Voyage of discovery : exploring the collections of the Asian Library at Leiden University
Reeuwijk, Alexander

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

EXPLORING THE COLLECTIONS OF THE ASIAN LIBRARY AT LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

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EDITED BY ALEXANDER REEUWIJK

LEIDEN PUBLICATIONS

Arundo Indica femoris pene
habiti craßitudine.

Indicus en truncus brachijs ſepandit opacis
Grata etiam ut justis umbra ſit agminibus

Arbor admiranda quę e ramis novos in terram truncos dimittens
tam lata tandem occupat ſpatia, ut justum exercitum umbra poßit
contegere, Ficum Indicam

Duriones fructus jucunda ſaporis ſuavitate prę alijs omni
bus habiti eximij, nascuntur tantum in Mallacca.

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Preface

Dear reader,

The volume now before you, *Voyage of Discovery; Exploring the Collections of the Asian Library*, has been published to mark the opening of the Asian Library.

The study of Asia and its peoples, languages and history has always been a priority focus for Leiden University. The expertise and collections of renowned collectors and professors, including Philipp Franz von Siebold, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk and Hendrik Kern – to name only a few – have turned Leiden University into a leading centre in these fields both nationally and internationally. The University remains at the forefront, for instance thanks to partnerships between various faculties and the International Institute for Asian Studies, the Japan Museum SieboldHuis and the Leiden Asia Centre.

A flagship library is essential for a flagship university. In recent years Leiden University Libraries, under the inspiring leadership of university librarian Kurt De Belder, merged its Asian collections, including those of the Kern Institute and the East Asian Library, with the collections of the Royal Tropical Institute and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. As a result, the Asian Library can match its collections and services with those of other major research libraries on Asia internationally. The collections on Indonesia, South and Southeast Asia and the Far East are among the finest and the largest in the world.

Libraries need users. This book tells you how scholars, curators and authors make use of the various parts of the collections for their work, ranging from rare manuscripts to a digital poster collection and from mainstream magazines to unique farewell albums originating from the Netherlands Indies. In addition, this volume contains illustrations of some of the key pieces, magnificently reflecting the riches and diversity of the collection. The Asian Library's collections not only contains books and manuscripts, but also photographs, films, periodicals, posters and other items. Other holdings of Leiden University Libraries, such as the manuscript collection, the cartography collection and the Print Room collection, likewise include items from and on Asia. In short, with the realisation of the Asian Library project, the University has expanded and strengthened its position in the field of Asian Studies.

The Asian Library is more than a traditional library collection, however. It has also become a place to meet people. The entire collection is now housed on the premises of the University Library at Witte Singel in Leiden. The newly built extension on the top floor of this building can accommodate up to 150 students, who can study in a state-of-the-art reference library with expert subject specialists. There are also various meeting spaces, a small film theatre and a space where Fellows can work on their research. In the unique indoor garden, tropical plants from the Hortus Botanicus create an enjoyable atmosphere for students and researchers to meet and relax. And so the Asian Library has become the place to be for anyone wishing to immerse themselves in the rich cultures, languages and history of Asia.

Finally I would like to congratulate all those involved in the creation of this marvellous library and wish you, reader, much enjoyment reading this volume.
Do not regard it as a catalogue, but as a representative sample of what the Asian Library has to offer or better still, as a travel guide. I hope reading this book will inspire you to come and visit Leiden University, but first of all I hope you may embark on a wonderful voyage of discovery through Asia.

PROFESSOR CAREL STOLKER
Rector Magnificus & President
Leiden University

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The Asian Library at Leiden University

Leiden University is justifiably proud of its many achievements since the time of its foundation by William I, Prince of Orange, in 1575. Its consistently high position in international rankings, many Nobel laureates and Spinoza prize winners and its reputation for innovation, research and scholarship bear testimony to the outstanding intellectual environment that the university has been home to for more than four centuries.

From the outset, professors and students alike had their attention drawn to the East. As the first Dutch traders began to open up connections with South and South East Asia, scholars immediately realised there were new worlds to investigate and study, ones that were sophisticated, complex and unknown to Europeans. In 1597, Paulus Merula, one of Leiden University's first librarians, acquired a text that had been brought back by Dutch merchants from Northern Java, prompting the university to request that those setting out on long-distance trade expeditions bring back plants and seeds that could help stimulate learning and education in the Dutch Republic.

By that time, there were already scholars working on the history and cultures of the East – most notably the brilliant polymath Joseph Justus Scaliger, who on his death left all the manuscripts and 'books in foreign tongues' to Leiden University, providing a major boost to the collections that continued to grow as the Dutch experiences with the wider world intensified and grew.

Inevitably, because of trading interests, considerable attention was paid to Indonesian languages and cultures, although as information, ideas and texts were brought back from a wide range of locations, the interest in other regions grew too. The appointment of professors in Arabic, Turkish and Persian and later of specialists looking at the languages and cultures of South East Asia concentrated resources and expertise at Leiden, making the university one of the leading institutions in the world for the study of Asian affairs.
The astonishing collections now held in the Asian Library at Leiden chart the stages of the discovery of peoples and cultures, languages and ideas and even of flora and fauna, such as the famous *Het Amboinsch Kruidboek* (*The Ambonese Herbal*) whose dissemination was initially forbidden by the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (the Dutch East India Company) due to concerns that information about what could be found where in the Indonesian archipelago was commercially sensitive and might aid rivals at the VOC's expense.

The collections also include other important examples of the Dutch experiences in other parts of Asia, notably in Japan, where maps made from the 17th century onwards provide unique insights into the experiences of sailors, merchants and travellers that help show the different stages of contact as links across thousands of miles deepened and changed.

As scholars at Leiden have always been aware, the world does not begin and end with Europe. Exploring other continents in their own right, understanding contacts and inter-connections between regions, assessing borrowings, similarities and differences is of course vital in helping provide a wider perspective of the past. This is all the more important in the 21st century at a time of transition where Asia is changing both quickly and unevenly.

As such, the Asian Library at Leiden does a great deal more than provide a window on the past, for it also opens perspectives on the present and the possibility of new approaches for the future. Particularly interesting is the use of history in contemporary politics – such as the strategy of appealing to the memory of Prince Dipanegara, vividly portrayed in manuscripts held at Leiden, as a beacon of moral rectitude by modern commentators seeking to stamp out corruption in Indonesia: evoking a model of probity from the 19th century to urge for greater accountability in the world of today is revealing about use of and attitudes to the past.
What makes the collections of Leiden's Asian Library so exciting is that they are not only made up of astonishing treasures like 12th-century Sanskrit manuscripts written in Nepalese script or rare copies of the epic *Mahābhārata*, including one in Bengali script, but also offer a range of contemporary materials. These include the digital database of North Korean printed posters, which provide a unique insight into the visual arts, political culture and political control in a country that is difficult to gain access to and even harder to study.

The Library holds such diverse materials as a substantial corpus of travel literature that can be studied to show how attitudes and approaches evolved with regard to Dutch colonies and their inhabitants in the Malay peninsula and Indonesia over the course of the 1800s and 1900s, and magazines that enable the tracking of the changing role played by women as leaders in East Asia in the late 20th century.

The collection of Leiden University Libraries holds more than five million books and more than a million e-books. The Asian holdings run to over 30km of shelving space and are one of the most important collections in the world, and certainly in Europe. Although the new Asian Library has brought together works assembled at different times by many different people, the books, manuscripts and resources in Leiden have been profoundly important since the university's earliest days.

As an academic who has spent twenty-five years at Oxford, it is rather fitting to acknowledge the debt that my own home libary – the Bodleian – owes to both Leiden and to Joseph Justus Scaliger, for the Bodleian today holds books that once belonged to the distinguished scholar. Bodley, who spent eight years in The Hague representing Queen Elizabeth I, was greatly impressed by the 'great...forwardness of learning' that he encountered amongst the Dutch, a tradition that continues to this very day, epitomised by the International Institute for Asian Studies. Scholarship rests on having materials available to be able to study, bringing researchers together and having space to be able to think, discuss and move subjects forward. We can sometimes forget that great advances are not just made in the sciences, but in the humanities too. It is a great delight to see this wonderful collection brought to a condition that would make men like Paulus Merula, Joseph Justus Scaliger and the men and women whose endeavors, adventures and travels resulted in works being brought back from all over the world that now lie within the walls of this fabulous new Asian Library. As this book shows so well, these are not just the treasures of Leiden University, but masterpieces of human civilisation in all its rich, glorious and different forms.

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Introduction

'A more accurate view of the conditions in the East': Leiden University and Asian studies

BY WIM VAN DEN DOEL

In 1595, within two decades of the foundation of Leiden University, four Dutch ships of the Compagnie van Verre left for Java under the command of Cornelis de Houtman. When he set out for the East, De Houtman could not rely on any knowledge offered by Leiden, but used the information collected by the Enkhuizen-born Jan Huygen van Linschoten on his Asian voyage and included in his *Reys-gheschrift vande navigatien der Portugaloysers in Orienten*. The ships furthermore carried maritime maps and astronomical instruments devised by the Amsterdam minister Petrus Plancius. Knowledge on Asia was otherwise scarce. The Portuguese, who had been dealing directly with Asia for almost a century, were especially secretive about information on their trade routes. 'Asia' was a continent to trade with, and that is what Dutch merchants would be engaged in on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, they, too, would rather keep the territories they possessed or traded with a secret.

As a result, Leiden scholars who studied the 'Orient' in this period were mainly focused on the Near East and on Semitic languages. They only came into contact with Asia serendipitously. For instance the Arabist and mathematician Jacob Golius came across the names of the 24 periods of the solar year in the land 'Cathay' in a Persian text. With the aid of the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini, he established that these names were Chinese loan words and that 'Cathay' was a name for China. Golius also received a few Chinese books from Martini, though the gift would not lead to a blossoming of Chinese Studies in Leiden. The actual study of the Asian world at Leiden University had to wait until the 19th century, when the establishment of the colonial state in the Dutch East Indies made it necessary to acquire greater knowledge of the languages, cultures and societies in the Malay Archipelago and to cultivate and transmit this knowledge. As a result, the development of Asian Studies at Leiden University is intimately connected with Dutch colonial history.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE COLONIES

In spite of the need for knowledge about the Malay Archipelago, it was only in 1877 that chairs of 'Indology Studies' were established at Leiden University. In 1842 a training programme for colonial officials had been set up at the instigation of Minister of Colonies Jean Chrétien Baud, though not in Leiden but in Delft, at the Koninklijke Akademie voor Handel en Nijverheid (Royal Academy of Trade and Industry). As a result, the study of Javanese, Malay and Islamic law could not be pursued at Leiden University but in Delft. A few years later, in 1851, Baud laid the basis for what is now called the Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), which he described as 'a powerful instrument to promote not only academic studies, but also the objectives of a just, enlightened and benevolent government'. Scholarship was to be the handmaiden of the colonial authorities, that much was certain. The KITLV was first located in Delft, after which it was moved to The Hague in 1864.

There were numerous complaints about the colonial training programme at Delft, which partly resulted from the fact that about half of the students, poorly prepared for the course as they were, failed their final exams. In 1864 the Dutch statesman Thorbecke arranged that candidates were no longer able to qualify as colonial civil servants through training, but had to follow a competition procedure instead. It was open to each candidate to prepare for this 'grootambtenaarsexamen' (an exam which qualified the successful candidate for senior public office) as he saw fit. At the same time Thorbecke created a new government institute in Leiden to provide training in the languages, geography and ethnology of the East Indies. Its government-appointed professors taught language and literature, geography

Figure 1: Jan Heemskerk Azn. He introduced the Higher Education Act (1876) and established professorships in the field of Indology studies at Leiden University.

and ethnology, as well as the history, law and governance of the Dutch East Indies and the religious laws, ethnic dispositions and customs in the archipelago. This government institute, however, proved unsuccessful, largely because of its fruitless attempt to reconcile academic and vocational training. The proximity of Leiden University had not made any difference. This had already been predicted by the Dutch MP Jan Heemskerk Azn. in 1864: 'unity of place may be important, but unity of action is more important'. At the time, Heemskerk had advocated transferring Indology Studies to the university and combining them 'with the studies of those who train for the practical life in the Indies'. He felt it combined 'the two forms of scholarship, the heavenly goddess and the milk-giving cow'.

