PETER CAREY

Daendels and the Sacred Space of Java, 1808-1811
Political Relations, Uniforms and the Postweg

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Ik had slechts een partij te kiezen, en dit heb ik gedaan, om naamelijk vaste beginselen aan te nemen, en derzelve naar gelang der voorkomende zaken toe te passen, vooral ook om, van het eerste ogenblik af, alle voorkomende misbruiken dadelijk tegen te gaan en te verbeteren, zonder echter de zaken te vroeg uit hun geheel te brengen.
(Daendels 1814, 1:19)

Introduction

Marshal Herman Willem Daendels’ governor-generalship of Java (1808-11) was a turning point in the history of modern Indonesia. Not only did it lay the foundations for the administrative centralization of the Netherlands-Indies and post-1945 Indonesia, but it changed forever the relationship between the colonial government in Batavia and the independent Javanese princes. It also introduced new modes of sartorial and social etiquette, and integrated the island in a new administrative and infrastructural whole. Both Daendels’ famous posting road (postweg), which would be the basis of all subsequent trans-Java highways, and his radical administrative reforms would knit the island as never before into a coherent entity. Such centralizing measures would be the hallmark of every subsequent regime in Indonesia up to the April 1999 decentralisation legislation of the short-lived Habibie Presidency (1998-99).

Tasked by King Louis of Holland (r. 1806-10) with sweeping powers to reform the corrupt administration of the former Dutch East India Company (voc) (9 February 1807) and elevated to the highest military rank as Napoleon’s only non-French marshal (19 February 1807) to ensure his full authority for the re-organization of Java’s defense against the British, Daendels’ 41-month tenure as colonial supreme left a lasting political legacy in Indonesia.
Present-day quests for a ‘tangan besi’ (mailed fist) to clean out the Republic’s Augean Stables, the search for decisive leadership and a rule of law state (rechtstaat) – perhaps even nostalgia for the certitudes of military rule – link the causes of Indonesia’s present discontents to a not-so-distant 200-year-old era of reform.

A newcomer to Java and the first governor-general since the poet admiral Laurens Reael (1583-1637, in office, 1616-17) to be appointed to high office from outside the inner circles of the VOC establishment, Daendels – the Mareskalek Guntur (Thundering Marshal) or Tuan Besar Guntur (Mr Thunder) – would etch his name in the collective Javanese memory. No other governor-general with the possible exception of Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629; in office, 1619-23, 1627-9) would earn such a distinction in his lifetime (Ronkel 1918; Djoko Marihandono 2013: Chapter ix Section 3, parts 1-3).

Daendels’ neo-classical (style empire) palace and administrative offices on the Parade Plaats (post-1828 Waterloo plein; post-1950, Lapangan Banteng) in Weltevreden, later the Ministry of Finance, would stand as a symbol of the marshal’s brave new world (see illustration p. 33). Built between 1809 and 1828 out of the stones from Coen’s dismantled fort (Kasteel Batavia) and the Dutch Church (Hollandsche Kerk) to the west of the Stadhuisplein (present-day Taman Fatahillah) (Danang Priatmodjo 2005:11), this so-called Witte Huis (White House) or l’Hotel du Gouvernement, as Daendels preferred to call it, announced a new epoch of administrative rationality and centralized state power just as surely as Inigo Jones’ Banqueting House (1619-22) had done for early Jacobean London. It remains to this day a monument to Daendels’ remarkable achievements.

Daendels’ fictional persona would also live on into the modern era. In his own lifetime, he had been celebrated as a courageous and wise king burdened by excessive vanity and haughtiness by the Malay author of Egyptian descent, Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Misri (1780-1820), in his Hikayat Mareskalek (Story of the Marshal) (1813-16 and 1818) (Zâni Lajoubert 1987). Romanticized portraits of the ‘Iron Mar-
shal’ later appeared in the early twentieth century: both the Sundanese author, Raden Memed Sastrahadiprawira, and the Dutch writer, Jacques Constant van Wessem (1891-1954), would write fictional histories, the first focussing on local resistance to Daendels’ famous postweg by the bupati of Sumedang, Pangeran Koesoemah Dinata (1773-1828) (Sastrahadiprawira 1930); and the second weaving a ‘Boy’s own Adventure’ novel out of Daendels’ tumultuous political and military career from his early years as a law student in Harderwijk (1781-3) to his death in Elmina in May 1818 (Wessem 1932).

An insight into the esteem in which Daendels was held by Javanese contemporaries can be found in the unpublished diary of the minor Belgian aristocrat, Comte Edouard Errembault de Dudzeele et d’Orroir (1789-1830), who served in south-central Java as an infantry officer during the Java War (1825-30) (Errembault 1830:17-1-1829). Commenting on Daendels’ posting road, which was laid out within two years (1809-10) and stretched over a thousand kilometres from Anyer on the Sunda Strait to Panarukan in the Eastern Salient (Oosthoek), Errembault noted:

On a beaucoup parlé et on parlera encore long-temps des routes que Napoléon a fait faire en Europe, mais j’oserais presque affirmer qu’aucune n’a offert autant de difficultés à surmonter que celle de Buitenzorg ici [Bandung]: on ne fait que monter et descendre, environné souvent de précipices; dans de certains endroits, on a été obligé de tailler dans le roc à une profondeur considérable et de faire jouer la mine. Il fallait avoir le caractère ferme et la volonté absolue du maréchal Dandels [Daendels] pour entreprendre un ouvrage de cette nature. Aucun gouverneur n’y avait pensé avant lui et je crois qu’aucun n’aurait osé penser après. Les Javanais un peu instruits qui connoissent l’histoire de Napoléon, le comparent au maréchal Dandels [Daendels], en le nommant ‘le Dandels [Daendels] de l’Europe’, cependant je crois que le dernier l’emportera toujours sur le premier.
Much has been said – and people will still be talking for a long time – about the roads which Napoleon had made in Europe, but I dare say almost that none has presented so many insurmountable difficulties as the one from Buitenzorg [Bogor] to here [Bandung]: one does nothing else but go up and down, often surrounded by precipices, in some places they had to cut into the rock to a considerable depth and use mines. It needed the firm character and absolute will of Marshal Daendels to undertake a work of this nature. No governor-general before him [had] thought of it and I believe none after him will dare to contemplate it [either]. Javanese with a little education who know the history of Napoleon compare him to Marshal Daendels, calling him ‘The Daendels of Europe’, although I think the latter [Daendels] will always win out over the former [Napoleon].

