



Archipel

Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

103 | 2022

Varia

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

Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (vers 1811-1880) et la guerre de Java (1825-1830) : une histoire de famille dissidente

Peter Carey



Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/archipel/2927>

ISSN: 2104-3655

Publisher

Association Archipel

Printed version

Date of publication: 30 August 2022

Number of pages: 87-126

ISSN: 0044-8613

Electronic reference

Peter Carey, "Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (circa 1811-1880) and the Java War (1825-30) : A Dissident Family History", *Archipel* [Online], 103 | 2022, Online since 30 August 2022, connection on 12 September 2022. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/archipel/2927>

All rights reserved

PETER CAREY *

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

Introduction¹

For biographers of the pioneer of Indonesian modern painting, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca. 1811-1880) (Plate 9), the years (ca. 1812-19, 1824-25) he passed under the care of his uncle (Appendix II) and guardian (foster

* Fellow Emeritus of Trinity College, Oxford, and Adjunct (Visiting) Professor at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia.

1. The present article is based on the information available to me at the present time (7 March 2022), much of it provided by the Raden Saleh scholar, Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet. Given the misinformation which continues to circulate about Suroadimenggolo V and his family, which originated in part with his Dutch obituarists (Appendix Ia and Ib), and was echoed soon afterwards by General de Kock's military adjutant and son-in-law, Major François de Stuers (1792-1881), who refers (De Stuers 1833:48) to Suroadimenggolo and "a son [? Sukur]'s" "exile to the Moluccas [Maluku]", it is certain that it will need to be updated in due course. For example, Raden Mas Saleh's (Ario Notodiningrat, ca. 1800-72) biographer, Raden Soekanto (1904-61), an Indonesian historian who served as Indonesian State Archivist (1951-57), alleges (Soekanto 1951:55-56) that the Kiai and his eldest son, were interned as exiles 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 the end of the war as a result of Diponegoro's arrest on 28 March 1830, arriving there 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 in the east Madura court town on 20 July 1837. This sequence of events has been accepted by Suroadimenggolo's



Plate 1 – John Newman (ca.1795-1818), “A Javanese grandee and a European, 1811-1812,” perhaps depicting a meeting between the British Resident of Semarang, Hugh Hope (1782-1822; in office, 1811-1812), and the local *bupati*, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V (in office 1809-22). Watercolour on paper, 18.3 x 32.7 cm. Photograph courtesy of the British Library, London.

father), Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, the *bupati* of Semarang (ca.1765-1826; in office, 1809-1822), in Terboyo (Semarang), were formative ones. As Werner Kraus has put it:²

‘Saleh [...] had conflicting childhood experiences. On the one hand, there was the glamour of his exposure in Semarang [in his guardian’s house in Terboyo] to enlightened men who imbued him with a yearning for “*Europe’s happy countries, luminous in the diamond jewels of art, science and high[er] education*”. While, on the other hand, he also experienced the humiliating excesses which the colonial rulers claimed for themselves. Both this desire for and suffering as a result of the “accomplishments” of Europe were to shape Saleh’s life [...].’

surviving family in Jakarta (Pak Muhammad Mansoer Werdisastro) and in Bogor by Annie Soedasma, sixth and seventh generation descendants respectively of the early 19th-century Semarang *bupati*, M. Mansur Werdisastro letter, 15 July 2019; Annie Soedasma, electronic communication, 18 March 2018. But sadly, this is a fairy tale and Soekanto, as Head of the Indonesian National Archives, 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 footnote 29 and Plates 4-6). De Graaf 1979:270, also reports the fiction that Suroadimenggolo and Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) were exiled to Ambon in the period 1826-27, before the first was transferred to Sumenep where he died on 20 July 1827 (see Resident Hardy’s concocted obituary in Appendix Ib). At the same time, he wrongly refers to the *Pollux* rather than the *Maria Reigersbergen* as the warship which brought the pair to Surabaya from Semarang in early February 1826.

2. Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:31-33.

Given the importance of these years in shaping Saleh's view of the world and his artistic *oeuvre*, it is remarkable that there are still so many unknowns about this early period of his life. Unfortunately, the legacy of previous studies of Raden Saleh's family by Soekanto (1951), Baharudin Marasutan (1973), Bachtiar (1976) and De Graaf (1979) have perpetuated a number of myths (footnote 1), some, but not all, of which have since been corrected by Saleh's modern biographers, Marie-Odette Scalliet (1995, 2005, 2007, 2008) and Werner Kraus (2012). The research for the present article, which focusses on Saleh's Semarang years, rests heavily on the work of these two present-day biographers.

The Early 19th Century Historical Context

What then of the historical context of early-nineteenth-century Java where Raden Saleh was born and grew up? The Leiden lawyer, Willem van Hogendorp (1795-1838), who served as legal adviser to the Belgian Commissioner-General L.P.J. du Bus de Gisignies (in office, 1826-30), had a ringside seat from which to observe the after-effects of the political "tsunami" which had just ravaged the Indies a decade and a half earlier. Within the space of four and a half years between the coming of Marshal Herman Willem Daendels on 6 January 1808 as Governor-General designate up to the British-Indian invasion of 4 August 1811 and Raffles' attack on Yogyakarta the following year (20 June 1812), Javanese society was turned on its head. Van Hogendorp 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), who himself cordially loathed Dutch colonial society,³ the adolescent Saleh could not have been indifferent to the transition which his country had passed through as it was brutally wrenched into the modern age and 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)—descended on the island bringing with them the values of post-Revolutionary Europe. One of the outcomes of this cultural

3. Personal communication, Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet, 22 January 2022, who referred to Payen's particular loathing for Dutch colonial society in Bogor.

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 Terboyo (Semarang) 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 and outspoken, but they were also very pro-British. Saleh's uncle, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V, the *bupati* of Terboyo (ca. 1765/68-1826, in office 1809-22), better known as “Kangjeng Terboyo”, was one of Raffles' key informants, providing—along with other Javanese-Madurese luminaries such as Suroadimenggolo's son-in-law, the Sultan of Sumenep, Abdurrahman Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54),⁴ and Pangeran Notokusumo (1764-1829; post-1812, Pakualam I, r. 1812-1829) 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*, which was published in London by Black, Parbury & Allen on 10 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 (ca. 1780-1825), alias Sayyid Alwi—had married into the family of the second sultan of Yogyakarta⁵ and served as *bupati* of Kedu (in office, 1813-25) from the British annexation (1 August 1812) until his capture and murder in southern Kedu by Diponegoro's supporters in the third month of the Java War.⁶ 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

4. Originally Pangeran Nata Negara, post-1812 elevated by Raffles as Panembahan Adipati Nata Kusuma; and finally appointed as Sultan by the post-1816 returned Dutch administration of G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (in office 1816-26).

5. His wife was a daughter of Pangeran Blitar I (ca. 1784-1828), a son of Sultan Mangkubumi (r. 1749-1792), the founder of Yogyakarta.

6. On Danuningrat's capture and execution following a skirmish at Kalijengking near the River Krasak on 28 September 1825, see Hageman 1856:111-2; Louw and De Klerck 1894-1909. I:419; and Carey 1992:440 note 203.

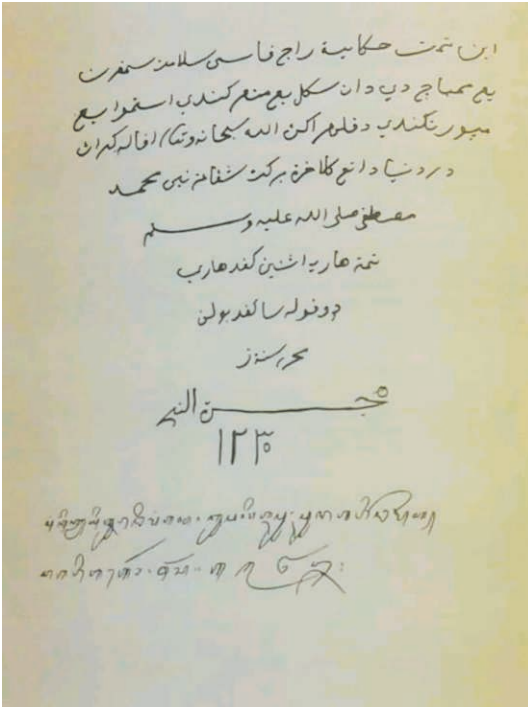


Plate 2 – Colophon of Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) Malay MS 67, entitled “Hikayat Raja Pasai,” given by Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo to Raffles in A.J. 1742 (14 December 1814 – 2 December 1815), during a visit to the Lieutenant-Governor’s palace in Bogor. The *aksara Jawa* (Javanese script) dedication reads: “*saking Kyai Suradimenggala, bupati sepuh pun nagari Demak, nagari Bahor [Bogor],” warsa [A.J.] 1742.* [From Kiai Suroadimenggolo, senior *bupati* of Demak, (dated) Bogor, A.J. 1742 (1814/15)]. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Asiatic society, London.

were highly educated—and Suroadimenggolo’s wife, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (1778-1853), the daughter of Mangkunegoro I (Raden Mas Said, 1726-95; r. 1757-95) whom he had married in January 1794 (De Graaf 1979:259), and her three daughters, were singled out by the British scholar-administrator John Crawfurd (1783-1868) as intelligent and well-educated young women who spoke three languages (Arabic, Javanese and Malay).⁷

7. Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (born ca. 7 June 1778)’s education and command of Arabic and Javanese literature are mentioned in Crawfurd 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 bestowed the most unwearied attention upon the education of his whole family. His wife [Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah], born a princess [Soemahatmaka 1973:7], whom, according to the custom of the country, he espoused [13 January 1794] while yet a girl [16 years old], he educated to make her 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] [...]”