In 1877 Heemskerk – now chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior – was able to put his ideas into practice. The government institute was abolished following the new Higher Education Act, and chairs were now established at Leiden University in Javanese, Malay and the 'Mahomedaansch recht en de overige Volksinstellingen en gebruiken in Nederlandsch-Indië en het Koloniaal Staatsrecht' (Mohammedan law and other ethnic dispositions and customs in the Dutch East Indies and Colonial Constitutional Law). They were respectively occupied by Albert Cornelis Vreede, Jan Pijnappel and Pieter Antonie van der Lith, who had all been professors at the now abolished government institute. At the same time a professorship was created for the 'geschiedenis, letterkunde, oudheden, instellingen, zeden en gewoonten der volken van de Indische Archipel; physische aardrijkskunde van de Indische Archipel (history, literature, antiquities, dispositions, morals and customs of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago; physical geography of the Malay Archipelago), as it was officially called. The person appointed to this chair was Pieter Johannes Veth, in spite of the fact that he had never once set foot in the Dutch East Indies. In his three-volume *Java. Geografisch, ethnologisch, historisch* he presented geography and ethnology in an encyclopaedic way. He was undoubtedly the most influential of the professors to have been appointed in 1877. In his inaugural address he made a case for geography. 'The language and literature of a people, with its entire wealth of ideas and beliefs', he stated, 'largely rely on the soil that feeds them, the air they breathe, and the means of existence arising from their country's location and the fruits it bears.'

Veth's successor George Wilken, who was appointed in 1885, concentrated on the people living in the Dutch East Indies. In his inaugural address he pointed out that ethnology, which 'had been regarded as an unfamiliar and undervalued part of geography for a number of decades' had now grown into 'an independent and powerful discipline'. It was a discipline which he felt should focus on 'the domestic, social and religious life of man, in all parts of the globe'. The study of 'savage peoples' was as important to the sociologist 'as the lower plant or animal forms to the botanist or zoologist'. Darwin's laws, Wilken argued, also applied to human society. Primitive peoples had not 'become savage' due to some cause or other, but had simply been arrested in their development. In other words, anyone wishing to understand the development of society, necessarily had to begin with 'savage societies'. Dutch ethnologists had to devote themselves to the Malay Archipelago, and time was of the essence. 'More and more primitive societies are vanishing from the face of the earth', Wilken warned, 'due to the levelling forces of European culture'. 'They must be studied before it is too late, before they succumb in the struggle for life, or else lose all originality under the pressure of a civilization imposed upon them.'

The discipline of cultural anthropology developed from the ethnology of the Dutch East Indies. In 1922 Leiden University Fund (LUF) appointed Jan P.B. de Josselin de Jong to the endowed chair in General Ethnology. He also worked as curator for the National Ethnographic Museum, where he was responsible for the African, American and Australian collections. Influenced by the French sociologists Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss and his fellow curator Willem Rassers, de Josselin de Jong would become the founder of the Leiden structuralist school of anthropology. Although he was endowed professor of 'general' ethnology, de Josselin de Jong's attention ultimately also focused on the Dutch East Indies. Between 1932 and 1934 he did fieldwork in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago and in 1935 he was appointed full professor in the 'Ethnology of the Dutch East Indies in relation to General Ethnology'. In his inaugural address on *De Maleische Archipel als ethnologisch studieveld* he concluded that all attempts to classify mankind into smaller and sharply delineated categories on the basis of race or civilization had ended in failure. 'It is with civilizations as with races: they are legion or only a few and essentially there is only one', de Josselin de Jong claimed. He did present Indonesia, as he also used to call the Malay Archipelago, as an 'ethnological field of study', a part of the earth with a population whose culture was on the one hand homogeneous and distinctive enough to serve as a separate ethnological object of study, while on the other hand displaying enough diversity to offer opportunities for an internally comparative study.

The study of Asian languages, cultures and societies at Leiden University was largely defined by the training of colonial officials. The so-called Indology Studies acquired an academic character from 1922 and were shaped by progressive professors like Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and Cornelis van Vollenhoven. The former had become Professor of Arabic in 1906 after a long and influential career in the Dutch East Indies. He mainly concerned himself

Figure 2: Professor of General Ethnology J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong on a study trip of the Dutch East Indies (1932-1934).

Figure 3: Cornelis van Vollenhoven, professor of Dutch East Indies Adat Law.

with the position of Islam in colonial society. He felt that government should have no say in the religious life of its subjects, though he did think that political Islam ought to be repressed. Sound education might also help the Islamic population of the Dutch East Indies to 'rid themselves of some of that medieval rubbish, which Islam has been dragging with it for far too long'. In the meantime Van Vollenhoven, who had been appointed to a chair in 1901, had 'discovered' the adat or customary law of the Malay Archipelago. From behind his Leiden desk – he only went on two short visits to the Dutch East Indies – he strongly opposed all efforts to impose a single, European legal system on the population of the Malay Archipelago. Van Vollenhoven felt that 'the heterogeneous ethnic dispositions in the Dutch East Indies' would cause 'the legal robes of the one to sit on another like rented garb'. Within the Dutch East Indies, in other words, there existed large differences between the customary law systems of the several population groups, but at any rate there was an indigenous Indonesian system of law, occasionally coated with an Islamic veneer. In order to retain some kind of grip on the subject, Van Vollenhoven distinguished nineteen so-called 'adat circles' in the Dutch East Indies. He then collected various court rulings culled from travel accounts, official reports or other sources, and collated and published them from 1910 as *Adatrechtbundel*. No fewer than forty of these volumes appeared before 1940. Van Vollenhoven's magnum opus was his three-volume *Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*.

As a legal scholar, Van Vollenhoven had been fully devoted to adat law. In the end, however, he felt that 'an adat law that was to respond to Eastern needs and appeal to Eastern hearts' would only be proof against 'the myopic hubris of Western law' when 'its discovery, adaptation, fertilisation, were to be continued in the spirit of the East', in short

by Indonesian legal scholars. Like Snouck Hurgronje and other Leiden professors, Van Vollenhoven therefore also had Indonesian students. It was Snouck Hurgronje who supervised the first Indonesian PhD student, Hoesein Djajadiningrat, who defended his doctoral thesis *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantēn. Bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* in Leiden on 3 May 1913. Van Vollenhoven also arranged that students from the law school in Batavia were allowed access to Leiden University in 1920 to attend the new course in East Indies law. It was the most popular study among Leiden's Indonesian students. One of them was Soepomo, who obtained his doctorate under Van Vollenhoven in 1927 with a thesis on *De reorganisatie van het agrarisch stelsel in het gewest Soerakarta*. Soepomo later became one of the principal authors of the first constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. As such 'Indology Studies' not only served the colonial state, they also equipped Indonesian students with the knowledge with which to shape an independent Indonesia after World War II.

SANSKRIT AND INDIA

Although the Leiden scholarly interest in Asia was mainly focused on the Malay Archipelago, other parts of the continent were certainly not neglected. When it came to the 'discovery' of Sanskrit, however, the Dutch academic community arrived rather late on the scene. The pioneer of Sanskrit had been the British colonial judge and founder of the Asiatic Society William Jones, who suggested in 1786 that Sanskrit belonged to the same language family as Greek, Latin, Gothic and Celtic. At the beginning of the 19th century the scholarly baton was taken over from the British by German and French scholars. The Hebraist Antonie Rutgers began teaching Sanskrit on a modest scale in Leiden in the 1840s, but had to acknowledge in the end that every European country boasted a chair in Sanskrit, with the exception of the Netherlands, Spain and Greece. It finally persuaded the curators of Leiden University to create a chair in Sanskrit in 1865. Its first occupant was Hendrik Kern, who was born in Purworejo in 1833 and had been trained in Leiden and Berlin.

Hendrik Kern – who in his young years in Makassar had seen his father taking walks with Dipanegara, the Javanese prince who led the Java War – accepted the chair with an inaugural address on *Het aandeel van Indië in de geschiedenis der beschaving en de invloed der studie van het Sanskrit op de taalwetenschap*. Kern then went on to tackle a plethora of subjects, resulting in numerous books and articles. 'If a life dedicated to scholarship can be heroic, such a life was Kern's', the Leiden historian Johan Huizinga would later write. Kern was a true polyglot, who rapidly mastered foreign languages. His student Willem Caland recalled him hunched over a text, 'while regularly a shimmer in his dark metallically glistening eyes, and a nervous twitching of the hand holding his pipe, revealed the restless labour of his mind and imagination'. Ancient texts held life for him: 'He had no need of a

Figure 4: Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, professor of Arabic, Malay and Islamic education.

Figure 5: Hendrik Kern, the first professor of Sanskrit at Leiden.

grammar, glossary or commentary.' He studied not only Sanskrit, but also numerous other languages, eventually becoming the founder of Austronesian linguistics through his study of Old Javanese. On the basis of the words for 'iron' and 'little boat' which the Austronesian languages had in common, he tried to establish in 1889 the origins of the forebears of all Austronesian-speaking peoples and proposed it had to be mainland Southeast Asia. Nor did Kern confine himself to linguistics. Invited by the publisher A.C. Kruseman, he wrote a two-volume *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, a work that also appeared in German, French and Japanese.

Figure 6: J.J. Hoffmann, the founder of Japanese studies at Leiden.

Kern was forced to accept emeritus status in 1903 when he reached the age of 70. His successor Jacob Samuel Speyer died suddenly ten years later, after which the chair in Sanskrit passed to J. Ph. Vogel, who until then had worked as superintendent with the Archaeological Survey of India, a society which commissioned excavations and systematically described archaeological finds and sites. He remained true to archaeology while a professor in Leiden, even though there was as yet no sound infrastructure to underpin his discipline. To make sure it was developed, he founded the Kern Institute in 1925, which received a major donation from LUF 'to purchase furniture, for which the closure of the Hôpital Wallon provided an inexpensive opportunity'. That furniture was moved into Gravensteen, where the Institute flourished and built up a major library partly thanks to various donations. The Kern Institute also set up courses in modern Asian languages in 1927, 'especially with an eye to daily life.' The plans were not warmly embraced by the government, however, which led Vogel to observe: 'that in this matter Leiden perhaps developed a more accurate view of the conditions developing in the East than The Hague'.

CHINA AND JAPAN

For a long time the Netherlands had been the only Western country allowed to trade with Japan, from the artificial island Dejima in the bay of Nagasaki. As a result, knowledge about Japan in the Netherlands mainly came from Dutch merchants stationed on Dejima, from François Caron in the 17th century to Isaac Titsingh in the 18th and Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius in the 19th century. A remarkable scholar in the service of the Dutch East Indies government was the physician Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold, who was born in Würzburg. He arrived in Dejima in 1823, introduced Western medicine in Japan, and also collected Japanese plants and objects, some of which he sent to the Leiden Hortus Botanicus. In 1829 Siebold was forced to leave Japan on charges of treason. He settled on Rapenburg 19 in Leiden, more or less arranging his house as a museum for the objects he had brought from Japan.

A year later Siebold was staying in a hotel in Antwerp, where he met Johann Joseph Hoffmann, an opera singer from his native town who like Siebold held a doctorate from the University of Würzburg. Hoffmann was so impressed by Siebold that he abandoned his artistic career and settled in Leiden. Here he developed into an expert on Japan without once having visited the country, assisting Siebold in the publication of the latter's *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutz-Ländern*. In 1855 Hoffmann was awarded an honorary professorship in Chinese and Japanese languages by Leiden University, but after his death in 1878 the study of Japan and Japanese would disappear from the curriculum for almost four decades. In the colonial context, knowledge of Chinese outweighed the knowledge of Japanese in importance. The Dutch East Indies harboured a significant Chinese population and thus well-trained interpreters and translators were required.

In 1876 a professor of Chinese language and literature was accordingly appointed. This was Hoffmann's student Gustaaf Schlegel – the son of the director of the National Museum of Natural History in Leiden. Professor Schlegel would compile the monumental four-volume *Hô Hoâ Bûn-Gí Lui-Ts'am, Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek* and co-founded on board a train from Stockholm to Oslo what later became the influential international periodical *T'oung pao*. In 1904 Schlegel was succeeded by Jan Jakob Maria de Groot, who had started his career as an interpreter in the Dutch East Indies and had been appointed professor of Geography and Ethnology in Leiden in 1890. As a professor of Chinese, de Groot spent most of his time working on what would become his six-volume *The religious system of China. Its ancient forms, evolution, history and present aspect, manners, customs and social institutions connected therewith*, in which he incidentally compared the Chinese to 'savages in a low state of culture'. This drew fierce criticism from another sinologist trained in Leiden, the writer and journalist Henri Borel. 'China and Europe must learn to mutually understand each other, so that they may have a beneficial effect on each other, for the benefit of all of mankind', Borel wrote in the Dutch literary periodical *De Gids* in 1912. 'Prof. de Groot's work is an obstacle in the way of this mutual understanding and breeds contempt and confusion'.

Meanwhile in 1911 a revolution had taken place in China which had led to the establishment of the Chinese Republic. It was an altogether different China than Leiden had been used to. 'Sinology, too, needs to get out of the temples and embrace the new, young and transformed great life', Borel urged his professional colleagues. There was far more urgent work in store for the sinologists than 'browsing and slogging through ancient, Chinese superstitions'. The focus in Leiden, however, primarily came to lie on studying the legacy of classical Chinese civilization by scrutinizing Chinese texts. The person responsible for this research priority was Jan Duyvendak, who after having spent a few years in Beijing on behalf of the Netherlands government was first made lecturer in 1919 and then professor of Chinese in 1930. Duyvendak was actually an eminent scholar who commanded international respect and who was also an able administrator. On 20 December 1930 he opened the Sinological Institute, which was funded through compensation paid by the Chinese government to the Netherlands in 1901 following the Boxer Uprising. 'The more China adapts to the changing circumstances in the world, the more it will become the hub around which the evolution of the Far East turns',

Figure 7: Jan Duyvendak, the founder of Leiden University's Sinological Institute.