Saleh’s 1838 Portrait
In 1836-8, the young Javanese artist, Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman (c. 1811-1880), who was just then finishing a nine-year artistic apprenticeship in the Netherlands (1830-39), was commissioned by the Government in The Hague to paint portraits of three governors-general whose images had yet to be officially installed in the Landsverzameling Schilderijen, the gallery of governors-general in Batavia (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:300-5). One of these was of Daendels. Entitled ‘Governor-General Daendels and the Great Postweg’ and completed in 1838, it depicts Daendels in his marshal’s uniform pointing to a map of the Megamendung section of the postweg between Bogor and Cianjur in the mountains of West Java with the date 1810 clearly visible. The gateway to the West Javanese highlands or Preanger (Priangan), Megamendung was the highest pass (1,408 meters) on the whole posting road. It posed the greatest engineering challenges and reputedly cost the lives of 500 Javanese labourers (Engelhard 1816:147; Nas and Pratiwo 2002:710). Even when completed, a yoke of six buffalo was still required to pull carriages up the pass, a scene depicted in separate oil paintings.
by both Saleh and his mentor, Antoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853; see Illustration p. 20-21) (Carey 2008: 198; Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:326-7).

Unlike Saleh’s other portraits and miniatures, the Daendels study was not done from life. It was based instead on an 1815 miniature by the French artist S.J. Rochard and completed twenty years after the marshal’s death (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:300). Both the Rochard miniature and the Saleh portrait depict Daendels firm and determined character. But the latter catches the marshal’s ‘absolute will’ – to use Errembault’s phrase – to greater effect. Daendels’ face with beetling black eyebrows, jutting jaw and emotionless eyes, gazes into the middle distance. It speaks of power and authority, as well as the contemplation of vast enterprises. The index finger of the marshal’s rather lifeless leather-gloved left hand (hands were not Saleh’s forte) is almost jabbing at the map in the foreground which proclaims the place, date and achievement: Megamendung ‘[the place of] lowering clouds’ – West Java’s very own ‘roof of the world’ – conquered by the power of post-Revolutionary Europe.

But it is not just Daendels’ appearance and posture which strikes one about this portrait. Equally salient are his marshal’s uniform and chivalric honours. From his neck hangs the unmistakable red silk ribbon and white enamel cross of the Legion of Honour (legion d’honneur) while on his chest gleams the eight-pointed star and blue silk sash of the Louis Napoleon’s Royal Order of Holland (post-1807 Order of the Union; post-1810 Order of the Reunion). We know that Saleh took great pains with getting all the details just right: he even arranged for a French marshal’s uniform of the Napoleonic epoch to be sent up to The Hague from Paris so he could have it with him in his studio as he completed his portrait (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:300). Indeed, this is as much a portrait of a uniform as of its wearer, a theme to which we will return shortly.

In Daendels’ right hand is a telescope. This is also a significant detail. As the Indonesian writer, Katherina Achmad (2012: 196, 205), has noted, one might have expected Daen-
dels to be shown holding a marshal’s baton. The telescope, however, is an instrument of precision, omniscience, and distance. Through such instruments, engineering feats as ambitious as the *postweg* could be achieved. But the telescope also speaks of distance. Saleh has underscored this by the scene in the left-hand corner of his painting. Here a dozen tiny figures are laboring like ants on a precipitous section of the road as it bends towards the Megamendung pass itself. Their bent forms can just be discerned, stick-like and anonymous, completely dwarfed by the magnificence of the scenery around them. These are the *pribumi* labourers who would die in their thousands hacking the road out of the bare earth and rock.

The contrast between the sumptuous gold-braid of Daendels’ uniform with its medals and honours, and the scene of back-breaking labour unfolding in the background is intentional according to Achmad (2012:198):

[...] the magnificence of Daendels’ [uniform] projects an image of the power and wealth of the colonial government, an image which is in complete contrast to the misery of the *inlander* [natives] who are exploited without mercy for the benefit of the welfare and prosperity of the colonizers. In a subtle way (sic!), Raden Saleh offers [us] an irony, pouring scorn on the colonial government which lives high on the hog on the tears, sweat and blood of the colonized. Moreover, an even starker contrast presents itself [...] the minimalist silhouettes of the workers suggest that their clothes are filthy and in tatters. The magnificence of Daendels’ uniform stands in stark contrast to the dishevelled appearance of the *inlander* [natives] who carry out the forced labour to build the Anyer to Panarukan *postweg*. Without having to depict the victims of this forced labour lying [dead] by the side of the road [...] or the supervisors carrying their whips, this dishevelment speaks strikingly of the distress and disempowerment of the *inlander*. 
Portrait of Raden Saleh in Dresden in 1841 by the Latvian painter Johann Carl Ulrich Bahr (1801-1869), now in the National Museum in Riga, showing Saleh as an oriental prince dressed in an early version of his ‘fantasy’ uniform (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012)
Achmad (2012:196-7) also notes the significance of Saleh’s use of colour:

The dominance of a strong turquoise blue in the portrait – elegant, fresh and cool – indicates loftiness, sumptuousness, power and calm. Saleh uses this colour – in different shades – for the sky, the mountains and the sash which Daendels is wearing, as well as for the edge of the deep forest which lies at the end of the partially constructed road. This greeny blue is the leitmotif of the whole composition and gives it a powerful sense of unity.

Unlike the human anatomy, the depiction of landscape and the use of colour were very much Saleh’s strong points. Throughout his life, Saleh would return again and again to the image of the postweg. The Megamendung section in particular drew his special attention (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:326-35). In telling detail – he even knew the red and white colour of uniforms worn by the coachmen on this section – he could paint this part of the road from memory as in the portrait made for his friend Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1818-93, r. 1844-93) in 1876 during his last unhappy visit to Europe (1875-8) (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:332-3).

Usually depicted in the early evening, the rays of the setting sun illuminating the magnificent Javanese forest scenery, Saleh portrayed the postweg’s many moods: the six-passenger Dutch East Indies post carriage with the yoke of six oxen straining up the last stretch to the pass itself (1862; see ill. p. 20-21) (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:326-7), Ma Mina’s notorious coffee-house brothel adjacent to the mail-station (1871) (Croockewit 1866:326-7; Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:330-1), the passage of the Java Mail Coach at the mail station at foot of the pass (1876), and the arrival of the governor-general’s carriage at the same mail station with the galloping outriders of Van Lansberge’s (1830-1903, in office, 1875-81) private bodyguard
clearing the darkening road (1879) (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:334-5).