Suroadimenggolo and the British, 1811-1816

In June 1812, during an extended stay in Semarang connected to the British military operations against Yogyakarta, Raffles persuaded his friend Suroadimenggolo to send his two sons, Raden Mas Saleh (born Terboyo ca.1800-died Semarang 1872),⁸ and Raden Mas Sukur (born Terboyo ca.1802–died in exile in Ternate post-March 1856), to Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) to pursue their education. The cost of £3,000 Sterling (£185,000 in present-day money) was to be borne by Suroadimenggolo.⁹ The two siblings sailed for Calcutta on 16 July 1812 from Semarang on a frigate, H.M.S. *Modeste*, under command of the second son of the Governor-General of Bengal, Lord Minto (in office, 1807-1813), the Honourable George Elliot (1784-1863), who had been tasked with escorting the deposed Second Sultan of Yogyakarta into exile in Pinang (Georgetown). Part of the frigate's cargo consisted of some 68 chests containing 408,414 Spanish dollars in silver coin (£115,000 Sterling or £7,000,000 in present-day money) 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.¹⁰ In this fashion, much of the wealth extorted by the Second Sultan through his harsh fiscal policies of the first eighteen years of his reign (1792-1810) 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,

8. Later given the title, Raden Ario Notodiningrat, when he became *bupati* of Probolinggo in Java's Eastern Saliend (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821) and Lasem (ca. 1821-1824). After the death of the Regent of Kudus in early 1821, Suroadimenggolo had asked the influential 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 Van der Kemp (ed.) 1901-2, II:201-2, Domis (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia), 3 August 1823. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 5 July 2020.

9. See De Graaf 1979:263. All currency conversions use the historical currency conversion website "Measuring Worth" (Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1270 to [the] Present—Measuring Worth), which can be found at: <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/>

10. Carey 1992:414-5 note 79, quoting British Library, India Office collection Eur. F. 148 (Raffles-Minto collection) vol. 19, Raffles (Semarang) to Lord Minto (Calcutta), 16-07-1812. See further Carey 2008:364.

algebra and drawing, at Mr Drummund's Academy in Calcutta—the so-called Durrumtollah Academy¹¹—and returned to Java “a complete English gentleman”¹² was made acting *bupati* of Semarang when he was still only sixteen 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, 7 May-17 August 1816).¹³ Both Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat's) career and that of his brother, however, were later blighted by the Java War and their identity as Javanese Muslims.

A Changed World: Suroadimenggolo and the post-1816 Netherlands Indies Government

On 19 August 1816, the Suroadimenggolo family woke up to a changed world. At a formal ceremony in Batavia, the Union flag was lowered and the Dutch tricolour raised. Java and its dependencies had been formally handed back to the Netherlands. This followed a decision taken over a year earlier in May 1815 by the British government to evacuate Java under the terms of

11. On the location of Durromtollah Street in Calcutta, which took its name from Mr Drummond's Academy, see Pearce Carey 2008:264-5.

12. See De Graaf 1979:263, quoting Crawford, who wrote as Resident of Semarang (in office 23 January 1814-12 April 1814 and 18 September 1815-20 January 1816) that Saleh “read and wrote the English language with facility and propriety, and with the help of a fine ear acquired so accurate a pronunciation, that this language could not easily be discerned from that of a well-educated English youth. That this was not a mere mechanical acquirement was satisfactorily proved by the good sense and acuteness of his observations.”

13. 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 [present-day Bergota]), 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 insanely.”

Zijn bestuur kenmerkte zich door akelige standjes met den Regent van Samarang en diens zoons, protégés 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, met razen en tierren, 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, een familielid kreeg klappen met een sabel en de kleeren werden hem van 't lijf gerukt; hoofden werden in de gevangenis gestopt en de heerendiensten wederdanig ingescherpt.

the Treaty of Vienna and the 13 August 1814 Convention of London. Part of the British policy of rebuilding Dutch strength to counterbalance any possible threat of a resurgent France in the aftermath of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars,¹⁴ the decision sounded the death knell for the liberal and enlightened government which Raffles had sought to encourage amongst his local collaborators. Foremost amongst these was the family of his close friend, Suroadimenggolo. The Semarang regent's public utterances left no doubt about his views on what he took to be the British Government's principles when it came to issues of political liberty.¹⁵ Within a few short years of the Dutch return, the ageing Kiai Adipati and his sons' increasingly acerbic comments on the reactionary policies of the new Dutch administration had convinced the Netherlands Indies authorities that they should be removed from their government positions and the public life of the colony.

In quick succession between 1822 and 1824, the Kiai Adipati and his eldest son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), were drummed out of their posts as regents. Suroadimenggolo V was the first to go. His younger son, Sukur's, trenchant report on the immiseration of the Javanese peasantry in Kedu under Dutch rule (see footnote 39) and his supportive statements regarding the revolt of Diponegoro's great-uncle, Pangeran Diposono (born ca. 1778), in the same province in late January and early February 1822, were the last straw for the Dutch.¹⁶ On 20 February 1822, the then Resident of Semarang, Willem Nicolaus Servatius (1785-1827; in office September 1820-June 1822), had written reminding Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der Capellen (1778-1848, in office 1816-26), of "the [libertarian] spirit which reigns in his [Suroadimenggolo's] family which Your Excellency has [...] experienced [at first hand]," possibly a reference to Van der Capellen's first official tour of Central Java in August-September 1819, when he had met the Semarang regent in person.¹⁷ Servatius went on:

"That he [Suroadimenggolo], as father and family head, could not be deemed innocent of this [Sukur's critical report and public statements], but must have given rise to it [...] and that he seriously admonished him to rein in his sons [and

14. Carey 2008:429.

15. See De Graaf 1979:264, citing his response to Resident Boggie, the abrasive last British Resident of Semarang, when questioned about the failure of a number of coolies to turn up for work at the Residency, "that the people of Samarang [Semarang] district had imbibed those sentiments of freedom, which he had always understood to be the wish of the British Government for him to instil in them."

16. Soekanto 1951:29; and for a description of Diposono's revolt in Kedu, eastern Bagelen and southern Yogyakarta from 27/28 January to early February 1822, see Carey 2008:495-8.

17. Soekanto 1951:28, quoting Servatius (Semarang) to Van der Capellen (Batavia/Bogor), 20-02-1822: "[...] *de geest welke in zijn familie heerscht Uwe Excellentie overtuigend is gebleven*." On Van der Capellen's 1819 visit to Central Java, see Carey 2008:525.

make them] show greater respect to the Government and its ordinances, instilling in them [...] the conscientious and faithful discharge of their duties [...].¹⁸

Amidst the deepening discontent in the Javanese countryside, Suroadimenggolo's continued presence as *bupati* of Semarang, the key regency for Dutch control in Central Java, was deemed a liability.

“Being of advanced years, his age will no longer allow him to discharge all those duties which should be properly discharged by him, and that His Excellency will further ascribe [to this] that things have happened in Semarang which, under the good supervision of a faithful government servant, should not have taken place.”¹⁹

The Governor-General concurred. Within a fortnight, in mid-March 1822, Suroadimenggolo received a formal letter from the Dutch government's General Secretary (*Algemeen Secretaris*), Mr. [= *Meester in de rechten* / Master of laws] Isaac Bousquet (1776-1831; in office 1822-24), informing him that his resignation was required within eight days of the receipt of the missive if he desired to keep his pension rights. And so, the dye was cast: on 20 March 1822, the Kiai Adipati resigned, all the while protesting the hurtful way his dismissal had been engineered.²⁰

The sorry episode of Suroadimenggolo's departure after nearly three decades as regent in various postings around Semarang, starting with his appointment as *bupati* of Kaliwungu just to the west of the Central Java capital in 1794-1796, gives the lie to the emollient tones of the two Dutch obituary notices (Appendices Ia and Ib). The last of these speaks of how “this esteemed man went to his grave with the profound and reassuring conviction that the Dutch Government does not leave any proven loyalty and devotion personally unrewarded.” Some conviction! Some reward! Sukur himself would later refer to the callous manner of his father's dismissal as one of the reasons for his decision to join Diponegoro's forces in Demak in late August/early September 1825.²¹

18. Ibid., “[...] dat hij [Suroadimenggolo] als vader en hoofd derzelve daaraan niet onschuldig kan gehouden worden, maar daartoe aanleiding moet gegeven hebben [...] en hem ernstig te vermanen om zijn zoons in te toomen hen meerder eerbeid voor het Gouvernement en 's Gouvernements verordeningen in te bezoemen en hen hierin voor te gaan door de nauwgezette en getrouwe betrachting zijner plichten [...]”

19. Soekanto 1951:27-8: “[...] tot hoogen ouderdom zijnde, zijne jaren op den duur niet zullen toelaten, dat alle die pligten door hem naar behooren zullen worden vervuld en dat Zijne Excellentie dan ook daaraan wel wil toeschrijven, dat er zaken te Semarang zijn voorgevallen die onder het goed opzicht van getrouwe gouvernements dienaren geen plaats behooren te hebben.”

20. Soekanto 1951:27.

21. Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden (Leiden University Libraries), BPL 616, Port. 12 no. 8, “Verklaring van den Gevangen Genomen Muilteling [...] Raden Hassan Machmood,” 1-08-1829 (full citation in Bibliography).