Duyvendak said at the opening of the Institute, which he therefore felt had the important task 'not only to preserve and propagate what is old, but also to communicate what is new'. The Sinological Institute soon developed into a major international centre in its field, training students from the Netherlands and abroad and building up an important library. Duyvendak also started *Sinica Leidensia*, a series published by Brill which included numerous Leiden books and dissertations. All this, however, did not mean that sinology in Leiden had abandoned its strong philological orientation. This was by no means the case, nor did it change after Duyvendak's death in 1954, when the Leiden philological tradition was continued by Professor Anthony Hulsewé.

The study of Japan in Leiden had in the meantime been resumed in 1917. That year Marinus Willem de Visser had been appointed professor of Japanese language and literature. After having previously worked for the Dutch delegation in Tokyo as an interpreter, de Visser was primarily a scholar who confined himself to his study. His students included officers of the Royal Netherlands Indies army and students who were being trained for diplomatic service. De Visser did not manage to raise the study of Japan to great heights. 'A mediocre philologist, inclined to go by the book', was Duyvendak's opinion of him after de Visser's death in 1930. De Visser was succeeded by Johannes Rahder, who would train a number of subsequently prominent Japan specialists until Leiden University was shut down by the German occupier in World War II.

This war, in which Dutch nationals in the Dutch East Indies were confronted with an oppressive Japanese occupation, as well as the following years which saw the struggle for Indonesian independence unfold, caused a watershed in the study of Asian languages, cultures and societies at Leiden University. From then on the curriculum was no longer mainly defined by the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies. The need to study Asia was now informed by different priorities.

THE POST-COLONIAL ERA

'The transfer of sovereignty naturally caused the interest in Malay Archipelago studies to shift in character'. Thus said the former Director-General for Science Policy of the Ministry of Education and Sciences Arie Piekaar in 1976. No longer was there 'an influx of Dutch workers to the field, creating as it were a cultural crossover in constant interchange with the academic centres, resulting in an academic environment that produced men like Kern, Snouck Hurgronje and Van Vollenhoven as so many luminaries in Eastern studies.' Piekaar for that matter had not only worked for the Ministry of Education and Sciences. He was also a former colonial civil servant who had exerted himself to translate the Cultural Agreement which had been concluded between the Netherlands and Indonesia in 1968 into a scientific programme that breathed new life into the study of Indonesia. In Leiden Piekaar had found vigorous and willing allies in Professors Hans Teeuw and Bob Uhlenbeck.

Teeuw had enrolled in Indology courses in 1938, but had been unable to complete his studies following the closure of Leiden University during the German occupation. Instead, he obtained a doctorate under the Utrecht Professor Jan Gonda with a thesis on *Het Bhomakāway. Een Oudjavaans gedicht* in 1946. After having conducted linguistic research in Indonesia between 1947 and 1951, he was eventually appointed professor of 'Bahasa Indonesia and Malay language and literature' in Leiden in 1955. There he became the colleague of Uhlenbeck, who had survived the wreck of the Junyo Maru during the war – one of the greatest maritime disasters in history – and had been appointed to the chair in Javanese language and literature.

Piekaar, Teeuw and Uhlenbeck first saw to it that the KITLV was moved from The Hague to Leiden. Next they initiated a Programme for Indonesian Studies (PRIS) in 1975, to be carried out by a Bureau of Indonesian Studies (BIS). Its establishment offered a new generation of Dutch scholars the opportunity to conduct research in Indonesia together with Indonesian colleagues. The triumvirate, however, had even bigger plans. They continued lobbying until Education and Science Minister Arie Pais instituted a so-called Indonesian Studies Working Group under Piekaar in 1981. This working group was already able to advise Pais' successor Wim Deetman a year later. It was another boost to Indonesian Studies at Leiden University, which now boasted four chairs in the field. As a result, Hans Ras was able to succeed Uhlenbeck as professor of Javanese language and literature, while Wim Stokhof and Henk Maier respectively became professor of Austronesian linguistics and professor of Indonesian language and literature. Finding someone to occupy the chair in the history of Indonesia was rather more complicated, as a suitable candidate could not be found until Cees Fasseur was persuaded to give up his legal career in The Hague for a place in Leiden's academic circles. He 'fell for the temptation', as he recalled in his posthumously published memoires *Dubbelspoor*, 'though I might ask myself whether I really wanted to'. Although a number of chairs had now been created, they were not to attract very many students in the years that followed.

In the meantime the Leiden Law Faculty had taken it upon itself to look after Van Vollenhoven's legacy. From 1939 the Adat law chair had been occupied by the former colonial civil servant Victor Emanuel Korn, even though his courses were attended by only a handful of students. Korn's successors Johannes Keuning and Johan Frederik Holleman were given a wider research focus, 'Popular law and legal development in non-Western societies', whereby the latter primarily focused on Africa. After Holleman had retired, the chair was abolished. The Groningen legal sociologist John Griffiths wrote in 1981 that Holleman's departure signalled the end of a 'tradition of national importance, Leiden's adat law school, the Netherlands' only truly world-class contribution to anthropology'.

Figure 8: A.J. Piekaar, Director-General for Science Policy of the Ministry of Education and Sciences and the champion of Indology Studies in the Netherlands.

Griffith's conclusion, however, was a little premature. In 1978 Leiden University decided to establish in collaboration with the KITLV the Nederlands Onderzoekscentrum voor het Recht in Zuid-Oost Azië en het Caraïbisch Gebied (NORZOAC, the Dutch Research Centre on Law in South East Asia and the Caribbean), a successor of the Documentatiebureau voor Overzees Recht (Documentation Bureau for Overseas Law) which had been founded in 1949. Jan Michiel Otto became director of NORZOAC in 1984. Funded by the Netherlands Ministry of Development Cooperation, he fostered stronger academic ties with Indonesia in the legal field. At the same time a Nederlandse Raad voor Juridische Samenwerking met Indonesië (Dutch Council for Legal Cooperation with Indonesia) was established, which oversaw various projects aimed at legislation, adjudication, governance and legal research and training. It was Otto's suggestion to rename NORZOAC as the Van Vollenhoven Institute in 1989 in honour of the great Leiden legal scholar.

In 1992 things took a turn for the worse, however. Dutch official criticism of Indonesia's military actions in East Timor caused the Indonesian government to cancel its development cooperation relationship with the Netherlands. This also meant the end of the legal cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia, so that the Van Vollenhoven Institute was forced to shift its focus. In 1998 Otto was appointed to the chair in Law and Governance in Developing Countries, which on the one hand meant that to all intents and purposes the chair once occupied by Van Vollenhoven and others was revived, but on the other hand that the geographical focus on Indonesia was abandoned. It was not until the 21st century that Leiden University's legal relations with Indonesia were restored. After 2007 a wide range of programmes and projects was once more pursued, such as the Building Blocks for the Rule of Law Project carried out between 2009 and 2012 to enhance legal education in Indonesia.

The crisis in the Dutch-Indonesian relations of 1992 had also spelled the end for PRIS, which had already come under attack from a critical Netherlands government. Several projects by Leiden University, such as the Indonesian Linguistics Development Programme (ILDEP) were also cut short because they had been financed through Dutch development cooperation funds. What was continued, however, was the Netherlands Indonesian Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), later transformed into the Training of Indonesia's Young Leaders Programme, which brought numerous Indonesian students of Islam Studies to Leiden.

Leiden's interest in Indonesia continued to exist outside of the official programmes, however. Historians from Leiden had managed to find their own way to Asia, including Indonesia. In 1974 Henk Wesseling, professor of General History, had initiated the 'Werkgroep voor de geschiedenis van de Europese expansie en de reacties daarop' (working group for the history of European expansion and ensuing reactions) which employed a few young research associates, began publishing an English-language periodical and organised a series of conferences on British and Dutch colonial history in Asia together with the Universities of Cambridge, Delhi and Yogyakarta. One of the staff members of what eventually became the Institute for the History of European Expansion (IGEER), Leonard Blussé van Oud-Alblas, developed a comprehensive international project in the late 1990s which focused on the use by Asian and other historians of the VOC archives mainly kept in The Hague and Jakarta. An Indonesian offshoot is Towards A New Age of Partnership, or the TANAP project, which resulted in a series of dissertations and led to strong ties with several Asian universities.

Thus Indonesian independence did not signify the end of the study of the languages, law and culture of this country. Good scholarly relations with Indonesia were actively pursued in collaboration projects with Indonesian scholars. As a result, Leiden University has remained one of the major international centres for Indonesia Studies.

AREA STUDIES

'Relations between the Netherlands and the world outside Europe, especially countries like Japan, China and India (…) are bound to increase in the coming years'. Thus Education and Science minister Wim Deetman in the 1989 policy paper *Wetenschapsbeleid voor de jaren negentig*. He continued: 'this implies that our country must continue to rely on scientific knowledge about the political, social, economic and cultural changes taking place there at an often rapid pace'. However, in order to be able to study the political, social, economic as well as cultural aspects of a certain region or country, it was necessary to bring together various disciplines. This was by no means a foregone conclusion. For instance, the former Academic Council had agreed in 1975 that the social sciences study of modern South Asia and Southeast Asia would be incorporated in the University of Amsterdam, while the study of the languages and cultures of these regions would remain part of Leiden University.

Ideas about the interdisciplinary study of an area, however, had already taken root in Leiden before. For instance the Indology training programme for colonial officials had in fact been a multidisciplinary area study, even though such terms were not in use at the time. This training programme had been formally dismantled in 1951, but was, in a certain sense, continued. At the time, the economist Julius Herman Boeke had made plans to start a new programme of studies in Leiden under the name 'Eastern social studies' in the attempt to preserve Indological expertise for Leiden University. Boeke was convinced that there were fundamental differences between Western and Eastern societies and that there was a need in the Netherlands for an academic programme aimed at 'societies conveniently to be termed 'eastern', so that we can continue to rely on comprehensive knowledge about our cultural and economic activities in these fields'. In the end, this new programme was included in the Academic Statute under the name 'Non-Western social studies'. The course was, in the words of the Leiden professor of anthropology Patrick de Josselin de Jong (a nephew of his distinguished namesake and predecessor), 'as it were a continuation on a broader scale of the former Indology programme, only outside of the colonial situation'. He added: 'The course as a whole might perhaps best be described as a conglomerate of area studies'.

In the decades that were to follow, 'area studies' primarily developed within the Faculty of Letters, later the Humanities, rather than in the Faculty of Social Sciences. In 1984 Wilt Idema, professor of Chinese language and literature, even urged the establishment of a Faculty of Area Studies. Though such a Faculty would never come into being, the Executive Board of the University decided in 1987 to form the Centre for Non-Western Studies (CNWS), in which the Faculties of Letters and Social Sciences joined forces.

Asian Studies at Leiden University received a further boost when the Dutch government acted on the *Baby Krishna* report by the so-called Adviescommissie Kleine Letteren (Minor languages advisory committee) under Frits Staal. This report warned of an imminent 'devastation in the 1980s' and a 'process of random slaughter of relatively defenceless organisational units'. Even though the wording was a bit strong considering the increasing number of scholars in the field of Asian Studies in Leiden in this period – certainly in the case of Indonesian Studies – the official response was to allocate the so-called 'Staal funds' to universities, totalling 10 million guilders a year, an important part of which went to

Leiden University. Thanks to the Staal funds, academic posts in Asian Studies in Leiden were secure and many young scholars were able to obtain their doctorate in this field. It was also in Leiden that the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) was created, which would be headed by Wim Stokhof in 1993 and would evolve into a major and internationally renowned network organisation.

The interest in the study of India's ancient cultures never waned in Leiden. Whereas chairs in Sanskrit were being abolished at other universities in the Netherlands, the Leiden chair in this field continued to exist. Government cuts forced the Utrecht Professor Henk Bodewitz to transfer to Leiden, where he became the colleague of Tilmann Vetter, professor of Buddhology, and Jan Heesterman, professor of 'Languages and cultural history of South Asia, especially of the later centuries'. Which 'later centuries' exactly never became quite clear, but it did offer Heesterman the freedom to write about Hinduism, Indian civilization and Indian modernity. In 1993 he published a comprehensive study about the Vedic ritual: *The broken world of sacrifice*.

