

prince took an instant liking to because his face reminded him of the former British Resident, John Crawfurd.<sup>169</sup> Once the prince's luggage had been loaded, the city officials took their leave, the *hoofd baljuw* (chief magistrate), Van der Vinne, stressing that if Dipanagara had any requests he should not hesitate to address himself to the Resident of Manado, who was vested with the same authority as himself.<sup>170</sup> At eleven, Roeps also departed. Knoerle then saw to the furnishing of Dipanagara's cabin and repeated again the assurances given to him at the Stadhuis regarding the respect which would be paid to the women in his party. The prince had apparently shown particular anxiety that his two *radèn ayu* (noblewomen) – namely his wife and sister – might be insulted or otherwise taken advantage of by the Dutch crew.<sup>171</sup> There being no wind the corvette rode at anchor for almost a day and a night, much to Dipanagara's annoyance. He gave Knoerle the distinct impression that he was anxious to put Java behind him once and for all, further sightings of the Javanese coastline 'causing him an unpleasant feeling'. 'He was ashamed ever to see Java again', Knoerle reported, 'he longed for his arrival in Manado [where] he would ask the governor-general for money and a vessel for a journey to Mecca as soon as he was strong and his heart was calm and at rest again'.<sup>172</sup> At five o'clock the following morning of 4 May, a light breeze began to blow off the land and the corvette set sail as the first streaks of dawn stole over the Bay of Batavia.<sup>173</sup> A new chapter in the prince's life had begun. He would never set foot on the island of his birth again. A quarter of a century of exile and imprisonment lay before him.

*Part Two: The sultan over the water*

*The Radeau de Méduse: surviving the corvette Pollux, 4 May-12 June 1830*

For a Javanese for whom the nearest encounters with the ocean had been a brief pilgrimage to the south coast in circa 1805 (Chapter IV) and subsequent meditations in the grotto of Suralanang (p. 543), Dipanagara's nearly six weeks at sea – much of it becalmed – would not be a pleasant experience. The prince's reference to this purgatorial odyssey in his *babad* is suitably laconic:

<sup>169</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 40-1. On Dipanagara's supposed relationship with Crawfurd, see pp. 109, 375-7.

<sup>170</sup> BD (Manado), IV:423-4, XLIII.300-3.

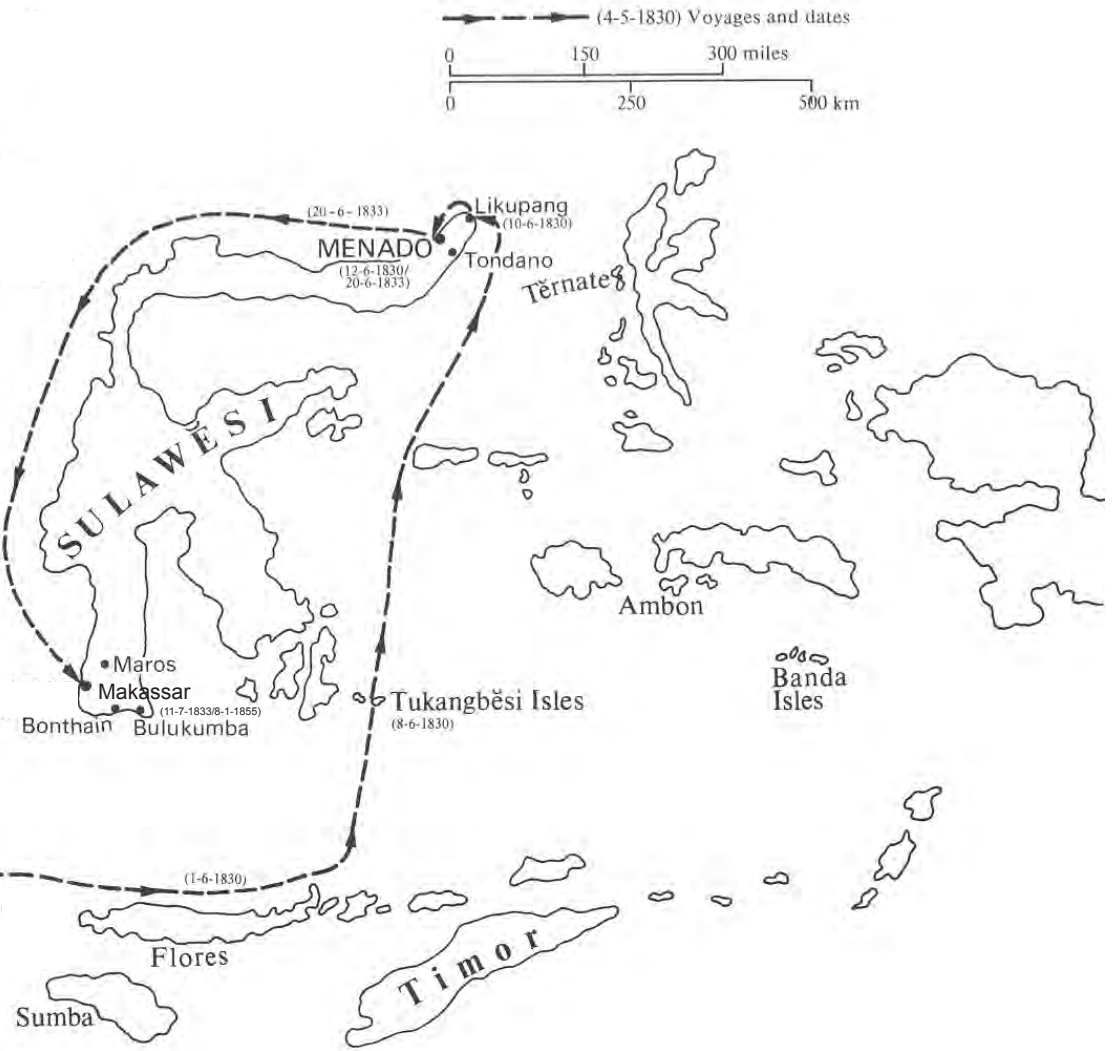
<sup>171</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 2.

<sup>172</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 8, 14.

<sup>173</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 2; the departure of the *Pollux* with Dipanagara and his party was officially reported in the Government Gazette on 6 May, *Javasche Courant* 53, 6-5-1830.



Map 6. Dipanagara's journey into exile in Manado (1830-1833) on the corvette *Pollux* (4-5-1830 – (20-6-1833 – 11-7-1833. Map drawn by J. Wilbur Wright of Oxford.



12-6-1830) and his subsequent voyage to Makassar (1833-1855) on the sailing sloop *Circe*

- XLIII.308 The sails were set and [we] left  
Batavia for Manado,  
but there was no wind  
and the boat was exceedingly slow.
- 309 [...] many of the accursed [Dutch crew and soldiers] were sick  
and died  
on board ship.  
The sultan was troubled at heart.
- 310 Maybe we will all be damned [to die] and not reach  
Manado.  
We speak no further of this.  
They arrived in Manado.
- 311 Two and a half months long [sic]  
was the sultan's journey  
from Batavia to Manado  
because there was no wind.<sup>174</sup>

Knoerle's own diary closely echoes the spirit of Dipanagara's account. At seven in the morning of the first day, for example, the prince summoned the second-lieutenant to his cabin and requested he be taken on deck, one of only six occasions, according to Knoerle, during the whole forty-day voyage when the exiled leader came up from his cabin (Knoerle 1835:167-8). 'The compass, the ship with sails set on high and the motion of the vessel' caught the prince's delighted attention, but death, which stalked the ship daily, had already shown its grim face:

The detachment of troops had one dead who at that moment was sent overboard. The burial ceremony caused the prince to ask whether the deceased had been a captain. On [my] answer that he was an ordinary soldier, Dipanagara asked why we paid more attention to a dead than a living person.<sup>175</sup>

In the first five days alone, four died, the ceremonies for the burials – the slow march of the honour guard of soldiers and the muffled drums – being heard distinctly by the prince in his cabin below the quarter deck.<sup>176</sup> Laid low by his

<sup>174</sup> BD (Manado), IV:425, XLIII (Maskumambang) 308-11. *nulya babar layar mangkat sing Betawil mring Menadhu ika/ mapan datan angsal angin/ langkung remben kang baita. 309. lawan laknat mapan kathah ingkang sakit/ myang kang modar/ sajroning baita sami/ susah kang tyasing sri naléndra. 310. bok-menawa telas jidhèt\* tan dumugil ing Menadhu ika/ mangkana wus tan winarnil ing Menadhu sampun prapta. 311. mapan ngantos kalih tengah wulan iki/ lampahnya naléndral Menadhu saking Betawil sabab tan wonten anginnya.* \* Rusche 1908-09, II:266 has *pejah*. I have followed the sense of that correction in the translation.

<sup>175</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 4.

<sup>176</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 12. The location of Dipanagara's cabin, known as the 'front cabin' (*voorka-*

recurrent malarial fevers and afflicted by repeated vomiting from sea sickness, the prince's face grew steadily more sunken and thin. He thought that perhaps his own time had come. A week into the voyage, he confided to Knoerle that he was content to die, trusting absolutely in The Almighty. As his fever-wracked body was gently rubbed down with eau-de-cologne provided by the German officer, his wife, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih, lay weeping at his feet.<sup>177</sup>

Despite the intensity of his bouts of malaria and his increasingly cadaverous appearance, Dipanagara was not yet at death's door. A great believer in traditional Javanese remedies, he regularly dosed himself with freshly prepared *beras-kencur* made of camphorated galanga root, turmeric, rice flour and palm sugar, forcing Knoerle on occasion to beat a hasty retreat from his cabin so close and overpowering was the smell of the herbal concoctions.<sup>178</sup> In the periods when his fever lifted, Dipanagara showed an intense interest in his surroundings. The geography of eastern Indonesia fascinated him. How far was Ambon from Manado? Was Manado a long way from Makassar or the *tanah Bugis* (Bugis region) of South Sulawesi? Could he see the map of 'Makassar' which he had noticed up on the fore-deck so that he could acquaint himself with the shape of the island of Sulawesi?<sup>179</sup> When Knoerle demurred saying that the ship's chart of Sulawesi was the only one available for navigational purposes, the prince did not give up. He wanted to know about the sea route to Jeddah. Were the coasts of Sulawesi navigable and what sort of inhabitants lived there, Christians or Muslims?<sup>180</sup> Was it the custom in Europe, Dipanagara wanted to know, to exile a leader who had been defeated in battle to a far off island and cut him off from all his relatives? What was the Java War leader planning? Another Elba-style escape? Another Hundred Days? Knoerle could well wonder. He cited the example of Napoleon, like Dipanagara just forty-four years old when he was sent into exile, but did so 'in a gentle way omitting all painful remiscences'.<sup>181</sup> Eventually, tiring of these 'peculiar questions', he let the prince see a copy of the British map maker

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*juit*), which had served as the personal quarters of the commander of the Dutch East Indies Navy, Colonel Wardenburg, during his recent voyage to Batavia from Europe (November 1829-April 1830), see Knoerle 1835:166-7. The cabin connected directly with another in which his wife, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih, his sister, Radèn Ayu Dipawiyana and brother-in-law, Radèn Tumenggung Dipawiyana, were lodged, and was adjacent to a third in which the rest of his 19-strong following were accommodated.

<sup>177</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 11-2. Knoerle, 'Journal', 8-9, gives a description of Retnaningsih, 'the Radèn Ayu of Dipanagara is a lady of about twenty to twenty-two years of age. She has a beautifully formed face and large eloquent eyes. The whole composition of her face is striking and the diffidence and fear which it expresses increases the desire of the well-intentioned man to treat her with courtesy'.

<sup>178</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 33.

<sup>179</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 44, where Dipanagara referred to Sulawesi as the 'lima Bugis', the five Bugis 'peninsulas'.

<sup>180</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 45.

<sup>181</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 8.

and hydrographer James Horsburgh's (1762-1836) sea chart of the Indonesian archipelago to give him an explanation of the various islands. Dipanagara's interest remained focussed on Ambon, Makassar and the sea route to Jeddah which could only be traced on the chart as far as Pulau Pinang.<sup>182</sup>

Knoerle clearly found the prince at turns fascinating and exasperating. On 14 May, at two o'clock in the morning as heavy storm showers swept up from the south off the mountains of Japara, 'Dipanagara rushed out of his cabin all of a sudden and shrieked to me to come to him; [...] the commander of the corvette should drop anchor immediately!' The officer escort had to explain the infeasibility of this suggestion, pointing out that they could make use of these showers to advance their journey by putting out more sail and tacking along the coast.<sup>183</sup> The next day, the eleventh of their voyage, Knoerle confided in his diary that 'Dipanagara was unbearably capricious, the sea was dead calm, it was very hot, and we were near the coast of Lasem', the sight of the Javanese coastline making the exile feel deeply uneasy. 'The prince asked me to procure some *sirih* (leaf for the preparation of betelnut) during the journey past Surabaya or Madura, and if possible also some fruit.'<sup>184</sup> His requests could not be granted given the necessity of avoiding port visits. Even encounters with the pilots of Sidhayu or Surabaya, who might have had *sirih* on board, were deemed inexpedient.<sup>185</sup> Yet, here was the same prince who insisted on sending Knoerle rice cakes every day from his table and inviting him to breakfast off potatoes, *sambal* (hot spiced chilli condiment), tea and ship's biscuits served by his Radèn Ayu while sitting side-by-side with him on his large straw mattress, who delighted in the pictures in the books and almanacs which Knoerle lent him (p. 109), and in the Rhenish and Cape wines which his officer escort procured for him as 'medicine' for his impromptu wine tastings.<sup>186</sup> The same prince who asked to have the oil portrait of King William I (reigned 1813-1840), which hung in Captain Eeg's quarters, to be brought to his cabin so that he could show it to his womenfolk.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 45, where he refers to having sorted out 'Horsburgh's map of the Indian archipelago'. See further Horsburgh 1817, I.

<sup>183</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 13.

<sup>184</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 14.

<sup>185</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 16-7.

<sup>186</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 36-7, 'never again will I be in a position to see a face so striking as that of Dipanagara while engaged in wine tasting. The two bottles [of Rhine wine and sweet Cape Constantia] were in front of him and in turns from one to the other they were tasted by means of a beer glass [...] the next day I came to Dipanagara at the moment when he was finishing the last of the Constantia [...] he told me that the wine tasted very good all the more so because he had not drunk this delicious wine for five years.' On Dipanagara's partiality for sweet Cape Dutch wine provided by the wife of the Yogya Resident, A.H. Smislaert, just before the Java War, see p. 524.