The three major themes of Saleh’s 1838 portrait – political relations between governors and governed, uniforms and the postweg – will form the leitmotif for our present study. They will be considered in turn as a way of understanding Daendels’ legacy to Java.

**Political Relations**

Nearly a third of the 68 clauses in the three separate instructions received by Daendels from King Louis on 9 February 1807 dealt with military and political matters. So it is no surprise that one of Daendels’ primary strategic considerations in planning Java’s defence was the position of the independent Javanese courts. Their power and influence marked them out as potential rivals to the European government and as dubious allies in the event of an enemy attack. The court of Yogya-karta constituted the most redoubtable threat. Its military resources and substantial cash reserves made it especially dangerous. Daendels was only too well aware of this. Even before he left Holland, according to Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831), the marshal ‘already had a prejudice against the sultan […] He had the wish to make [him] feel his superiority and attack him at the first opportunity’ (Engelhard 1816:257-8).

While Engelhard’s views should be treated with caution given his position as a bitter critic and opponent of the marshal, it is clear that Daendels was anxious to place the relationship between Batavia and the courts on a new footing. Just over a month after taking over as governor-general (14 January 1808), he had informed Engelhard of his wish for detailed information concerning the south-central Javanese kingdoms. He also told the senior VOC official that his post as Governor of Java’s Northeast Coast would soon be terminated. Daendels wanted to correspond directly with the Residents at the courts (Daendels 1814: Bijlage 1, Organique stukken 3).
On 25 February, he briefed the Residents on the new administration’s attitude to the courts (Daendels 1814: Bijlage 1, Organique wetten 6). The fifth article underscored the great importance Daendels attached to the honour and prestige of the new Franco-Dutch government:

They [the Residents] should exert themselves in an aloof [ongeveelige] […] way to give the rulers an impression of the power and splendour of the present royal government in Holland and of the protection of the great Napoleon, and […] inspire them with awe and respect (Daendels 1814: Bijlage 1, Organique wetten 6, article 5).

Before these plans could be implemented, both Engelhard and the outgoing Resident of Yogyakarta, Matthijs Waterloo (1769-1812; in office, 1803-8) responded to Daendels’ request for information on the courts by proposing a bold new annexation policy.

While these ideas for a new territorial division of Java were being mooted, Daendels moved to implement his plans for a new relationship with the courts. His first move was to abolish the position of governor and director of Java’s Northeast Coast which he did in person on 13 May 1808 (De Haan 1910-12, iv: 78). The way was now open for direct communications between the governor-general and the Residents. This was the first step in Daendels’ plan to centralize the colonial government on Batavia.

On 28 July 1808, Daendels promulgated his celebrated Edict on Ceremonial and Etiquette (Valck 1844: 140; Van der Chijs 1895-7, xiv: 63-5). This did away with most of the ceremonial functions previously performed by the Residents for the rulers which he considered degrading (Daendels 1814: 94). Instead, the Residents were accorded various privileges more fitting for their new positions as direct representatives of the governor-general and the royal government of King Louis in The Hague.

They now received the title of ‘minister’ with new uni-
forms and the right to carry a blue and gold state parasol or *payung* emblazoned with the arms of the king of Holland (Van der Chijs 1895-7, xiv: 63-5). On official occasions, they were not to remove their hats when approaching the ruler, who was to rise to greet them and make space immediately to his left on his throne. This would allow the Residents to sit at exactly the monarch’s level. They were no longer required to serve the ruler in menial fashion with drink and betelnut. Other articles regulated the new forms of greeting when saluting the ruler both inside and outside the *kraton*, the most important of which was that the minister no longer had to stop his coach when passing that of the ruler (Carey 2008: 166).

The changes in ceremonial amounted to a very substantial alteration to the position of the Dutch representatives at the courts. This struck at the heart of the Javanese understanding of the Dutch presence in Java. Ricklefs has analysed this Javanese political philosophy on the basis of three Javanese texts from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Ricklefs 1974: 362-413). These provide evidence that by the late eighteenth century the Yogyakarta court had legitimised the Dutch presence in west Java, roughly in the Pasundan area, by regarding them as legal descendants of the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran.

This kingdom was roughly contemporaneous with the great east Javanese empire of Majapahit (1292-circa 1527) and has an obscure history. But its memory is preserved in a mythical fashion in the modern Javanese *babad* literature. For the Javanese, Pajajaran had two important characteristics. First, it was a ‘foreign’ kingdom since it lay in the Sundanese-speaking area of west Java. Second, it ruled the high mountains of the Priangan region, a place closely associated in the Javanese view with the spirit world, hence the derivation of the place name ‘Priangan’ from the Javanese *parahyangan* or *prayangan* meaning the ‘abode of the spirits’ (Ricklefs 1974: 375), a landscape later immortalized by Saleh in his paintings.
This area had an important association for the rulers of Mataram for their spiritual consort, Ratu Kidul, was, according to courtly tradition, a princess of Pajajaran. This same tradition held that the Dutch too were now the lawful successors of the foreign kingdom of Pajajaran and rulers over the spiritually significant Priangan region. Such legitimacy could be traced to Governor-General Coen’s foundation of Batavia in 1619 on the site of the Sundanese fishing port of Sunda Kelapa (Jayakarta). It could also be linked, in the Javanese view, with his mythical descent from another Pajajaran princess who carried the signs of royal legitimacy in the form of flaming female pudenda (Ricklefs 1974: 399-413; Caldwell and Henley 2008: 165, quoting Sahlins 2008).

The Yogyakarta prince, Diponegoro (1785-1855), who would later become famous as the leader of the Javanese forces during the Java War (1825-30), clearly understood this tradition in this way. In his writings in exile in Makassar (1833-55), he reflected this dichotomy between Majapahit and Pajajaran as representatives of two royal traditions in Java by relating the well-known story of the twin cannon, Kyai Setomo and Nyai Setomi. He suggested that these represented the Dutch and the Javanese, stating that Dutch-ruled ‘City of Batavia had assumed the mantle of Pajajaran’ (Pajajaran wus ngalih kuthanira Batawi) (Diponegoro, ‘Makassar Notebooks’, 1838, i:155). For Diponegoro and his contemporaries, the Dutch governor-generals who stemmed from Coen – Daendels included – were senior sovereign partners in Java. But they were rulers who carried no rights over the south-central Javanese kingdoms.