Meanwhile Chinese, Japanese and Korean Studies were thriving in Leiden. That Korea became a focus of attention at Leiden University was the achievement of Frits Vos, who had been appointed professor of Japanese and Korean language and literature in 1958 after having previously served as special services officer with the Dutch UN detachment in Korea during the Korean war. In 1977 he published his major work: *Die Religionen Koreas*. 'Vos represented that rare combination: he was a scholar and a writer', as the Dutch essayist Rudy Kousbroek commemorated him. Kousbroek deplored the fact that Vos had never ventured beyond the confines of academe. 'His talent to tell a story, his magnificent phrases and his dry humour' remained 'buried in academic publications, where such qualities go unnoticed'. In 1994 Leiden University established a separate chair in the language and culture of Korea, which would be occupied by Vos' student Boudewijn Walraven. The latter studied Korean religions, material culture and literature from an anthropological angle and tried, as he put it, 'to understand all these things in their context within the society that produced them', thereby striving to cause the 'various disciplines to strengthen each other'. It was a concise synopsis of what area studies were all about.

Figure 9: Frits Vos and his wife. Vos established Korean studies at Leiden.

Meanwhile the post-war developments in East Asia generated a new interest. Japan had fast grown into one of the world's largest economies, which also supplied the Netherlands with electronics and automobiles, followed by South Korea, which likewise found a worldwide market for its products. At the same time a popular culture had developed in Japan and Korea which inspired interest and imitation. The developments in China, by contrast, were of an altogether different nature. The communist leader Mao Zedong carried out social experiments that led to indescribable terror and would cost the lives of millions of people. Sinologists or Japanologists could no longer remain content to study ancient texts or fathom Asian religions, if only to counterbalance such views as those expressed by the Amsterdam sociologist Willem Frederik Wertheim, who claimed that Mao's leadership was characterised by 'a climate of humaneness' and referred to Mao's policy as 'that brave Chinese experiment to create a new man'. In 1969 Erik Zürcher, professor in the History of the Far East and himself a great expert on Chinese Buddhism, founded the Documentation Centre for Contemporary China, which was used as a base by such scholars as the historian and sinologist Eduard Vermeer and the political scientist Tony Saich to study modern China.

In 1987 Kurt Radtke was appointed professor of the History of Modern Japan. He mainly focused on post-war international relations in East Asia. In his inaugural address he described to his audience the history of Japan's place in the world, especially in the 20th century. He focused on Japan's dreams of the past and the future, stressing the importance of the knowledge of the Japanese language, 'without which any understanding of the dynamics of Japan's development is doomed to remain superficial', but also the acquisition of knowledge, 'which can only take place along multidisciplinary lines'. Radtke was succeeded by the Australian Rikki Kersten in 2001. At the same time a chair was established at Leiden for the study of modern China, to which the German scholar Axel Schneider was appointed. Kersten and Schneider received a major NWO (Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research) grant in 2003 for a project called 'Historical Consciousness and the Future of Modern China and Japan: Conservatism, Revisionism, and National Identity'. The study of contemporary Asia had now reached maturity.

To keep a grip on the wide range of approaches and disciplines, the concept of area studies came to be embraced more and more in Leiden, precisely at a time when it came under increasing attack in the United States. The postmodernist professor of literature Edward Said in New York claimed in his seminal work *Orientalism* that geographical notions such as 'the Middle East' were nothing but Western constructs, meant to label the local population in ways that justified Western dominance. Scholars in the field of area studies were in his opinion no more than lackeys of Western imperialism. Leiden was hardly fazed by this form of criticism. 'As soon as one seeks to explain a phenomenon, one must look at its function within a wider cultural context', according to Wilt Idema, 'and to do so, one must rely on the help of area specialists in relevant disciplines'. Differences between the humanities and the social sciences were utterly irrelevant in this respect. Culture and society were simply two sides of the same coin. 'Developments within language, literature, religion, philosophy, and art are intimately tied to social developments', Idema wrote, 'just as social behaviour can only be understood against a background of cultural assumptions that we can come to know through language and image'.

Idema left Leiden to go to Harvard University in 1999 and was succeeded by Maghiel van Crevel, who strongly defended the concept of area studies. It was by no means a coincidence, therefore, that in 2008 during a major reorganisation and restructuring of the humanities at Leiden University, the CNWS was abolished and the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) was established at the same time. Area studies according to Van Crevel 'presented a dynamic synthesis of area expertise and disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, with special attention for language, place and positionality'.

Many of the Leiden scholars working in the field of Asian Studies found a new home in LIAS, from the professor of Sanskrit Peter Bisschop, who specialised in the study of Purāṇa literature and Purāṇic mythology, to the professor of Modern Japan Studies Katarzyna Cwiertka, who studied the role of food and waste in Japanese society. Bisschop and Cwiertka were joined at LIAS by professors in the fields of Buddhology, Modern Southeast Asia, Indonesian and Javanese languages and cultures, Modern Indonesia, Austronesian and Papua languages, Chinese language and literature, Chinese history, Chinese language, Modern China, Korea Studies and the Literature and cultures of Japan. The prestigious European Research Council awarded an Advanced Grant to Jonathan Silk, professor of Buddhology, for his research project on 'Open Philology: The Composition of Buddhist Scriptures'.

The time of the 'devastation in the 1980s' – if it had ever existed – was definitely a thing of the past. In the 21st century, a large and varied group of scholars at Leiden University are committed to the study of the languages, cultures and societies of Asia, focusing on the future without ignoring the past. Jan Michiel Otto during the University's 2017 Dies Natalis Celebration thus spoke of the modern relevance of the adat law scholar Cornelis van Vollenhoven. He noted that although the West had 'valuable experience' building a fully functioning rule of law, 'theories and practices' were to be found in Asia that 'may assist us on the road to 'unity in diversity''. Otto alluded to Indonesia's official national motto, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, 'Unity in Diversity'. 'Unity is required to achieve stability and prosperity; diversity is needed simply because people are different from each other'. The study of the Asian languages, cultures and societies past and present was now more relevant than it had ever been before.

Figure 10: Professor of Law and Governance in Developing Countries Jan Michiel Otto delivered the 2017 Dies Natalis lecture on the topicality of his predecessor Cornelis van Vollenhoven.

The Asian Collections in Retrospective

BY ANDRÉ BOUWMAN

The collections which have been united in the Asian Library in 2017 have been amassed over centuries. Numerous individuals and institutions contributed to their creation through purchases, donations and bequests. The South-East Asia collections were mainly built up by the University Library. The South Asia and East Asia collections, on the other hand, were largely brought together by institutes which arose in the 1920s and 1930s to serve education and research within the Arts Faculty. Finally, two extramural research institutes not originally located in Leiden, the Royal Tropical Institute and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, have amassed comprehensive colonial and post-colonial library collections. These were only acquired on long-term loan in 2013 and 2014 respectively.

Already well before 1800, the University Library was fortunate to be in possession of textual heritage from Asia. Thus an Islamic manuscript from Java was bought from the Leiden professor Bonaventura Vulcanius in 1614 (Or. 1928). The private library of the philologist Isaac Vossius which was purchased in 1690 contained a woodcut made in Japan and showing the meridians and acupuncture points of the human body (Ser. 1127). In the 18th century the Chastelain family bequeathed fifteen volumes containing the descriptions and drawings of Ambon's flora made by Georg Eberhard Rumphius (BPL 311-313). A few dozen items were added to the collection through such occasional acquisitions.

The real basis for the University Library's Asian collections, however, was laid in the second half of the 19th century, when extensive collections found their way to Leiden, such as the Dutch Colonies library section of the Royal Academy in Delft, the books of the physician and Japanese Studies expert Philipp Franz von Siebold, and the bequest of the great expert in Indonesian languages Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk. The growth of the collections kept pace with the increasing interest in the study of Asian languages and cultures at Leiden University. In 1855 the German scholar Johann Joseph Hoffmann was appointed Professor

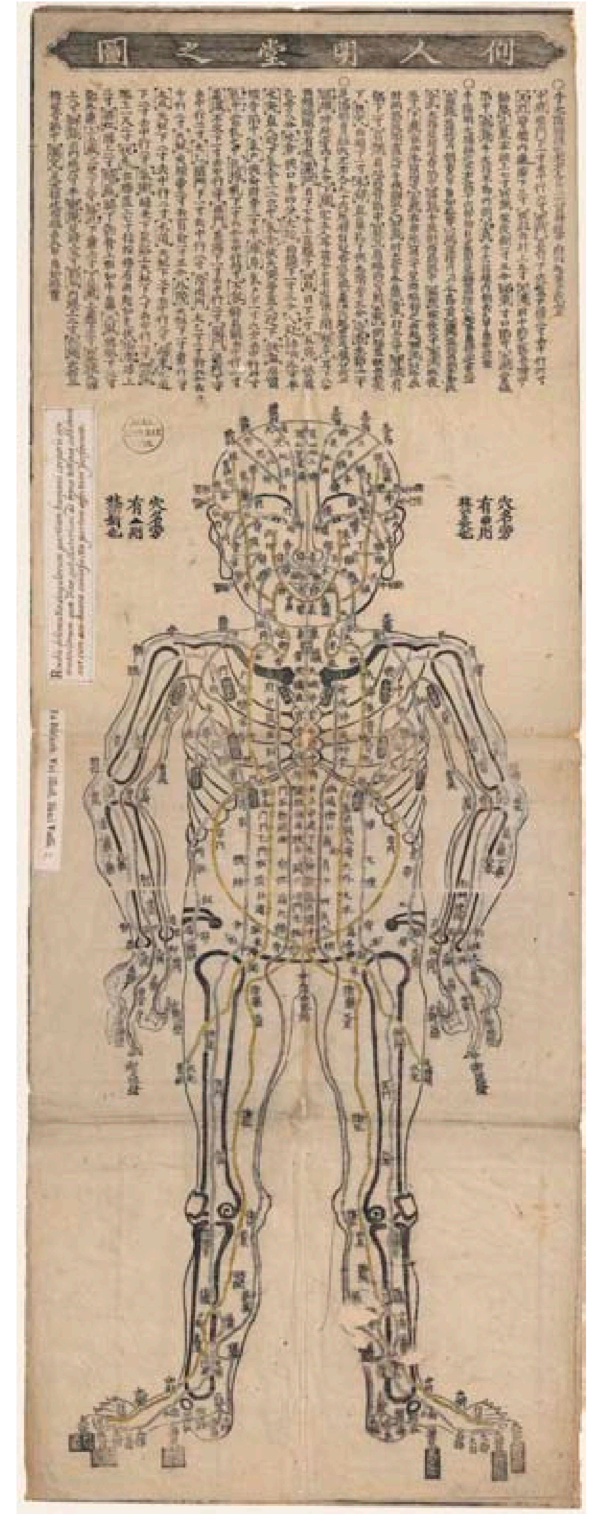

Figure 1: Depiction of the meridians and acupoints of the human body. Block print. Japan, 17th century.

of Chinese and Japanese, in 1865 Hendrik Kern obtained the Chair in Sanskrit. In 1877 professorships were created for Malay, Javanese, the geography and ethnography of the Malay archipelago and Islamic and colonial law. From 1902 colonial civil servants were trained at Leiden University.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

In view of the Netherlands' colonial history it is not surprising to find that by far the largest part of the collected items come from or are related to the Malay archipelago. There are major sub-collections in Malay, Javanese, Old Javanese, Balinese, Batak, Buginese, Makassarese and Arabic. Within these sub-collections, manuscripts on palm leaf, tree bark and other materials such as wood, bamboo and metal take up a special place. No less important from a historical and cultural perspective are the numerous Western printed works, archival items, photographs and other documents testifying to the Dutch presence in the East.

After the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia in 1949, the University Library continued to reserve large sums of money for the acquisition of publications from and about the fledgling state. A special type of acquisition occurred through the so-called 'Projek tik' (Type Project). This editing project was set up from 1970 to trace and copy privately owned unknown manuscripts in Bali; the retyped copies were then supplied to a number of subscribing public collections. Leiden is the only library in the world to own a complete set, consisting of many thousands of transcriptions of largely unknown texts, not only in Balinese, but also in Javanese, Old Javanese and Sasak.