<sup>187</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 12, 'Dipanagara hung the portrait for a moment on the door of his cabin and told me [...] that he would gladly like to have this painting, but that he could not hang it in a place where it was visible to ordinary people, [since] it was inappropriate and would give rise to false expectations amongst his retinue – as though he as a great man was showing another great

During these encounters – ‘conversations on a straw mattress’ as Knoerle later depicted them<sup>188</sup> – in which Dipanagara would address the second-lieutenant in Low Javanese as *kowé* (familiar ‘you’),<sup>189</sup> the prince ranged over a staggering range of topics. These included Javanese history and mythology as well as reminiscences of his own life and times. His wartime experiences loomed large, no doubt because of Knoerle’s line of questioning, his diary being compiled as an intelligence briefing for the governor-general on the causes and consequences of the Java War. For example, when the ‘*Pollux*’ passed Sumbawa, the island where Dipanagara’s great-grandmother, Ratu Ageng Tegalreja’s, maternal family hailed from (p. 76), and the prince began to talk of the long-standing small *prau* (outrigger sailing boat) trade between Bima, Lombok and Blambangan in the eastern salient of Java, Knoerle immediately sought to probe him for further information on his supplies of war matériel. The German officer suggested that the government ‘knew full well’ that he had received gunpowder during the war from these eastern Indonesian sources, a suggestion which Dipanagara vigorously denied.<sup>190</sup>

Knoerle’s personal view of the prince was predictably contradictory: on the one hand, he was full of praise for the Java War leader’s ‘strong and enterprising character’, ‘shrewdness’, and ‘acute judgement’ (p. 107). On the other, he was disdainful of his religious convictions. Here he betrayed the prejudices characteristic of even the most enlightened of his nineteenth-century European contemporaries. One thinks, for example, of the great Dutch author, Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820-1887), who dismissed the prince as a ‘poor fanatic’ (*armen dweeper*) during his conversations with Colonel Cleerens in the Preanger Highlands in 1845-1846.<sup>191</sup> Knoerle pre-

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man such honour! [...] Dipanagara asked me if our king was a son-in-law of the king of England [George III, reigned 1760-1820] and who was the most powerful of the two, and if King William had been informed that he, Dipanagara, was being taken to Manado.’

<sup>188</sup> Knoerle, ‘Journal’, 14.

<sup>189</sup> Knoerle, ‘Journal’, 13, Dipanagara ‘preferred on our journey during our confidential conversations when we are sitting on his straw mattress to call me *kowé* [familiar ‘you’ in Javanese]. I have so far called him Kangjeng Tuwan Pangéran [‘honourable sir prince’]. I asked him what meaning he gave to the word *kowé* [...] [and he] said it was from a sincere heart (*manah waras*) and that I must consider it a token of [his] friendship.’ It is clear that Knoerle relied heavily on his Javanese servant, Sagareja, to help him with the translation of Dipanagara’s rapid conversation, much of it in Low Javanese.

<sup>190</sup> Knoerle, ‘Journal’, 32, remarking that Dipanagara ‘steadfastly denied it remarking that he did not need this supply in view of the fact that there were enough people in his army who knew how to manufacture gunpowder’. See further p. 610.

<sup>191</sup> Multatuli 1862-77, IV:286; Van Praag 1947:15. Multatuli later made it appear that his conversations with Colonel Cleerens had taken place at Batu Gajah, the governor’s residence in Ambon, when Cleerens was governor of Maluku (1846-1850). But since Multatuli only arrived in Ambon in 1852, two years after Cleerens’ death, this is an impossibility. Paul van ‘t Veer (1979:193, 454 note 183) suggests that Multatuli was remembering a conversation with Cleerens from his meeting with the Flemish officer in Cianjur or Parakan Salak either from late 1845 or the first half of 1846, when Cleerens was Resident of Preanger. See further note 71.



Plate 77. The bay of Manado with a three masted schooner (probably a mail boat) anchored off the town. Photograph taken between 1860 and 1870, perhaps by Woodbury and Page. Courtesy of the KITLV, Leiden.

figured Multatuli's views in his concluding letter to Van den Bosch on his arrival back in Java:

I got to know this selfsame state prisoner Javanese prince as a zealot, who considered his religious principles as the highest and most elevated on earth, and who wished to erect his religious establishment on the ruins of all other systems.<sup>192</sup>

By 1 June, the corvette had sailed to its furthest point east arriving to within sight of the small islet of Paloe on the same longitude as Endeh off the north coast of Flores, a sighting which caused Dipanagara to express surprise when he learnt that the Dutch had yet to appoint a Resident on the island.<sup>193</sup> From here it turned to the north making for the Bangka Strait off the northern tip of Minahasa. Ten days later, it was in front of the Dutch trading post at

<sup>192</sup> A.H. Knoerle (Surabaya) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 9-7-1830, in Knoerle 1835:171. Knoerle had by this time learnt of his promotion as first lieutenant in recognition of his successful mission as officer escort of Dipanagara.

<sup>193</sup> Knoerle, *Journal*, 37. Dipanagara suggested quite sensibly that the government would one day require a Resident on Flores to provide assistance to Dutch ships which might be in need of assistance. Knoerle had argued against the necessity of such a move. See further Chapter X note 241.

Likupang situated in the strait itself (Map 6). A number of small fishing boats came up to sell local produce, but even here it was not possible to acquire *sirih* for Dipanagara. The corvette commander decided to sail on. Finally, on 12 June 1830 at eleven in the morning, the *Pollux* dropped anchor in the roads of Manado. The following day the prince and his followers disembarked and were escorted to Fort New Amsterdam, the Dutch military strongpoint – later destroyed by American bombing in World War II – which would be their home for the next three years.

*A Minahasan interlude: Dipanagara's Manado years, 1830-1833*

According to the prince's *babad*, Van den Bosch had promised him through the intermediary of Captain Roeps 'seclusion and quiet' in a large house with an extensive view close to mountains and sea, in a place where there were many large gardens, fine houses, and places to wander undisturbed (note 150). So what did Dipanagara find in Manado? The British naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), who visited the Minahasan capital just four years after Dipanagara's death in January 1855, described it in glowing terms (Wallace 1890:185):

The little town of Menado [Manado] is one of the prettiest in the East. It has the appearance of a large garden containing rows of rustic villas, with broad paths between, forming streets generally at right angles with each other. Good roads branch off in several directions towards the interior, with a succession of pretty cottages, neat gardens, thriving plantations, interspersed with wilderness of fruit trees. To the west and south the country is mountainous, with groups of fine volcanic peaks 6,000 or 7,000 feet high, forming grand and picturesque backgrounds to the landscape.

Although the scenery may have lived up to the governor-general's promise and the freedom granted the prince was immediately honoured,<sup>194</sup> it soon became clear that Van den Bosch's original intention that the Java War leader should be lodged in a secure location in the interior of Manado Residency was impractical. When Knoerle met with Resident Pietermaat on the day of the arrival of the *Pollux*, it was decided that the prince should be lodged temporarily in a four-room house in Fort New Amsterdam, the main Dutch fortress in Manado. The designated building, which had large verandahs to the front and rear, was normally used as the Residency offices, and to make it more habitable for Dipanagara's stay, a wash-house with an outside gallery

<sup>194</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 50, mentioned that a day after Dipanagara's arrival, the prince made a tour on horseback with him of three leagues (fifteen kilometres) outside the town and they bathed together, presumably in an adjacent lake or waterfall.

was hurriedly constructed.<sup>195</sup> Suitably 'elegant' furniture was also acquired. This included a book shelf and writing desk with drawers, as well as a large standard lamp equipped with the latest patent oil light.<sup>196</sup> No less than twenty-four oil lamps were also purchased for the prince's quarters.<sup>197</sup> Dipanagara clearly intended to undertake some writing during his time in Manado. In addition, six gun lanterns (*geschutlantarnen*) were transferred from the *Pollux* to help the military detail tasked with the guarding of Dipanagara in Manado and his fellow exile, Kyai Maja, in distant Tondano, to illuminate their respective guard posts. Two horses were also bought for the prince so that he could undertake excursions outside the town and he asked for three saddles and harnesses to be sent out to him from Magelang.<sup>198</sup>

By the time Knoerle departed for Java on 20 June, the decision had been taken that the prince would stay in Manado, there being nowhere in the interior to put him. In the intervening days (14-17 June 1830) Knoerle had made an extensive tour of the interior travelling through the mountainous districts of Tomohon, Tonsawang, Tondano and Sonder. It soon became clear that the only suitable location in the interior for Dipanagara was Tondano. But there was a problem which Knoerle had not anticipated. Kyai Maja and his 62-strong following had arrived in Manado from Ambon on 1 May and had been settled at Tonsea Lama in this selfsame district (Knoerle 1835:173-5; Chapter XI note 75). Their transfer and settlement in Tondano had been physically challenging. According to the second-lieutenant, only the allocation of two coffee gardens by the Resident, had made it possible for such a large community to

<sup>195</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 49-50.

<sup>196</sup> Knoerle 1835:173. For a list of the furniture acquired for Dipanagara, see AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal, 12-2-1831 no. 25, 'Staat en inventaris van de voor rekening van het gouvernement [...] ingekochte meubelaire goederen benevens twee paarden ingevolge besluit van de Resident van Manado in dato 14 Junij no. 15 ten diensten van den Staatsgevangenen Pangerang Diepo Negoro', Manado, 16-6-1830. This shows that the Dutch authorities in Manado spent f912 in copper and f24 in silver (the latter the cost of the standard lamp referred to as a *grote lantaarn met eene patent lamp*, most likely a Dutch import) on the following items: a dozen chairs (f 100), two clothes cabinets (*lodekantje*), one without curtains (f 25) and one with large curtains (f 35), a book case and writing table (f 70), a large dining table with ebony wood legs and copper feet (f 70), a mirror with a gilded surround (f 60), two small ebony wood drinks tables (*knaapen*, Carey 1981a:247 note 48), four large serving plates and six smaller plates with gold edgings (f 180), three cupboards (*hangstalpen*) (f 75), two cut-glass wine carafes (f 10), six wine glasses (f 6), six beer glasses (f 6), four large rattan floor mats (*rottings matten*) (one for each room) (f 70), two low wooden beds (*rustbanken*) (f 100), two copper spittoons (f 30), one Japanese screen (f 20), and one lacquered tray with handles (f 15). In addition, f 200 was spent on acquiring the two horses, which were soon afterwards returned to their original owner when Dipanagara decided against riding. AN, Exhibitum 30-10-1830 no. 28, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 20-8-1830. See further p. 726.

<sup>197</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 12-2-1831 no. 25, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 3-7-1830.

<sup>198</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 12-2-1831 no. 25, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 3-7-1830.



Plate 78. 'Fort Nieuw Amsterdam', Manado (completed in 1705) where Dipanagara was kept between June 1830 and June 1833. The Resident's house in which he had his accommodation can be seen through the open gateway. The fort was later destroyed by American bombing (circa 1944). Photograph probably taken in the 1930s. Courtesy of the KITLV, Leiden.

sustain themselves by their agricultural activities (Knoerle 1835:175). All the ricefields and houses – apart from a dwelling used by the Resident during his inspection journeys into the interior which had been temporarily allocated to Kyai Maja<sup>199</sup> – had had to be constructed from scratch. It was feared that even though Dipanagara's party was smaller, such a move would be equally physically challenging. But the key issue was political. Both Knoerle and Pietermaat considered it entirely inappropriate that the Java War leader and his chief religious adviser should end up in exile in the same Minahasan location (Knoerle 1835:173-4). No matter that relations between the two men were at rock bottom, something which Knoerle soon surmised from the refusal of the two *haji* from Maja's party to accede to Dipanagara's request to join him in Manado,<sup>200</sup> the mere possibility that Maja and the prince could again be in

<sup>199</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 12-2-1831 no. 25, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 3-7-1830.

<sup>200</sup> Knoerle 1835:174; Chapter XI note 79. According to Pietermaat, Haji Amad Tajib and some of Kyai Maja's other followers had come in secret to visit Dipanagara in Manado shortly after his

close contact was anathema. Pietermaat and Knoerle's task was made easier by Dipanagara's clear preference to remain in the Minahasan capital on account of the climate – he feared the chill of the high Tondano plateau where the early morning temperature could fall to below seventy degrees Fahrenheit.<sup>201</sup> The two Dutch officials thus revised Van den Bosch's original instructions and made a unilateral decision to keep the prince in Fort New Amsterdam pending the arrival of an engineer officer from Ternate tasked with undertaking a survey of alternative accommodation in the environs of Manado.<sup>202</sup>

On 19 June, just a week after the '*Pollux*' arrived, the corvette's commander and ship's officers came to the fort to take their formal leave of Dipanagara. They were returning the next day to Batavia via Surabaya, a journey which would be completed in just nineteen days. Some fifty-three soldiers,<sup>203</sup> under the command of Second-Lieutenant C. Bosman remained behind to guard the prince. Unfortunately, this junior officer, unlike Roeps and Knoerle, lacked the diplomatic and linguistic skills needed to handle Dipanagara. Within weeks, his 'rough and inconsiderate' behaviour had caused Pietermaat to arrange his transfer to Ternate, where the 40-strong garrison was in need of an additional officer.<sup>204</sup> In his *babad*, Dipanagara mentions this courtesy visit and the conversation which took place between himself and Knoerle and Captain Eeg. After confirming his monthly stipend of 600 guilders, the commander of the '*Pollux*' suggested that the prince might have a personal message for the governor-general. Perhaps he would like to send a letter back to Java which he could take for him? 'No', Dipanagara replied, 'I have no desire to send a letter for I cannot write [...] just send my regards to General Van den Bosch!'<sup>205</sup>

This pretence of illiteracy on Dipanagara's part was somewhat disingenuous. The prince could write in Javanese albeit with many grammatical errors (Appendix XIII). Indeed, we will see shortly how, when necessity demanded,

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arrival, leading to a tightening of Dutch military surveillance of Kyai Maja's Tondano settlement, AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 12-2-1831 no. 25, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 3-7-1830.

<sup>201</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 51. The Tondano plateau is at 892 metres of elevation and the lowest mean temperature is around 69 degrees Fahrenheit, Atlas 1990:26; Wallace 2002: paragraph 179.

<sup>202</sup> AN, Exhibitum 12-4-1831 no. XI, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 13-1-1831, reference to the imminent arrival of an engineer officer from Ternate whose task was to survey a suitable building for Dipanagara and his family in the environs of Manado. Since there are no further references in the Manado Residency letters to this engineer officer or to Dipanagara's move to alternative accommodation in Manado, it seems that the prince and his family remained in Fort New Amsterdam up to the time of their transfer to Makassar on 20-6-1833.

<sup>203</sup> BD (Manado) IV:426, LXIII.314-21.

<sup>204</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 30-10-1830 no. 28, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 20-8-1830, referring to Bosman's 'lack of consideration' in his dealings with Dipanagara.