When Diponegoro left Magelang for Batavia following his arrest by General Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779-1845) on 28 March 1830, he wrote in his babad that ‘he was leaving Java’ (jengkarira nenggih saking Tanah Jawa) (Babad Diponegora, iv: 187), indicating that he considered he was travelling to a foreign kingdom. The practical expression of this political philosophy lay in the Javanese view of a dualistic hegemony on the island with the Dutch ruling the west and the
Javanese supreme in the centre and east. This latter was also known as the *kejawen* or area of Javanese settlement and language.

While the south-central Javanese rulers referred to the Dutch governor-general respectfully as ‘grandfather’ (*ingkang eyang*), this did not indicate a close personal relationship. Quite the contrary, although the governor-general was revered as a senior ruler, he was not expected to involve himself in the affairs of the courts. On nearly all occasions when a governor-general visited the Principalities up to the outbreak of the Java War difficulties ensued (Ricklefs 1974: 40, 373; Carey 2008: 168, 525-6). A new governor-general was also expected to receive the sultan’s felicitations in the colonial capital, Batavia, since this had the nature of an embassy to a neighbouring kingdom. It was certainly not an act of fealty from a vassal to a liege lord (Ricklefs 1974: 247-54, 373).

In these circumstances the Dutch representative at the courts occupied a critical position. In the Javanese view, he formed part of a duality. This consisted of two men, the *patih* (first minister) and the Resident who owed loyalty both to the Dutch and the Javanese. Thus the Resident was treated by the Javanese rulers as an ‘ambassador’ of the Dutch East Indies Company. As such, he was required to fulfill certain ceremonial functions at their court. At times he even acted as their servant, hence the pouring of wine and the serving of betelnut at state receptions.

Daendels’ edicts effectively destroyed the finely balanced political structure which sanctioned Dutch rule in Java. If the articles of the edicts were enforced there could no longer be any pretence that the Resident was a ‘joint servant’ of both the European government and the ruler. The second sultan’s reaction, as recorded in both the Dutch and Javanese accounts, was one of dismay. According to the Yogya court chronicle, he entertained few illusions about the seriousness of the change (Babad Ngayogyakarta, i: 63, xvi: 42; Carey 2008: 170):
The sultan was disturbed at heart
earnestly pondering over the difficulties.
He already felt quietly about the future
[that] the Dutch would rule,
push aside his royal dignity
[and] break his authority.
In the end, they would gather up Java
like gold carried along by water.

In his own babad, Diponegoro referred to the discussions
which followed the receipt of the news of Daendels’ edicts
in Yogya. He singled out the new seating arrangements and
the right of the ‘minister’ (Resident) to carry a state um-
rella as especially invidious (Babad Dipanegara, 11: 50), a
situation which another Javanese source saw as putting the
Resident on equal footing with the sultan (Carey 1981:234-5
note 9). He also referred to the consternation at the Yogya
court when Daendels announced his intention of visiting
the kraton (Babad Dipanegara, 11: 50):

Then the governor[-general] came to [central] Java.
His name was General [sic] Daendels.

He arrived in Surakarta
[and] wished to proceed to Yogya.
But the sultan did not wish it.
For there was nothing about it
in previous custom
that a governor[-general] should come to [south-central]
Java.

Although some had come to [central] Java,
they had stopped in Semarang,
or at the very furthest, had halted in Salatiga.

Although Diponegoro was conveniently forgetting Gover-
nor-General Baron van Imhoff’s (1705-50; in office, 1743-
50) disastrous May 1746 visit to the Surakarta court which
Photograph of Raden Saleh in his ‘fantasy’ uniform by Woodbury and Page at his neo-Gothic villa in Cikini in 1862 (Courtesy of kitlv/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)
had occasioned Mangkubumi (Sultan Hamengkubuwono I’s, r.1749-92) rebellion – the so-called Giyanti War (1746-57) – the prince’s description fits nicely with the Yogyakarta court view of the dual division of Java in which the governor-general was expected to reside in Batavia and not involve himself in the internal affairs of central Java.

Despite the succinctness of his references, it is clear that Daendels’ reforms deeply unsettled the prince. One of his subsequent war aims would be to return Java to its state before Daendels’ July 1808 edicts. Thus, in the initial ceasefire negotiations in December 1829, the Dutch were given various options all linked to the pre-Daendels era: as private traders, for example, they would be required to restrict themselves to two cities on the north coast, Batavia and Semarang, where they would have to pay the right international market prices for Javanese goods and rent property at the going market rates (Carey 1974:285-8, 2008: 661). Diponegoro’s experience of the crisis provoked by Daendels’ 1808 edicts shaped his long-term political philosophy. His war aims would also be later justified by Java’s experience during the four bitter decades of the Cultivation System (1830-70).

Daendels’ Sartorial Legacy: The Importance of Uniforms

Daendels’ administration in Java had a pronounced military character. This could be seen both in the time he devoted to military issues and in the particular sartorial style which he promoted. Unlike former VOC governor-generals whose fashion was that of the Dutch eighteenth-century regency elite, Daendels’ formal attire was his marshal’s uniform. The Javanese sources noted this transition. On 29 July 1809, when Daendels arrived at Kalasan to begin his first four-day official visit to the sultan’s capital, both Diponegoro, who referred to Daendels as ‘the general’ (see p. 16), and the Surakarta chronogram (sengkala) list (Carey 2008: 210), which noted the ‘army’ (balatantra) – 300 cavalry and 300 infantry – with which the marshal travelled, were struck by
the military character of the new governor-general and his Franco-Dutch administration.

The strengthening of Java’s defences and the development of the colonial army – which Daendels more than doubled in size from around 7,000 to 17,774 men (mostly locally recruited) – were both high priorities for him (Peucker and Van Hoof 1991:57). But he also introduced a strong military element into the civilian administration. Onghokham (1991: 110) compared Daendels’ Generaal Gouvernement (general [i.e. central] government) with its dependant hierarchy of officials with the centralized command structure of the Napoleonic army with its commander-in-chief (opperbevelhebber). Under the new regime, Dutch possessions in Java were divided into nine adjacent prefectures, each sub-divided into districts under the direction of a separate bupati (regent). In Onghokham’s words, the marshal ‘crowned the militarization of the colonial administration by giving each official, both European and Javanese, a military rank. Perhaps he hoped this would lead to better discipline’ (Onghokham 1991: 110). Thus began a tradition both within the Dutch colonial service (Binnenlands Bestuur) and the post-Java War (1825-30) indigenous Javanese and Sundanese priyayi (administrative) elite of officials wearing ‘uniforms’ as a mark of their civil service status which continues to this day for Indonesian government officials (Pegawai Negeri Sipil – PNS).