Meanwhile, just as the Kiai Adipati was being removed, Suroadimenggolo's elder son, Saleh (Raden Ario Notodiningrat), was also coming under suspicion. His critical comments on the Second Dutch Expedition against Palembang in June-July 1821 immediately caught the attention of his Dutch superiors. Launched as a punitive operation following the failure of the colonial government's first attempt to capture the Sultan in October 1819, it ended with the fall of Palembang and the exile of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II (r. 1804-12, 1813, 1818-21) (see Appendix III). While this operation was in progress, Saleh (Notodiningrat) was supposed to have declared that "this was now a good opportunity for the Javanese to take possession again of their birthright, the Island of Java, and drive out the white men [the Dutch]."²²

Saleh (Notodiningrat) had just then taken up his new appointment as *bupati* of Lasem. But no sooner was he in post in mid-1821 than he was reported by the Resident of Rembang, Anthonie Hendrik Smissaert (in office, 1819-23), who had responsibility for Lasem,²³ "to be showing signs of madness." So, in December 1821, Saleh was invalidated back to his parents' house in Terboyo.²⁴ Whether this health issue was just an excuse to get rid of a troublesome Javanese official or a genuine mental illness is hard to determine. Saleh's elder brother, Sudiak Wiryowinoto (born ca.1798), is reported to have suffered an incapacitating mental disability and is referred to as "*gebrekkig* [mentally infirm]" in the Dutch records (footnote 42). Thus, mental illness might have run in the family. However, Saleh was clearly gifted, spoke multiple languages (French, English, Dutch, Malay, Javanese and Arabic) and went on to live a full and productive life dying in ripe old age (72) in his native Semarang widely mourned by his peers (footnote 36). So, there is nothing to suggest that his life was blighted by any long-term psychological illness. Instead, it is likely that the emotional stress of living under a deeply repressive colonial regime, so starkly different with the previous era of intellectual and cultural engagement under Raffles, and the targeting of his family by the Dutch authorities, tipped him into a nervous break-down.

Suroadimenggolo and the Java War: A Family Tragedy

There was, of course, a third party to the tragedy which overwhelmed the Suroadimenggolo family in these difficult years and stamped its mark most

22. Soekanto 1951:28, "[...] *dat de tweede expeditie naar Palembang [...] hier nu een goede gelegenheid voor de Javanen was om zich weder in het bezit te stellen van het Eiland Java, hun Eigendom, en om alle de blanken van het zelve te verdrijven.*"

23. Lasem (later Kota Lasem, Binangun district) was one of the six districts which made up the Residency of Rembang at this time, the others being Kragan, Pamotan, Sedan, Sulang and Waru, Schoel 1931:2-8.

24. Soekanto 1951:33-34, quoting Smissaert that Saleh (Notodiningrat) "[...] *gaf teekeningen van krankzinnigheid.*" See also De Graaf 1979:267.

vividly on the troubled soul of Saleh's younger brother, Sukur. Less gifted than his *wunderkind* sibling, Sukur was a wanderer who found it impossible to settle for Javanese respectability, still less enter the world of the Javanese *priyayi* bureaucracy. The Dutch authorities went through the motions, bestowing a grandiloquent name—Raden Mas Yudoatmojo (also given as 'Raden Panji Yudoatmodikoro', Payen 1988:139; and 'Raden Mas Sukur Yudoamidarmo', Soemahatmaka 1973:41)—and summoning him to Surabaya to begin training as a junior tax official with the rank of *ondercollecteur* (sub-inspector of taxes). But Sukur would have none of it. Just as earlier he had rejected a proffered royal bride, a daughter of Suroadimenggolo's son-in-law, Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep, rather than give up his beloved *gundik* (mistress, unofficial wife), a young woman originally betrothed to his younger brother, Sumadi Suryokusumo, so now "he wandered off again to the mountains like someone who was not in his right senses."²⁵

Then came the *dégringolade*. Following his trenchant report on the immiseration of the Javanese peasantry in Kedu under Dutch rule in the immediate pre-war period (footnote 39), 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*]" (Carey 2021:25 fn.14) on 8 September 1825 by the local Dutch authorities, namely the Resident of Semarang, Hendrik Jacob Domis (1782-1842; in office 1822-27). The following day, 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 (post-1942 Jakarta) between 3 May and 12 June 1830. Three and a half months later, on 23 December, just hours before the *Pollux* sailed

25. De Graaf 1979:268, quoting Suroadimenggolo V (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia/Bogor), 8-09-1825, "*hij dwaalde weer naar de bergen, als iemand die niet bij zinnen was.*" There are problems with this reference, because the date cited by De Graaf is aberrant: by 8 September 1825, Sukur had already joined Diponegoro's forces in Demak, and the Kiai Adipati was within a day of being arrested himself (9 September 1825) along with his second son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat). It is difficult to know where De Graaf found this quote given that it is not to be traced in any of the letters published by Van der Kemp, either in the letters Suroadimenggolo sent to Van de Graaff (1821), then serving as Inspector of Finances (in office 1820-26), or the letters written by the Resident of Semarang, H.J. Domis (in office, 1822-27), to Van de Graaff, see Van der Kemp (ed.), 1901-2, II:169-71, 200-203. However, Sukur's wanderings and refusal to marry a daughter of the Sultan of Sumenep, Paku Nataningrat, are mentioned in separate places in Domis' letters to Van de Graaff, during the period 1822-25, so De Graaf may have cobbled the quote together from these sources. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odetta Scalliet for pointing out this aberrant reference.

for Surabaya with the tide early the following morning, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was transferred to join his father on the *Maria Reigersbergen*. This 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 (*wachtschip*), the decommissioned frigate, *Dageraad*, in Tanjung Perak harbour.²⁶ The Kiai and his eldest son's initial arrest was also reported in an official dispatch from Governor-General Van der Capellen to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, C.Th. Elout (1767-1841; in office, 1824-29), written on 13 September 1825 and relayed in the official government gazette, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, on 4 February 1826.²⁷

26. 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 having knowledge of the rioting in Java],” see further Carey 2021:25. 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 (*wachtschip*), *Dageraad*, in Surabaya harbour took place on 27 February 1826, see Troost 1829:314, 340, 354-55; and Carey 2021:26. Suroadimenggolo and his eldest son's movements following the transfer to the *Dageraad* are unclear. This guard vessel, a frigate, which had been in Netherlands service from 1808 to 1824, was later transferred to the Koloniale Marine (Dutch Indies navy) with the new name *Aurora*, before being broken up, Vermeulen 1966:6. It guarded the approaches to Surabaya (Tanjung Perak) harbour and the Madura Straits, but did not move from its position for the next fifteen months (it was still at anchor there in June 1827); I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet 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 (Plate 3, Appendix 1a), see ‘*Uittreks 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 Adimengolo, en by die gelegenheid de trouwe diensten, door denzelfven aan het Nederlandsche gouvernement bewezen, geredelyk erkend.— Dit berigt is in dezelfde nieuwspapieren in het Maleitsch 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).

27. *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 mitelingen vervoegd. Het is gebleken dat zijn vader en broeder, Saleh, niet onwetend waren van deze omstandigheid, en het is nodig*

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, footnote 26). 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 Indies press from whence it was picked up in distant Curaçao (Dutch West Indies) on 16 June 1827 (footnote 26, Plate 3 and Appendix Ia). Exactly when the Kiai was allowed back to his old residence in Terboyo, 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.²⁸ 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 his demise?²⁹ The existence of a concocted “obituary” of the former Semarang *bupati* in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.72 of 18 August 1827 (Appendix Ib) by the then Resident of Madura and Sumenep, François Emanuel Hardy (1781-1828, in office, 1824-10 October 1827), would seem

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), (Raden Mas Sukur), 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.

28. “Semarang Kota Kenangan: Benteng Pendem,” <https://kenangan.blogspot.com/>, Semarang, 28 February 2015.

29. 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, menziarahi 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 Asta Tinggi graveyard of Suroadimenggolo and his family in Sumenep, 25 October 2014).

alhier op de Voerzel te Cirebon, heest toehouder hebbeende aan vigen d. de N^o 7.
De agenten van de Bataviasche Maatschappij van hand. d. te Charbon, C. FORBAUX, M. P. de SOUQUERA.
CIRIBON, den 2den dec. 1825.
 —Hier verbodend hier op fiat of bootsel bij
E. VAN GOJDTSONEN en Co.
 —Te koop, in de residentie Pelandoeng, een niet in staat gelopen moorschip, met dies stelling en ingeloomen; te bezorgen bij den heer *T. Anthony* alhier.
 —Te koop, op voordelige voorwaarden, twee huizen, gelegen op de westzijde van Koningsepia, toelidende de aan wijzen den heer *J. Rauc*.
KONINGS-PLAN, 7den dec. 1825.
 —TEGEN COMARTE betaling te bekomen bij *T. Amst.* beste onrijpe paddy à 7/4 de 100 honden, van het land Tjong-vout, en verduer hotez à 1 per poed.

OBITUARIE.

Op den 5den november jl. verloor te Padang, zeer voortvrijg van eenen wed. gelieven van *J. Mador*, echtgenoot van
D. P. M. KOENEN.
 —Hierin bevel van een wed. geschapen zoon, de achternoot van den hijsmoet luitenant der artillerie *A. H. U. v. J.* van **SARANG.** den 2sten nov. 1825.
 —Hierin verloorse *J. M. P. de Oud.* gebede echtgenoot van *J. A. A. de Oud.* voortvrijg van eenen zoon.
WATERBURG, den 3sten nov. 1825.

STERFORVALLEN.

—Hierin overleden, omstreeks 9 ure, overleed zeer slijkt de overblijven van Klasse der Nederlandsche Marine, dienstdoende als officier bij de koloniale zeemacht, *Anton Wilhelm Charles Knudsen*, in den jongsten leeftijd van zijn ver jaeren. Ik bezitve het verlies van een veel belovend officier, en geef langs dezen we hieven kennis aan zijne vrienden en bekenden.
 De divisie commandant in de wateren van Riouw en Lingioe,
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.
 —Hierin is alhier, na eene langdurige ziekte, overleden de luitenant van Navorrijg *K. van der P. v. v. v. v.* van Navorrijg. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijven van dien luitenant is des te meer te betonen, daar zijne ziekte een getuise was van de zware verzwakening door hem geleden tijdens het ziekten der onkosten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele dienaren gepestreed en getoed heilt. Het Gouvernement verzoeken in allen opzigt waardig te zijn.

De Resident van Samarang.

H. J. DOMS.
SAMARANG, den 15den nov. 1825.
 —Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.
 —Hierin is alhier, na eene langdurige ziekte, overleden de luitenant van Navorrijg *K. van der P. v. v. v. v.* van Navorrijg. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijven van dien luitenant is des te meer te betonen, daar zijne ziekte een getuise was van de zware verzwakening door hem geleden tijdens het ziekten der onkosten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele dienaren gepestreed en getoed heilt. Het Gouvernement verzoeken in allen opzigt waardig te zijn.