<sup>205</sup> BD (Manado), IV:426, XLIII (Maskumambang) 319-20. *pan ingsun tan darbé karsa. 320. kirim layang pan ingsun tan bisa nulis/ ya mung tabé ingwang/ sira tekakena iki/ mring Jéndral Van de Bos ika.*

he could get letters – and even major literary endeavours like his 43-canto autobiographical *babad* – written, especially if he had the services of an amanuensis. So pleading lack of literary skills was perhaps a way of sending his own message to Van den Bosch that the governor-general's failure to meet him during his three-week sojourn in the colonial capital had not gone unnoticed. Privately, however, Dipanagara did seek to get some messages through to 'his exalted friend' in Batavia. In particular, he asked – in a formal agreement drawn up by Knoerle and witnessed by Bosman – that his wives, who had remained behind in Yogya (Appendix IV part 2), and those of Kyai Maja and his fellow exile commanders, who were sharing the *kyai's* banishment in Tonsea Lama, should be sent out from Java to be reunited with their husbands. He also requested that his two close religious advisers, Haji Badarudin and Haji Ngisa, should be allowed to join him in Manado, and that Van Den Bosch should remain the 'protector' of his children in Mataram.<sup>206</sup> Although Kyai Maja's wife was indeed brought over to Minahasa – although not on compassionate grounds (Chapter XI note 76) – all Dipanagara's other requests were met in the negative. None of his other wives wished to share his exile. Nor too did the two *haji*. They were too busy making new careers for themselves in the post-war Netherlands-Indies, Haji Badarudin as chief *pengulu* of Bagelèn (Appendix VIIb) and Haji Ngisa as religious adviser to Senthot and his government-sponsored *barisan* (troop) in Ungaran.<sup>207</sup>

Dipanagara's life as an exile in Manado would not be easy. Soon after the departure of the *Pollux*, according to the account given in Dipanagara's *babad*, Manado was visited by a serious epidemic – possibly cholera or dysentery – during which many of 'the accursed' (*laknat*), by which Dipanagara presumably meant the local Dutch, non-Muslim Chinese and Christian Manadonese inhabitants, died.<sup>208</sup> At the same time, the sudden contraction of the prince's world to four rooms in Fort New Amsterdam in the company of his wife, sister and brother-in-law, after five years of war and the solitude of his last months as a fugitive in the mountains of western Bagelèn, was hard to bear. Scarcely a month after his arrival, the prince decided that he no longer wished to ride out into the surrounding countryside, the environs of Manado not be-

<sup>206</sup> vdB 391, 'Voorstellen [van den] Pangerang Diepo Negoro aan den Luitenant-Adjutant Knoerle in de tegenwoordigheid van den [...] 2e Luitenant [C.] Bosman', Manado, 19-6-1830, proposals 3, 4 and 6.

<sup>207</sup> NA, Exhibitum 20-9-1830 no. 58k geheim, 'Verbaal Hadjie Ngisoh [Haji Ngisa]', 20-4-1830.

<sup>208</sup> BD (Manado), IV:427, XLIII (Maskumambang) 322. *mapan langkung pageblug ingkang dhatengi/ laknat kathah pejah/ mangkana wus tan winarni*. The Dutch sources are silent on such an epidemic in 1830-1832, but there are references to a severe drought in April-November 1833, which led to serious fires in the interior of Manado in August 1833 and heavy fevers (possibly cholera, bile fever or dysentery) which claimed 17-18 lives in the Chinese quarter (*kampong china*) near Fort New Amsterdam and spread into the interior with devastating effects in neighbouring Gorontalo where all the local Dutch officials apart from the Resident fell sick or died, AN, Geheim Verbaal, 23-7-1834 no. 172k, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 13-2-1834.

ing suitable, in his view, for excursions on horseback and the saddles which he had asked for from Magelang not having arrived.<sup>209</sup> The two horses, which had been bought for him by the local Dutch authorities, were returned to their previous owners.<sup>210</sup> He now asked that henceforth he should just be addressed as 'Pangéran Ngabdulkamit', a title which he would alter to the more spiritual epithet of *fakir* (mendicant) Ngabdulkamit after his transfer to Makassar in July 1833 (pp. 151-2).

In keeping with his mendicant aspirations and with an eye to saving money for his long planned pilgrimage to Mecca,<sup>211</sup> Dipanagara began to be very close fistled with his cash stipend. By late August 1830, Resident Pietermaat became alarmed that he might be building up a 'war chest' so substantial were his savings in money and jewels.<sup>212</sup> He took the immediate decision to cut the prince's monthly income by two-thirds to just 200 guilders. This was clearly too drastic as Dipanagara needed over half this stipend just to pay his servants and kitchen expenses, but out of pride he appears to have kept silent only remarking, 'It is well. The government fixed my income at f 600 without consulting me and can [now] only but act as it thinks fit!'<sup>213</sup> Eight months later, Pietermaat's temporary replacement, J.P.C. Cambier (in office 1831-1842), decided to raise this to f 311 a month, a move which Dipanagara again greeted with studied indifference. His 'extreme obstinacy' and pride, in Cambier's words, prevented him from ever asking for more money from the Dutch authorities.<sup>214</sup> Although this stood at

<sup>209</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 30-10-1830 no. 28, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 20-8-1830.

<sup>210</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 12-2-1831 no. 25.

<sup>211</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831, referring to the report by Dipanagara's scribe, Tirtadrana, that Dipanagara was still hoping that Captain Roeps would arrive in Manado with a suitable sailing vessel to take him to Jeddah, the prince's greatest desire being to make the *hajj* to Mecca, a voyage for which he was saving regularly out of his monthly allowance.

<sup>212</sup> By April 1831, according to his scribe, Tirtadrana, Dipanagara had saved f 1,762.50 out of the f 5,422 he had received since his arrival in Manado in June 1830, his only luxury being the purchase of a gold *kris* sheath for his heirloom dagger, Kangjeng Kyai Ageng Bandayuda. This sheath had been sold at auction in Manado and purchased on Dipanagara's behalf for f 214.50. The acting Resident of Manado, J.P.C. Cambier (in office 1831-1833), reckoned that by this time, Dipanagara had built up savings of f 4,000, including money and f 400 in jewels which the prince had brought out from Java. His f 311 monthly allowance was divided as follows: 1. f 110 for the upkeep of his household; 2. f 111 to pay the wages of his servants (see further Appendix XII); 3. f 50 for his wife, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih, and f 20 each for his sister and brother-in-law, AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831.

<sup>213</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 30-10-1830 no. 28, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 20-8-1830; AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831, relating Dipanagara's comment.

<sup>214</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831, referring to Dipanagara's *verregaande stijfhoofdig[heid]*. Cambier was in confirmed in post on 24-4-1834.

f 350 in July 1837 after the government had taken the decision to send the bulk of the prince's followers back to Minahasa, it was still not sufficient – given Dipanagara's growing family – to prevent his household descending into a state of near poverty by the late 1840s (note 268).

In an extraordinary piece of creative accounting tellingly illustrative of the way in which the Dutch made their fortunes in the post-Java War Indies both the Resident of Yogyakarta, F.G. Valck (in office 1831-1838, 1838-1841), and the director-general of Finances in Batavia advised that the Yogya court, which was being charged the full costs of the prince's upkeep, should not be informed that Dipanagara's monthly stipend had been cut in half. Instead, they proposed that the sultan's treasury be made to pay a lump sum of f 22,200 for the first three years of the exile's maintenance, which included his period in Batavia, that sum being immediately credited to the account of the Resident of Manado.<sup>215</sup> Even the small purchases of *sirih* and other necessities, which the prince had made during his three-week sojourn in the colonial capital, were to be included in the Dutch accounts.<sup>216</sup> Such pettifoggery on the part of the Dutch authorities, the same mean-mindedness which would make the exile life of the Padri leader, Tuanku Imam Bonjol (1772-1864), such a misery when he was moved to Manado in 1840 (Dobbin 1972:19), appear to have taken their toll on the prince. Like Bonjol after him, Dipanagara does not seem to have been very well received by the local Christian and Muslim inhabitants of the Minahasan capital. The popular tradition that the prince had been so incensed by the abuse he had suffered in the local market (*pasar*) that he had flung his heirloom walking staff on the ground causing the ground to rock as though in an earthquake (Chapter III note 66), may be a reflection of this. So too was the Resident's account of the rebuff administered to the prince by a leading Muslim inhabitant of Manado, Lieutenant Hasan Nur Latif, whose daughter's hand Dipanagara had sought in marriage (p. 119). A commissioned officer in the Dutch East Indies Army, Latif had remarked that the union would bring his child 'ill fortune', a sentiment endorsed by the acting Resident who observed that from a political point of view it was unsuitable for a prominent Islamic citizen like Latif to be linked by marriage with the exile prince.<sup>217</sup> Despite Latif's refusal, Dipanagara continued to lead an active sexual life during his period in exile in Manado and Makassar.

<sup>215</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C. Baud) in rade, 24-4-1833 no. 19; 4-7-1833 no. 10, F.G. Valck (Yogyakarta) to Director-General of Finances (Batavia), 18-5-1833; Director-General of Finances (Batavia) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 29-5-1833. Van den Bosch decided to charge the sultan f 600 a month, 'with anything remaining to be returned at the end of the year', thus enabling the government to recoup all its additional expenses before any reimbursements were made to the sultan's treasury.

<sup>216</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C. Baud) in rade, 24-4-1833 no. 19, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 22-2-1833, listing f 81.90 for goods received by Dipanagara in Batavia between 9-4-1830 and 3-5-1830.

<sup>217</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831.

As we have seen (pp. 117-8), Cambier's predecessor, Pietermaat, had already reported that Dipanagara's 'greatest conversation is about women of whom he seems to have been a great lover', and he would go on to have no less than seven children in exile, some by Javanese women other than his official consort, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih (Appendix IV).

The growing tensions of family life in the enclosed confines of Fort New Amsterdam, however, clearly made for difficult inter-personal relations within the prince's immediate family. In April 1831, the acting Resident was reporting that,

The prince at present leads a very unpleasant life and his own intolerant humour is the entire cause of it [...] most of the time he is quarrelling with his sister, or with his wife and brother-in-law [Radèn Tumenggung Dipawiyana], [who] have pressed for buying [him] a garden.<sup>218</sup>

Purchased and laid out for the sum of f 254, this garden lay one and a half leagues (7 kilometres) from Manado close to the Saria River with a hill behind.<sup>219</sup> A pleasant spot, but one which Dipanagara cared less and less to visit. Instead, it was given over to growing vegetables for the prince's table, the f 40 bamboo dwelling, which had been constructed on the adjacent hillside as a meditation hut, being used by the prince's sister and brother-in-law to put some distance between themselves and their increasingly cantankerous relative. Dipanagara's physically imposing younger sister, who shared the prince's commoner stock on her mother's side,<sup>220</sup> seems to have been at the heart of this growing family rift. Described by Knoerle as 'resolute and free, [...] and of a very vivacious spirit',<sup>221</sup> Radèn Ayu Dipawiyana appears to have gone head-to-head with her elder brother in numerous family tiffs. In his *babad*, Dipanagara mentions that after he had been in Manado for some time,

XLIII.329      many trials  
                  came to test the sultan.  
                  Often his own  
                  younger sister  
                  Radèn Ayu Dipawiyana

<sup>218</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 22-4-1831.

<sup>219</sup> AN, Exhibitum 12-4-1831 no. XI, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 13-1-1831, reporting that now that a garden had been laid out for him, Dipanagara was taking more recreation and spending more money. At Dipanagara's request, f 25 had been spent on purchasing a small plot of land on the hill behind his garden where a small meditation pavilion (*pendhapa*) could be constructed.

<sup>220</sup> Mandoyokusumo 1977:33 no. 30, gives her mother's name as 'Bendara Mas Ajeng Sasmitaningsih' which indicates that she was of commoner stock. A well-born unofficial wife (*garwa ampéyan*) of a Javanese ruler would have been accorded the title of Bendara Radèn Ayu.

<sup>221</sup> Knoerle, 'Journal', 9, describes Dipanagara's sister as 'strongly built'.

caused him feelings of shame  
 together with the *tumenggung* [her husband].  
 But the sultan paid the two no attention.  
 Night and day  
 only the Almighty  
 afforded the sultan protection,  
 [along with] the grace of [His] Holy Prophet.<sup>222</sup>

Soon the Resident was reporting that, given a free choice, all Dipanagara's family, including his wife, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih, and his servants would have liked to leave the prince and return to Java. Since the Resident's instructions, received from his counterpart in Batavia, J. van der Vinne, explicitly stated that all these individuals shared Dipanagara's status as state prisoners (*staatsgevangenen*), Cambier first had to seek permission from Batavia. Enquiries by the governor-general indicated that there would be no objection to either Retnaningsih or any of the prince's other followers from returning to their respective homes in Java. They had all accompanied him voluntarily and were not considered 'dangerous for the general peace'.<sup>223</sup> Thus reassured, Van den Bosch passed a decree in council on 2 July 1831 giving Dipanagara's wife and followers formal leave to repatriate themselves.<sup>224</sup> In the end, Retnaningsih, who had just been delivered on 4 January 1832 of Dipanagara's first child born in exile, Radèn Mas Kindar, also known as Radèn Mas Abdurrahman,<sup>225</sup> elected to stay with her husband, leaving the prince's younger sister and brother-in-law, together with their intimate retainer (*panakawan*), Rajamenggala, to return to Java with their wives, servants and children in August 1832.<sup>226</sup> For Dipanagara, it must have been a merciful

<sup>222</sup> BD (Manado), IV:428, XLIII (Maskumambang) 329-32. *sareng sampun lami sri bupati iki wonten ing kitha Menadhu sangsaya iki/ gung coba mring sri naléndra*. 330. *ing kang rayi pribadi sring karya iki/ lingsem ing naléndra/ Dèn Ayu Dipayanèki/ pan katut tumenggungira*. 331. *nging sang nata pan wus tan ningali kalih/ nging Allah Tangala/ kang linundhungan nerpati/ lan supangat Nabi kita*. 332. *siyang dalu* .

<sup>223</sup> Van den Bosch's enquiries were made via Commissioner for the Regulation of Affairs in the Princely States, Jan Izaäk van Sevenhoven, who took soundings with the newly appointed Resident of Yogyakarta, F.G. Valck. This last had been present in Magelang – as Resident of Kedhu (in office 1826-1830) – when Retnaningsih and Dipanagara's other followers elected to accompany the prince into exile, Dj.Br. 17, 'Minuten der uitgaande brieven aan den Gouverneur-Generaal van den Commissaris aan de Hoven [Jan Izaäk van Sevenhoven]', 1-1-1831 – 31-1-1831, J.I. van Sevenhoven (Yogyakarta) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 30-7-1831.

<sup>224</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 2-7-1831 no. 15.

<sup>225</sup> BNg, III:373, LXII.11-12, gives the birth date as Rebo Pon, 1 Shaban, *taun* Dal AJ 1759 (AD 4-1-1832), and the child's name as 'Radèn Mas Menadhoharman'. But there is no mention of this name in Dipanagara's *babad* or in the Dutch sources. See further Appendix IV.

