his sons to study in Europe, even though urged to by Raffles and the post-1816 Dutch administration, because he feared that they would return neither as Europeans nor Javanese. One recalls here the clever ditty which the Yogyaneese coined about the Chinese *bupati* elevated by Raffles—the former Yogyakarta Captain of the Chinese *Kapitan cina*—Tan Jin Sing (circa 1770-1831; in office, 1803-13), referred to a '*jisim*' ('corpse') in the Javanese chronicles (*babad*), who was appointed as Raden Tumenggung Secodiningrat (post-1830, Raden Tumenggung Purwo) on the Lieutenant-Governor's orders on 6 December 1813, and of whom it was said that he was a '*Cina wurung, Londa durung, Jawa tanggung*' (no longer a Chinese, not yet a Dutchman, a half-baked Javanese). In different circumstances one could say the same about Raden Saleh who returned to an utterly changed Java in March 1852—now a true *beamtenstaat* (bureaucratic state) full of indigo and sugar factories and was seen by the mid-nineteenth century colonial Dutch as 'no longer an Arab-Javanese and not yet a Dutchman'. The process of *gelijkstelling*—acquisition of legal status with Europeans—was still in the future. Even then those who obtained it faced many difficulties and had no guarantee of social acceptance into elite colonial society.

The French scholar, Marie-Odette Scalliet, has written illuminatingly about Saleh's early years with his artistic mentor, Payen, in Bogor and Bandung and their travels into the Priangan (West Java). As far as I know there is only one reference linking Saleh to the

verwonderen, indien 's mans graf niet spoedig bij de Javanen in reuk van heiligheid kwam." [The *Samarangsche Courant* of 17 February (1872) reports further about the late ex-regent Raden Adipati Ario Ario Notodiningrat: "A truly remarkable man died of old age [at his residence] on Poncol Road yesterday [16 February 1872]. We are referring here to the 72-year-old ex-regent of Lasem, Raden Adipati Ario Ario Notodiningrat, who spent many of his last years in his well-known house [here in Semarang] in Poncol. In addition to many other things, he was distinguished by his surprising—for a native (*inlander*)—knowledge of both the English and French languages and his zeal for Mohammedan propaganda. His stay in British India in earlier years led him to spend hours discussing this subject with curious visitors. Despite his many quirks, even until the very end of his life, he was held in high regard by Muslim men in particular. This was proven by his burial, which took place yesterday, in which a large number of Mohammedan priests and lay people [300 according to the figure cited in *De Locomotief; Samarangsche Nieuws-, Handels- en Advertentieblad* no.40, 16-02-1872, p.4], as well as some Europeans, were present. We would be very surprised if this man's grave does not become a sacred place for the Javanese."

¹⁴ J. Hageman Jcz., *Geschiedenis van den oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830* (Batavia: Lange, 1856), p.412.

political tragedy which overwhelmed his Semarang family in 1825 following the outbreak of the Java War. This is a short sentence in Payen's diary when the painter was caught in Yogyakarta by Diponegoro's two-month siege of the city (mid-July to mid-September 1825) at the start of the Java War. On learning that 'the Regent of Semarang had been arrested and his two sons [sic] had gone over to "the rebels" in early September 1825, he noted in his diary (16 September) that '*çela m'afflige par rapport à Saleh mon élève, qui est son parent*' ['this saddens me because Saleh, my pupil, is his relative']. Saleh's whereabouts in that month of September 1825 are unclear.¹⁵ He may have been in Bandung or he may have been still staying with his family in Torboyo with whom he had been on and off since at least February 1824 when Payen had been asked to accompany Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848; in office, 1816-26) to Maluku (February-November 1824). This was a critical time for Suroadimenggolo as his younger son, Sukur, had fallen under suspicion of the Dutch authorities for writing a trenchant report in Dutch on the situation of the peasantry in the Dieng Plateau area above Semarang following the years in which plagues of mice and rats had attacked the rice crop (1819, 1822) and the tobacco harvest had failed (1823). During these years, according to Sukur, the local population had been reduced to eating leaves and weeds.¹⁶ In addition to the burden of the land tax, as Sukur pointed out, the local population had also to contend with the heavy labour demands associated with the forced coffee production imposed by the Dutch.

In conclusion, one can say that this pre-Java War period with his family, the intense suffering of the local peasantry, and the fate of his relatives following the outbreak of the Java War, marked Saleh for the rest of his life. These experiences may have informed both his subsequent feelings with regard to Diponegoro, and his own attitudes to the Dutch colonial system, feelings which were later expressed in some of his most famous paintings—such as his 'Capture of Diponegoro' (1857) and his 'Flood in Java' (*Watersnood op Midden-Java*) (1861). It could be said that in this period that post-Revolutionary Europe showed its vilest face to the non-European world. With its anti-semitism, racism and intolerance, one can easily discern here the strands which would

¹⁵ After he was able to leave Yogyakarta on 22 September following the lifting of the siege by General de Kock's heavily armed column from Surakarta on 20 September 1825, Payen travelled to Semarang where he spent the night of 29/30 September. But he does not mention his pupil, Raden Saleh. So, this means that the latter was either not in Semarang at that time or for whatever reason Payen has omitted to refer to him. Once again I thank Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 2 July 2020.