Daendels also introduced the award of high military rank and the wearing of military uniforms to the Javanese and Madurese aristocracy. He did this to bind the independent princes to his regime and as a form of cheap honours system to reward loyalty and service. During his first interaction with the Surakarta court in June 1808, when he received an official delegation from the Sunan’s court in Semarang, one of his first acts was to honour the young son of the Surakarta ruler, Raden Malikan Saleh, the future Sunan Pakubuwono VII (r. 1830-58), with the brevet rank of lieutenant of cavalry. The eleven-year-old, who was part of the Sunan’s delegation, was presented with a child-sized uniform and all the accoutrements of a cavalry officer, a dis-
The governor-general’s carriage being drawn up Daendels’ postweg.
Painting by A.A.J. Payen (Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden)
tion which apparently touched Sunan Pakubuwono IV (r. 1788-1820) and his Madurese consort, Ratu Kencono ‘very deeply’ (Carey 2008:181).

The most interesting example of such bestowal of military honours, however, was the Mangkunegaran. This was the junior Surakarta royal house whose principality had been created for the first Mangkunegoro, Raden Mas Said (1726-95; r. 1757-95) at the end of the Giyanti Wars (1746-57). This court had its own Javanese martial traditions (Kumar 2008: 11-12, 47-8) and Said had himself been renowned in his younger years as a warrior prince. But Daendels’ relationship with the second Mangkunegoro, Pangeran Prangwedono (1768-1835; r. 1796-1835; post-1821, Mangkunegoro II), brought a new dimension to this Javanese military inheritance. In July 1808, he was summoned to Semarang to receive a promotion as full colonel of the King of Holland’s armée, and the establishment of his 1,150-strong private force as an official ‘legion’ in emulation of Daendels’ own short-lived Batavian Legion (Van der Chijs 1895-7, xiv: 775, xv: 66; Rouffaer 1905: 604-3; Carey 2008: 182-4).

The forty-year-old Mangkunegaran ruler’s position as a ‘Company Prince’ was now officially recognised and he would serve the European government loyally until his death in January 1835. Henceforth, his official dress was to be his European colonel’s uniform, his hair cut short in European military fashion, and his social style that of a regimental commander on constant campaign (Van Hogendorp 1913: 169; Carey 1992: 409 note 57). Only his head-dress or blangkon remained as a small concession to his Javanese origins. The twenty-seven-year-old Justinus van Schoor (1795-1841), later Secretary to the Netherlands-Indies Government (1830-34) and a member of the Council of the Indies (Raad van Indië) (1839-41), who accompanied Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) on his official tour of the principalities in August 1822, gave a vivid impression of the second Mangkunegoro’s social style in his anonymously published diary (Lettres de Java 1829:86): ‘one hardly slept, the prince in his colonel’s uniform remained
standing all night, only sitting down in his armchair to snatch some rest from time to time’.

The bestowal of uniforms and ranks – Daendels would provide similar honours to the first Sultan of Bangkalan, Pangeran Adipati Cakraadiningrat VII (r. 1780-1815), and the Panembahan of Sumenep, Nataningrat (r. 1804-10), in eastern Madura – provided a new ‘Europeanised’ dimension to the feudal etiquette of the courts which revolutionised social relations amongst the Javanese elite. Werner Kraus has caught this well in his recent study of Raden Saleh (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:84):

One of the big questions people faced in colonial society […] concerned what they were allowed to wear. A semi-official, yet socially sanctioned, dress code dictated what all the inhabitants of the colony were supposed to wear. The Chinese were required to present themselves in their ‘national’ dress, which in the case of men included wearing the pigtail. Simple Javanese men were to wear a sarong, and their wives a sarong and kebaya, while Javanese of higher status were required to appear in ‘traditional’ ceremonial robes on the colonial stage. Anyone entitled to wear a uniform was to do so. The Dutch uniform entailed the right to walk upright. A Dutch uniform did not bend at the knees and certainly did not creep along the floor, which is why the uniform was so popular amongst the native princes […]. The way these men were required to deport themselves in public was no longer dictated by their rank but by their clothing.

Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1792-1862), who commanded the Dutch East Indies army (1847-50), noted in his diary that when he visited the court of Sultan Paku Nataningrat (r. 1811-54) in Sumenep in the late 1840s that ‘a group of apanaged princes cowered on the ground while those in uniform stood equal to their European masters’ (Starklof 1865-66, i: 253).
‘Standing equal to their European masters’ was socially very desirable, especially for those with a European education or with pretensions to be treated on a par with Europeans. Pangeran Notokusumo (1764-1829), the senior Yogya prince who was a confidante of Raffles and who was elevated by him as an independent prince with the title of Pakualam I (r. 1812-29) on 22 June 1812 for services rendered to the new British regime, adopted the same sartorial style as the Mangkunegaran, cropping his hair short and wearing a uniform at court receptions (Carey 2008: 329). This enabled him to avoid uncomfortable situations where he might have to pay homage to the sultan as the ‘senior’ Yogya ruler. When his nephew, Diponegoro’s father, Sultan Hamengkubuwono III (r. 1812-14), was installed as sultan following the British assault on the Yogya kraton, Notokusumo/Pakualam I’s British cavalry officer’s uniform enabled him to offer the new ruler a handshake in the European style rather than have to fall to his knees and make the traditional obeisance as required by court etiquette (Carey 2008: 356-7).

Something of a fetish even developed around uniforms in court circles. The teenage fourth sultan (r. 1814-22), Diponegoro’s younger brother, became so besotted with his Dutch major-general’s uniform and the eight-pointed star of the Order of the Union, which Daendels had bestowed on his father in May 1811, that his senior court officials had great difficulty in persuading him that he should not wear it while presiding over those most quintessential of Javanese-Islamic court ceremonies, the Garebeg (Carey 2008: 413, 459-60). Significantly, his official court portrait shows him on horseback dressed in this selfsame military uniform with Daendels’ diamond-studded Order prominently displayed (Carey 2008: 460).