<sup>226</sup> By 27-8-1832, Radèn Tumenggung Dipawiyana and Rajamenggala together with their respective wives, were back in Batavia, and by 10-9-1832, they had reached Yogyakarta, where the ever suspicious Resident, F.G. Valck, complained that the Batavian authorities had not held them long enough to check their characters and backgrounds, AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 4-10-1831 no. 12, J.F.W. van Nes (Batavia) to Johannes van den Bosch, 27-8-1832;



Plate 79. Daniel François Willem Pietermaat (1790-1848), Resident of Manado (1827-1831) and deputy governor of Makassar (1833). He oversaw Dipanagara's transfer from Manado to Makassar in June-July 1833, and later became Resident of Batavia (1834-1837) and Resident of Surabaya (1839-1848), where he died. Lithograph probably made in 1838, when he was on sick leave in the Netherlands. The house depicted through the open window is probably the Residency House of Batavia or Het Huis Simpang in Surabaya. Photograph by courtesy of the Stichting Iconografisch Bureau, Den Haag.

relief to be rid of his feisty sibling and her equally difficult husband. The four rooms in Fort New Amsterdam were now left free for the prince and his wife to care for their eight-month-old son, whose birth, according to Cambier, had given the prince much pleasure.<sup>227</sup> Radèn Mas Kindar would grow up, according to an official report, into a strikingly handsome and energetic young man whom Dipanagara would take care to educate – along with his younger brothers, Radèn Mas Sarkuma (1834-1849) and Radèn Mas Dulkabli (alias Radèn Mas Mutawaridin; born circa 1835),<sup>228</sup> – ‘as a priest’, namely in the *pesantrèn* (religious boarding school) style. He would develop into a warm and zealous Muslim with a deep hatred of all things Dutch.<sup>229</sup>

One of the ways in which Dipanagara sought to educate his children in the iniquities of Dutch rule was by entertaining them with accounts of his life and times. In the words of the Civil and Military Governor of the Celebes (Sulawesi) Colonel Alexander van der Hart (1808-1855; in office, 1853-1855, who reported to the governor-general immediately after Dipanagara’s death on 8 January 1855, the prince had kept (Sagimun 1965:360):

his sons constantly engaged in prison [in Fort Rotterdam, Makassar, 1833-1855] with tales of his life and adventures [...] an embittered father, he considered us [the Dutch] as his [sworn] religious enemies and the cause of all his misfortunes and protracted suffering. He thus imprinted little love for us on his children’s [minds].

The principal vehicle for Dipanagara’s instruction was his autobiography whose inception the prince described somewhat fancifully as follows (Carey 1981a:lx note 78):

XLIII.322 Resident Pietermaat

323 enquired of the sultan [Dipanagara]:  
 ‘What is the reason  
 Your Highness came here?’  
 Smiling the sultan replied:

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F.G. Valck (Yogyakarta) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 10-10-1832.

<sup>227</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C. Baud) in rade, 24-4-1833 no. 19, J.P.C. Cambier (Manado) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 22-2-1833. Radèn Mas Kindar subsequently bore the title of Pangéran Abdurrahman, but this was not recognised by the Dutch, Appendix IV note 8.

<sup>228</sup> Radèn Mas Sarkuma (1834-1849), and possibly Radèn Mas Mutawaridin (Pangéran Dulkabli) (born circa 1835), are mentioned in the Dutch reports as children of Dipanagara by Retnangsih, see Appendix IV notes 8-9.

<sup>229</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal 10-5-1855 La R, Colonel A. van der Hart (Makassar) to A.J. Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 12-1-1855, stating that Radèn Mas Kindar and his younger brother, Radèn Mas Dulkabli (Radèn Mas Sarkuma had since died, 3-1849), had received a ‘complete priestly education’ from Dipanagara, but that Kindar had matured into a ‘warm and zealous Muslim’ rather than a ‘fanatic’ (*dweeper*). See further Sagimun 1965:359-60.

- 324 'Ah, Resident, if you ask me, promise me  
can you  
deliver this letter [requesting permission to depart on the *hajj*]  
to the King of the Netherlands [William I, reigned 1813-1840]?
- 325 If you promise it, I will indeed tell you the reason  
why I came  
to Manado.  
If you cannot promise, then it is in vain
- 326 that I tell you the real facts.'  
The Resident gave his pledge.  
Then he was given  
the chronicle from the very beginning
- 327 until the final arrival in Manado.  
Resident Pietermaat,  
when he heard the truth,  
became deeply ashamed
- 328 because of the perfidy of his countrymen,  
how they had been able  
to end the war in this treacherous fashion.  
We talk no more of this.

Pietermaat may well have encouraged Dipanagara to write down his personal memoirs, although by the time the prince began to compose his *babad* on 20 May 1831, the Dutch official had already departed from Manado to take up a post in Batavia.<sup>230</sup> We know from the late nineteenth-century scholar, A.B. Cohen Stuart, that the manuscript, which ran to over 1,000 folio-sized pages in *pégon*, the script favoured by the more self-consciously religious communities in Java, remained in the hands of Dipanagara's descendants in Makassar after his death and was presumably considered by them as a family heirloom.<sup>231</sup> It was divided into two parts. The first part – roughly a third of the

<sup>230</sup> NA, Koloniaal Archief A.272, *Stamboek* [service record] of Mr Daniel, Francois, Willem Pietermaat (born Schiedam 2-10-1790, died Simpang, Surabaya 30-11-1848), states that he was granted two-years' leave in the Netherlands in January 1831, and left the Manado Residency the following month in the hands of J.P.C. Cambier, who served as acting Resident (1831-1834). Pietermaat does not seem to have taken his furlough at this time because the next entries on his record indicate that he was immediately appointed a deputy judge of the Hooggerechtshof (High Court) in Batavia (1832-1833). After supervising Dipanagara's transfer to Makassar (20-6-1833 – 12-7-1833), he briefly served as deputy governor of Makassar and Resident of Semarang (both posts held in 1834), before becoming Resident of Batavia (1834-1837). Health reasons then forced him to ask to take his delayed two-year leave in the Netherlands (1838-1840). On his return to the Indies, he served as Resident of Surabaya (1840-1848), dying in post.

<sup>231</sup> Carey 1981a:lix note 73. Unfortunately, the two *pégon* script copies made by Cohen Stuart's scribes in Batavia in the mid-1870s are now illegible because of the oxidisation of the ink on the thin paper used. The Makassar original is also now no longer extant. See further pp. xvi-xvii.

entire work – gives the history of Java from the fall of Majapahit (circa 1527) to the peace of Giyanti (1755). The second part deals with the prince's own life and times from his birth in 1785 to his exile in Manado. Completed in just under nine months (20 May 1831-2 February 1832), it was written precisely during the period when the tension between Dipanagara and his close family members was at its height. Given the intensity of Dipanagara's output – over one hundred folio pages a month – for which he had only the help of a single amanuensis,<sup>232</sup> it is not hard to surmise that during this period Dipanagara would have had his attention completely focussed on his literary production. No wonder that he eschewed horse rides and visits to his garden plot and meditation hut. No wonder that he proved a cantakerous and difficult companion to his increasingly exasperated family during these months in Fort New Amsterdam. What author, cooped up in four rooms in a hot fortress town whose inhabitants were indifferent if not hostile, and with argumentative relatives would not have felt as he did? The pains of exile and authorship hardly come more purgatorial than this. But what a manuscript would result. The source of Dipanagara's anti-Dutch teachings for his growing family in Manado and Makassar, it would prove to be one of the great historical productions of modern Java – a national treasure strangely without honour in contemporary Indonesia. Here is how this magnificent work begins:

I.1 'I lay out the feelings of my heart  
 in the [sad] Mijil metre.  
 Created to bring solace to my heartfelt desires,  
 it was done in the town of Manado  
 without being seen by anyone,  
 but the grace of The All-Knowing One.

<sup>232</sup> This may have been the former Kedhu village official, Kyai Tirtadrana, who had joined Dipanagara from Kyai Maja's entourage in Tonsea Lama in August 1830 (Appendix XII), and served as a Dutch spy reporting to Pietermaat and Cambier on Dipanagara's movements. Described by Pietermaat as a 'very able man' fluent in Malay, he accompanied the Resident on visits to Dipanagara in Fort New Amsterdam, AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 30-10-1830 no. 28, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 20-8-1830. F.G. Valck, then serving as Resident of Yogyakarta (1831-1841), however, characterised him as untrustworthy. He had apparently been dismissed as a head *demand* of the Grabag district in northeastern Kedhu before the Java War for corruption and extortion. Taken on by Valck during the war as a spy based in Magelang, he was supposed to report the movements of Dipanagara's forces, but had betrayed Valck's secrets and had plotted with Dipanagara's forces to kill the head opium *pachter* (tax farmer) of Kedhu, Johannes (? an Armenian), and capture his tax farm moneys as he was travelling from Magelang to Yogya, Dj.Br. 17, J.I. van Sevenhoven (Yogyakarta) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 30-7-1831. The only other possibilities are that the priest, referred to various as 'Sataruna' or 'Suranata', who was sent over from Tonsea Lama, to help Dipanagara's religious duties during the fasting month of March-April 1831, and who presumably could write Javanese in *pégon* script; or that his brother-in-law Dipawiyana, who was reported to be fluent in both Javanese and *pégon* script (Knoerle:10), were the amanuenses used by Dipanagara for the composition of his *babad*.

- 2 Much does my heart feel  
of [past] discordant actions.  
So now my heart is fixed.  
How would it be with my actions  
if there was not also  
the forgiveness of The Almighty?
- 3 I have experienced shame and suffering,  
but my request  
is that all former things should be set aside,  
[and] that my family should truly observe  
the Religion of The Prophet  
thereby gaining succour.<sup>233</sup>

*Closing the circle: the state prisoner of Fort Rotterdam, Makassar, 1833-1855*

Even as Dipanagara was dictating these lines, half a world away in the Kingdom of the United Netherlands, events were taking place which would alter radically the conditions under which the prince and his family were held in exile. Exasperated by the same Dutch quest for immediate profit which had led to such suffering in south-central Java before the Java War (Chapter IX), the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands had risen in revolt following an insurrection in Brussels on 24 August 1830. Belgian independence had been proclaimed (4 October 1830), but despite the pressures from the great powers and the elevation of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the new Belgian monarch (21 July 1831, reigned 1831-1865), the Dutch king, William I (reigned 1813-1840), had refused to disarm. A series of military engagements had ensued which eventually led to a French army entering Belgium in support of the nationalist forces and bombarding the citadel of Antwerp where a Dutch garrison under General David Hendrik Chassé (1765-1849)<sup>234</sup> eventually surrendered after a heroic two-year siege (December 1832). In early 1833, it seemed that the French might even cross the Dutch-Belgian border into Zeeland. With a European war looming, Van den Bosch became seriously alarmed that 'an unscrupulous enemy' – by which he clearly meant the British – might seek to use the large numbers of exiles in the 'outer possessions' for political purposes. In particular, he was concerned that Dipanagara might take advantage of the

<sup>233</sup> BD (Manado) I:1, I (Mijil) 1-3. *sun amedhar suraosaning ati/ atembang pamiyos/ pan kinarya anglipur brangtané/ anèng Kitha Menadhu duk kardi/ tan ana kaèksi/ nging sihing Hyang Agung. 2. mapan kathah kang karasèng galih/ ing tingkah kadudon/ pan mangkana ing tyas pangasthiné/ kaya paran salah ingsun iki/ yèn tan ana ugil/ apura Hyang Agung. 3. lara wirang pan wus sun lakoni/ nging panuhuning ngong/ ingkang karilan kang dhingin kabèh/ kulawarga kang ngèsthokken yekti/ mring Agama Nabi/ olèh apitulung.*

<sup>234</sup> A Waterloo veteran, he was nicknamed 'Général Baionette' (General Bayonet) by Napoleon because of his predilection for the use of this weapon in close hand-to-hand combat.

opportunity of a new European conflict to escape and return to Java to lead a new rebellion.<sup>235</sup> It was clearly inappropriate for him to remain in the town of Manado close to the shipping routes where British naval forces might reappear at any moment to repeat their previous 1795-1797 and 1808-1810 amphibious operations when nearly all the Dutch outer island possessions had fallen into their hands. The trusted Pietermaat was thus delegated to leave his post at the High Court in Batavia and return immediately to Manado to arrange for Dipanagara's transfer to a newly constructed strongpoint deep in the Minahasan interior.<sup>236</sup>

Once in Manado, Pietermaat soon realised that Van den Bosch's proposals were impractical. The Netherlands Indies Government had no legal sovereignty in Minahasa, its authority depending on a contract with the local chiefs dating back to 1810. It thus had no rights over land. Without the permission of the local authorities no fort could be built in the interior. Besides, none of the chiefs, in Pietermaat's view, would believe that such a strongpoint was being constructed only to house an 'unimportant person' like Dipanagara. They would suspect that it was a move by the government in the direction of outright annexation and they would resist it. If it came to war, what could a garrison of 40 Dutch and native troops in Manado do against a hostile Minahasan population of 80,000? Furthermore, the British were well liked in Minahasa. During the period of their rule (1811-1817), they had treated the population well giving lavish presents to the local chiefs and demanding no forced deliveries or personal labour services from the peasant cultivators. If they landed they would be welcomed with open arms.

An alternative strategy would have to be found. One such alternative actively canvassed by Van den Bosch both during his period as commissioner-general of the Netherlands Indies (1832-1834) and as minister of the Colonies (1834-1839), was to send Dipanagara, along with other prominent Indonesian exiles, back to the Netherlands. His suggestion was that they should be held in one of the royal fortresses which served as state prisons for members of the Dutch elite, such as Loevestein in Gelderland<sup>237</sup> and Woerden in the province of Utrecht.<sup>238</sup> All the costs would be met by the Indies exchequer, meaning, in Dipanagara's case, the Yogya court. If Dipanagara had rejected Tondano with

<sup>235</sup> NA, Ministerie van Koloniën 2846, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C. Baud) in rade, 8-3-1833 no. 2.

<sup>236</sup> AN, Exhibitum 20-3-1833, Geheim Verbaal no. 470a, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to Johannes van den Bosch (Batavia/Bogor), 9-3-1833.

<sup>237</sup> A water fortress at the junction of the Maas and Waal rivers, Loevestein was built between 1357 and 1368. It was renowned for the celebrated escape of the Rotterdam scholar, Hugo de Groot (1583-1645), who smuggled himself out hidden in a book case.

<sup>238</sup> Built in 1410 and extensively altered and renovated through the years, Woerden had served as a none too arduous billet for the gentlemen-prisoners of the Dutch Directory in 1798, Schama 1977:324.