¹⁶ Sukur's report, which seems to have been referring to the situation in Kedu at the time of the revolt of Diponegoro's great-uncle, Prince Diposono (ca.1778-died Ambon 1840s) in February 1822, reads: '*de beklagenswaardige toestand van den gemeenen Javaan, die thans zoo arm en ellendig was, dat hij zijnen honger met bladeren en onkruid moet stillen [...]*' [the pitiable state of the common Javanese, who at present is so poor and miserable that he must still his hunger with leaves and weeds [...]], is cited in Soekanto 1951:29 (Soekanto seems to have modernised and upgraded Sukur's Dutch—if indeed his report was even written in Dutch rather than Malay). Sukur's clandestine journeys between Semarang and Kedu, may have a connection with this report and his knowledge of the living conditions of ordinary Javanese in the Kedu area, see Carey 2008:466, citing Resident A.H. Smislaert (in office, 1823-25) of Yogyakarta who mentioned that the Government tracked him down to his hiding place, but the affair was not treated very seriously, which, in Smislaert's view, was a mistake given that Sukur was an 'extremely dangerous' man, all the more so because of his education in Bengal (1812-14) and his fluency in English.

lead in the twentieth century to the gas ovens of Auschwitz and the extermination camps of Sobibor and Treblinka. But there was also another side to Europe and to Germany in particular—the Germany of the small kingdoms rather than Bismarck’s post-Unification “Blood-and-Iron”—a side of culture and artistic sublimity which would enable Saleh to blossom during his years in Dresden in ways unimagined by his early mentors in Java.

Peter Carey, Serpong, 6 August 2020

Brief Chronology of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo and his family, ca.1770-1880

- ca. 1770 Suroadimenggolo is born into the Torboyo-based Arab-Javanese Bustaman family which originated from Surat in Western India in the early 18th century.
- c.1794 Suroadimenggolo marries the youngest child/daughter of Raden Mas Said (Mangkunegoro I, 1726-95; r. 1757-95), Ratu Angger (born ca. 1782), then aged twelve, by whom he has numerous children, including five sons and three daughters.¹⁷ The marriage takes place before Ratu Angger's father, Raden Mas Said (MN I), died on 28 December 1795, because we have a reference to one of the wedding presents made by him for his youngest daughter, a copper rice steamer.¹⁸
- 1809 During the administration of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels, Suroadimenggolo is appointed bupati of Torboyo (Semarang), with the title of Kiai Tumenggung (post-1816, Kiai Adipati), a post he holds with a brief intermission in 1815-16 (during a dispute with British Resident, William Boggie, see footnote 4) until 1822.
- May 1811 Suroadimenggolo's nephew, the famous painter, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (1811-80), is born in Torboyo, and, when both his parents die shortly after his birth, Suroadimenggolo becomes his stepfather/guardian and takes him into his household where the young Raden Saleh grows up until aged nine when he is apprenticed to the Belgian painter, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), a member of the Reinwardt Commission (1817-22), in Bandung.
- Sept. 1811 Shortly after the final British victory over Governor-General Jan Willem Janssens (in office May-September 1811), at Serondhol (Jatingaleh) just

¹⁷ Domis to Van de Graaff, 3-08-1823 (full reference footnote 3 above), gives the names of the five sons as: (1) Sudiak Wiriowinoto (ca.1798, referred to as 'disabled and/or mentally infirm- *gebrekig*); (2) Saleh (born ca.1800); (3) Sukur (born ca.1802); (4) Sumadi Suriokusumo; (5) Abdurachim (referred to as 10 or 11 years old in 1823, thus born ca.1811/1812, thus a direct contemporary of his first cousin, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman, 1811-80).

¹⁸ See Mia Bustam, *Sudjojono dan Aku* (Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi, 2013), p.141:

"I [...] love to keep and care for old things. Grandma gave me lots of beautiful old-fashioned items. All of these disappeared when they became the victims of the violence of the September 1965 affair. Amongst these items, I would like to mention one because it had intrinsic historical value. This item was a copper rice steamer made by Prince Sambernyawa or Mangkunegara I, whose hobby was working as a copper smith. When Ratu Angger [the prince's youngest daughter, born c.1782], married the Regent of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V [ca. 1770/75-1826; in office, 1809-22], she was given a gift of a set of kitchen utensils made by [Pangeran Sambernyawa] himself. This copper rice steamer [which was one of these items] came down to me from [...] Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, my fifth-generation grandfather."

above Semarang on 16 September, Suroadimenggolo begins a close friendship and scientific cooperation with the newly appointed (11 Sept.) Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles (in office, 1811-16).