De Resident van Samarang.

H. J. DOMS.
SAMARANG, den 15den nov. 1825.
 —Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.
 —Hierin is alhier, na eene langdurige ziekte, overleden de luitenant van Navorrijg *K. van der P. v. v. v. v.* van Navorrijg. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijven van dien luitenant is des te meer te betonen, daar zijne ziekte een getuise was van de zware verzwakening door hem geleden tijdens het ziekten der onkosten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele dienaren gepestreed en getoed heilt. Het Gouvernement verzoeken in allen opzigt waardig te zijn.

ملکوکین گوربتت کی خبر

الکلام السلام ختام
 دموع دیگری سماعی قد ۱۳
 هاری بوان فرقیبدر قاعی ۱۳۹۴
 قدی کن رسمیت
 ج ی نویس
 ... (Arabic text continues with names and dates) ...
H. J. DOMS.
SAMARANG, den 15den nov. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.
 —Hierin is alhier, na eene langdurige ziekte, overleden de luitenant van Navorrijg *K. van der P. v. v. v. v.* van Navorrijg. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijven van dien luitenant is des te meer te betonen, daar zijne ziekte een getuise was van de zware verzwakening door hem geleden tijdens het ziekten der onkosten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele dienaren gepestreed en getoed heilt. Het Gouvernement verzoeken in allen opzigt waardig te zijn.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

—Hierin overleden onsen oudste zoon *W. J. de Oud.* den 2den sept. 1825.
G. E. POOL, luit. 1ste kl.
RUMAH BLOED, den 3sten sept. 1825.

Plate 3 – Suroidimenggolo V's obituary in the *Bataviasche Courant*, 6-12-1826, placed by Resident Hendrik Jacob Doms of Semarang (in office, 1822-27) in Dutch, Malay and Javanese. Photo delphnr.nl.

to point to a Sumenep location for Suroadimenggolo's possible re-interment.³⁰ The date of this re-interment is even given on the Kiai's tomb/mausoleum at Asta Tinggi (Plate 4), where he was buried alongside a second wife who had predeceased him (Plate 7).³¹ Although it is incorrect as the 20 July 1827 was a Friday not a Saturday. It is possible that the former Semarang *bupati*'s remains were re-interred in the late evening or night of Friday, 20 July 1827, but officially registered as having occurred the following day, namely Saturday, 21 July, because in the Javanese calendrical system the date changes at 6 p.m. not at midnight as in the Western calendar. But then one would have expected the date to read 26 Dzulhijjah (Zulhijah, Dulkangidah) not 25th as at present. Perhaps the mistake over the dating is yet another reflection of the concocted nature of Suroadimenggolo's "second death" in Sumenep and the obituary notice posted by the ever-inventive Resident Hardy. 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, Suroadimenggolo'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 Suroadimenggolo tomb in the family graveyard behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) 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.³²

30. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference to Hardy's obituary notice, electronic communication, 10 July 2020.

31. Nothing is known about this wife beyond the fact that, according to the inscription on her tomb, she died in Semarang on 12 Dulkangidah A.H. 1235 (20 September 1820). It is possible that she hailed from Sumenep and her body had been returned there to be buried there after her death, and this was one of the reasons why Suroadimenggolo's remains were reinterred alongside her at Asta Tinggi. Alternatively, and more plausibly, she may have been buried initially in the Bustaman family graveyard behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) and her remains transported from Semarang along with those of her late husband, Suroadimenggolo, when he was re-interred in Sumenep on 20 July 1827.

32. 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 Bĕstaman", the Bustaman family tree/genealogy, in 1840, see Boepati Madjalengka Raden Adipati Aria Kartadiningrat, 1900:135-42; and De Graaf 1979:259-60. I am grateful to Dr Werner Kraus and to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this information, electronic communications, 3 June and 5 July 2020.



Plate 4 – Entrance gate of the Suroadimenggolo family graveyard on the road leading to the Asta Tinggi royal cemetery in Sumenep. Photograph Pak Ribut Hadi Candra, Kepala BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik), Sumenep, 2021.



Plate 5 – The graves of Suroadimenggolo (left) and his second wife who predeceased him (right) in the Suroadimenggolo burial complex at Asta Tinggi. Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.



Plate 6 – Suradimenggolo V’s recently (post-2015) renovated grave at Asta Tinggi, Sumenep, with the Arabic inscription: “*Hādzā Qabru al-Marhūm Kanjeng Kiyayi Sura Adi Menggala min Baladi Semarang, qad tuwuffiya fī yaumi al-Sabti Khamsata wa ‘Isyrīna yauman wa Dzil Hijjah Hijrat al-Nabiyyi ‘alā shāhibihā Afdhalu al-Shalati wa al-Salām alayhi* [This is the grave of the late Kiai Suroadimenggolo from the town of Semarang who died on Saturday (sic, Friday), 25 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah) (20 July 1827) of the *hijrah* (year) [1242] of The Prophet and his principal helpers, may the prayer of honour and greetings be upon Them]. Reading courtesy of Mas Taufiq MA, UGM].” Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.



Plate 7 – The grave of Suradimenggolo V’s second wife, name unknown, who predeceased him in 1820, at Asta Tinggi, Sumenep, with the Arabic inscription: “*Hādzā Qabru [...] Itsnāya Sura Adi Menggala Baladi Semarang, qad tuwuffiya lailatas Sabti Khamsata wa ‘Isyrīna Yauman wa Dzil Hijjah Wafannat Yaumal Khamis Būtārīkhi Alf wa Miatayni Khamsata wa Tsalātsīna ‘Aman Wa Hijrat 1235* [This is the grave of [...] second wife of Suroadimenggolo from the town of Semarang, who died on Saturday (sic, Friday), 25 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah), 20 July 1827), and who (herself) expired on Thursday (sic, Wednesday), 12 Dzulhijjah (Dulkangidah) in the Year Alif *hijrah* 1235 (20 September 1820)]. Reading courtesy of Mas Taufiq Hakim MA, UGM].” Photograph Pak Agung Bagus, Sumenep, 2021.



Plate 8 – Memorial plaque to Suroadimenggolo’s official wife, Bendora Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (ca.1778-1853), and her husband, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo, in front of the family burial site behind the mosque in Terboyo. The plaque gives the impression that both Suroadimenggolo and his principal wife are buried in the family burial pavilion, whereas it seems almost certain that, whereas Suroadimenggolo was initially buried there on 15 November 1826 (Plate 3), his remains were soon afterwards transferred to Sumenep for reburial on 20 July 1827 (Plates 4-6). Photograph Akhmad Dwi Afiyadi, Semarang, 2021.

According to Raden Mas Saleh’s biographer, Raden Soekanto (1904-61), who served briefly (1951-1957) as head of the Indonesian National Archives (now *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*, then *Arsip Negara*), 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; Carey 2021:25). 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.

It is unclear if Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) joined his father in Semarang (either back in the family home in Terboyo, which Suroadimenggolo had built in 1822-23 [Appendix III], 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 the former Semarang *bupati*. It is also possible that he 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. 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). This makes no sense given that the former had died on 15 November 1826 and his death had been announced publicly by the Dutch authorities (Plate 3, Appendix Ia) with subsequent notices in the *Bataviasche Courant* on 12 and 15 May 1827 regarding claims from debtors and creditors on his estate (*boedel*) (footnote 26). Soekanto's "evidence" is frankly unreliable. His *Dua Raden Saleh: Dua Nasionalis dalam Abad ke-19; Suatu halaman dari sedjarah Nasional Indonesia* [Two Raden Salehs: Two Nationalists in the 19th Century; A Page from Indonesian National History] (Djakarta: 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 (Ario Notodiningrat) 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 1834.³³ Subsequently, there is a reference in the colonial archives, by the Minister of the Colonies, Count Johannes van den Bosch (in office, 1834-40), based on information received from Baud, that Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) was "wandering about in Java [*hij dwaalde thans op Java rond*]." ³⁴ What we know for certain is that he later moved back to his native Semarang, where he apparently had a wife³⁵ and lived for many

33. 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.

34. 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.

35. See *Java-Bode* (25-06-1856), which mentions the arrival in Batavia by steamship/packet boat from Semarang between 21 and 24 June 1856 of "*Raden Soemodi* [Sumadi Suryokusumo, younger brother of Ario Notodiningrat, see Appendix II and footnote 42] *en Ningrat* [sic, Notodiningrat] *met echtgenoot van Samarang* (Raden Sumedi and [Notodi]ningrat with his wife from Semarang)". Saleh (Notodiningrat) had earlier (ca. 1818) married a granddaughter of Pangeran Prangwedono (post-1821, Mangkunegoro II, r. 1796-1835), Raden Ajeng Sariadi. She was the daughter of Pangeran Ario Notokusumo, a son of Raden Mas Tumenggung Ario Kusumodiningrat, a son-in-law of Pakubuwono III (r. 1749-88), by a mother who was a daughter of Prangwedono by a secondary wife, see Soemahatmaka 1973:56. But the marriage had

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 1872.³⁶

been unhappy, and Saleh's bride had returned to Surakarta to live with her grandfather, Prangwedono (post-21 October 1821, Mangkunegoro II, r. 1796-1835), within a few years of the marriage. On 7 July 1825, when the German visitor, A.P. Büchler, visited the Mangkunegaran, she was still there, Büchler 1888:6. Thus, although Suroadimenggolo had asked his friend, the Inspector of Finances, Van de Graaff, to use his good offices with Prangwedono to effect a reconciliation during a visit by the Mangkunegaran ruler to Batavia around October 1821, it seems unlikely that anything came of this. It is more likely that the "*echtgenoot* (wife)" mentioned in the *Java-Bode* was a second wife whom Saleh (Notodiningrat) had married following the end of the Java War when he had more freedom to move around in Java again, see De Graaf 1979:266-67.