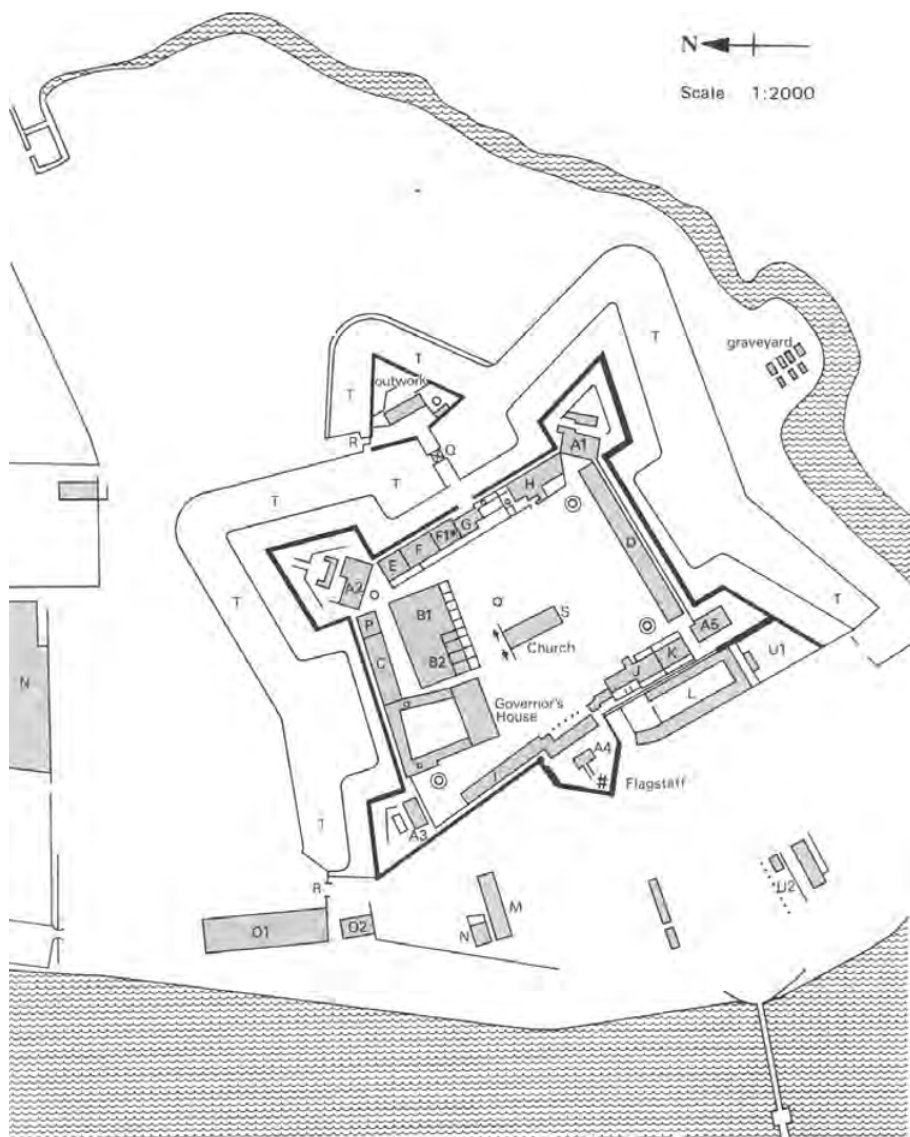


Plate 80. A view of Fort Rotterdam, Makassar looking towards the north-east bastion (Bastion Mandarsaha), probably taken in the late nineteenth century. The building which housed Dipanagara and his family is the second from the left immediately behind 'landward' gate (*landpoort*). The tall building over the wall in the foreground housed the guardhouse and powder-magazine of the Bastion Mandarsaha. Photograph by courtesy of the KITLV, Leiden.

its 69 degree Fahrenheit mean early morning temperature as too cold (note 201), no leap of the imagination is necessary to contemplate how many Dutch winters he would have survived in the damp fortresses of the Netherlands 'water line' frontier defence system.<sup>239</sup> It was fortunate for the prince that the Dutch king rejected Van den Bosch's proposal out of hand as politically unacceptable.<sup>240</sup> Indeed, it would not be until the early twentieth century that

<sup>239</sup> Built partly out of the profits of Van den Bosch's Cultivation System (1830-1870), these nineteenth-century frontier defense works, comprised a line of canals, sluices and fortifications south of Utrecht in western Holland, known as the *Nieuwe Hollandse waterlinie* ('New Dutch Water Line'). They were originally designed to prevent another French invasion like that of 1795-1796 when the French Army of the North had crossed the frozen canals and rivers into Holland and had established a pro-French regime in The Hague.

<sup>240</sup> Correspondence relating to Van den Bosch's proposal can be found in the *besluit* of the Minister of the Colonies, 28-7-1834 no. 177k, in NA, Ministerie van Koloniën 4234, Geheim Verbaal, 23-7-1834 no. 177k geheim. See further AN, Exhibitum, 9-12-1834 La R geheim, J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor) to Johannes van den Bosch (The Hague), 2-2-1834; Johannes van den Bosch (The Hague) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 28-7-1834, King William I (The Hague) to Johannes van den Bosch (The Hague), 9-12-1834.



Map 7. Groundplan of Fort Rotterdam, Makassar (now Benteng Makassar) showing the main buildings and Dipanagara's quarters, 1833-1855. Outline taken from the NA (Nationaal Archief), Leupe Collection 1309, 'Hoofd plan van 't Kasteel Rotterdam [...]', door C.F. Reimer, n.y. [1770?]. The relevant places relating to Dipanagara are: F – the house of the VOC storekeeper (*winkelier*) which after August 1809 was converted into officers' quarters (no. 6); F1\* – officers' dwelling no. 7, the location of Dipanagara's quarters near the main guardhouse with an attic view over Makassar harbour and which in 1844 were enlarged by the addition of two rooms from the adjacent officers' dwelling no. 6; G – the main guardhouse or *hoofdwacht*. Map drawn by J. Wilbur Wright of Oxford.

Indonesian exiles were sent back to the Netherlands and then as in-country detainees rather than as state prisoners incarcerated in royal fortresses.<sup>241</sup>

With his plans to transfer Dipanagara to the Netherlands finding little favour, Van den Bosch hit on an Indies alternative. The prince would be moved south in deepest secrecy to Makassar where he would be held until his dying breath in Admiral Cornelis Janszoon Speelman's (1628-1684) great stronghold of Fort Rotterdam.<sup>242</sup> Instead of Manado's puny 40-strong garrison, the south Sulawesi fortress boasted a complement of 200 soldiers and powerful gun batteries mounted on its five great bastions which covered all the approaches from sea and land. It was altogether a more formidable defensive structure. In this way, Dipanagara and his followers<sup>243</sup> would exchange Fort New Amsterdam for Fort Rotterdam travelling the length of the Dutch eastern Indonesian gulag by naval schooner, a clandestine twenty-one day (20 June-11 July 1833) odyssey made all the more poignant by the name of the vessel tasked with transporting them, the *Circe*, styled after the queen goddess in Homer's epic who could transform men into animals. Van den Bosch went to enormous lengths to ensure that even the local Dutch authorities in Manado were not informed of Dipanagara's true destination. Acting Resident Cambier was to be told that the prince was bound for Ternate. Meanwhile, the schooner's captain was only to be instructed to hold course for Makassar when he had cleared the roads of Manado. On reaching Makassar on 11 July 1833, the ship's officers were sworn to secrecy and forbidden to enter into any correspondence regarding their voyage. The ship's log was altered and immediately after depositing the prince and his party, it sailed to Ambon making it look as though the Moluccas had been its original destination all along. On arrival in Ambon, the captain was relieved of any obligation to report his movements to the local Dutch authorities in Fort Victoria.<sup>244</sup> But even these strict instructions seem to have been of little avail in preventing the schooner's Indonesian sailors from reacting badly to the former Java War leader's

<sup>241</sup> The three founders of the Indische Partij (Indies Party), E.F.E. Douwes Dekker (Setiabuddhi, 1879-1950), Radèn Mas Suwardi Suryaningrat (Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 1889-1959), and Dr Tjipto Mangunkusumo (1885-1943), were exiled to the Netherlands by the Indies government in 1913 and were only allowed to return at the end of World War I (1914-1918).

<sup>242</sup> Named after Speelman's birthplace in Holland.

<sup>243</sup> Besides Dipanagara, his wife, Retnarningsih, and eighteen-month old son, Radèn Mas Abdurrahman (Radèn Mas Kindar), twenty-three followers accompanied the prince, AN, Exhibitum 13-10-1834 La E geheim, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Makassar) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 23-7-1834; Appendix XII.

<sup>244</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C. Baud), 8-3-1833 no. 2; AN, Geheim Verbaal, 13-10-1834 La E, D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 9-3-1833; J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor) to Governor of Makassar, 20-3-1833 zeer geheim (secret instructions handed over by Pietermaat to the governor of Makassar on the arrival of the *Circe*); D.F.W. Pietermaat (Manado) to J.C. Baud (Batavia/Bogor), 20-6-1833 (reporting Dipanagara's embarkation); 11-7-1833 (reporting his administration of oath to ship's officers of *Circe* on arrival in Makassar).

presence in their midst. Jan Izaäk van Sevenhoven (in office 1832-1839), who served as a member of the Raad van Indië (Council of the Indies), would later advise that Dipanagara should never again be moved by a Dutch warship given the possibility of mutiny amongst the ship's crew. Any further transfers should be by 'colonial trader', namely by ordinary merchantman.<sup>245</sup>

Unlike in Manado, neither the prince nor his followers were to be allowed outside the walls of Fort Rotterdam, at least not until the state prisoner had breathed his last (8 January 1855). Dipanagara was to be held in an officer's billet, previously home to two lieutenants,<sup>246</sup> close to the main guardhouse with an attic view over Makassar harbour and with the high inner curtain wall of the fort blocking the landward perspective towards the town (see Map 7). The prince was permitted to take exercise under escort within the bounds of the fort but only between the hours of sunrise and sunset. At sunset, the military commandant was to check that both he and his followers were back in their quarters. No-one was to be allowed to visit the prince except with the express permission of the governor. The only exceptions were the commandant, the officer in charge of the guard detail and the senior Dutch interpreter in Malay. Special attention was to be paid that neither Dipanagara nor his followers struck up relations with the local Indonesian soldiers, servants, other exiles and members of the chain gangs working inside the fort. Garrison personnel were also to be discouraged from spreading any gossip about Dipanagara's presence in their midst. In the event of war in Europe and the threat of a naval landing, the governor of Makassar could consider moving Dipanagara immediately into the interior to a place such as Maros, or further along the coast to Bonthain or Bulukumba by Bugis *prau* (schooner) under the guard of an officer. Finally, the Makassar harbourmaster was to ensure that all private correspondence being sent out from the port was to be addressed to the governor-general ad interim, J.C. Baud,<sup>247</sup> so that it could be opened and inspected in the Algemene Secretarie (General Secretariat) in Batavia before being passed on to the addressees. At the same time, skippers

<sup>245</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal, 15-7-1837 no. 57, written advice of J.I. van Sevenhoven, 16-12-1836.

<sup>246</sup> These officers' quarters had been created on Daendels' orders in 1809 from the previous houses of the chief administrator (*hoofdadministrateur*), preacher (*predikant*) and storeman (*winkelier*), so that the whole military garrison could be housed inside the fort, KITLV H 817, A.J.A.F. Eerdmans, 'Algemeene geschiedenis van Celebes', volume I, part 2:355-6, referring to Daendels' report of 23-8-1809 to the Minister of Colonies (The Hague). I am grateful to Professor C. Campbell Macknight for this information, personal communication, Leiden, 10-12-1975. The reference to the particular officer's billet no. 6, occupied by Dipanagara, having been the home of two lieutenants, is in AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (Pieter Merkus) in rade, 10-5-1841 no. 3, R. de Bousquet (Makassar) to Governor-General ad interim (Batavia/Bogor), 14-12-1840.

<sup>247</sup> Baud served as ad interim governor-general from 10-1-1833 to 31-1-1834, while Van den Bosch carried out his duties as commissioner-general, see Appendix IX note 6.

of Bugis *prau* and other local vessels were to be warned to take no parcels or letters to Java.<sup>248</sup>

Just how easy it proved for Dipanagara and his followers to breach these seemingly comprehensive restrictions on their freedom can be seen in the aforementioned episode of the prince's correspondence with the recently promoted Major-General J.B. Cleerens, who had negotiated the 16 February 1830 Rèmakamal meeting. Not only was Dipanagara informed of the Flemish officer's return to Java within weeks of his arrival in Batavia on 13 October 1835, but he was also able to dictate a formal letter to him complete with yellow silk cover and seal, which he succeeded in delivering to Java by clandestine means (Appendix XIII part B). So much for Van den Bosch's elaborate security instructions. How could it be otherwise? Dipanagara's family and extensive following could hardly be insulated from contacts with the rest of Indonesian society in Fort Rotterdam. Although the prince himself was accommodated with his wife and son in the two-room former officers' residence right by the main guardhouse, his followers lived in the servants' quarters in an adjacent part of the fort where they could mix freely with the locally born civilian and military members of the garrison. There would thus have been plenty of opportunity to smuggle news in and outside the prince's fortress prison. Besides, Makassar was not Manado. Unlike Christian Minahasa – the so-called 'thirteenth province of Holland'<sup>249</sup> where a majority Christian population tended to be hostile towards pious inner island Muslim exiles like Dipanagara and Tuanku Imam Bonjol – neither the Makassarese nor the Bugis had any love for the Dutch. The prince's devotion to Islam, albeit one coloured by his Javanese beliefs, would also have commanded their respect. And the feeling was mutual. In April 1844, after Dutch *de facto* recognition of Belgian independence in 1840 had removed any lingering threat of Holland's involvement in a European war, the governor of Makassar had asked Dipanagara whether he might like to be transferred to another part of the Netherlands Indies where there would be less restrictions on his freedom and more living space for his growing family. No, answered the prince, he wished to spend the rest of his days in Makassar, a decision reinforced five years later by his request to be buried in the South Sulawesi capital close to the grave of his second son<sup>250</sup>

<sup>248</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal ad interim (J.C.Baud), 11-3-1833, geheim, La A.

<sup>249</sup> Holland traditionally had seven provinces to which four 'Generaliteitslanden' (Generality lands; Limburg, Vlaanderen, Brabant and Gelre [Venlo]) had been added between the treaties of Westphalia in 1648 and Utrecht in 1713, thus making eleven 'provinces'. The Christianised regions of Ambon and Minahasa (Manado) were sometimes referred to in jest as the 'twelfth' and 'thirteenth' provinces of Holland given their staunchly pro-Dutch stance during the colonial period (1602-1942).

<sup>250</sup> This was Radèn Mas Sarkuma (born July 1834), who had died prematurely aged 13 in March 1849 (Appendix IV), and had been buried in the Kampung Melayu (Malay quarter) of Makassar where Dipanagara's grave would also be situated.

rather than have his mortal remains transferred back to Java for interment in the royal graveyard at Imagiri close to the grave of his beloved wife Radèn Ayu Maduretna (Ratu Kedhaton) (?1798-1828).<sup>251</sup> Is it any wonder then that despite his incarceration in Fort Rotterdam, Dipanagara had the means of communicating secretly with Java, in particular through correspondence taken by skippers of Indonesian trading ships?

Even after most of his followers had been separated from him in June 1839, leaving just one Javanese woman to do the heavy household chores and three Javanese intimate retainers (*panakawan*) to look after his children,<sup>252</sup> news of Dipanagara's situation continued to reach the outside world. Just before the outbreak of the February 1848 Revolution in Paris, for example, an article appeared in the French press fiercely critical of the way in which the prince was being treated in exile. It spoke of him being held 'in the Moluccas [Maluku]' (Carey 1982:3):

enclosed between the four walls in a little fort, separated from his family, closely watched, denied the means of writing either to the governor-general or to whoever else, treated over the past eighteen years with a harshness and a cruel severity little worthy of the government of this country [the Netherlands].

The question of how such news about Dipanagara got out is an intriguing one. After the clampdown which followed his communication with Cleerens in December 1835, the restrictions placed on the former Java War leader and those serving in his household were so severe that the Dutch authorities could persuade no Makassarese or Bugis to take employment with him. And this despite the fact that the governor very much wanted a trusted local to work with the prince so that he could report on his movements. Those Javanese who remained with Dipanagara were now no longer allowed to

<sup>251</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 21-6-1844 no. 16, P.J.B. de Perez (Governor of Moluccas) (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 9-4-1844; AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 20-3-1849 (on Dipanagara's decision to be buried in Makassar rather than at Imagiri as he had originally intended when he was exiled in 1830).