The most touching – and disturbing – admission of the importance of Daendels’ new sartorial dress code can be found in a private letter of Raden Saleh to King Willem III (r. 1849-90) written on 15 March 1865 some thirteen years after the painter’s return to his native Java (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 84-5). In this letter, Saleh petitioned the Dutch
monarch to allow him to wear a ‘fantasy’ uniform in order to avoid an impossible social situation both with regard to his relations with the central Javanese courts and with involvement with high-class European society in the colony. He reminded the king of his special status as ‘painter to the king’, an honour which the ruler had bestowed on him on 17 March 1851 just before his return to Java. He then went on to detail his problem:

[…] strange difficulties are arising for him, difficulties which he would like to see resolved because they pose a considerable obstacle to the work which he intends to carry out […].

That on account of his European education, his long stay in the countr[i]es of education [sic! The Netherlands, Germany and France], his dealings with Europeans, the studies he has pursued and the art which he creates, he is not able to place himself on the same level as the great majority of his less developed compatriots despite the fact that they are also his brothers.

That as a Javanese he is not permitted to appear at the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta without adhering to the customs prevailing there: namely, that he must appear in the court dress, which means with naked upper body; that he is not permitted to sit on a chair but must only sit on the floor with legs crossed; that he must crawl on the floor and much more besides.

That, although he wishes to display his honour and respect to his princes, he must clearly express that it is difficult, indeed impossible for him, to adhere to such customs. That his decency forbids him from appearing in Javanese court costume, which incidentally is also damaging to his health, and that he is not able to wear the decorations awarded to him and that these alone distinguish him from his compatriots.
That only Javanese who wear an officer’s uniform are exempted from the aforementioned regulations and all noble Radhens (Raden; a title of junior nobility) wear this uniform. That he consorts with the Pangerans and Radhens on an equal footing and that the clothing privileges that they enjoy entail a great difficulty for him.

That it has been hinted [to him] a number of times [...] that there is no need for him to appear at the courts, to which he wishes to argue: 1. That he would not then be in a position to pay his respects to his masters and that this would have a very disadvantageous effect on his social standing. 2. That he would not be able to perform his aforementioned duties [ie making studies for his future oil paintings and tracing historical objects and old manuscripts for the benefit of the Bataviaasch Genootschap] in the principalities. That the aforementioned difficulties relate not only to audiences at court but also to all social obligations and festivities from which the writer must remain absent.

That all these difficulties would be removed if Your Majesty would permit the writer, in his capacity as ‘painter to the king’, to wear the uniform of a cavalry captain in the former Batavia citizens’ militia (schutterij). That this uniform is worn neither by the Dutch nor the Dutch East Indies military, thus it is tantamount to a fantasy uniform.

That he attaches great value to the wearing of a uniform, not only for the aforementioned reasons, but because outside the principalities too, all persons who have a rank or a title – and these persons form the core of European society in the Indies – wear uniforms or costumes on special occasions. While the writer, who is not permitted to wear European clothes in this country, feels himself compelled, in the absence of a
uniform, in order not be clothed entirely as a Javanese and in order to distinguish himself from his [less educated] compatriots, to make do with a kind of fantasy uniform, and that he is not comfortable with this situation as one will [well] understand.

Then as a sort of postscript at the end he promised His Majesty that he would ‘wear the uniform [of the defunct Bataviaasch Schutterij] with honour and not soil it’, signing off ‘your lowly and loyal servant – Raden Saleh’.

Saleh’s petition fell on deaf ears. No reply was ever forthcoming from the Dutch king. Instead, in Kraus’s words, ‘the painter continued to wear his fantasy uniform despite his dislike of it: a double-buttoned dark blue jacket (jas tutup) […] whose collars reached up to his ears. This was accompanied by dark blue trousers with stripes down the sides (sometimes a sarong), shoes and the Javanese head-dress the blangkon. Some visitors were reminded of the long-faded Admiral Nelson, while others accepted the dress as an artist’s eccentricity. However one interprets it, this clothing turned Saleh into a strange intermediate being – half European, half Javanese, neither fish nor fowl, a lip-lap’ (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 86).

This situation was precisely the reason why the second Mangkunegoro, Pangeran Prangwedono, resolutely refused all offers from both Raffles (1811-16) and the subsequent returned Dutch administration of Governor-General Van der Capellen (in office, 1816-26) to school his sons in Calcutta or the Netherlands because he feared that they would return neither as Europeans nor as Javanese (Büchler 1888, i: 15; Carey 2008: 364).

The same spirit – albeit from a radically different political angle – animated Diponegoro’s insistence during the Java War that all Dutch prisoners should dress in Javanese dress, consider conversion to Islam and use High Javanese (krama) to their captors rather than the despised language of the colonial state, Market Malay (Pasar Maleisch), later the Service Malay (Dienst Maleisch) of the Netherlands-
Indies (Hoffmann 1979: 65-92; Carey 2008: 619; Kraus and Vogelsang 2012:60). This form of Malay was in Diponegoro’s view ‘the language of chickens which no ruler in Java wished to hear’ (Carey 2008: 109). It would later be the topic of bitter reflection by the likes of Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) at the end of the nineteenth century when the insistence of Dutch officials in using the language to speak to highly educated Javanese with fluency in the colonial mother tongue caused deep offence (Kartini 1964: 61).