36. See *Java-Bode* (24-02-1872) which has the following report on the obituary notice which appeared in the Semarang newspaper (*De Locomotief*) for 16 February 1872: "*De Samarangsche Courant van 17 [sic, 16] 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 verrassende kennis der Engelsche en Fransche talen en zijn ijver voor de mohamedaansche propaganda, terwijl een in vroeger jaren aan Britsch-Indië 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 verwonderen, indien 's mans graf niet spoedig bij de Javanen in reuk van heiligheid kwam."* [The Semarang newspaper [*De Locomotief*] of 17 [sic 16] 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 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 [*ulama*] and lay people [300 according to the figure cited in *De Locomotief; Samarangsche Nieuws-, Handels- en Advertentieblad* no.40, 16-02-1872, p.1], 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." Another obituary based on *De Locomotief* is carried in the *Bataviaasch handelsblad* no.43, 20-02-1872. I am grateful to Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet for this reference.

These were difficult years for the remnants of the 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 in his native Semarang, winning the respect of his local community (footnote 36), 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 after March 1856.³⁷

The Legacy: Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca.1811-1880)

The same iron in the soul—and torn loyalties—would be evident in the career of their first cousin, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (Plate 9), 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), when asked by a German visitor whether he might contemplate sending a couple of his own sons to study in Europe, replied that he would never do such a thing because he feared that they would return neither as Europeans nor Javanese (Büchler 1888:14). One recalls here the clever ditty which the Yogyanese 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 express order 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 February 1852—now a true *beamtenstaat* (bureaucratic state) dotted with 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.

37. Hageman: 412, who seems to refer to Sukur as still alive when he finished writing his book, *Geschiedenis van den oorlog op Java van 1825 tot 1830*, in March 1856.



Plate 9 – Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (ca. 1811-1880), from a photograph by Walter Woodbury and James Page, taken in their photographic studio in Rijswijk, Batavia, in circa 1862. Photograph from KITLV-84991 by courtesy of Leiden University Libraries (UBL).

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) between 1819/20 and 1824. As far as I know there is only one reference linking Saleh to the political tragedy which overwhelmed his Semarang family in September 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 "fled" in early September 1825, he noted in his diary (16 September) that "*les lettres de Samarang sont toujours inquiétantes; [...] on a arrêté le régent de Samarang, dont les deux fils se sont enfuis* (sic). *Il est peut-être question du vieux Régent Adi Mangolo [Adimenggolo]. Cela m'afflige par rapport à Saleh, mon élève, qui est son parent*" ["The letters from Semarang are still worrying [...] they (the Dutch authorities) have arrested the regent (*bupati*) of Semarang, whose two sons have fled. This perhaps refers to the former regent (*bupati*) Adimenggolo. This saddens me because Saleh, my pupil, is his relative]" (Payen 1988:77). Saleh's whereabouts in that month of September 1825 are unclear.³⁸ He may have

38. 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 mean that the latter was

been in Bandung or he may have been still staying with his family in Terboyo 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 eastern Indonesia (Celebes/Sulawesi and the Moluccas/Maluku) in February-September 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.³⁹ 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.

Conclusion

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—the “times that try men’s souls” in Thomas Paine’s famous phrase—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 “Arrest of Pangeran Diponegoro” (1857) and his “Flood in Java” (*Watersnood op Java*) (1861), which was first shown in the audience chamber

either not in Semarang at that time or for whatever reason Payen has omitted to refer to him. Once again I thank Dr Marie-Odetta Scalliet for this reference, electronic communication, 2 July 2020.

39. 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—which we know from a Dutch source was very fluent, Soekanto 1951:33, citing Domis [Semarang] to Du Bus de Gisignies [Batavia/Bogor], 6-02-1826). 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. Smissaert (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 Smissaert’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.

(*audientiezaal*) of the Governor-General's Palace in Weltevreden (Batavia) in May 1862 for a charity exhibit. It could be said that in this period post-Revolutionary Europe showed its vilest face to the non-European world. But there was also another side to Europe and to Germany in particular—the Germany of the small kingdoms (*Kleinstaaterei*) 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 (1840-45) in ways unimagined by his early mentors in Java.

Bibliography

A. Manuscripts

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag

Jean Chrétien Baud Private Collection

NL-HaNA 2.21.007.58 inv. 502, letter of Raden Ario Notodiningrat (Salatiga) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 2 April 1834

Scheepsjournalen van het Ministerie van Marine

NL-HaNA 2.12.03_3601 (Generaal Journaal van Z.M. Korvet Pollux over de Jaren 1824, 1825, 1826, en 1827 / Logbook Pollux, 1824-27).

Staatssecretarie Archive

NL-HaNA, Staatsecretarie 2.02.01, inv. nr.5781B, 6 July 1835 *geheim*, letter of J.C.A. Baud (Batavia/Bogor) to Johannes van den Bosch (The Hague).

Suroadimenggolo Family Papers

“Serat Terboyo”, a list of key dates and events related to Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo's life history entitled “Serat Terboyo”, in the possession of the Kiai's seventh generation descendant, Annie Soedasma, in Bogor (see footnote 41).

Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden / Leiden University Libraries

Nahuy's van Burgst Private Collection

BPL 616 Portfolio 12 no. 8, J.F. Walraven van Nes, “Verklaring van den Gevangen Genomen Muiteling Bekend onder den Naam van Soekoer doch te voren den Naam Gevoerd Hebbende van Raden Pandjie Joedohadmodikoro en bij de Muitelingen dien van Raden Hassan Machmood”, 1-08-1829.

B. Newspapers Dutch-language (delpher.nl)

Bataviasche Courant, 8-02-1826, 15-02-1826, 6-12-1826, 12-05-1827, 15-05- 1827, 18-08-1827

Curaçaosche Courant, 16-06-1827

De Locomotief, 16-02-1872

Java-Bode, 24-02-1872

Nederlandsche Staatscourant, 14-02-1826

C. Printed Books and Articles

- Azhar, Syafruddin, 2008, "Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826): Hatinya Tertambat di Tanah Jawa", prologue for the Indonesian translation of Raffles, *The History of Java*. Yogyakarta: Narasi.
- Bachtiar, Harsja W., 1976, "Raden Saleh: Aristocrat, Painter and Scientist", *Majalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia* (Agustus) 6.3, pp.31-79.
- Baharudin Marasutan, 1973, *Raden Saleh 1807-1880. Perintis Seni Lukis di Indonesia. The Precursor of Painting in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian.
- Boepati Madjalengka Raden Adipati Aria Kartadinigrat, 1900, "Salsilah Bĕstaman", Raden Bei Koesoemaningajoeda (ed.), *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 42:135-43.
- Büchler, A.P., 1888, "Soerakarta vóór 63 jaren", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 17.1:401–431, 17.2:1–37.
- Bustam, Mia, 2013, *Sudjojono dan Aku*. Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi.
- Carey, Peter, 1992, *The British in Java, 1811–1816: A Javanese Account*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- , 2008, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785–1855*, Second edition. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- , 2012, *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro dan Akhir Tatanan Lama di Jawa, 1785–1855*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia. 3 vols.
- , 2021, "On His Netherlands Majesty's Service: The Remarkable Journeys of the Dutch Corvette-of-war *Pollux* in the Indies/Indonesia and Around the World, 1824-1838", *Archipel* 102:19-64.
- Crawfurd, John, 1820, *History of the Indian Archipelago*. Edinburgh: Constable. 2 vols.
- Graaf, H.J. de, 1979, "Het Semarangsche Geslacht Bustam in de 18e en 19e Eeuw; Afkomst en Jeugd van Raden Saleh", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 135.2-34:252-81.
- Haan, F. de, 1935, "Personalialia der periode van het Engelsch bestuur over Java, 1811-1816", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 92:477-681.
- Hageman Jez., J., 1856. *Geschiedenis van den oorlog op Java, van 1825 tot 1830*. Batavia: Lange.
- Hogendorp, H. graaf van (ed.), 1913, *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1825-1830*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Kemp, P.H. van der (ed.), 1901-2, *Brieven van en aan Mr. H.J. van de Graaff, 1816–26: Eene bijdrage tot de kennis der Oost-Indische bestuurstoestanden onder de regeering van G.A.G.P. baron van der Capellen. Geordend, zoomede van een geschiedkundig overzicht, aantekeningen en alphabetisch register voorzien*. Batavia: Albrecht / 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. 3 vols.
- Kraus, Werner, 2005, "Raden Saleh's Interpretation of the Arrest of Diponegoro: an Example of Indonesian 'proto-nationalist' Modernism", *Archipel*, 69:259-294.
- Kraus, Werner and Irina Vogelsang, 2012, *Raden Saleh: The Beginning of Modern Indonesian Painting*. Jakarta: Goethe Institute.
- Louw, P.J.F. and E.S. de Klerck, 1894-1909, *De Java-oorlog van 1825-1830*. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff / Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. 6 volumes.
- Meinsma, J., 1876, "Een anachronisme", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 23:126-133.