A large part of the South-East Asia collections, however, was not purchased but came to the library thanks to bequests and donations by individuals or organizations once active in the Dutch East Indies. A selection of some of the highlights, in chronological order, now follows:

1864 – With the transfer of the Dutch Colonies library section of the Royal Academy in Delft, some hundreds of manuscripts found their way to Leiden, in addition to an unknown number of printed works. These manuscripts mainly contained texts in Javanese and Malay, but also in Sundanese, Madurese and Batak. The collection also included the papers of Huibert Gerard Nahuys van Burgst, who had made a career as a high-ranking civil servant in the Dutch East Indies (ubl246).
1895-1897 – The most important and most comprehensive donation of manuscripts was acquired through the estate of the biblical translator and linguist Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, including some 3,000 manuscripts in many languages, especially Javanese, Old Javanese, Balinese, Malay and Batak, but also South Sumatran languages, Sasak, Arabic, other Austronesian languages and even Chinese. The collection also comprises 482 narrative drawings of Bali, as well as c. 2,000 printed works (ubl168).
1905-1915 – Some 750 manuscripts in Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, Makkasarese and Arabic were offered on long-term loan by the library of the Netherlands Bible Society (ubl132).
1936 (1956-1983) – The estate of the Arabist and Islam specialist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was partly bequeathed, partly donated by his heirs. It comprises thousands of documents relating to Indonesia, Arabic manuscripts deriving from Sumatra and Java, over a thousand manuscripts in Acehnese, Javanese and Sundanese, hundreds of photographs from North Sumatra and other places, plus hundreds of rubbings of inscriptions on gravestones dating from the period of the late medieval kingdom of Samudera Pasai and the Sultanate of Aceh, also in North Sumatra (ubl085).
1963 – The majority of the books and periodicals on the Dutch East Indies derives

Figure 2: Javanese treatise on Muslim theology and mysticism. Manuscript on tree bark paper, late 16th century.

from the library of the Ministry of Overseas Affairs (formerly the Ministry of Colonies) which was transferred to Leiden by the government. In all, this collection contains some 75,000 items, including publications from and on Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles (ubl089). – The printed works deriving from Overseas Affairs, as well as those from the libraries of the Royal Academy in Delft and the Leidse Instelling tot Opleiding van Indische ambtenaren (a municipal training college for colonial civil servants in Leiden) can be identified by a stamp, those from the van der Tuuk estate bear a bookplate. They cannot be searched as distinct collections via the catalogue, however, as they have all been entered in the general collection.
2013, 2014 – The colonial collections of the KIT and the library of the KITLV have been offered on long-term loan to Leiden University Libraries. This has resulted in one of the largest heritage collections in the field of South East Asia worldwide, and the largest Indonesian library collection. See the last paragraphs.

Not part of the Asian Library (having mainly been collected from a humanities angle) but definitely important for the study of South East Asia are the books that have been acquired in connection with the study of overseas law, later non-Western law. These books are held by the library of the Van Vollenhoven Institute (VVI) which is part of the Law Library in the Kamerlingh Onnes Building at Steenschuur. The institutional library is made up of two sub-collections that were contributed in 1978 by the Law Faculty and the KITLV to serve as a library for the former Nederlands Onderzoeksinstituut voor Recht in Zuidoost-Azië en het Caribische Gebied (NORZOAC, the Dutch Research Centre on Law in South East Asia and the Caribbean). The name of the institute was changed in 1991 when its scope was widened to include law and governance (later also development) of non-

Figure 3 (left page): Drawing of the tamarind with its flowers and fruits (Bk. 11, Ch. 32), in G.E. Rumphius, *Amboinsch Kruid-boek*. Manuscript, Batavia, c. 1690.

Western countries, recently also Islamic law. The Institute is named after Professor Cornelis van Vollenhoven, the first to study Indonesian adat law in the early decades of the 20th century and the founder of the library collection. The present library of the VVI comprises 23,000 books and periodicals; c. 65% relates to Indonesian and Dutch East Indies law. All material (to be found under shelfmarks beginning with OVZEER and JURBIB OVZEER) is available via the online catalogue.

SOUTH ASIA AND TIBET

The Kern Institute was founded in Leiden in 1925. This private institution was set up to promote the study of the cultural history of South Asia and South-East Asia (thus augmenting the limited research facilities in this field in Leiden University). Initially the focus was mainly on archaeology and ancient history. The institute was founded by J. Ph. Vogel (Sanskrit) and N.J. Krom (Archaeology of the Dutch East Indies) and was named after Leiden's first professor of Sanskrit Hendrik Kern. In the last decades the institute has evolved into a national knowledge centre on South Asia and the Himalayas.

The library collections of the Kern Institute and the University Library collections (which traditionally were more focused on linguistics and literature and, from 1956, also on Buddhist Studies) strengthened each other. For practical reasons, a sub-collection of the University Library was deposited with the institute on more than one occasion. Much of the material dating from the period 1925-1960 is owned by the Society of Friends of the Kern Institute which was founded in 1924.

In 1960 the management of the Kern Institute library collections was officially transferred to the Faculty of Arts, a situation that lasted until 2010. In that year all faculty libraries merged with the University Library to form a new organisation: Leiden University Libraries. The Kern Institute library increased considerably in the fifty years between 1960 and 2010. The abolition of equivalent courses in Amsterdam and Utrecht

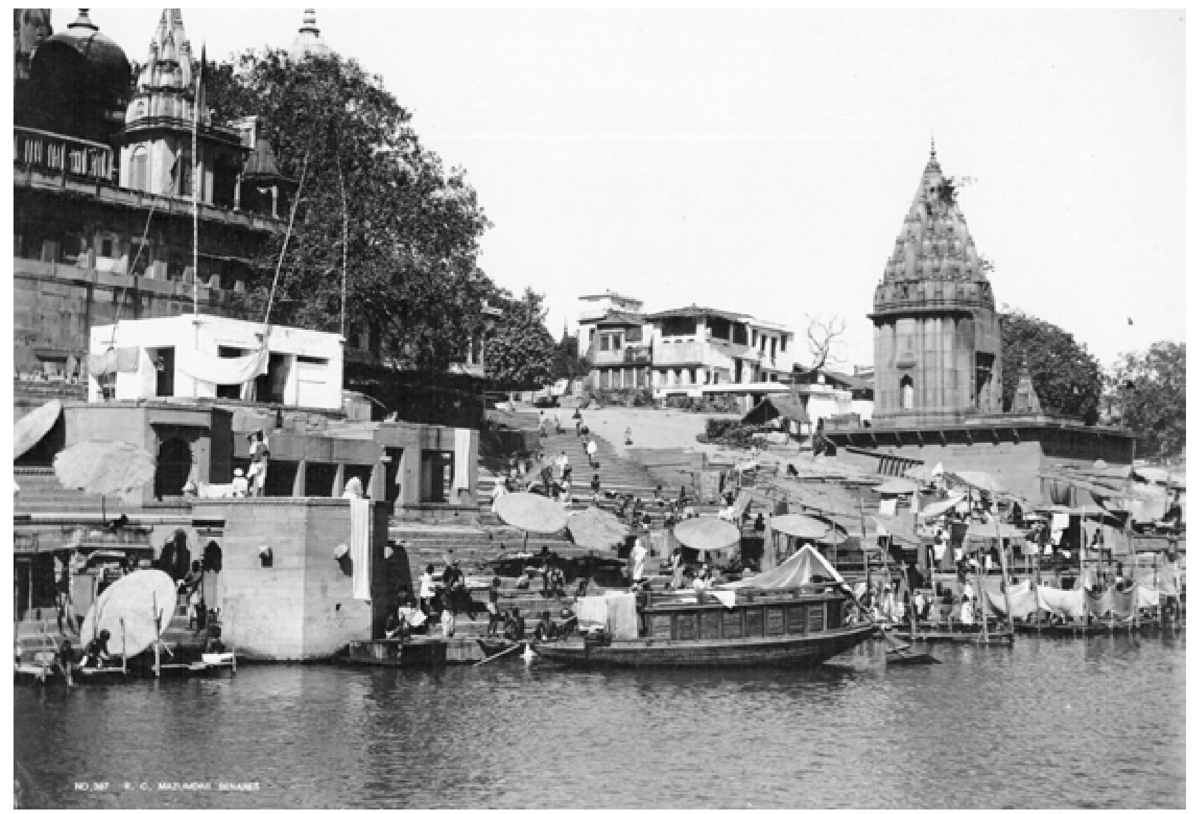

Figure 4: R.C. Mazumdar, View of Benares (Varanasi). Photograph, 1890.

Figure 5: Viṣṇu awaking from his cosmic sleep on the primordial serpent Ananta. Miniature in the Viṣṇusahasranāma, a devotional text listing the various names of Viṣṇu. North Indian Devanāgarī manuscript on paper, 19th century.

resulted in a concentration of collections in Leiden. The existence of the Documentation Centre South Asia in the years 1986-2005 furthermore led to the extra acquisition of modern publications and grey literature in the fields of anthropology, law, political science, economics, health care and education. In 2010 the library held c. 75,000 books and periodicals. The library also includes several special collections.

The photography collection consists of c. 70,000 items, including over 16,000 photographs of the Oudheidkundige Dienst van Nederlands-Indië (the Archaeological Department of the Dutch East Indies), as well as 40,000 photographs collected by the Bibliotheek Aziatische Kunst Amsterdam (BAKA), part of the former Institute of South Asian Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam. There is also a slide collection of some 30,000 items, half of which belonged to the BAKA collection (ubl159).

The collection of over 2,200 manuscripts and block prints was largely collected by the scholar Johan van Manen. It includes texts in Tibetan, Lepcha and Sanskrit (ubl148).
The archives in the field of South Asian cultural history run to over 40 meters and derive from Dutch scholars, especially Vogel, Van Manen, Arnold Bake and Elisabeth During Caspers.

EAST ASIA

When Professor Jan Duyvendak established the Sinological Institute in 1930, the majority of the c. 850 Chinese printed books then present in the University Library was deposited in the Institute's library. Some of these books had been part of the University Library since the 17th century. They derived from the collections of such scholars as Joseph Scaliger, Vulcanius and Vossius. Most of them, however, had been acquired since the 1870s, when the Chinese and Japanese collections grew substantially, partly thanks to the purchase of material from the estate of Johann Joseph Hoffman (1878), the acquisition of Chinese books via E.J. Brill booksellers (1880) and the transfer of Japanese books from the collections of Siebold and others by the National Ethnographic Museum (1881). These historical holdings of Leiden University were described by Gustaaf Schlegel at the end of the 19th century (*Catalogue des livres chinois qui se trouvent dans la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leide*, 1883; Supplément, 1886) and Lindor Serrurier (*Bibliothèque Japonaise: Catalogue raisonné des livres et des manuscrits Japonais*, 1896).

Many of the rare and early printed books were bought by Duyvendak in China from the 1930s on. The Institute's library now holds some 3,000 early printed books in Chinese. They include:

- books from the private library of the sinologist, diplomat and detective writer Robert van Gulik (1910-1967). Though the early Chinese novels and books on music and art are especially famous, the Van Gulik collection also contains early Japanese block prints of Chinese books and Chinese and Japanese studies. The collection also includes several compilations (ubl250);
- books from the libraries of the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society (ubl144), by the professor of Sinology Anthony Hulsewé (ubl114), by Go Sian Lok, a Chinese businessman active in the former Dutch East Indies (ubl153), and Protestant books by early missionaries in the Gützlaff collection (ubl052).

The archive of the Kong Koan, the Chinese Council in Batavia, comprises Chinese and Malay documents from the 18th through 20th centuries. It is the only pre-modern archive of a 'diaspora' Chinese community to have been preserved (ubl209). See also the contribution by Leonard Blussé in this volume.

The Chinese collection grew rapidly after the creation, in 1969, of the *Documentation Centre for Contemporary China*. In 1981 the Sinological Institute moved to the Arsenal Building in Leiden. Currently the collection holds some 300,000 Chinese works and a Sino-Western collection of over 40,000 titles. There are subscriptions to some hundred printed periodicals, both Chinese and Western. In addition, the library offers access to over 7,000 Chinese-language e-journals and hundreds of thousands of e-books. The collection is still being enriched by major donations and bequests. In 2013 the emeritus Professor of Sinology Wilt Idema donated his reference library of c. 20,000 books.

Japanese books were placed either in the University Library or in the National Ethnographic Museum library. Books on Japan were usually acquired by the Museum library. The Sinological Institute had a 'Japanese Room', where Japanese books and books on Japan

Figure 6: A.E. Caddy, Buddhist sculptures excavated in Loriyan Tangai (Pakistan). Photograph, c. 1896.

Figure 7: Imperial decree of 26 January 1819 granting honorary titles to the parents of Dai Liankui. Roll with Manchu and Chinese text. Ink on brocade.

were also kept. In 1969, when the Sinology and Japanology courses (then still departments) were split and the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies was established under Professor Frits Vos, the centre was given its own library, which included the books on Japan and Korea from the library of the Sinological Institute. In 1981 both the Centre and the library (headed by its own librarian) moved to the Arsenal Building.

Of the Japanese books described by Serrurier in his catalogue, the books formerly owned by Johan Gerard Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher, Jan Cock Blomhoff and the German-born Philipp Franz von Siebold are of special importance. The latter had built a considerable collection of Japanese plants, objects and books during the time he was employed by the Dutch East Indies government as physician. The Japonica collection which Siebold took with him when he returned from Japan in 1830 was purchased by King Willem I, who then donated the collection to the Dutch state. At the end of the 19th century the collections that had been brought together by Siebold, Cock Blomhoff and van Overmeer Fisscher were divided over the University Library and the National Ethnographic Museum (ubl091).

THE COLONIAL COLLECTION OF THE KIT LIBRARY (2013)

The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) in Amsterdam is an independent centre of knowledge and expertise in the areas of international and intercultural cooperation. The KIT Library was closed and dismantled in 2013 following cuts by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The parts of the collection relating to the former Dutch colonies were transferred to Leiden University Libraries. All material is available via the online catalogue.

The basis for this library collection was laid in 1864 when the Colonial Museum was founded in Haarlem, though parts of it derive from the holdings of a precursor of the museum: the department of 'Trade and Colonies' that was set up in 1777 as part of the Royal Holland Society of Sciences and Humanities. In 1913 the collection was transferred to the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam, which had been founded in 1910. After the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia in 1949 the Colonial Institute's mission was revised and the Royal Tropical Institute was created. The library's collecting policy changed accordingly.