<sup>252</sup> These were Gunadanti (alias Trunadanti), who served as Dipanagara's principal domestic helper, Dipanagara's *panakawan*, Sahiman (alias Rujakbeling) and Kasimun (alias Wangsadikrama/Sadikrama), the latter's wife, Sarinah, and Teplak (alias Fikpak, alias Rujakgadhung), who was originally described as a 'man servant' but seems to have become more like a *panakawan* after the transfer of the bulk of Dipanagara's other followers to Tondano via Ambon in June 1839, NA, Ministerie van Koloniën 4502, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal, 16-9-1837, citing the secret letter of Governor of Makassar, R. de Bousquet, 10-7-1837 no. La A; AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 19-5-1850 no. 8, enclosing 'Nominatieve Lijst van den staatsgevangene Pangerang Diepo Negoro en familie [sic] benevens volgelingen en bedienden', Makassar, 7-11-1849, which refers to Rujakgadhung as a 'follower' (*volgeling*) rather than a 'servant' (*bediender*). See further Appendix XII nos. 7, 12-13 and 18. By the time this register was drawn up in late 1849, Dipanagara is listed as having two additional male servants (Godek and Dalima), in addition to seven women (three of whom were the wives of his *panakawan*) and four children born to members of his household.

marry Makassarese or Bugis but had to choose their partners from amongst the Javanese community in the local Kampung Jawa (Javanese quarter) or the families of Javanese soldiers serving in the garrison. Even then their parents-in-law were to be informed that they would be placed under surveillance and no longer permitted to mix freely with the locals.<sup>253</sup> Yet, still news of Dipanagara's situation leaked out. How could this have happened? The Indonesian crew of the schooner *Circe*, which had transported Dipanagara from Manado in mid-1833, may well have talked with their families and friends in Java. We also know that Dipanagara continued to write to his relatives. In late 1839, for example, he attempted to send a letter through to his mother, Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati, in Yogyakarta which the Dutch authorities refused to pass on because he insisted on styling himself with his old Java War titles.<sup>254</sup> The decision to open Makassar as a free port in 1848 in order to help the Dutch withstand the increased commercial competition from Singapore (Van Marle 1971:37) led to many more Indonesian and Arab vessels visiting the South Sulawesi harbour town. This in turn opened up new opportunities for contact with the outside world.<sup>255</sup> It is possible that through such informal channels, the Semarang-based family of the Javanese painter, Radèn Salèh Syarif Bustaman, which had close contacts with the Yogyakarta court,<sup>256</sup> were informed of Dipanagara's plight. Indeed, the present author has even suggested that Salèh himself was the source of the report which appeared in the French press given that he visited Paris frequently in the late 1840s and made a number of lengthy stays in the French capital in order to work with leading French artists (Carey 1982:3-4; Scalliet 2005:253).

The Dutch authorities certainly took the report seriously. Baud, who was then serving as minister of the Colonies (in office 1840-1848), reported to King William II that he had ordered the Dutch ambassador in Paris to refute strenuously the charges in the French press (Carey 1982:4). The points which Baud insisted the Dutch representative make in the correspondence column of the

<sup>253</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 21-6-1844 no. 16, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 9-4-1844.

<sup>254</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-1-1840 La B.

<sup>255</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, P.J.B. de Perez (Surabaya) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 20-3-1849, stating that now that Makassar was a free port Dipanagara would have greater ease in escaping by using one of the numerous 'native boats which constantly crowded Makassar harbour'. But in the governor's view, Dipanagara showed no signs of wanting to escape and start new political disturbances in Java. In 1846, two years' before Makassar's opening as a free port, the governor had taken the precaution of reissuing the rules relating the settlement of foreigners in Makassar which required them to ask his permission first, *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch Indië* 54, 12-10-1849, referring to regulation 9-9-1846 no. 7 of the governor of Celebes en Onderhoorigheden.

<sup>256</sup> Salèh's second wife, Radèn Ayu Danudireja, was a daughter of Dipanagara's former junior army commander (*amad dullah*) in Bagelèn, Mas Kertawangsa Kalapa-aking, Carey 1982:5 note 22.

French newspaper in question are revealing both of aspects of the prince's life in Makassar and the self-perception of the Dutch government.<sup>257</sup> The prince, Baud stressed, was not being held in Maluku, still less in a small fort but in the 'spacious surroundings' of Fort Rotterdam where he occupied one of the officer's quarters. Far from being deprived of his family, he had his wife and seven children born to him in exile around him, one of whom was now of marriageable age. Indeed, so extensive had Dipanagara's family become that an adjacent officer's dwelling had had to be converted for his use.<sup>258</sup> Although he was not allowed to write letters in view of his status as a state prisoner (*staatsgevangene*), he could write for his own amusement and had with him books and Javanese manuscripts copied for him at government expense in Surakarta for the education of his children.<sup>259</sup> Governor of Makassar (post-1847, Celebes) Petrus Johannes Baptiste de Perez (1803-1859; in office 1840-1848), whose official residence was situated inside Fort Rotterdam, also spoke frequently with him about his needs and requirements. In short, according to Baud, Dipanagara was being treated in the same humanitarian fashion which Governor-General Van den Bosch had originally envisaged when he signed the orders relating to the prince's exile on 30 April 1830.<sup>260</sup>

As Baud indicated, one of the key features of Dipanagara's life in his later years in Fort Rotterdam was the attention he paid to his family, in particular his children. In January 1844, he asked the governor for a number of Javanese texts which he wanted to have to hand for the education of his five sons, three of whom were reaching puberty. This was the age when as young male Javanese they might have contemplated setting off for further study in various local *pesantrèn* as most of the prince's sons by his previous wives had done during his years at Tegalreja.<sup>261</sup> It is significant that at least two of the texts which the prince requested at this time, the *Serat Ménak* and the *Asmara Supi*, a romance related to the Ménak cycle, had strongly Islamic themes, dealing as they did with the life of The Prophet, the exploits of his

<sup>257</sup> NA, Ministerie van Koloniën 4340, GKA, 24-1-1848 geheim, J.C. Baud (The Hague) to King William II (The Hague), 24-1-1848.

<sup>258</sup> This occurred in April 1844 when one upstairs and one downstairs room of the adjacent officers' billet no. 7 was made available to Dipanagara and his family through knocking down the partition wall at the cost of f 1,062, the bulk of it (f 877) for the renovation of alternative officer's accommodation for the displaced artillery lieutenant, AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 21-6-1844 no. 16, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 9-4-1844; Major J.W.D. Kobold (garrison commander, Makassar) to P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar), n.d. See Map 7.

<sup>259</sup> These texts, which were apparently copied for Dipanagara in the Surakarta *kraton* library, are discussed in Chapter III and Chapter III note 34. See further Carey 1981a:lxiii note 112.

<sup>260</sup> NA, Ministerie van Koloniën, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade, 30-4-1830 no. 1, Johannes van den Bosch, 'Instructions for the Resident of Manado', paragraph 7, 'Dipanagara is to be treated in a friendly way by the Resident in accordance with his high birth and rank'.

<sup>261</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade, 25-10-1844 no. 6, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 29-1-1844.

uncle, Amir Hamza, and of the latter's fictive descendant, Asmara Supi.<sup>262</sup> These were the type of texts often studied in religious boarding schools in Java at this time. There is a note in Low Javanese in the dispatch sent by the governor – seemingly in Dipanagara's own rather untidy hand – which gives very specific instructions regarding the passages which the prince wished to have copied. For the *Ménak*, these were to include The Prophet's life up to his war with Raja Lakad, and for the Asmara Supi, the hero's exploits up to the time of his return to Banjar Alim.<sup>263</sup> The prince was also very insistent that all the drawings and figures in the originals should be copied into his texts. After much delay, the Javanese translator in Surakarta, C.F. Winter Sr (in office 1820-1859), reported that none of the texts had drawings and the costs would come to a hefty f 368, over a month's wages for a middle-rank Dutch colonial officer (chief secretary) at this time (Houben 1994:92). Pleading poverty, the government took the decision to drop one of the texts. Their choice fell on the *Serat Ménak* perhaps because its subject matter – The Prophet's life – was too sensitive. After all, why should the government be helping Dipanagara to bring up his children as devout Muslims? It would not be until August 1847, a few months before Baud wrote to the Dutch ambassador in Paris, that all the copies were finished and dispatched to Makassar, a delay of three and a half years from the prince's original request.<sup>264</sup>

If the government was not prepared to help Dipanagara obtain suitable reading material on Islamic themes from libraries in Java, the prince was quite able to create his own. 'Writing for his own amusement' in Baud's words was a feature of the prince's life in Makassar just as it had been in Manado. A decade before Baud's letter, the prince had already begun the composition of another two substantial manuscripts in *pégon*, entitled *Sejarah Ratu Tanah Jawa* ('The history of the kings of Java') and the *Hikayat Tanah Jawa* ('Chronicle

<sup>262</sup> Pigeaud 1967-80, I:132-3, 212-4, 223. The name Asmara Supi is derived from the Arabic *ṣūfī*, an adept in mysticism.

<sup>263</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade, 25-10-1844 no. 6, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 29-1-1844, containing a handwritten note in Javanese possibly by Dipanagara, in which he asks for the *Surat Ménak laré kang ngantos dumugi Lakad*, and the *Surat Semara Supi ngantos mantuk dhateng Banjar Alim* as well as the *Surat Gandakusumu kang ngantos dumugi Jakaradéya*, the *Surat Manikmaya*, the *Surat Purwa kang ngantos dumugi Brongtayuda* and the *Surat Angrèni kang ngantos demugi* [sic] *Panji Laléyan*. The first text would have dealt with The Prophet's birth (how his mother Aminah conceived him), His shaving (Paras Nabi), and His Ascension to Heaven (Mikrad). Dipanagara's requests proved difficult for the Dutch authorities in Surakarta to fulfill. Apart from one text, the *Serat Manikmaya*, all the other texts were hard to procur in Surakarta and the assistance of Pakubuwana VII was requested. The copies were eventually made in stages under the supervision of the Assistant-Resident of Surakarta between 15-5-1846 (*Serat Manikmaya*) until 27-8-1847, when the longest, the Purwa cycle of *wayang* plays up to the great 'Brothers' War' (*Bratayuda*) was completed. See further Chapter III note 34.

<sup>264</sup> The dates of the copies were made by a clerk of the Algemene Secretarie (General Secretariat) in Batavia onto the letter of the Assistant-Resident of Surakarta to Algemeen Secretaris (Batavia), 10-10-1844, in AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal buiten rade, 25-10-1844 no. 6.

of the Land of Java'), they were written on Netherlands-Indies government paper cut into small octavo sized sheets probably for reasons of economy. The first bears the date 5 Dulkijah AJ 1765 (AD 24 January 1838) and has 175 pages. The second is undated and runs to 245 pages.<sup>265</sup> Both texts were composed during the period when the prince's freedom had been severely restricted following the discovery of his letter to Cleerens. Unlike his *babad*, his two Makassar notebooks are in prose and not *tembang* (Javanese verse). They are written in a curious Javanese style with many Arabic words and phrases, a style which recalls the prose form of Dipanagara's personal letters (Appendix XIII) rather than the literary cadences of his *babad*.

The first book – the *Sejarah Ratu Tanah Jawa* – deals with the history of Java and Javanese historical legends from Adam to the fall of Majapahit in circa 1527 and the coming of Islam. It thus appears as a prelude to the historical survey at the beginning of the prince's *babad*. But unlike the latter, which follows a strictly chronological order, the *Sejarah* is written in anecdotal fashion with many digressions on diverse topics such as wayang, legendary heroes and holy sites. It is as though the prince was having a series of conversations with his family and had set down on paper a number of lengthy discourses on a variety of subjects for their subsequent instruction and entertainment. The second book, the *Hikayat Tanah Jawa*, specifically states that it was composed by Dipanagara who referred to himself by the titles he had adopted during the Java War, Sultan Ngabdulkamid Ērucakra Kabirul Mukminin Panatagama Kalifat Rosulullah s.m. ing Tanah Jawa (Sultan Ngadulkamid, the Just King, the first among the Believers, caliph of The Prophet of God, may peace be on Him, in the Land of Java). The contents deal with the prince's understanding of Islam, his own religious experiences, Sufi prayers used by the Naqshabandiyya and Shaṭṭārīyya mystical brotherhoods, whose teachings had influenced him during his years at Tegalreja (pp. 111-4), and various meditation techniques most of which involved the control of the breath. Diagrams (*daérah*) for the utterance of Arabic words and breathing exercises during prayer as well as local Javanese mystical traditions (*ngèlmu*) are frequently referred to. Indeed, the whole book is rather reminiscent of a Javanese divination manual or *primbon* (Carey 1981a:xxx-xxxi). These then were the texts which Dipanagara composed for the edification of his family in Makassar and which were still in the hands of his descendants in Makassar when the present author did his fieldwork there in September 1972.

In April 1844, some three months after Dipanagara's request for the Javanese manuscript copies from Surakarta, the governor of Makassar reported that the prince was preparing for the circumcision ceremony of his

<sup>265</sup> This second notebook seems incomplete and has been heavily damaged by water and termites.

eldest son, Radèn Mas Kindar (Ngabdurrahman). At the same time, the three intimate retainers (*panakawan*), who had followed Dipanagara from Java and been charged with the care of his male children born in exile (note 252), had reached marriageable age. It was this news which persuaded the governor to order the enlargement of the prince's quarters and to look again at the rules regarding the marriage of his family and followers. It was also at this point that De Perez decided to canvass Dipanagara's views about whether he might like to move to another part of the archipelago where he might face fewer restrictions on his living space.<sup>266</sup> Dipanagara's refusal to contemplate such a step may have indicated a certain resignation on his part with regard to his fate as an exile. Fort Rotterdam was now his home. Indeed, in the last decade of his life, the prince was clearly preparing for his own death. In late 1848, he asked the governor if he might be allowed to see two of his sons, Pangéran Dipakusuma and Radèn Mas Raib, who had been exiled to Ambon in 1840, along with their insane sibling, Pangéran Dipaningrat. He also enquired anxiously after his eldest son, Pangéran Dipanagara II, whose whereabouts as an exile in Sumenep were still unknown to him.<sup>267</sup> Although the Dutch authorities were now showing the prince greater compassion – for example by raising his monthly stipend in view of the increase in the members of his household and the quasi-impooverishment of his family<sup>268</sup> – there were limits. Bringing the former Java War leader together with his sons, who were now sharing his fate as exiles in Madura and Ambon, clearly overstepped these. Perhaps, they reasoned, it was better that Dipanagara did not learn the full scale of the tragedy which had overwhelmed his family following his exile – the death of his second youngest son Radèn Mas Jonèd in a brawl with a soldier of the Yogya garrison in 1837 (Hageman 1856:412; Appendix IV note 2),

<sup>266</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 21-6-1844, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to Pieter Merkus (Batavia/Bogor), 9-4-1844.

<sup>267</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 19-5-1850 no. 8, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), n.d. (? 11-1848). Dipanagara II had been exiled to Sumenep in July 1834 for supposedly gathering a band of followers in Kedhu, shunning contacts with Europeans and announcing the immediate return of Dipanagara and Senthot from exile to start a new war against the Dutch, Houben 1994:238-9. He was subsequently transferred to Ambon in 1851, Appendix IV.