- Murphy *et al.* (eds.), 2019, *Raffles in Southeast Asia: Revisiting the Scholar and Statesman*. Edited by Stephen A. Murphy, Naomi Wang and Alexandra Green. Singapore: Asian Civilizations Museum.
- Payen, A.A.J., 1988, *Journal de mon voyage à Joczja Karta en 1825: The Outbreak of the Java War (1825–30) as seen by a Painter*. Peter Carey (ed.). Paris: Association Archipel.
- Pearce Carey, S., 1993, *William Carey: The Father of Modern Missions*. London: Wakeman Trust.
- Raffles, Lady Sophia, 1830, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*. London: Murray.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford, 1817, *The History of Java*. London: Black, Parbury & Allen. 2 vols.
- , 1978, *The History of Java*. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2 vols.
- Scalliet, Marie-Odette, 1995, *Antoine Payen: Peintre des Indes Orientales: Vie et Écrits d'un artiste du XIXème siècle (1792-1853)*. Leiden: Research School CNWS.
- , 2005, “Raden Saleh et les Hollandais: artiste protégé ou otage politique?”, in *Archipel* 69:151–258.
- , 2007, “Chronique de l'année des tigres: Raden Saleh entre Paris et Dresde”, *Archipel* 74:205–220.
- , 2008, “Le retour du fils prodige: Raden Saleh à Java (1851-1858)”, *Archipel* 76:151–204.
- Schoel, W.F. (ed.), 1931. *Alphabetisch Register van de administratieve-(bestuurs) en adatrechterlijke indeeling van Nederlandsch-Indië. Vol I: Java en Madoera*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- Soekanto, 1951, *Dua Raden Saleh: Dua Nasionalis dalam Abad ke-19; Suatu halaman dari sedjarah Nasional Indonesia*. Djakarta: Poesaka Aseli.
- Soemahatmaka, R.M.Ng., 1973, *Pratélan para darah Dalem Soewargi Kangjeng Goesti Pangéran Adipati Arja Mangkoenagara I hing Soerakarta Hadiningrat*. Soerakarta: Mangkunegaran.
- Stuers, F.V.H.A. de, 1833, *Mémoires sur la guerre de l'île de Java, de 1825 à 1830*. Leyde: S. & J. Luchtmans.
- Sutherland, Heather, 2021, *Politik Dinasti Keluarga Elite Jawa Abad XV-XX*. Depok: Kobam.
- Troost Gzn, Pieter, 1829, *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.
- Vermeulen, A.J., 1966, *De schepen van de Koninklijke Marine en die der gouvernementsmarine 1814-1962*, Den Haag: Bureau Maritieme Historie van de Marinestaf.

D. Online Resources

- “Semarang Kota Kenangan: Benteng Pendem”, <https://kenangan.blogspot.com/>, Semarang, 28 February 2015

Appendix Ia

Obituary Notice of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V in Dutch, Malay and Javanese in the *Bataviasche Courant*, No.49, Semarang, 6 December 1826

Dutch:

HEDEN is alhier, na eene langdurige sukkeling, overleden de Regent van Samarang, Kiai Adi Patti Soero Adi-mengolo. Het Gouvernement verliest in hem een getrouw en ijverig ambtenaar, en het overlijden van dien Regent is des te meer te betreuren, daar zijne ziekte een gevolg was van de zware vermoeijenissen door hem geleden tijdens het uitbreken der onlusten, waarbij hij werkelijk vele diensten gepresteerd en getoond heeft 's Gouvernements vertrouwen in allen opzigte waardig te zijn.

De Resident van Samarang,

H.J. DOMIS,

Samarang, den 15den nov. 1826.

TODAY, here [in Semarang] has deceased [from this life] the [former] Regent of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo, following a lengthy decline. The [Dutch colonial] Government has lost in him a loyal and energetic official, and the demise of the Regent is all the more to be regretted, given that his illness was a result of the heavy fatigues which he suffered during the outbreak of the [present] disturbances [ie the Java War, 1825-30], whereby he really performed many [public] services and showed himself to be in all respects worthy of the Government's trust.

The Resident of Semarang,

H[endrik] J[acob] DOMIS,

Semarang, the 15th of November 1826.

Malay:

Bahwa kita, Paduka Tuan Resident di Negeri Semarang memberitahu, maka datanglah hukum daripada Tuhan Allah melakukan qodrat iradatnya atas hamba-Nya maka ketika Paduka Tuan Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo regent di negeri Semarang itupun telah kembalilah ke Rahmat Allah Ta'ala yaitu pada

hari ini maka adalah Gubernament terlalu sayang sebab ia suatu punggawa yang amat setiawan seraya rajin perbuatannya istimewa pula kematian tuan regent itu terlalu kesayangan sebab penyakitnya itu akibat pengusahanya ketika makanya haru-biru karena disitulah beberapa kebajikan dipucuknya serta diunjukkannya pada segala hal ikhwal sekalian maka haruslah ia menerima Gubernament jua adanya tamat.

Al-Kalam

Wasalam

Khatam

Disurat di nagari Samarang pada 15 hari bulan November pada tahun 1826,

Paduka Tuwan Residen H.J. Dumis.

Javanese:

Pènget ingkang serat pertèlan saha ingkang tabé saking Kangjeng Tuwan Residhèn Dhumis, ingkang apilenggah ing negari Semawis. Mugi katura saha kapiirengna, ingkang saudara-dara ing Tanah Jawi sadaya. Yèn ing tanggal puniki [15 November 1826] Kangjeng Kiai Adipati Suraadimenggala sampun kundur dhateng ing Kramatollah, mergi saking punika Kangjeng Gupermèn kaècalan bupatos ingkang ngalangkungi peryugi budi, udakramènipun, sarta pendamelipun ingkang sampun kaunjukaké dhateng Kangjeng Gupermèn sangking peryudan ènggal puniki, saking puniku sédanipun Kiai Adipati wau.

Sinerat ing Semawis tanggal kaping 15 sasi Nopember taun 1826.

Appendix Ib

False Obituary Notice of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V reporting his “death” in Sumenep on 20 July 1827 in the *Bataviasche Courant*, No.72, 18 August 1827

Op den 20sten juli overleed alhier, aan de gevolgen van een verval van krachten, veroorzaakt door eene voorafgaande doorgestane beroerte, de Radeen Soero Adie Mangolo, oud Kiaij Adi Pattie van Samarang, in den hoogen ouderdom van 70 jaren, diep betreurd door zijne kinderen en kindskinderen, en menigvuldige zoo europesche als inlandsche vrienden, welke laatsten zijne gehechtheid aan het Nederlandsch Gouvernement, braaf en eerbiedwaardig karakter hem verschaft hadden.

Afstammeling van de Radeen Ingabehie's van Goemoelak in het Regentschap Samarang, bekwam hij die waardigheid op zijn achttiende jaar in opvolging van zijn vader, den Radeen Merto Nogoro, Broeder van den toenmaligen Adie Pattie van Samarang onder het bestuur van den Edelheer J. Greeve, Gouverneur van Java's noord-oostkust.

Onder gemelden Gouverneur vond de Damaksche opstand, aangevoerd door eenen Raden Sorio Koesomo plaats, en de jeugdige Radeen Ingabehie van Goemoelak werd met zijne onderhoorige manschappen, onder de bevelen van den majoor Dechateauvieux, ter demping dier onlusten, naar Damak gezonden. Daar had de moedige Ingabehi de gelegenheid, om zijn beleid en dapperheid aan den dag te leggen, en eenen door zijn vader beganen misstap uitte wischen; deze liet de brave jongeling niet slippen toen dezelve zich in het treffen met de opstandelingen opdeed, hij viel woedend met de zijnen op hunnen aanvoerder aan, en had het geluk om den Raden Sorio Koesoemo eigenhandig te dooden. Voor dezen uitstekenden dienst, waardoor de onlusten gedempt werden, werd hij op de vereerendste wijze beloond; hij werd door de Hooge Regering tot Radeen Tommongong en Regent van Damak benoemd en plegtig geïnstalleerd.

Na dit ambt eenige jaren trouw en eerlijk bekleed te hebben, werd hij in de plaats van zijn overleden oom hiervoren gemeld, tot Adie Pattie en Regent van Samarang aangesteld, hebbende den rang boven alle de overige Regenten van het gouvernement van Java's noord-oostkust, waardoor hij in rang gelijk gesteld stond aan de rijks bestierders der beide inlandsche hoven van Soerakarta en Djocjokarta, en voerde om die reden den titel van Kiaij Adie Pattie.

Deze hooge waardigheid bekleedde bij onder verschillende Gouverneurs, nagenoeg 19 jaren. Gedurende de onlusten van Cheribon in de jaren 1805

en 1806 en begin van 1807, was hij den Edelheer N. Engelhard, gouverneur van Java's noord-oostkust, van grooten dienst, in de bemiddeling derzelve in 1808; tijdens den Gouverneur Generaal Daendels, werd hij gepensioneerd.

Deze oude grijsaard heeft na zoo eene eervolle loopbaan, het voor een ouder hart zoo groot geluk mogen genieten, om zijne oudste dochter tot wettige vrouw van den braven en achtenwaardigen Panumbahan, thans sultan van Sumanap, en voorts, twee zijner zonen achtereenvolgende tot regenten van Samarang, een neef en een schoonzoon tot Regenten Minoreh in de Residentie Kadoe, en onlangs een zoon tot Adie Pattie en rijksbestierder van Sumanap verheven, en nog kort voor zijn dood, dezen laatsten, voor zijne bewezene diensten gedurende de expeditie tegen Celebes, met eene medaille vereerd te zien.

Na eenen hoogen ouderdom onder het genot van eene bestendige gezondheid bereikt te hebben, daalt deze achttingwaardige man ten grave met de innige en geruststellende overtuiging, dat het Nederlandsch Gouvernement geene bewezene trouw en verknochtheid persoonlijk onbeloond laat, maar zich de diensten door de ouders bewezen nog bovendien in hunne kinderen en bloedverwanten herinnert.

De Resident van Madura en Sumanap,

F. E. HARDIJ,

Sumanap, den 31sten juli 1827.

On the 20th of July, Raden Suroadimenggolo, the old Kiai Adipati [*bupati*] of Semarang [in office, 1809-22], died here [in Sumenep] as a result of a decline of strength caused by a previous stroke, deeply mourned by his children, grandchildren, and many friends, both European and native [Indonesians]. His attachment to the Dutch Government had given him a good and respectable character. A descendant of the Raden Ngabehis of Gemulak [one of the *particuliere landerijen* / private estates] in the Regency of Semarang, he obtained that rank [Raden Ngabehi] at eighteen years of age in succession to his father, Raden Mertonegoro, brother of the then Adipati of Semarang under the governorship of His Excellency Jan Greeve, Governor of Java's Northeast Coast [1743/44-1793; in office, 1787-89). The Demak uprising (1789), led by a certain Raden Suryokusumo, took place under said Governor, and the youthful Raden Ngabehi of Gemulak and his subordinate troops, under command of Major [L.B.] de Chateaufvieux, were sent to Demak to quell these disturbances. There the courageous Ngabehi had an opportunity to display his initiative and bravery, and to erase a transgression committed by his father; the fine young man did not let the opportunity slip when he appeared in confrontation with the insurgents: he furiously attacked their leader with his men and was lucky enough to kill Raden Suryokusumo with his own hands. For this excellent service, which [immediately] quelled the disturbances, he was most honorably

rewarded, being appointed as Raden Tumenggung and Regent of Demak by the Supreme Government [in Batavia] and was solemnly installed.