In the years before 1950, a versatile collection had been created representing all aspects of colonial society: agriculture, economy, culture, governance, anthropology and history. Some 80% of the collection relates to the former Dutch East Indies, the remaining 20% to Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles. The heritage collection comprises c. 25,000 books and brochures, 3,300 periodical titles as well as 11,500 map sheets and 150 atlases.

The colonial maps have all been digitized and made available online, and are provided with geographical references. A large part of the books and periodicals has been digitized. All digital objects and their metadata will have migrated to the Leiden University Libraries systems by the end of 2017.

THE KITLV LIBRARY (2014)

The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) advances the study of the anthropology, linguistics, social and historical sciences of South East Asia, the South Sea area and the Caribbean. There is a special focus on Indonesia, Surinam and the islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. On 1 July 2014 the holdings of KITLV's library were transferred to Leiden University Libraries. All material is available via the online catalogue.

In the early years it was housed in Delft and made use of the library of the Delft Royal Academy. Initially, therefore, collection building was not a priority. Many of the early works in the collections were acquired by the East Indies Society established in 1854. This society pursued a policy of targeted collecting: 'in which will be included as much as possible all books, pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, plans and drawings or other contributions relevant to the colonies and possessions in the East Indies'. The Society also focused on collecting works relating to the other colonies. In 1869 the Society moved in with the KITLV, which was then located in The Hague. The merger of the two collections led to the creation of an impressive library, described at the time as the foremost colonial library of the Netherlands. With the arrival of Gerret Pieter Rouffaer, himself a passionate collector, as deputy secretary in 1898, the pace of acquisition was increased. The KITLV eventually moved to Leiden in 1966.

At the end of 2017, when 190,000 digitized photographs, prints, drawings, maps, pamphlets as well as audio-visual material will have migrated to the systems of Leiden University Libraries together with their metadata, the online catalogue will provide access to over 700,000 KITLV items. These include not only some 20,000 periodicals but also 100,000 article descriptions, the result of a documenting campaign that was concluded in 2014. The larger part of the material, which takes up c. 12 kilometres of shelf space, concerns Indonesia, c. 20 % relates to Surinam and the islands of the Netherlands Antilles.

The heritage collection comprises hundreds of early printed books (including numerous travel accounts); the renowned sub-collection of Eastern and Western manuscripts and archives (occupying over four hundred meters); a major cartography sub-collection containing more than 500 atlases and 15,000 maps and map sheets; and a comprehensive sub-collection on documentary photography of over 200,000 photographs, postcards and negatives (ubl301 and ubl242).

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A Major International Knowledge Hub on Asia

BY KURT DE BELDER

In a way, the decision to create the Asian Library on top of the University Library building benefits from and completes the vision of Bart van Kasteel (1921-1988), the architect of the original building that was opened in 1983. The library is an excellent example of Dutch structuralism with its geometrical structure, carefully designed symmetry, repeating concrete pillars, and stainless steel connectors integrating smaller spaces that reflect the human scale. Allowing natural daylight throughout the building, the two large transparent domes and continuous windows along the façade create an openness that not only typifies postmodern architecture but also reflects the library's mission. The appearance of the library is not only striking but also idiosyncratic in other respects. At the front of the building, the whole middle section of the top floor remained open, until recently. Designed as a huge roof garden, it was also prepared as a foundation for a possible expansion. The great potentiality of the building has been realized with the creation of the Asian Library. Already an inspiration in its 'unfinished state', the bastion of knowledge is now complete.

Before discussing the merits of the Asian Library as a piece of architecture and as a major new knowledge hub, a brief outline of the history and functions of the library housed in this landmark structuralist building is in order. By 2005, more than 20 years after Van Kasteel's building had opened, it was clear that the library space no longer met current users' needs in a fast digitising world and had to be thoroughly modernised and refurbished. Not having the possibility to close down the building for an extended period, a pragmatic step-by-step approach was the only way forward.

Initially, the Dousa Special Collections Reading Room was completely remodelled by the architect Katja Hogenboom. She not only rediscovered and accentuated the typical features of the original building but also removed the by then faded, tired yellow and brown colours of the interior, replacing them with striking red, blue, black and white colours. In this way she succeeded in giving the interior a striking, spacious and fresh feel that fitted perfectly with the original design. Buoyed by the successful renovation, the library administration insisted that this architect would also take on the refurbishment of the remainder of the building. This included, in separate phases, the large Huygens Information Centre, the entrance and exhibition space on the ground floor, the reading rooms on the first floor and the Vossius conference room, the seminar rooms and the Special Collections reference libraries on the second floor. Katja Hogenboom teamed up with her colleague Jasper Felsch to undertake the complete redesign of the library, inspired by a number of principles: 'to create a feeling of a continuous public space that brings together the urban as well as the intimate domesticity in a public context. 1. The library as an urban living room with recognizable lounge seats throughout the building, with comfortable furniture that feels like home, but that is never completely secluded or private: one remains connected to the people and the knowledge of the library as a whole. 2. A panorama of knowledge visible through long walls of books that form a labyrinth of knowledge, interrupted by passages and seats in the bookcases, that allow the flâneur to discover and consult by serendipity. 3. A diversity of study spaces; individual, collaborative, quiet, in between the books.' As a happy corollary, the refurbishment almost doubled the number of study spaces in the library and increased its use tremendously.

Not only the library building needed to be reimagined and modernised, the library's organisation and focus was also in need of serious attention and reconfiguration. The model of a decentralised library system consisting of 10 separate library organisations made up of a large unit such as the University Library but also faculty libraries and institute libraries with very significant collections but quite often staffed with a limited number of librarians, was not up

Country Report
Papua New Guinea
Timor-Leste
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FORUM
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Buddhist Studies
GATRA
HEBOH

to the task. In 2009, a single library organisation, Leiden University Libraries, was created making it possible to press on with an ambitious strategic agenda: 'Partner in Knowledge'.

The strategy involved various new challenges, including the development of new expertise and services such as virtual research environments (VREs), management and curation of research data, open access & copyright support, data & text mining, visualisation & geographical information systems. All these essential new requirements ultimately led to the creation of a Centre for Digital Scholarship in 2016.

The strategy also entailed building an Asian Library so it could bring together under one roof internationally unique collections and expertise dispersed over a number of libraries such as the Kern Institute Library (South Asia), the East Asian Library (China, Japan, The Koreas) and the Southeast Asian collections from the University Library. In 2013, the heritage collection of the former library of the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) in Amsterdam was integrated in the Leiden collections. And it was followed, in 2014, by the complete library of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), including the library office in Jakarta, essential for the further development of the Indonesian and Southeast Asian collections.

To accomplish this ambition, tremendous preparatory work had to be done by transferring 70 km of library materials, cataloguing hundreds of thousands of items which were not yet in the library's system, incorporating the holdings of two major libraries in the Leiden catalogue, reclassifying about 5 km of books, and bringing together huge digitised collections from these different libraries, hosted on a variety of platforms, in a new state-of-the-art digital collections infrastructure. Finally, an Asian Library building programme was set up to create a large open stack collection of 4 km of Asian materials at the University Library, an additional book depository with 38 km of shelf space allowing all of the Asian collections to be housed at the University Library, and ultimately creating an Asian Library on the library's former roof garden.

Designed by the two architects Katja Hogenboom and Jasper Felsch, the Asian Library is a transparent and modern pavilion bathing in natural daylight thanks to a construction of slender steal columns, glass walls, a finish in light colours and a slender canopy along the façade that gives the eaves a thin elegant appearance. The Asian Library comfortably seats up to 150 researchers and students who have gorgeous views on the historic centre of Leiden, the Botanical Gardens and the Leiden Observatory. The new extension includes, in addition, a cinema, a centre for scholars, a seminar room, a group study space and the offices of the Asian subject librarians. One truly eye-catching feature is the conservatory, with a garden connecting the existing construction with the new one, making sure that daylight continues to enter the hall under the library's copper dome. Close attention to the design of the original building has resulted in a beautiful addition that follows the meandering outside walls of the existing library and echoes its original purpose as a roof garden. But more crucially, it finally makes van Kasteel's original construction complete.

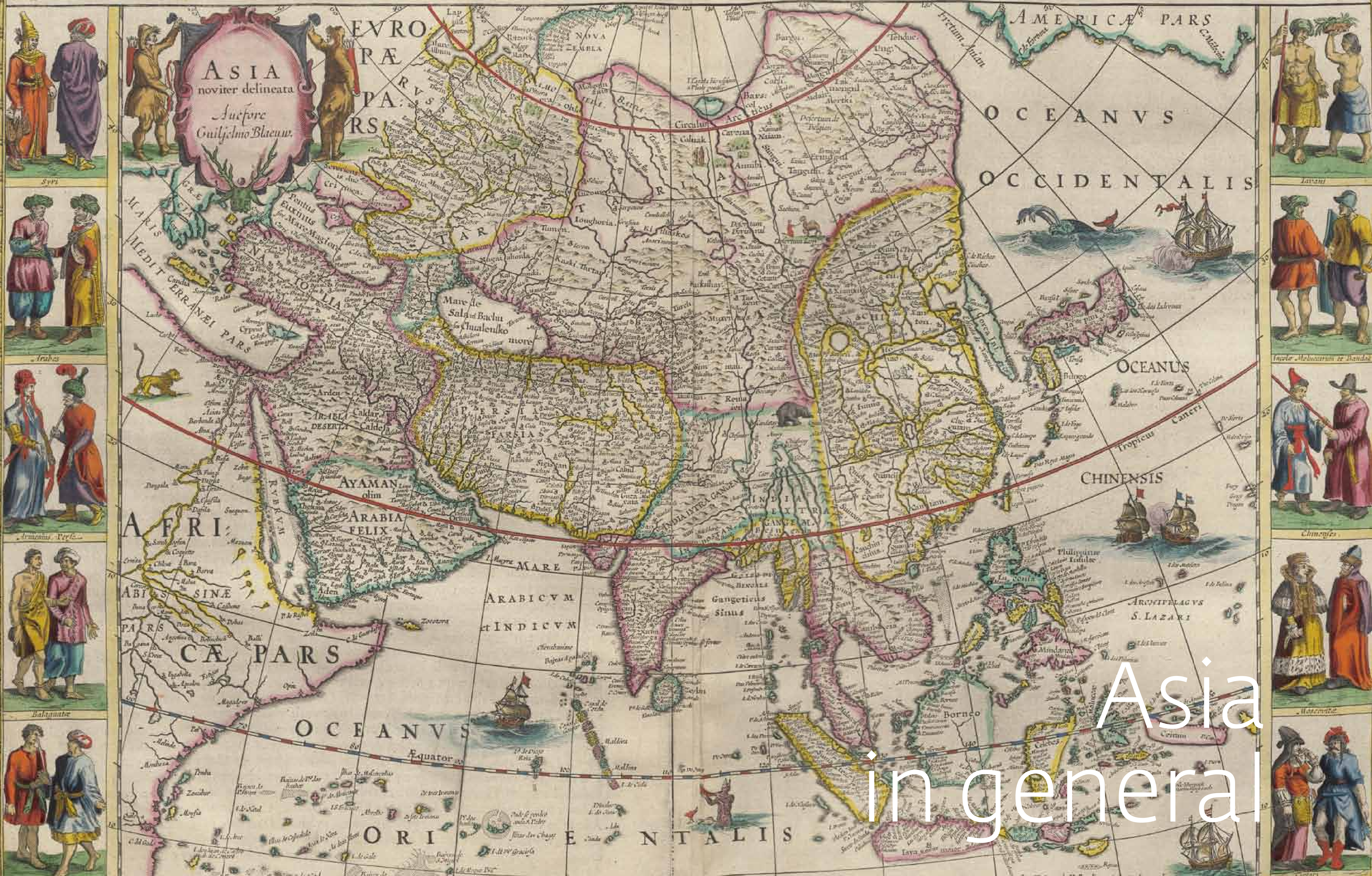
By bringing all of these Asian collections together, Leiden University has created one of the foremost Asian libraries and a major international centre for the study of Asia. Together, these materials constitute an Asian collection which is on a par with a select number of international libraries and includes the largest Indonesian collection worldwide. Leiden University Libraries want to make these collections accessible to the international community of scholars and students, as well as to the general public. Moreover, by bringing together the sizeable digitised sources of these libraries, researchers worldwide are provided with excellent and extensive research possibilities, including the use of new techniques in the field of e-humanities. But even more importantly, digital access to these unrivalled collections is provided to members of different cultural and national communities all over the world with an interest in their culture, heritage and history.