<sup>268</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 19-5-1850 no. 8, report of Governor of Makassar (? P.J.B. de Perez), 13-10-1849, on Dipanagara's situation in Fort Rotterdam as 'bordering on poverty'. The f 4,200 annual allowance, which had been fixed on 16-9-1837, following the decision to transfer the bulk of Dipanagara's followers to Tondano, was found to be inadequate for the upkeep of Dipanagara's growing family, and the government decided to raise it to f 6,000, the extra costs to be recouped from the Yogya treasury if possible, but failing that – and Hamengkubuwana V was pleading poverty – the government itself agreed to pay, Algemene Secretaris (Batavia) to Baron A.H.W. de Kock (Yogyakarta), 28-2-1850; Baron A.H.W. de Kock (Yogyakarta) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 11-3-1850, stating that the 'finances of Hamengkubuwana V are still in a very critical and confused state [...] Dipanagara's allowance of f 350 per month is greater than many of the princes allowances in Yogyakarta'.

the banishment of his other sons, at least one of whom had gone mad, in 1834 and 1840 (Houben 1994:243), the cavalier treatment of two of his daughters by his erstwhile army commander, Radèn Tumenggung Mertanagara (Appendix IV note 5), the spinsterhood of his other female offspring whom no Yogya *priyayi* (official) would dare to marry, and the transformation of part of his erstwhile estate at Tegalreja into grazing land for the Yogya Resident's horses, and a vegetable plot and orchard for his uncle, Mangkubumi (Chapter II note 56). As late as June 1849, when one might have expected that Dipanagara's name would no longer evoke any terror on the part of the government, one of the prince's brothers, Pangéran Arya Rangga, was sent into exile in Ternate for no greater a crime than having contact with 'priests', conducting himself as a pious Muslim, and referring to his elder sibling as 'Sultan Èrucakra' for whom he was prepared to sacrifice himself (Houben 1994:243-4). So much for Van den Bosch's promise to look after Dipanagara's family. As the last vestiges of the Dipanagaran were expunged from the Yogya *kraton*,<sup>269</sup> even the princely moniker of the Java War leader seems to have become an anathema never to be bestowed again on any post-1830 member of the south central Javanese ruling elite (p. 369).

In these months when Dipanagara was looking to take his leave of his children, a letter arrived in Makassar completely out of the blue.<sup>270</sup> It was from the prince's aged mother, Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati (Chapter II note 11), and was included in a package forwarded by the Resident of Semarang. Dealing as it did with family affairs, the Dutch authorities in Makassar saw no difficulty in handing it over to the prince. Suddenly, in De Perez's words, Dipanagara was put into a state of 'high excitement'. He immediately asked for a special audience with the governor. Stating that he had been much affected by the letter, not least because he thought that his mother was long since dead, he intimated that his dearest wish was to live out the rest of his days with his parent at his side. How should he go about asking for official permission for her to join him in Makassar? De Perez counselled against such an official request fearing that if Dipanagara met with a rebuff from the governor-general, J.J. Rochussen (in office 1845-1851), it would close the door on any further negotiations. Instead, he promised that he would put out feelers by unofficial channels and see what could be done. One sticking point, he thought might be if Mangkarawati insisted on travelling to Makassar with a large entourage. No, stated Dipanagara, that was unnecessary. His mother should come over with only a few trusted servants and one intimate retainer

<sup>269</sup> Even the official portrait of Dipanagara (Plate 12), which appears to have been made at the time of his marriage on 25-7-1807, was removed from the *kraton* and given to Dipanagara's family, interview with Ibu Dr Sahir (lineal descendant of Pangéran Dipanagara II), Kota Baru, Yogyakarta, May 1972.

<sup>270</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, P.J.B. de Perez (Surabaya) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 20-3-1849. De Perez had moved to Surabaya as Resident on 8-12-1848, see Klaassen 1979:26.

Proces verbaal

Ops bedem den ochtthoofjanuarij 1855 vijf en vyftig hebben wij ondergetekende ons begeven naar het in het fort Rotterdam gelegen lokaal strekkende tot evaaring van den staatsgevangene Pangnan Slipa regere en diens huisgezinnen geveely en bevonden, dat gemelde staatsgevangeneleden morgen om half twee uur is overleden en wel volgens bevinden van den mede gecommiteerden officier van gezondheid van vermal van krachten ten gevolge van gevordende juren.

Alidus opgemaakt in quatuor vintledien en daer en waarsulter wordt vereischt.

collye de gecommiteerden

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Plate 81. Dipanagara's death certificate dated 8 January 1855; AN BGG, 10 May 1855, La R geheim. Photograph by courtesy of the Arsip Nasional, Jakarta.

(*panakawan*), who could then depart once they had carried out their escort duties. In fact, he knew exactly whom that *panakawan* should be – his erstwhile commander Ali Basah Kerta Pengalasan, who had settled in Semarang after the war (Hageman 1856:412-3; Carey 1974b:282).

In early March 1849, some four months after his audience with De Perez in early March 1849, tragedy struck when Dipanagara's second son, the fourteen-year-old Radèn Mas Sarkuma, died after a short illness. Buried in a small plot of government land in the Kampung Melayu (Malay quarter) of Makassar, this sudden bereavement set the prince thinking. He asked for a meeting with the new governor, De Perez, having departed the previous December for Surabaya to fill the post of the recently deceased Pietermaat (note 230). He offered the governor a deal. If he was allowed to live the rest of his days in Makassar with his mother by his side he would no longer insist on his mortal remains being transferred back to Java after his death. Instead, he would be content to be buried in Makassar close to the grave of his son. Stating that he was now advanced in years and did not expect to live much longer, he made a number of suggestions with regard to future arrangements for himself and his family. He wanted his son's grave to be encircled by a low stone wall and a burial plot set aside for himself immediately adjacent to it. He also asked that the government build a house for his wife and family, as well as outhouses for his servants and a small mosque for himself in the same area as his son's gravesite so that he could enjoy more freedom in his remaining years. The money he had saved in Manado, which he said had amounted to f 120 a month and which had been deposited in the government treasury in the Minahasan capital,<sup>271</sup> should be more than sufficient, in his view, to meet the costs of this construction provided the government donated the land. Even if he was not allowed to live outside Fort Rotterdam, a residence should still be prepared for his wife and surviving family in Makassar so they would have somewhere to live on his demise.

Canny to the last in financial matters, the prince made a persuasive case for providing for his family after his death and De Perez promised to convey his detailed proposals to the authorities in Batavia. Dipanagara also entrusted the governor with a letter and special presents for his mother, including a ring with a black gemstone, which he himself had worn, and f 100 in silver coin.<sup>272</sup> Despite the straitened circumstances in which his family lived in the late 1840s, the former Java War leader still apparently had jewelry and cash

<sup>271</sup> On the initial savings made by Dipanagara in Manado before his monthly allowance was cut, see above note 212.

<sup>272</sup> The other presents included: 1. from Dipanagara: two pieces of white linen to make jackets, and a pot of ambergris oil (*amberolie*); and 2. from Retnaningsih, a jacket, a *sarong* (*bathik* wrap-around) and some *parem* (dried liniment made of ground herbs and water which is prepared by immersion in warm water), listed in AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, Dipanagara and Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih (Makassar) to Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati (Yogyakarta), 25 Rablingulakir AJ 1777 (AD 20-3-1849).



Plate 82. Dipanagara's grave (foreground) and that of his son (Radèn Mas Sarkuma, died March 1849) behind the house in the Kampung Melayu, Makassar (present-day Jl. Irian no. 83), which was built by the Dutch for his widow after his death on 8 January 1855. These graves were moved to the main Kampung Melayu burial ground in the late nineteenth century. Photograph by courtesy of the KITLV, Leiden.

savings to hand. Indeed, there is a reference in one of the governor's reports to the prince having spent another *f* 100 on gold ornaments, which he had made up in April 1849 perhaps in connection with the items sent to his mother.<sup>273</sup> In his letter to his parent, he carefully explained the arrangements he had proposed for her voyage from Semarang in the company of Pengalasan. It would only involve a five-day sea passage, he reassured her, a reference to the new steamers which had begun to link Java and the outer islands in the 1840s and which had cut journey times dramatically, making sea voyages an altogether less daunting prospect than the purgatorial sailing odysseys which Dipanagara had been forced to endure over a decade and a half earlier.<sup>274</sup> In

<sup>273</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 19-5-1850 no. 8, Governor of Celebes (Makassar) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 9-11-1849.

<sup>274</sup> This requirement to send a steamer to pick Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati up in Semarang



Plate 83. The grave of Dipanagara (left) and his last wife, Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih, in the Kampung Melayu public graveyard, Makassar. The graves of Dipanagara's children and other relations are in the foreground. Photograph taken from M.Ch. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, 'Het graf van Dipanagara te Makassar', *Tropisch Nederland*, jg. 1928-29, p. 207.

a heart-rending image of an exile's unrequited longing, he told her that from now on whenever a ship steamed into Makassar harbour, both he and his grandchildren would be climbing the stairs to the attic to look out over the port to see if she had arrived. Come quickly was the message, but if you cannot come 'no matter since we are both friends'.<sup>275</sup>

Mangkarawati was, however, too old and infirm to contemplate such a journey. Although delighted to hear from her son, she told the Yogya Resident, Baron A.H.W. de Kock (in office 1848-1851), that she was now 'nearly eighty'<sup>276</sup> and suffering from dropsy,<sup>277</sup> a condition which would kill her just

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because a long sailing voyage would prove too tiring for her, is specifically mentioned in De Perez's advice to the government and it is likely that he had discussed it with Dipanagara, see AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal, 11-5-1849 La V.

<sup>275</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, Dipanagara and Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih (Makassar) to Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati (Yogyakarta), 25 Rabingulakir AJ 1777 (AD 20-3-1849).

<sup>276</sup> This refers to her age according to the Christian calendar. At this time she was already 82 in Javanese years, see further p. 74.

<sup>277</sup> A condition in which watery fluid gathers in the tissues and cavities of the body making movement painful and difficult.

three years later (Chapter II). Very hard of hearing and almost blind, she was totally dependant on her spinster granddaughter, Radèn Ajeng Munthèng (Appendix IV), with whom she was then living in Yogyakarta. She thus had no energy or capacity to undertake the sea voyage to Makassar. De Kock gave her two days to think things over and even summoned six of Dipanagara's brothers – including the soon to be exiled Pangéran Rangga – to put pressure on her, but she was adamant. Instead, she sent her son a letter explaining her aged condition and stating that her dearest wish was they should both enjoy prosperity (*wilujeng*) until they returned together to eternity.<sup>278</sup> In the same dispatch in which De Kock forwarded Mangkarawati's letter, he strongly advised Governor-General Rochussen against allowing Dipanagara to reside outside Fort Rotterdam. In his view, the political situation in the *Yogya kraton* was still too delicate, and there were fears that the prince might try to escape now that Makassar had become a free port. Developments at the sultan's court (a reference to the knotty issue of finding a suitable successor to Hamengkubuwana V),<sup>279</sup> the Resident added, should be allowed to run their course before any changes were made to the conditions under which Dipanagara was being held in Makassar.<sup>280</sup>

And so it was decided. The governor-general passed a secret decree on 11 May 1849 that Dipanagara would spend the rest of his days within the walls of Speelman's great fortress. Apart from the issue of the prince's finances, a subject of obsessive Dutch correspondence, for which a resolution was eventually found a year later (19 May 1850) when it was decided to raise his allowance to f 500 a month, there are no further references to the former Java War leader in the Dutch records. None that is until the morning of Monday, 8 January 1855, when the Dutch authorities in Fort Rotterdam were roused early from their beds. One of the prince's followers had appeared at the governor's residence to announce that the prince had died just after sunrise at 6.30, almost the same time as the moment seventy years earlier when he had uttered his first cries after coming into the world before the pre-dawn fasting month meal in the women's quarters of the *Yogya kraton* (Chapter II). After the governor had hurried over to the prince's quarters to confirm the decease, a three-man commission was immediately appointed to authenticate an im-

<sup>278</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, Radèn Ayu Mangkarawati (Yogyakarta) to Baron A.H.W. de Kock (Yogyakarta), 24 Jumadilawal, AJ 1777 (AD 18-4-1849). Mangkarawati's letter only exists in Dutch translation, but the key words one surmises that she might have used would have been *slamet* or *wilujeng* 'safe and sound' (namely, good health, spiritual prosperity and welfare) and *ngantos mantuk nèng donya akérat* (until we return to eternity).

<sup>279</sup> For a good discussion of the tensions surrounding the choice of a successor to the near impotent Hamengkubuwana V in the period 1847 to 1855, see Houben 1994:199-214.

<sup>280</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal, 11-5-1849 La V, Baron A.H.W. de Kock (Yogyakarta) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 23-4-1849.

portant document. The death certificate witnessed by the Assistant-Resident of Makassar, the military commandant and the chief medical officer to the garrison stated the course of death as 'diminished physical strength (*verval van krachten*) due to advanced years' (Sagimun 1965:358).

Today, the eighth of January [eighteen] fifty-five, we the undersigned went to the room[s] in Fort Rotterdam which serve as the residence of the state prisoner, Pangeran Diponegoro [Dipanagara] and his family and following, and found that the aforementioned state prisoner had died this morning at half past six o'clock and indeed according to the findings of the co-delegated officer of health as a result of diminished strength due to advanced years.

Thus made in quadruplicate to be used where and when this might be required.

The delegates,

[signed:]

J.G. Crudelbach (Assistant-Resident and magistrate),

J.T. Lion (infantry major),

F.A.M. Schnetz (health officer first class).

A special burial allowance was immediately made available to the family under the terms of the 19 May 1850 financial arrangements for the prince's upkeep and on the same afternoon Dipanagara was laid to rest in the Kampung Melayu.<sup>281</sup> According to the notice which appeared a month later in the *Javasche Courant* and was subsequently carried in the Dutch national press – a modest recognition of the interest taken of the prince's passing in the colonial metropolis – the burial ceremony had occurred 'with full Islamic rights and with respect for his high birth [...] in accordance with the wishes of the dead man, he was interred in the Kampong Melayu near the grave of his son [Radèn Mas Sarkuma]'.<sup>282</sup>

Seven days after Dipanagara's death, his widow and children had a pre-arranged meeting with the acting governor, Colonel Alexander van der Hart, to discuss their future. According to the governor's report, they were 'unanimous' in their wish to remain in Makassar so that they could be near the grave of their recently departed father. It was perhaps lucky that were so minded for the government soon formed the view that they should under no circumstances be permitted to return to Java. Van der Hart, whose description of the way in which Dipanagara had brought up his children has already been mentioned, feared that the prince's male offspring, especially his highly capable

<sup>281</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 10-5-1855 La R, Colonel A. van der Hart (Makassar) to A.J. Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 12-1-1855.

<sup>282</sup> *Javasche Courant* 10, 3-2-1855, the notice was carried in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (NRC 92), which had received the news by colonial mail overland from Marseilles, on 2-4-1855.

eldest son, Radèn Mas Kindar, could become the 'centres of rebellion' if they were allowed back. Their high noble birth, in Van der Hart's view, would give them great potential influence in Yogya, whereas in South Sulawesi, despite their 'religious connections', they would be unlikely to exercise much sway over the local Makassarese and Bugis population.<sup>283</sup> These sentiments were echoed by the Yogya Resident, W.C.E. Baron de Geer (in office 1855-1856), whose enquiries with Hamengkubuwana V revealed a firm determination on the sultan's part that Dipanagara's family should never again set foot in the Principalities.<sup>284</sup> Such arguments won the day with the governor-general, Albertus Jacobus Duymaer van Twist (in office 1851-1856), who passed a secret decree in council on 10 May 1855 ordering that Dipanagara's widow and children should continue to be treated as exiles and confined to Sulawesi, but that they would be allowed to retain the prince's former f6,000 annual stipend which would continue to be paid by the Yogya court.<sup>285</sup> He also permitted them to live freely in Makassar where a residence would be found for them.