After having held this office faithfully and honestly for some years, he was elevated in the place of his late uncle above, and appointed Adipati and Regent of Semarang, having a rank above all the rest of the Regents of the Governorship of Java's Northeast Coast, which made him equal in rank to the rulers of the two native kingdoms of Surakarta and Djocjokarta, and for that reason he bore the title of "Kiai Adipati". He held this high dignity under various Governors for nearly 19 years. During the riots in Cirebon in the years 1805 and 1806 and in early 1807, he was of great service to His Excellency Nicolaus Engelhard [1761-1831], Governor of Java's North-East Coast [1801-1808], in the midst of these [events] in 1808, during the Governor Generalship of [Herman Willem] Daendels, he was retired. This old man, after such an honorable career, has been able to enjoy such great fortune for an older heart to have his eldest daughter [married off as] the lawful wife of the good and honorable [Panembahan], now sultan of Sumenep [Paku Nataningrat, r. 1811-1854], and furthermore, [to see] two of his sons [unclear who is being referred to] successively as regents of Semarang, and a nephew and a son-in-law [?Raden Ario Sumodilogo, in office, ca. 1813-25] as Regents of Menoreh in the Residency of Kedu and a son recently elevated to become Adipati and prime minister (*patih*) of Sumenep,⁴⁰ and shortly before his death, to see his services rendered during the [recent] expedition against Celebes [Bone War, 1824-25], honored with a medal.

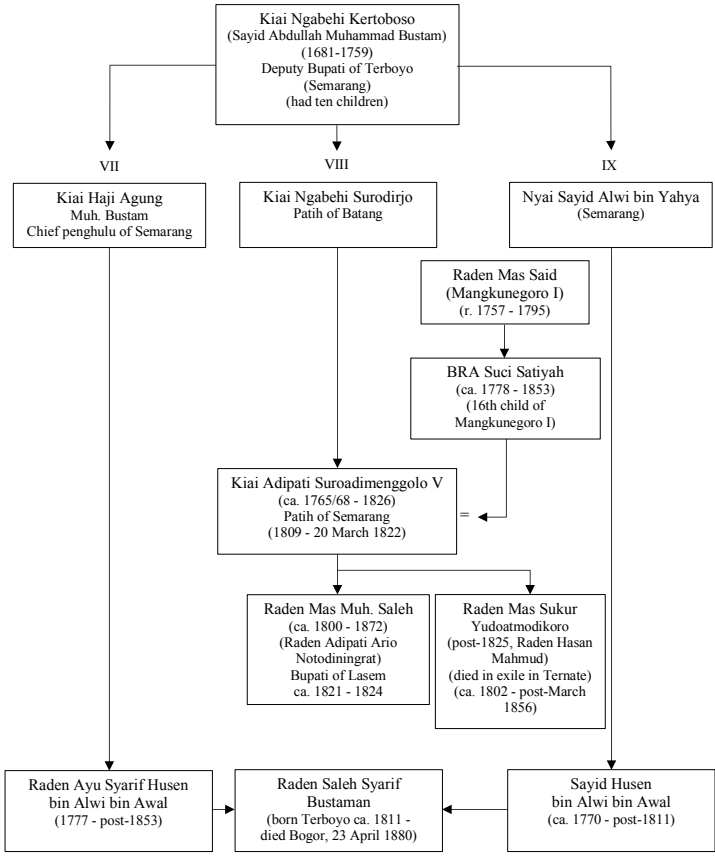
After having reached a great old age with the enjoyment of permanent health, this esteemed man went to his grave with the profound and reassuring conviction that the Dutch Government does not leave any proven loyalty and devotion personally unrewarded, but the services rendered by the parents moreover will be remembered by their children and relatives.

The Resident of Madura and Sumenep
F[rançois] E[manuel] HARDY
Sumenep, the 31st July 1827

40. A Suroadimenggolo family tradition has it that this son was Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat). He is supposed to have been elevated as *Patih* of Sumenep with the title of Raden Adipati Pringgoloyo and served in that post into the late 1830s, personal communication, Annie Soedasmu, Bogor, 18 March 2018. But this seems to be highly unlikely given that such an appointment would not have met with Dutch approval given Saleh's critical political opinions and mental health, which had both led to his recent (3-02-1824) dismissal as *bupati* of Lasem, see footnote 24. It is also the case that he was not in residence in Sumenep in the mid-1830s but reported to be moving around in Java, see footnote 34.

Appendix II

Family of Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman



Appendix III

Brief Chronology of Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo and his family, ca.1765-1880⁴¹

- ca. 1765-68 Suroadimenggolo is born in the Gedung Bustaman Alit in Terboyo into the Arab-Javanese Bustaman family which originated from Surat in Western India in the early 18th century and own substantial property in the eastern harbour area of Semarang in Terboyo and Goemoelak (Gumulak). His father, Kiai Ngabehi Surodirejo, *Patih* of Batang, is later appointed *bupati* of the same regency with the title of Raden Tumenggung Wiryoadingoro. ST gives Suroadimenggolo's birth date as *Sabtu Kliwon 1 Syawal* A.J. 1693 (23 January 1768).
- 1794-96 following his success in killing the leader of a local uprising, Raden Suryokusumo, in ca. 1789, the young Suroadimenggolo, then Ngabehi of Goemoelak [Gumulak], a *particuliere landerij* (private estate) belonging to the Bustaman family just east of Terboyo, comes to the notice of the Dutch VOC authorities. His first appointment is as *bupati* of Kaliwungu just to the west of Semarang where, according to ST, he serves from *Rebo 2 Suro* A.J. 1721 (30 July 1794) to *Sabtu Paing 6 Ruwah* A.J. 1722 (13 February 1796), when, according to De Graaf 1979:260, he is dismissed by the Governor of Java's Northeast Coast, P.G. van Overstraten (in office, 1791-96), for "corruption and poor conduct [*knevelarijen en slegt gedrag*]".
- 13 Jan. 1794 marries the daughter (16th child) of Raden Mas Said (Mangkunegoro I, 1726-95; r. 1757-95), Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (born, according to ST, on *Ahad Pon 10 Jumadilawal* A.J. 1703, 7 June 1778), then aged around sixteen, by whom he has numerous children, including seven sons and at least three daughters (Soemahatmaka 1973:41, states four).⁴² According to

41. A list of key dates and events related to Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo's life history entitled "Serat Terboyo", in the possession of the Kiai's seventh generation descendant, Annie Soedasma, in Bogor, was made available to the present writer and is referred to here as "ST". Wherever possible the dates have been checked against De Graaf 1979:252-81. A.J. = Anno Javanico (Javanese Lunar Year of 354 days established by Sultan Agung [r. 1613-46] in 1633).

42. Van der Kemp (ed.) 1901-2, II:201-2, Domis (Semarang) to Van de Graaff (Batavia), 3-08-1823, gives the names of the six sons as: (1) Sudiak Wiryowinoto (ca.1798, referred to as "disabled and/or mentally infirm—*gebrekkig*"); (2) Saleh

ST the marriage takes place in the *Kadipaten* (*bupati*'s official residence) in Semarang on *Senen Legi 17 Jumadilakir A.J.* 1720 (Monday, 13 January 1794). We know from another source that the marriage takes place before Suci Satiyah'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 daughter, a copper rice steamer.⁴³

1794-99 following his marriage, Suroadimenggolo lives with his wife and young family (first son, Raden Mas Sudiak Wiryowinoto, born ca.1798) in the Bustaman family house in Terboyo with his first cousins,⁴⁴ Syarief Husain (ca.1770-post-1811), and his wife, Syarifah Husain (born ca. 1777-died post-1853, probably ca.1856/7), the parents of the painter Raden Saleh

(born ca.1800); (3) Sukur (born ca.1802); (4) Sumadi Suryokusumo; (5) Said (reported to be in Surabaya when the list was drawn up); and (6) Abdurachim (referred to as 10 or 11 years old in 1823, thus born ca.1811/1812 and a direct contemporary of his cousin, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman, ca. 1811-80). Soemahatmaka 1973:41, adds the following names of sons of Suroadimenggolo by Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah: (1) Haji Muhamad Soedjoek (Sujuk) Kartowijoyo (later styled Wiryowinarso / Prawironoto), son-in-law of RT Surodirjo, *Patih* of Batang; (2) Raden Mas Abdurahman (? same as [5] above), later Tumenggung Ario Suryosaputro (post-ca.1840, Suryonegoro, *Bupati* of Grobogan, in office ca.1840-63), son-in-law of Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep; (3) Raden Mas Sangit, post-1848 Raden Ario Adipati Condroadiningrat, *Bupati* of Rembang (in office, 1848-73), son-in-law of Sultan Paku Nataningrat of Sumenep; (4) Raden Mas Suladi, post-1861, Raden Tumenggung Panji Suryokusumo, *Bupati* of Semarang (in office, 1861-77); and (5) Raden Mas Tumenggung Panji Suryomijoyo (post-1863 Surodiningrat, *Bupati* of Salatiga, in office, 1863-1885). See further Sutherland 2021:149, 163-4.

43. See Mia Bustam 2013:141: "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 [Mangkunegoro] I, whose hobby was working as a copper smith. When Ratu Angger [sic, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah, 1778-1853]* married the Regent of Semarang, Kiai Adipati Suroadimenggolo V [ca. 1765/68-1826; 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."