The Asian Library fosters close relationships with partner organisations in Asia: Leiden is one of the four depositories worldwide for Japanese art catalogues of the National Art Centre in Tokyo; it has also been designated by the National Central Library of Taiwan as a Taiwan Resource Centre for Chinese Studies, by the National Library of Malaysia as a Malaysian Resource Centre and by the Literature Translation Institute of Korea as an LTI Korea Library Hub. Leiden also collaborates globally on digital standards, for instance as one of the more than 40 founding members of the IIIF Consortium (International Image Interoperability Framework), creating interoperable technology for the digital delivery of image-based resources so fundamental to research, scholarship and the transmission of cultural knowledge.

The Asian Library is a central focal point for study, research and encounters between people with a profound interest in Asia and its position in the world. It provides state-of-the-art facilities and seeks to expand its collections and make them widely available, for instance through intensive digitisation programmes and the inclusion of born-digital information. The Asian Library is closely connected with the great variety of research on Asia at Leiden University. Furthermore, it not only recognizes excellent research in the humanities and social sciences by sponsoring the biennial ICAS (International Convention of Asia Scholars) book prizes but also supports researchers internationally through a fellowship programme that allows them to conduct their research at the library for a prolonged period of time.

We welcome all with an interest in Asia to visit and use Leiden University's Asian Library, a vibrant architectural space providing unique opportunities for study, research and encounter.

Asia in general



PORTAL OF A MOSQUE IN DELHI

Marius Bauer travelled through India twice, once in 1897-1898 and again in 1924-1925. The cities that impressed him most were Delhi and Benares (Varanasi), and the majority of his paintings and drawings with Indian motives can be located in either one of these cities.

This drawing shows the entrance to a mosque, although which mosque exactly is still unknown. The drawing is a leaf from a sketchbook that at one time was taken apart. Although a rather hastily drawn sketch, it is an interesting drawing because it registers an immediate and spontaneous view of what Bauer saw. Looking at Bauer's sketches, it is almost as if one can feel and smell India. Much more so than is the case in his more studied paintings and elaborate drawings which he often made many years after the actual visit. (JS)

Portal of a mosque in Delhi
Creator: Marius Bauer (1867-1932)
Object number: PK-T-AW-3444
Geographic region: India
Material: drawing, charcoal on paper
Dimensions: 17.5 x 12.5 cm

Reconnecting Asia: The World Systems of Georg Hornius

BY JOS GOMMANS AND INEKE LOOTS

The recent rise of Global History as a discipline in western academia is a history that repeats itself. A previous parallel is to be found in the 16th and 17th centuries, during an era of intensive exploration, globalization and large Eurasian empires. It was also at this moment in time that global historians started to rethink and redefine the idea of Asia. What had been its contribution to the history of the world as a whole, and more in particular, what was Asia's relationship to other, both familiar and just discovered parts of the world? As a consequence, European historians started to present Asia as a distinct and coherent category that was radically different from an equally distinct and coherent western Europe. During and after the European Enlightenment the increasingly professionalized field of history focused more and more on the history of European nation-states, whereas Asia became the exclusive domain of various regional branches of philology such as Indology and Sinology. Although this Eurocentric division between Europe and Asia has been effectively undermined in the last decades, Global History is still struggling with its enduring legacy, as reflected in the continued existence of Asian Studies at western universities. As global historians of the 21st century explore fresh ways to overcome this division, they may find inspiration from their pre-Enlightenment predecessors of the 17th century, when the divide had not yet been institutionalized. As they wrote in Latin and not in today's more accessible vernaculars, many of them have been forgotten. One of them is the first global historian of Leiden University, Georg Hornius (1620-1660). Hornius is a fascinating case as he feverishly attempted to engage with non-European sources in order to write a comprehensive and truly connected Global History, or to use his own words:

> So for many years I have been busy and I was not able to complete in a rush a work so complex and devoted to the whole world of empires and kingdoms, so that it might present itself to the world with its true face and as a network connecting all members. The main effort arose from the barbarian works, as people say, which had hitherto been neglected by Europeans or had come

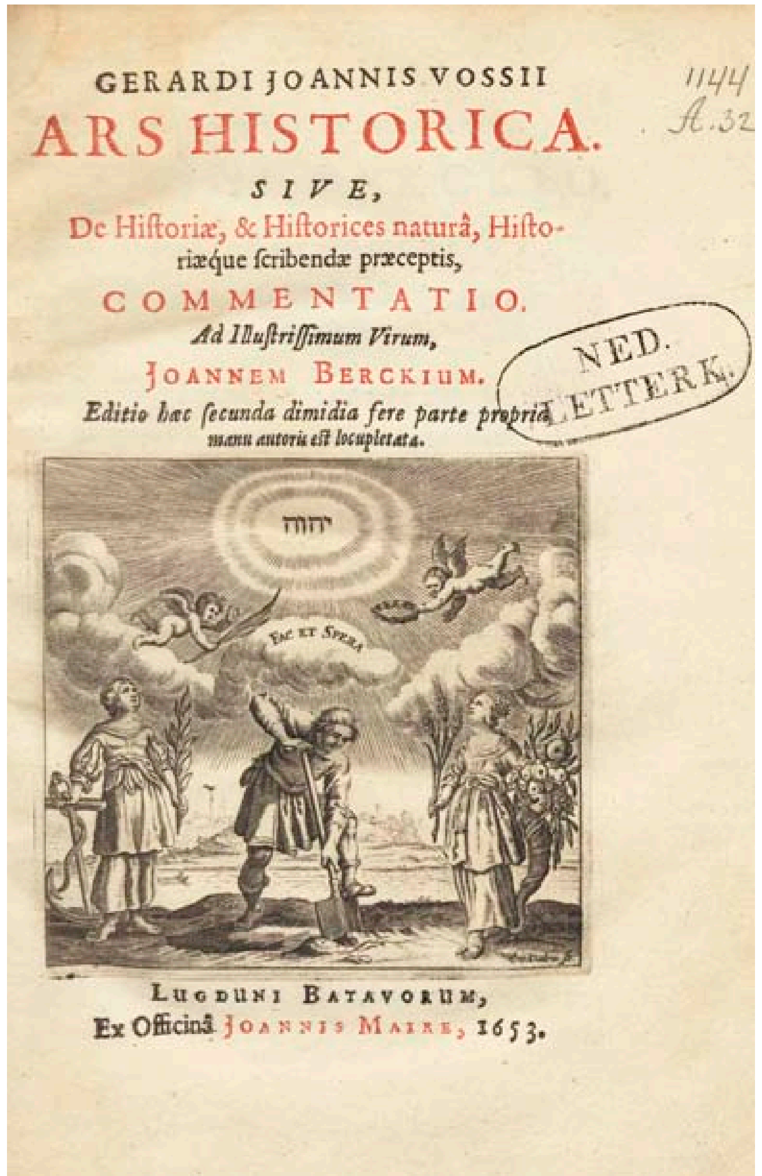


Figure 1: Title page of *Ars historica* by Gerardus Joannes Vossius (Leiden, 1653, first edition 1623). The subtitle reads: The art of historia (scholarly history writing) and historice (historiography) and prescriptions for writing history.

down to us in a disorderly fashion and presented the most irksome difficulties, which nevertheless had to be overcome to avoid leaving behind an imperfect and mutilated work. Therefore, nothing whatsoever has been omitted of which there exists knowledge or what had reached us. Everything, even the smallest works, carefully collected we brought together in this volume, insignificant, it may seem at face value. Nevertheless, it will be of enormous value to understand the Chronology that follows.

Let us look closer at the man and the way he tried to connect Asia to his global agenda.

HORNIUS POLYHISTOR

Georg Hornius was born into the Protestant community of Kemnath in the Upper Palatinate around 1620. As a refugee during the Thirty Years' War, Georg must have had a difficult childhood: he lost not only his father, but also the use of one of his eyes. Later in Leiden, however, it was said he could see more with his one eye than others with two! At the age of fifteen Georg went to live with his uncle, the physician Casper Hornius in Nuremberg, who inspired a lifelong interest in alchemy in him. After having been educated at Nuremberg's celebrated Gymnasium Aegidianum, Georg enrolled as a student of theology, first in Groningen (1638) and later (1644) in Leiden. He soon became a true historian when he moved to England to study the Civil War with his own eye. He must have made quite an impression on the Leiden history Professor Boxhorn, as in 1648 the latter was able to find him an appropriate position as professor of history, politics and geography at the University of Harderwijk. In 1653 he returned to Leiden to become, one year later, Boxhorn's successor as professor in history and politics. Until the very end of his life Hornius proved an extremely prolific writer. As we will see though, it was not today's 'publish *or* perish', but rather 'publish *and* perish' that in the end would seal his fate.

In all of Hornius' writings there is always that deep sense of urgency to write not just good history, but to write total history, to capture all the available knowledge. Indeed, by accepting Hornius as its new history professor, Leiden University made a radical break with the past. His predecessors, from Lipsius to Boxhorn, had basically been working in the rhetorical tradition of the Classics and on 'fatherlandic' history and politics. The new global perspective may have been quite revolutionary for Leiden, but the young German historian himself trod on familiar ground. In many ways, Hornius simply followed in the footsteps of the Lutheran polyhistors such as Philipp Melanchthon, who in 1558 had published the *Chronicon Carionis*, a universal history which was of great influence on later German Protestant historians including Hornius. What is characteristic of this and many other 16th century universal histories is their comprehensive and systematic character and their attempt to explain the sacred plan. Concealed behind the world's enormous diversity, the sad result of the great migrations after the Flood, there is divine system and cohesion. So whatever happens in history, there exists but one true theology which weaves its thread through all cultures and which was either given by God to man in Antiquity or, as in the case of the *philosophia perennis* tradition, manifested itself periodically in different ages, places, and forms through various messengers. At the same time, for the 16th century polyhistor, Europe remained only one, even rather eccentric, part of the world. Many still followed the Augustinian dictum, that 'times and events must be considered not from the standpoint of one place only, but by taking the whole world into account.' But what if the world gets bigger and bigger and ever more complicated?

In the decades around 1600 it proved increasingly difficult to process the new information about time and space – especially outside Europe – that was now flooding the existing knowledge systems of the learned world. Historians like Bodin used the data explosion to question biblical chronology and to censure colleagues for their narrow-mindedness about the past. Among the latter was James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, who dated the creation of the world to Sunday, 23 October of the year 4004 before the Incarnation of Christ. But what if various parts of Asia had a much older chronology? What did all this imply with respect to the Bible and the Classics as the main sources of historical information? Was there any seen or unseen truth in the religions and the knowledge systems of the pagans?

Figure 2: Title page of *Legatio Batavica* (Amsterdam, 1668), an account of the Dutch Embassy to the Chinese court (1655-1657) by Johan Nieuhoff. This copy from Leiden University library is said to be from the library of the Leiden scholar Isaac Vossius.

TOTAL HISTORY

It is in this highly volatile intellectual context, very much the result of increasing exploration and globalization, that we can empathize with Hornius' haunted quest for systematic totality. As an orthodox Protestant historian, his main objective was to protect biblical chronology before anything else. To this end he built his own intellectual wall to reserve a separate space for the history of the Church, which for him, as a follower of Melanchthon, was not the abhorred history of the Catholic Church as an institution, but the sacred history of the Church as true doctrine. Within this sacred citadel there could be no misunderstanding

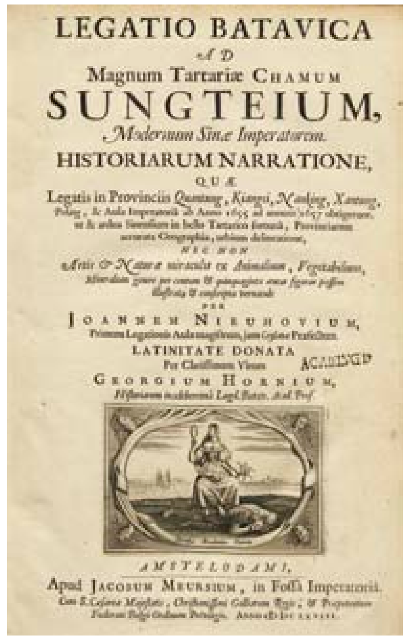


Figure 3: Second title page of *Legatio Batavica* (Amsterdam, 1668). Hornius provided the Latin translation of the original Dutch version which had appeared in 1665.

whatsoever about what was right and what was wrong. If there were to arise any discrepancies between the biblical and other traditions, the latter were false and fabulous. Once he left that citadel, though, Hornius agreed that other philosophical traditions should be studied seriously. Hornius knew perfectly well that, like their learned European colleagues, Chinese Confucianists and Indian Brahmins had sought for, and had also partly achieved higher wisdom.

Thus being perfectly clear about his own credentials, the next step for Hornius was to reveal God's entire Creation with the help of all available information about that Creation. In a way he simply followed his vocation as a polyhistor by attempting to incorporate all and everything in one single system of knowledge. As only a tiny part of this huge epistemological universe, Hornius contributed most significantly to the history of philosophy and world history. In both cases, he tried to reconcile all pagan traditions with each other as elements of one true universal history. What makes Hornius different from most of his 16th century predecessors, though, is his tendency to strip the pagan traditions of any mystical or esoteric associations. At the same time, like his Dutch colleague Gerardus Vossius, he accepted their value as evidence of philosophical and historical development. According to Hornius, with the exception of the people of Israel, every culture showed a tripartite development in which historical knowledge moved through the invisible and the mythical to the historical. The latter was to be incorporated in a truly 'modern' world history. Hence in his own world history, the *Arca Noae* published in 1666, Hornius produced the first textbook of world history that found room for the chronology of both the New World and Asia. All was orderly arranged following a division between ancient and contemporary history.