Both Van der Hart and his predecessor, De Perez, had advised that the government acquire land for Dipanagara's family. Following his early March 1849 meeting with Dipanagara, De Perez had suggested that f10,000 be set aside for this purpose,<sup>286</sup> whereas Van der Hart had recommended that the family be given a sufficiently large plot to plant fruit trees and develop some ricefields, arguing that if the prince's children were able to find useful employment they would find better 'direction for their energies' and perhaps make good marriages (whether to local Makassarese or to Javanese domiciled in Makassar he did not say) thus dissuading them from involvement in anti-Dutch activities.<sup>287</sup> Subsequently, a sizeable block of land amounting to just under a hectare<sup>288</sup> was acquired by the government in the area immediately adjacent to the graves of Dipanagara and his son. It had sufficient space for orchards, a market garden and *sawah* as well as a modest Dutch colonial style house, which stands to this day at no. 83 Jalan Irian. This was very much in line with what the prince had asked for at the time of his early March 1849

<sup>283</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 10-5-1855 La R, Colonel A. van der Hart (Makassar) to A.J. Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 30-1-1855.

<sup>284</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 10-5-1855 La R, Hamengkubuwana V (Yogyakarta) to W.C.E. Baron de Geer (Yogyakarta), 16 Jumadilakir AJ 1786 (AD 5-3-1855); W.C.E. Baron de Geer (Yogyakarta) to Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 12-3-1855.

<sup>285</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 10-5-1855 La R. The arrangements for the f6,000 stipend are referred to in the letter of the inspector of Finances (Batavia) to A.J. Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 30-4-1855.

<sup>286</sup> AN, Geheim Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 11-5-1849 La V, P.J.B. de Perez (Makassar) to J.J. Rochussen (Batavia/Bogor), 23-1-1849.

<sup>287</sup> AN, Besluit van den Gouverneur-Generaal in rade, 10-5-1855 La R, Colonel A. van der Hart (Makassar) to A.J. Duymaer van Twist (Batavia/Bogor), 30-1-1855.

<sup>288</sup> The actual size of the plot acquired by the government was 9,372 square metres, with two roads (present-day Jalan Andalas and Jalan Irian) running through it and bounded on the east by Jalan Diponegoro.

audience, and this is where his family and household retainers moved to during the course of the year following his death. His descendants continued to live there in the early 1970s when the research for the present book was undertaken in Makassar (Appendix IV note 10).

After the death of Radèn Ayu Retnaningsih later in the century, Dipanagara's grave and that of his son were moved to the main Kampung Melayu public graveyard, which had just been opened on a 52 square metre block of land between present-day Jalan Andalas and Jalan Irian a short distance from the family house. A private burial ground, demarcated by a low brick wall, was set apart in the innermost part of the graveyard for the Dipanagara family (Plate 83) and two imposing white stuccoed tombs were erected for the prince and his consort (Rouveroy van Nieuwaal 1928:208). Known locally as the 'grave of the sultan of Java' (*kuburan sultan Jawa*), the area around the twin tombs would become the final resting place for most of the prince's Makassar-born descendants. The street adjacent to his grave would subsequently be given his name at the instigation of local supporters of the Indonesian nationalist cause (Kalff 1927-28:523). However, although Dipanagara's memory was revered in Makassar and more widely in Indonesia, especially by nationalist youth groups of the inter-war years such as Jong Celebes ('Young Celebes') and Jong Java ('Young Java'), as well as by the recently established Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party), which had portraits of Dipanagara displayed at its 1921 Party Congress in Semarang and in its Madiun office (Ricklefs 2007:233), his family seems to have found the upkeep of the site beyond their very limited means. During the course of the century following Dipanagara's death, most of the orchards and ricefields were sold to provide cash for the family. A report from the late 1920s speaks of the grave site as a collection of 'dirty moss-covered stones, a broken down limestone-leached little wall and the rotting remains of vegetation' (Kalff 1927-28:523). It would, however, eventually become a place of national reverence after the prince was recognized as a *pahlawan nasional* (national hero) by the newly independent Republic of Indonesia in the early 1950s. In January 1955, for example, the hundredth anniversary of the prince's death was celebrated at the now restored grave site with considerable ceremony (Sagimun 1965:455). So the wheel of history turned full circle. The much feared exile of Fort Rotterdam had become the hero *par excellence* of the modern Indonesian state. This pious and complex man, whom the Parangkusuma prophecy would warn would only be 'counted amongst the ancestors' for a brief moment, was now vested with immortality in the national pantheon of a country he had never dreamt of in his lifetime. Historical transformations rarely come stranger than this. Meanwhile, both Makassar governors under whom Dipanagara was incarcerated would meet untimely deaths.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>289</sup> Klaassen 1979:26 (on the death at sea of De Perez on 18-3-1859 during the Second Boné Expedition); and Kielstra 1911:1030 (on the murder of Van der Hart by one of his servants in May 1855).

*Conclusion*

It is a truism that men and women are shaped by the age in which they live. Dipanagara was no exception. Nine years before the prince's birth, Thomas Paine had written that 'these are the times that try men's souls', a reference to the troubled onset of the American Revolution. Such 'interesting times', as the Chinese adage has it, certainly characterised the epoch Dipanagara lived through half a world away in Java. Born into the seemingly immutable 'old order' of the late eighteenth-century Principalities, he died in the high colonial era of Governor-General Duymaer van Twist, an era when steamboats had begun to ply the inter-island sea routes and the new commercial system of free ports had replaced the closed monopoly of the Dutch East Indies Company. The Agrarian Law (1870), which would open the Indies up to massive private investment, was only a decade and a half away. This was the age when the Dutch were reaping unimaginable wealth from the Cultivation System at the expense of Javanese peasant cultivators who in certain areas, such as Grobogan and Demak, were experiencing terrible famines (1849-1850) and typhoid epidemics (1846-1850; Elson 1994:99-127), an age when, as Radèn Salèh, laconically put it, the only conversation amongst colonial Indies society was *café et sucre, sucre et café* ('coffee and sugar, sugar and coffee').<sup>290</sup> These were the years which Multatuli would later give voice to in his *Max Havelaar of de Koffij-veilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* ('Max Havelaar or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading Company') (1860) in the figure of Droogstoppel ('Dry Stubble'), the brass-is-brass Amsterdam coffee broker who knew the price of everything and the value of nothing (Nieuwenhuys 1973:149-50).

What price then for a mystic prince in such a universe? Not much for the Dutch judging from the rather brief paragraph published in their colonial and national newspapers at the time of his death, but what about the Javanese? What did Dipanagara mean for them? It is clear that he was a pivotal figure in the history of modern Java, his death occurring at almost the exact midpoint between the treaty of Giyanti (1755) and the declaration of Indonesian independence (1945), but how much of this was due to his own innate qualities and how much to the times in which he lived? Just imagine for a moment that he had been born a hundred years earlier in 1685 or a century afterwards in 1885. The first would have placed him full square in the turbulent decades of the Kartasura period (1680-1742) which, if he had survived and not suffered the fate of his namesake, the first Pangéran Dipanagara (exiled to Cape Colony in 1723 following an abortive rebellion, see Chapter IX), might

<sup>290</sup> D'Almeida 1864, II:292. The full quote reads: *Café et sucre, sucre et café, c'est tout-ce qu'on parle ici. C'est vraiment un air triste pour une artiste.* 'Coffee and sugar, sugar and coffee, this is all that people talk about here. It is really a sad atmosphere for an artist'.

have seen him emerge as one of the luminaries of Pakubuwana II's (reigned 1726-1749) court with an interest in the type of Sufi-inspired Javanese-Islamic literature favoured by the circle around the queen mother, Ratu Pakubuwana (died 1732; Ricklefs 1998:39-91, 106-26, 254-60, 253-309). But would he have been cast in heroic mould of a Ratu Adil or Just King leading a popular uprising against the colonial power? Hardly. The second would have situated him at the heart of the founder generation of the Indonesian 'national movement' with the likes of Dr Tjipto Mangunkusumo (1885-1943), Radèn Mas Soetomo (1888-1938), and Radèn Mas Suwardi Suryaningrat alias Ki Hadjar Dewantara (1889-1959) as his direct or near contemporaries. Given Dipanagara's personal abilities, his deep root of faith, administrative and financial acumen, as well as his interest in the modern world – witness his fascination with the navigational instruments on the corvette *Pollux* – it is likely that he would have made his mark in some capacity on modern Indonesia: a republican prince perhaps? But it is unclear whether he would have emerged as quite the crucial figure which he became at the time of the Java War.

The unusual epoch in which Dipanagara lived is thus vital for an understanding of his life. His experience underscores the truth of Karl Popper's dictum that history is the struggle of men and ideas, not just of the material conditions of their existence. Had it not been for the peremptory violence visited on the south-central Javanese courts by Daendels and Raffles in the four short years between 1808 and 1812, violence which tore the heart out of the Yogya *kraton*, one can imagine Dipanagara living in relative obscurity at Tegalreja, attending to his religious duties and dying in mid-century as a quirky *santri* prince, scourge of the Yogya aristocracy and the *kafir* (heretic) Dutch. Despite his evident abilities – witness the brief reference to these in Panular's 'Chronicle of the fall of Yogyakarta' (Chapter VIII) – the fact that he rates not a single reference in the British reports (1811-1816), a period when he was supposedly functioning as a key adviser to his father, the third sultan, and mentor to his younger brother, the fourth sultan, indicates that he was not quite the prominent figure in the political life of the sultanate he sought to portray in his *babad* (Chapter VIII). Nahuys van Burgst probably had his measure better when he described Dipanagara and his uncle, Mangkubumi, before the Java War as men who 'stood quite neutral and were universally considered as good quiet persons without the least ambition' (Chapter X). The agrarian crisis of 1823-1825 and the ineptitude of the Dutch representatives in Yogyakarta in the two years leading up to the Java War were the twin catalysts for the prince's emergence as a major political figure, much as Governor-General Van Imhoff (in office 1741-1750) and the issue of the leasing of Mataram's coastal dependencies had been at the time of Sultan Mangkubumi's rebellion in 1746 (Ricklefs 1974a:40-3). Once cast in a leadership role, however, Dipanagara brought to his task a competence and ap-

peal greater even than that of his revered great-grandfather, Mangkubumi. A devout Muslim, who believed himself part of the international community of Believers, he was what Ricklefs has described as the personification of the 'mystic synthesis' in Java (Ricklefs 2007:8) – a Javanese Muslim who saw no problem with contacting the goddess of the Southern Ocean, undertaking pilgrimages to holy sites associated with Java's spirit guardians and rulers, and drinking bottles of 'medicinal' sweet Cape wine, while maintaining a staunch commitment to his Islamic duties. Part of the 'long shadow of Sultan Agung',<sup>291</sup> Dipanagara fought both for the restoration of an idealized Javanese past, and the establishment of a new moral order in which the teachings of Islam, especially its legal codes, would be enforced. This was the essence of his popular appeal for the religious communities and his importance for the future, where his particular form of 'mystic synthesis' would form one of the key strands of Islamic piety in post-1830 Javanese society (Ricklefs 2007:30-83). His insistence on Javanese cultural norms in language, dress and etiquette also cast him in the role of a proto Javanese nationalist. Here was a man who, in Nicolaus Engelhard's words (p. 510), was 'in all matters a Javanese and followed Javanese custom'. But one cannot pursue this too far. There is no indication that he entertained any notions of national independence in the modern sense, not even for his native Java. Indeed, it would be nearly another century after the Java War before such ideas gained universal currency amongst the Indonesian nationalist elite. The most Dipanagara could conceive was a return to the seventeenth-century status quo. From the evidence of Hasan Munadi and Ali Basah Pengalasan, he had in mind the era when the Dutch had been confined to the northeast coast of Java as traders and were not involved politically in the affairs of the south-central Javanese courts. He even talked, Munadi suggested, of allocating the Dutch two north coast cities – Batavia and Semarang – where they would be allowed to reside and pursue their commercial interests unhindered, just so long as these did not exploit the local population (Dipanagara's insistence on market prices being paid for Javanese products and land lease contracts was prescient considering what would happen under Van den Bosch's Cultivation System). This harked back to the situation which existed during Sultan Agung's reign (1613-1646) before the political disasters of his successor, Amangkurat I (reigned 1646-1677), had opened a high road to Dutch intervention in the Javanese hinterland.

That this was an impossible dream is self-evident. Despite the insecurities of Holland's transition from patrician republic to nation state between 1785 and 1813 – precisely the period of Dipanagara's youth and early manhood – there was no possibility of a Dutch retreat to the status quo of the early Company era. Daendels' mailed fist and the insufferable arrogance of the English were proof enough that a new form of European power was now

<sup>291</sup> Merle C. Ricklefs, 'Islamising Java; The long shadow of Sultan Agung', *Archipel* 56:469-82.

being applied to colonial affairs. The European Prometheus had been unbound. Despite the 1815 mutiny, sepoy bayonets continued to sustain Raffles' ramshackle regime (1811-1816), and even when the inexperienced post-1816 returned Dutch administration came close to disaster first by exacerbating the agrarian crisis which precipitated the Java War and then by wasting two years (1825-1827) before the tide of battle could be turned, the possibility of a Dutch exit from Java was never an option.<sup>292</sup> The importance of Java for the post-1830 Dutch economy would be argument enough for this – witness the plans by Palmer & Company of Calcutta, the Dutch colonial state's main creditor bank, to send sepoy to Java in May 1826 to help turn the tide of battle and ensure the security of their six million Sicca rupee loan (p. 428). Yet Dutch insecurities remained. The successful Belgian revolt of 1830 intensified them, temporarily threatening the Netherlands with French invasion and a new European war. For Dipanagara this would mean summary arrest and exile, an exile in which Dutch fears dictated an increasingly restrictive regime which for the last twenty-two years kept him and his family prisoners in Fort Rotterdam. Dipanagara's pitiful death in Makassar points to the human tragedy at the heart of this tale. The waste of a life, the suffering of a family, the ruin of a society. The policies imposed by Van den Bosch may have been the saving of the Dutch state, but they spelt disaster for the Javanese. After 1830 a new world had been born. It was a turning point as significant as any in colonial history. But it would exact a terrible cost.

<sup>292</sup> Although it is clear that Dipanagara had no chance of winning the war, the teaching materials currently provided at the Dutch Royal Military Academy (Koninklijke Militaire Akademie) at Breda indicate that Dutch army historians are still exaggerating the military threat posed by the prince in order to pretend that Holland had conquered a truly formidable enemy in 1825-30, see [http://www.nimh.nl/nl/geschiedenis/tijdbalk/1814\\_1914\\_nederlands\\_indie](http://www.nimh.nl/nl/geschiedenis/tijdbalk/1814_1914_nederlands_indie).

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