* No other source, known to the present writer, refers to BRA Suci Satiyah as Ratu Angger. Indeed, the title of "*Ratu* [queen consort]" is usually only given to those female offspring of ruling families, who were born of official consorts and themselves married royalty, which was not the case here.

44. In French parlance, Kiai Suroadimenggolo was in the relationship of "*oncle à la mode de Bretagne*" with Saleh.

- (ca. 1811-80) (data from ST).
- 1798-99 accompanies Mr. Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh (1762-1811), a member of the *Comité tot de zaken van den Oost-Indische handel en bezittingen* (the Batavian Republic's National Committee for the Affairs of East Indies Trade and Possessions), on his eight-month tour of Java's northeast coast and east Java, 26 May 1798-January 1799 (data from ST).
- 3 Jan. 1799 on his return to Semarang, according to ST, Suroadimenggolo moves from the Bustaman family home in Terboyo just to the east where he later (1822/23) builds a home for himself and his family (see below) (data from ST).
- 1801-1809 Suroadimenggolo is given a series of increasingly senior administrative appointments. According to De Graaf 1979:260, he becomes *bupati* successively of Kendal, Demak and Jepara, where, during his first appointment he helps the Dutch Governor of Java's Northeast Coast, Nicolaus Engelhard (in office, 1801-1808), quell the Bagus Rangin disturbances in Cirebon in 1805-6 and early 1807. According to ST, his initial appointments are more modest, starting first as *Patih* of Batang on *Senen Pon*, 14 *Ruwah*, A.J. 1727 (5 January 1801), and then, after Engelhard is appointed Governor on 6 March 1801, as *fiscaal landraad* (fiscal officer of the local council-cum-criminal court) in Terboyo and Ngabehi Terboyo.
- 19 Jan. 1809 Marshal Herman Willem Daendels (1808-11), appoints Suroadimenggolo as *bupati* of Terboyo (Semarang) (date from ST), with the title of Kiai Tumenggung (post-18 December 1811, Kiai Adipati), a post he holds with brief intermissions, for example June-October 1815 (when he serves in the Translator's Office in Bogor) and May-August 1816 (during a dispute with British Resident, William Boggie, see footnote 13) until 20 March 1822.
- ca. May 1811 The future painter, Raden Saleh (then styled Sarib Saleh, ca. 1811-80) (Plate 9), is born in Terboyo, and, when his father dies shortly after his birth, Suroadimenggolo becomes his guardian and takes him into his household. There the young Raden Saleh grows up until aged around eight/nine years in 1819-20 when he is entrusted to the circle of Governor-General van der Capellen and Prof. C.G.C. Reinwardt in Buitenzorg (Bogor). He subsequently becomes the foster child (*anak piara*) of the Belgian painter, Antoine Auguste

- Joseph Payen (1792-1853), a member of the Reinwardt Commission (1816-22), who becomes his artistic mentor, and moves to Bandung with Saleh in late 1821 or early 1822.
- Sept. 1811 Shortly after the final British victory over Governor-General Jan Willem Janssens (in office May-September 1811), at Serondhol (Jatingaleh) just 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), who appoints him as “Kiai Adipati” on 18 December 1811 (De Graaf:260).
- June 1812 Raffles persuades Suroadimenggolo to send his second and third sons, Raden Mas Saleh (born ca.1800) and Raden Mas Sukur (born ca.1802), to Mr Drummond’s Academy, Kolkata, at the Semarang *bupati*’s expense, for their senior (high) school education. They will remain there for two and a half years until ca. mid-1815, with Saleh winning awards.
- 16 July 1812 Saleh and Sukur sail for Calcutta from Semarang, together with the exiled Sultan of Yogyakarta and his party bound for Pinang, on board the fast frigate, H.M.S. *Modeste*, captained by Lord Minto’s second son, The Honourable George Elliot (1784-1863).
- June 1814 Suroadimenggolo is brought to Bogor where he is employed in the Translator’s Office at a salary of 600 Java Rupees (£63 a month or £4,760 in present-day [2021] money (De Graaf 1979:262). He helps Raffles with the identification and copying of a number of Javanese and Jawi Malay manuscripts, including the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Plate 2), and the genealogy of Javanese rulers in the *Papakem Pawukon* (BL Add MS. 15932), f.71v-72r (Murphy *et al.* [eds.] 2019:223, 287), which Raffles would later use as source material for his *History of Java* (1817).
- May 1815 Suroadimenggolo accompanies Raffles on his tour of east Java, which includes a visit to the ruins of the former *kraton* (palace) of Majapahit in the royal court city of Trowulan (Raffles 1978, II:54; De Graaf 1979:262).
- mid-1815 Saleh and Sukur return to Terboyo from Calcutta.
- 3 Nov. 1815 Saleh (later styled Raden Adipati Ario Notodiningrat) replaces his father in the Translator’s Office at Bogor and works with Raffles on the translation of the Kawi version of the *Serat Bratayudha*, which he will later use in his *History of Java*

(Raffles 1817, I;410; De Graaf 1979:262).

- May-Aug. 1816 Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), then ca. sixteen years old, acts as temporary *bupati* (regent) of Semarang during Suroadimenggolo's dispute with the British Resident, William Boggie, in May-August 1816 (see footnote 13).
- 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 (Ario Notodiningrat) becomes respectively *bupati* (regent) of Probolinggo in the Eastern Salient (Oosthoek) (1817-ca.1821); and Lasem (ca.1821-24), but later falls out of favour with the Dutch authorities because of his criticism of their policies, including a strong condemnation of their punitive Second Expedition against Palembang which resulted in the capture of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II (r. 1804-12, 1813, 1818-21) and his exile to Ternate.
- 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 which comes to the notice of the Dutch authorities.
- 20 March 1822 Suroadimenggolo is forcibly retired (aged around 57) as *bupati* of Terboyo / Semarang. He uses his enforced retirement to build a new house for his family in Terboyo, the building work taking a year from June 1822 to June 1823 (dates from ST, which states the work took place between *Sawal* A.J. 1749 and *Sawal* A.J. 1750).
- 3 Feb. 1824 Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) is dismissed as Regent of Lasem aged 23 as a result of his critical attitude to the Dutch government.
- Febr. 1824 The ca. thirteen-year-old draughtsman/apprentice painter, Raden Saleh (then styled Sarib Saleh), comes back from Bandung/West Java to Terboyo to live for seven months (February-September 1824) with his mother and siblings, possibly in the newly built home of Kiai Suroadimenggolo, his guardian, who had become head of his family following Saleh's father's demise in ca. 1811/2. During these months, his artistic mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), accompanies Governor-General G.A.G.Ph. van der

- Capellen (in office, 1816-26) on his inspection voyage to eastern Indonesia (Celebes/Sulawesi and Moluccas/Maluku). Payen only returns to Java on 18 September 1824. 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 the Dutch attack on Prince Diponegoro's residence, Tegalrejo, and his flight to Selarong.
- late Aug./
early Sept. Sukur leaves his family home in Terboyo to join with the forces of Pangeran Serang II (ca.1794-1852), and his mother, the fearsome Raden Ayu Serang (ca.1766-1855), in Demak. He is involved with the attack on Captain Frederik Hendrik Buschkens' (1795-1869) mobile column to the southeast of Demak on the night of 3/4 September, which leaves many dead, as well as participating Pangeran Serang's subsequent failed assault on Semarang on 3-4 September. He takes the holy war (*prang sabil*) name of Raden Hasan Mahmud.
- 3 Sept. General Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845) arrives in Semarang to confer with General Joseph van Geen (1775-1846) 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— 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 a month until 27 February when they are transferred to the guardship (*wachtschip*), the decommissioned frigate, *Dageraad*.
- post- March Suroadimenggolo and his son, Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat), are allowed back to Semarang, whether to their family home in Terboyo, which Suroadimenggolo had built in 1822-23 (see above), or to the Dutch fort, Fort Prins Oranje, in the Poncol area, is not clear.
- 15 Nov 1826 Suroadimenggolo dies in Terboyo/Semarang aged ca. 61 years “after a long decline [*na eene langdurige sukkeling*]”; he is buried initially either in the family graveyard in Pragata (Bergota) or in the smaller mausoleum behind the mosque in Terboyo built in 1821 (Plate 8). He is later (20/21 July 1827) re-interred in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard in Sumenep. His death is announced on 6 December by the Semarang Resident, H.J. Domis, in the *Bataviasche Courant* no.49, with accompanying notices in Javanese and Malay, see Appendix Ia.
- 20/21 July 1827 Suroadimenggolo is re-interred in the Asta Tinggi royal graveyard in Sumenep, and a concocted 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, see Appendix Ib.
- 29 July 1829 Raden Mas Sukur (Hasan Mahmud) surrenders to the Dutch with Diponegoro’s third son (and Crown Prince), Pangeran Adipati Diponegoro (ca 1808/9-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 (Hageman 1856:412).
- 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, where he lives with what appears to be his second wife (married post-1830).
- 28 Jan. 1853 Suroadimenggolo’s widow, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Satiyah (ca 1778-1853), dies in Terboyo on *Jumat Pon 17 Rabingulakir (Bakdamulud)* A.J. 1781 (date from ST) and is buried in the Bustaman family gravesite behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8).
- 25 June 1856 Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) and his wife arrive

in Batavia for a visit after traveling by steamer (packet boat) from Semarang.

- 16 Feb 1872 Raden Mas Saleh (Ario Notodiningrat) dies at the age of 72 in his home at Jalan Poncol and is either buried in the family graveyard at Pragata (Bergota) or behind the mosque in Terboyo (Plate 8) near the grave of his mother, Bendoro Raden Ayu Suci Sadiyah, most likely the former which is closer to his Poncol residence. His burial ceremony is attended by over 300 mourners.
- 23 Apr 1880 Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (Plate 9), Raden Mas Saleh's cousin, dies and is buried in Bogor (then Buitenzorg), with a similarly large entourage of mourners, which includes leading members of the local Muslim community, high Sundanese officials, Europeans and local Bogor residents.