It is clear that the language issue had already become a topic of conversation amongst the Javanese elite during Daendels’ administration. As a non-voc outsider, the marshall’s linguistic skills were almost certainly restricted to a knowledge of pidgin Malay (brabbel-Maleisch). He knew no Javanese, the language of the court elite, which many senior voc officials, who had postings in Java, were familiar with – some like J.G. van den Berg (1762-1842), who had served successively as Resident of Yogyakarta (1798-1803) and Surakarta (1803-6), exceedingly so (Fasseur 1993: 66; Carey 2008: 174). This situation was interestingly reflected in the behavior of the Yogyakarta Crown Prince, the future Sultan Hamengkubuwono III, at a military review at the ruler’s country retreat or buitenplaats (pesanggrahan) of Rojowinan-gun on 1 June 1808. In the absence of his father, the second sultan, who had no knowledge of Malay or inclination to humour the Dutch, the Crown Prince, sought to prove his pro-Dutch sentiments by insisting that his tea should be served with milk like that of his Dutch guests, and crying out at the top of his voice that the Yogya courtiers and officials should speak nothing else but Malay on that day ‘because that was the language which the sultan’s friends, the Dutch, used with their people!’ (Carey 2008: 180). In this fashion, the politics of the Daendelien era began to be played out at the level of language and taste as pro and anti-Dutch sentiments fuelled factional alignments of the Yogya court.
The Tyranny of Distance: 
The Social and Cosmological Impact of the Postweg

The sartorial, linguistic and political changes wrought by Daendels all pointed in the direction of a new relationship between governors and governed. Although based on shaky military foundations, the marshal’s administration drew a line under the previous Company era. The VOC had been at the most primus inter pares (first among equals), a situation which was steadily declining in favour of the indigenous rulers as Dutch power waned in Europe following the naval disasters of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-83) and the French Republican conquest of Holland in the winter of 1794-5. In 1781 and again in 1793-4, troops from the principalities were requested to defend the colonial capital against anticipated foreign attack. Indeed, it was only the presence of such troops – ably coordinated by the future Governor of Java’s Northeast Coast, Nicolaus Engelhard – which succeeded in repulsing a British landing at Marunda in October 1800 (Zandvliet 1991:79-80). From an important naval base for the coordination of Dutch seaborne trade with the East, Java at the close of the eighteenth century had become a territorial ‘bastion’ (bolwerk) in the Indian Ocean (Zandvliet 1991:79).

Daendels’ appointment reflected this changed strategic situation. His postweg was his own imaginative response to the new military realities: not only could troops be moved by land – thus avoiding the British blockade of Javanese north coast ports – but it also served as the strategic backbone for an island-wide defense system. Daendels’ successor, Janssens’, retreat from Meester Cornelis to Semarang in late August and early September 1811 would not have been possible without the existence of this new military road. Although Daendels would stress the economic benefits of the postweg in his letters to the Minister of Trade and Colonial Affairs, Paulus van der Heim (Stevens 1991:72), and subsequently in his 1814 defense of his administration (Daendels 1814), it is clear that the road’s military and strategic importance had pride of place (Nas and Pratiwo 2002:711-2).
The existence of the road marked the beginning of an integrated modern Java whose transport system ran west-east by land along the north coast rather than, as previously, north-south following the major rivers connecting the coast and the interior. Nas and Pratiwo (2002: 721) have reminded us that ‘traditional Javanese life is expressed in its urban form by its orientation towards the mountain and the river’. They cite the great east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (1293-1527) in the Brantas river basin which was secured by the Anjasmoro mountain range, and Majapahit’s successors, Demak, Mataram and the post-1755 court city of Yogyakarta which also had its kraton orientated towards a sacred mountain, Mt Merapi (Nas and Pratiwo 2002:721-2). Once the postweg was constructed, however, it replaced the rivers as the main economic artery and cosmological notions changed drastically:

Chinese did not build their new temples at the riverside any more, but on the postweg. They perceived the postweg as the new ‘breath of life’. The [modern] temple in Lasem built in the twentieth century was not oriented towards the Lasem River as was the case with the old temple, but faced the grote postweg. A similar change occurred with the ‘palaces’ [sic, dalem] of the regents built in the mid-nineteenth century. (Nas and Pratiwo 2002: 722)

Over time the grote postweg became one prolonged urbanized area, and Java along with the Kanto plain and the 400-kilometre arc between Osaka and Tokyo in Japan, one of the most densely populated regions in the world. In Nas and Pratiwo’s (2002: 721) words, ‘one could call Java the longest city in the world with the Grote Postweg as its main transport and economic artery’.

But this is to get ahead of our story. While what remains today of the postweg is almost obliterated by Java’s urban sprawl, it did not start out that way. In fact, use of the new trans-Java highway was heavily restricted: not only was it a
military road, but as its name implied it was also a posting road. The fast delivery of government dispatches and European personnel were its priorities. Daendels organized the new government postal services with about two hundred horses and a series of post stations to change horses, reducing the delivery time for a letter between Batavia to Semarang from nearly two weeks to just 3-4 days (Nas and Pratiwo 2002: 712). Drawing on Majapahit precedent (Stutterheim 1948:65), he also established a police force for security – the *Jayeng Sekar* (mounted constabulary), forerunner of the present-day Indonesian *brigade mobil* (Brimob) (Carey 2008: 53).

None of this came cheap. Errembault van Dudzeele, who travelled to Batavia from south-central Java for periods of local leave during the Java War, estimated that at the cheapest rate of 500 Dutch Indies guilders (ƒ), an overland journey from Semarang to the colonial capital cost him close to one and half times his monthly army officer’s salary as an infantry major (ƒ350) (Errembault 1830: 19-10-1828). Once the steamship route had been opened between the two cities in 1825, it was much cheaper to go by sea: the two-day sea journey on the *ss Van der Capellen*, the first steamship in the Netherlands Indies operated by the Scots firm Thomp-son, Robert & Co, was a bargain at just ƒ120 – food and lodging all found (Errembault 1830: 5-5-1826; 19-10-1828; Broeze 1979: 269; Van Enk 1999: 219 note 86). This was how Diponegoro would start his long journey into exile in early April 1830 (Carey 2008: 586).

Daendels also instituted a system whereby private persons wishing to use the *postweg* had to present convincing reasons for the journey. He made it even more difficult for them to have their use of post horses financed. In April 1865, Raden Saleh cleverly finessed both these problems by offering his services to the Batavian Society of Arts & Sciences (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) as a procurer of Javanese manuscripts. The Batavian Society agreed to file a travel application on his behalf with free use of post horses and a month later he received
official permission and sponsorship to begin his journeys to south-central Java (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 98).

But Saleh was not your ordinary Javanese. For those without the royal painter’s connections, access to the postweg was a near impossibility. Indeed, the road was not accessible to Javanese vehicles. It was only for Dutch carriages equipped with the requisite coachmen and footmen. In Kraus’s words ‘when a colonial officer travelled along this road in an official capacity, it was more than just a journey it was a demonstration of colonial power’ (Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 69).