- July 1812 Raffles persuades Suroadimenggolo to send his second and third sons, Raden Mas Saleh and Raden Mas Sukur, to Mr Drummond's Academy, Kolkata, for their senior (high) school education. They will remain there for two and a half years until ca. mid-1815, with Saleh winning awards.
- 1815 Saleh and Sukur return to Torboyo, where Saleh fills briefly as Regent/bupati during Suroadimenggolo's dispute with the British Resident, William Boggie, 1815-16 (see footnote 4).
- 19 Aug 1816 The Dutch return to Java and a new and less congenial period begins for Suroadimenggolo's family, who are doubly suspected as being too pro-British and too outspoken.
- 1817-24 Saleh becomes respectively *bupati* (regent) of Probolinggo in the Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821); and Lasem (ca.1821-24).
- 1822-23 Sukur lives for a period with the local population on the slopes of Gunung Prau and the Dieng area in Northern Kedu and is witness to the terrible conditions suffered by the local population in the years of drought (1821), harvest failure (1823) and forced labour (*corvée*) services before the Java War. He writes a damning report in Dutch which comes to the notice of the Dutch authorities.
- 1822 Suroadimenggolo is forcibly retired early (aged in his early fifties) as bupati of Torboyo / Semarang.
- 1824 Between March and November, the thirteen-year-old painter, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman, comes back from Bandung/West Java to Torboyo to live temporarily with his foster parents, while his artistic mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), accompanies Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) on his inspection voyage to eastern Indonesia (Celebes/Sulawesi and Moluccas/Maluku). This period is likely seminal for Saleh's future views of the character of the Dutch colonial regime in Java.
- 20 July 1825 Outbreak of the Java War in Yogyakarta following Dutch attack on Prince Diponegoro's residence, Tegalrejo, and his flight to Selarong.
- late Aug. Sukur leaves his family home in Torboyo to join with the forces of Raden Ayu Serang (ca.1766-1855) and her son, Pangeran Serang II (ca.1794-1852), in Demak, following their failed attack on Semarang on 3-4 September. He takes the name of Raden Hasan Mahmud.

- 3 Sept. General Hendrik Merkus de Kock arrives in Semarang to confer with General Joseph van Geen about the deteriorating Dutch military position in Central Java. The arrival of 3,000 *hulptroepen* (native auxiliaries)—including 350 infantry and the 1,650 pikemen from Madura (Pamekasan) and Sumenep—in Semarang helps to shore up the Semarang defences.
- 9 Sept. Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) are taken into custody accused of being privy to the ‘rioting’ in Java [*beide waren als verdagt van met de samenrottingen op Java bekend te zijn*] and held separately on two Dutch warships in the harbour of Semarang, the first on the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, and the second on the corvette-of-war, *Pollux*, which will later take Diponegoro from Batavia to Manado in May-June 1830.
- 15 Dec. Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) writes to Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) complaining about the way his father and himself have been treated as detainees on Dutch warships in the roads of Semarang during the West Monsoon with its gale force winds.
- 23 Dec. Raden Mas Saleh is moved from the *Pollux* to join his father on the *Maria Reigersbergen*, which, on 1 February 1826 sets sail from Semarang for Tanjung Perak harbour, Surabaya.
- 4 Feb 1826 Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh, arrive in Surabaya and are held together on the *Maria Reigersbergen* for nearly two months until 27 February when they are transferred to the guardship (*wachtschip*), *Dageraad*.
- post- March Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), are allowed back to Semarang, hitherto their family home in Torboyo or to the Dutch fort, Fort Oranje, in the Poncol area, is not clear.
- 15 Nov 1826 Suroadimenggolo dies in Torboyo/Semarang ‘after a long decline’ [*naar eene langdurige sukkeling*]; he is likely buried initially in the family graveyard. His death is announced on 6 Dec. by the Semarang Resident, H.J. Domis, in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.49, with accompanying notices in Javanese and Malay.
- 20 Jul 1827 Suroadimenggolo is re-interred in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard in Sumenep, and a suppressed obituary notice appears under the name of the Resident of Madura and Sumenep, F.E. Hardy (in office 1824-27), in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.72 of 18 August 1827.
- 29 July 1829 Raden Mas Sukur (Hasan Mahmud) surrenders to the Dutch with Diponegoro’s third son (and Crown Prince), Diponingrat (ca 1808-died Ambon, post-March 1856), at Tangkisan (Bantul) near the Kali Progo to

the south of Yogyakarta and is exiled to Ternate where he dies sometime after March 1856.

- 3 April 1834 Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) writes from Salatiga. After moving around for some years, he eventually returns to Semarang and resides in a substantial town house in Jalan Poncol in the Purwosari district of North Semarang.
- 16 Feb 1872 Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) dies at the age of 72 in his home at Jalan Poncol and his burial ceremony is attended by over 300 mourners.
- 23 Apr 1880 Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman, Raden Mas Saleh's first cousin, dies and is buried in Bogor.

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