Such impressions were also evidenced by non-Dutch witnesses writing in the mid-nineteenth century. One such was the Stuttgart-born travel writer Therese von Bacheracht, later Therese von Lützow (1804-52), who had married her cousin, then commander of the eastern military division of Java, Colonel Vetter Heinrich Freiherr von Lützow (in post, 1849-52). Just before her death from dysentery in remote Cilacap on her way back to Germany, she wrote that ‘when a military or civilian person of high rank travels, this is done with such expense that it appears to say to the natives: We are the masters and you are the servants!’ (Therese von Lützow ‘Java Diary’ 1852, quoted in Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 69). Another German visitor, Gustav Spieß, who participated in the first official Prussian expedition to East Asia in 1860-62, remarked that ‘the shyness [of the Javanese] in the face of Europeans is indescribable: every rider climbed down from his horse when our carriage approached, the worker set down his load and all natives who encountered us cowered in a humble position on the ground until the white men, the tuwan-tuwan (colonial masters), had driven past’ (Spieß 1864: 400).

‘Driving past’ thus came to symbolize a core element of the new relationship between the Dutch and the Javanese introduced by Daendels’ postweg. Indeed, the road was a paradox: at one level it had shrunk physical distance, at another level it had introduced a new ‘tyranny of separation’ between governors and governed. In Kraus and Vogelsang’s words (2012: 69):
A carriage flying along the sealed and illuminated post road, surrounded and protected by riders in decorative uniforms and the Javanese cowering on the ground: this is the image that best reflects the society which organized the most successful system of colonial exploitation ever [but] which nonetheless lived in settlements, called defiantly and in slight fear ‘Buitenzorg’ (Beyond Worries) and ‘Weltevreden’ (Well Satisfied).

An extreme view of this new relationship is evidenced in P.A. Daum’s novel *Indische menschen in Holland* (Indies people in Holland) (1890):

I lived in two cities of royal residence [Surakarta and Yogyakarta]. Personally, I came into very little contact with the population, and also had no desire to examine the circumstances of their lives. I have not the least sympathy for the population. They are not a people. They are nothing, simply nothing. (quoted in Kraus and Vogelsang 2012: 69)
Conclusions

It may be judged unfair to lay such charges of indifference at Daendels’ door. Unlike the old Indies hands of late nineteenth-century Hague society so trenchantly depicted by Daum, Daendels did not hold himself aloof from indigenous society. Indeed, if one believes Nicolaus Engelhard’s biased evidence, he even entered into a relationship with the daughter of the penultimate Sultan of Banten, Abdul Nashar Muhammad Ishaq Zainulmutaqin (r. 1803-8), who followed him back to Buitenzorg as his ‘lady-in-waiting’ after he had abolished the sultanate in November 1808 (Engelhard 1816:157; Bosma and Raben 2008:84). But the long-term legacies of his tumultuous governor-generalship are not to be denied.

Daendels was a revolutionary both in the strict political sense and in the wider context of his radical ambitions. He thought big. ‘Aucun gouverneur n’y avoit pensé avant lui et je crois qu’aucun n’auroit osé penser après’ was Errembault’s summation of the boldness of his trans-Java highway (postweg) project. He may have lacked Napoleon’s military genius, but he was the Corsican’s equal when it came to administrative action. He was not in the business of reforming a few archaic practices, a little tinkering at the edges to bring the old Dutch East Indies Company into the modern world. He wanted root and branch change. His administration transformed the political world of Java. Henceforth, the elegant Javanese political philosophy of two sovereigns and the reassuring divide between the kingdoms of Batavia/west Java and Java proper – namely the kejawen – would be well-nigh impossible to maintain. In everything that touched the relationship between south-central Java and Batavia, from the political demands of the colonial administration, to access to labour and economic resources, to military and defence requirements in an era of global conflict, it was clear that Java had entered a new age.

Most historians have judged Daendels’ Java years on the basis of European sources. But these are limited. It is only when he is seen in the Javanese context that his radicalism
is truly revealed. Like a depth charge, the impact of his presence would be felt long after his physical departure. There was much that he did not plan. His sartorial legacy – in particular his bequest of an alternative military dress code at the Javanese and Madurese courts – was a by-product of his administration. But the fact that uniforms continue to play such a role in Javanese society is a measure of his extraordinary influence. He stood Javanese society on its axis, offering new ways of acquiring status and respect. The first governor-general with a military rank, he set a precedent which would resonate into the modern period. Here he reflected a contemporary trend in Europe: the militarization of European monarchies and the tendency for European rulers and their male offspring to be painted in military dress (Mansel 2005).

There are, of course, many dark sides to Daendels’ legacy: one thinks particularly of his swift recourse to the use of force and his preference for military style executions for those who had thwarted his plans. His regime in Java was marked by acts of extreme violence. Some contemporaries thought him a ‘monster’ (De Haan 1935: 557; Carey 2008: 157). But whether his regime was spectacularly more violent than its VOC predecessors or the successor British administration of Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-16) is moot.

In terms of the relationship between governors and governed, there were a number of long-term consequences. Some of these have been suggested in the reflections on the paradoxes of the postweg: the shrinking of physical distances, and the yawning social gap between the colonial masters and the non-elite inlander. Even at the elite level, so brutal and sudden were the changes that it would prove well-nigh impossible for those who had grown to manhood when the Javanese old order was still intact, to make the required shift in consciousness. Much more would have to happen before such a change would be seen either as necessary or inevitable. Amongst the south-central Javanese aristocracy few indeed would begin to make the necessary ad-
justments to the new colonial order before the Java War. But by then it would be too late. The time for making changes the Javanese way would have long since passed. The colonial government would do it for them. Turning the clock back in Java to the pre-Daendels’ era, as Diponegoro attempted during the Java War, was an exercise in nostalgia. After Daendels they could be no turning back. Java had crossed the Rubicon into the modern age.

Notes

1 The governors-general were Daendels, Van den Bosch (in office, 1830-34), and Saleh’s own ‘guardian’, Jean-Christien Baud (in office, 1834-6).
2 The large portraits of the governor-generals – amongst them Saleh’s 1838 portrait of Daendels – in the Landsverzameling Schilderijen were repatriated from the newly independent Indonesia after the transfer of power on 27 December 1949 and are now part of the Rijksmuseum collection in Amsterdam. However, 74 of the 210 miniatures and other smaller paintings, including ‘King Solomon’s Judgement’, were not repatriated and are now still in Indonesia, see De Loos Haaxman, ‘De verzameling ’s-Lands schilderijen. Ontstaan, groei en restauratie’, Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, 80 (1949), 367-84.
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