Historia antiqua

Semitic	Hamitic	Japhetic
Assyriaca	Aegyptium	Scythica
Persica		Teutonica
Macedonica		Slavica
Romanorum		Hunnica

Historia recentior (medii aevi et recentioris aevi)

Orientalis	Occidentalis	Australis
Sinensis (Asiatica)	Americana:	incognita
Aethiopica (Africana)	Peruana	
Scythica (Europaea)	Mexicana	

RECONNECTING ASIA

Shifting our attention from Hornius' world history to his history of philosophy, we would like to suggest that Hornius was not simply a scissors-and-paste collector but that he may have been truly groundbreaking in the way he was able to reconnect Asia to Europe. Earlier Hornius had already claimed that the New World had been repeatedly invaded by Asians, even quite recently, following upon Kublai Khan's Mongol conquest in 1268. On the opposite side of Asia, it is already quite revealing that, according to the scheme of the *Arca Noae*, Europe is considered part of the oriental world. Hence we should not be surprised to find Hornius linking Chinese history to biblical chronology by identifying the first seven emperors of China as the Biblical patriarchs from Adam to Noah. Apart from making these obviously incorrect connections, there are others that make perfect sense even to a world historian of the 21st century.

First of all, Hornius displayed a deep interest in Chinese history, as is evident from his discussion of the reports by Trigault and Martini and from his Latin translation (1668) of Johan Nieuhoff's court visit to China in the mid-1650s. Although he dismissed their biological and cosmographical knowledge, Hornius admitted that in the field of moral philosophy the Chinese had surpassed Europe. For Hornius it was in China that the perfect polity of the great philosopher Plato had become reality. As far as philosophy was concerned, there was no Greek or any other Western *Sonderweg*. Philosophy had flourished amongst all peoples that had sought the truth. In another context, Hornius even questioned how Greek the European philosophical tradition actually was, seeing that the Greeks did not want to acknowledge their debt to the Orient and proclaimed the originality of their philosophy, which apparently owed nothing to outside influences. For the Protestant Hornius, who obviously resented the medieval tradition of the Roman Church and its scholasticism, it was perfectly clear that oriental doctrines had impacted Greece. It was only during the 14th century that the West could re-emerge from the Dark Ages by being reconnected to the learned world of Asia through scholars from the Byzantine Empire who also drew on the rich scientific tradition of the Arabs. Hence, the new European philosophy was a mixture of this learned oriental tradition with the Protestant *philosophia nova* based on the Scriptures.

HORNIUS AND GLOBAL HISTORY

Hornius' views on Europe's entanglement with Asia sound astonishingly fresh and even revisionist *avant la lettre*. Do we hear Hornius' echo in Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987) and Pomeranz's denial of a pre-modern

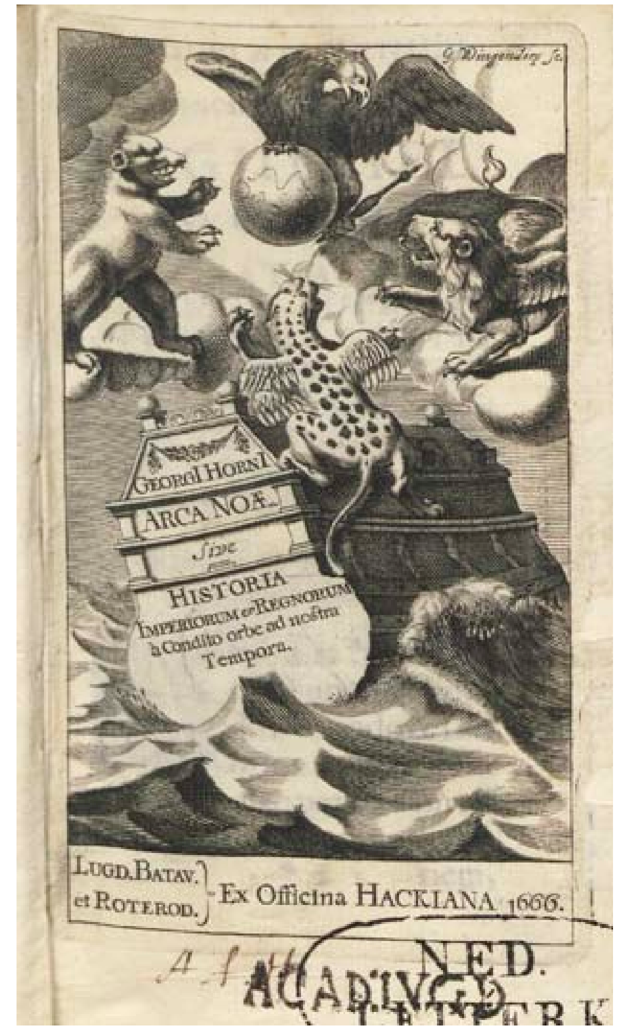
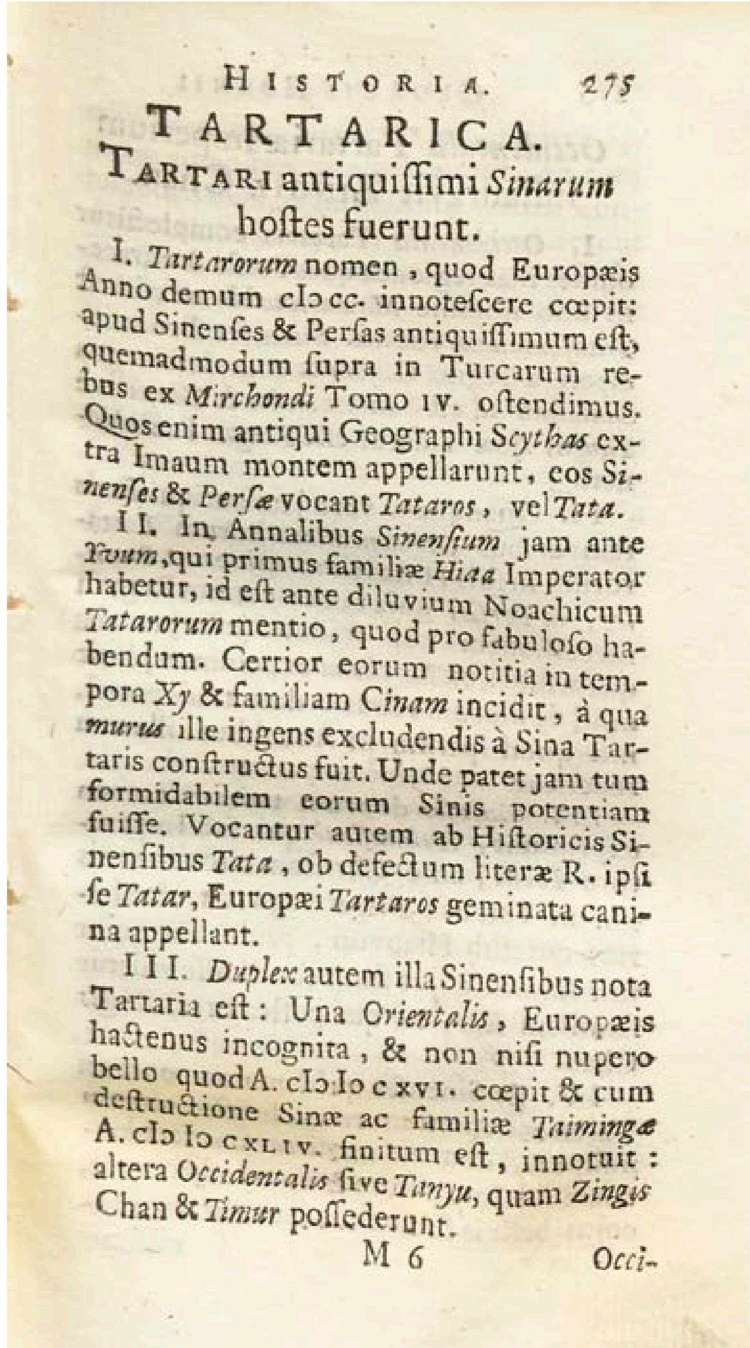


Figure 4: Title page of *Arca Noae* (Leiden and Rotterdam, 1666). The full title reads in translation: Noah's Ark, the history of empires and kingdoms from the creation of the world to our times.

Figure 5: Title page of *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas* (Augsburg, 1615), an account of the Jesuit Ricci's travels to China, based on the letters by Matteo Ricci and edited by Nicholas Trigault. Like Nieuhoff's *Legatio*, this book was a major source for 17th century Leiden scholars interested in China.



HISTORIA. 275

TARTARICA.

TARTARI antiquiſſimi *Sinarum* hoſtes fuerunt.

I. *Tartarorum* nomen, quod Europæis Anno demum cIↄ cc. innoteſcere cœpit: apud Sinenſes & Perſas antiquiſſimum eſt, quemadmodum ſupra in Turcarum rebus ex *Mirchondi* Tomo IV. oſtendimus. Quos enim antiqui Geographi *Scythas* extra Imaum montem appellarunt, eos *Sinenſes* & *Perſæ* vocant *Tataros*, vel *Tata*.

II. In Annalibus *Sinenſium* jam ante *Yvum*, qui primus familiæ *Hiaa* Imperator habetur, id eſt ante diluvium Noachicum *Tatarorum* mentio, quod pro fabuloſo habendum. Certior eorum notitia in tempora *Xy* & familiam C*inam* incidit, à qua *murus* ille ingens excludendis à Sina Tartaris conſtructus fuit. Unde patet jam tum formidabilem eorum Sinis potentiam fuiſſe. Vocantur autem ab Hiſtoricis Sinenſibus *Tata*, ob defectum literæ R. ipſi ſe *Tatar*, Europæi *Tartaros* geminata canina appellant.

III. *Duplex* autem illa Sinenſibus nota Tartaria eſt: Una *Orientalis*, Europæis haƈtenus incognita, & non niſi nupero bello quod A. cIↄ Iↄ CXVI. cœpit & cum deſtructione Sinæ ac familiæ *Taimingæ* A. cIↄ Iↄ CXLIV. finitum eſt, innotuit: altera *Occidentalis* ſive *Tanyu*, quam *Zingis* Chan & *Timur* poſſederunt.

M 6 *Occi-*

Figure 6: This illustration from *Arca Noae* by Hornius shows the beginning of the section about China. The description takes its origin from the current situation in the reign of the Qing dynasty, but tries to give a summary of that dynasty's previous history. It is alleged under item II that according to Chinese annals, the Tatars already lived before the Deluge; a claim dismissed as 'fabulous' by Hornius.

Great Divergence (2000) between Europa and China? This immediately raises the question: what went wrong *after* Hornius? Can Hornius be considered the last European non-Eurocentric world historian of the early modern period? As brilliantly argued by Tamara Griggs, it was only with the Enlightenment that the story of the triumph of European civilization started to intersect with universal history. Talking about the French historian Antoine-Yves Goguet (1716-1758) she argued that the central dividing line between the Ancients and the Moderns was no longer Christianity, but a way of reasoning about the empirical world, which Enlightenment historians believed to be exclusive to European nations. For an enlightened historian like Goguet it was clear: 'we have learned almost nothing from China. We have known them only for a few centuries.' After Hornius, history as a discipline of course progressed and became more scientific. But as science stepped in through history's front door, the newly discovered peoples of Africa, East Asia and the Americas stepped out through the back. It is only recently that historians have started to repair this imbalance.

What happened to Hornius himself? In the 1660s he was suddenly seen walking naked along Leiden's canals, uttering: *An tu unquam vidisti hominem paradisicum? Ego sum Adam* (Have you ever seen man in Paradise? I am Adam). What went wrong *with* Hornius? It is tempting to think of a burnt-out history professor whose own intellectual system could no longer cope with the colossal flood of information. However, the sources suggest that we should rather blame Georg's enslavement to alchemical practice. It was exactly in this period (1668) that he published the *Chimicae*, a late medieval Latin work of alchemy that was claimed to be a translation of an originally Arabic work by the 8th century Abu Mūsā Jābir ibn Hayyān of Khorasan. The same alchemical frenzy caused him to fall into the hands of a swindler from The Hague who stole 5,000 golden guilders from him. Whatever made him think he was that first man, be it due to an overdose of alchemy or data overload, both should remind us that Hornius was one of the last polyhistors striving for total wisdom. Hornius may be obsolete from a modern, scientific point of view, the results of his universal aspirations make him astonishingly relevant for present-day global historians.

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MANUSCRIPT CHART OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

One of the most striking charts on vellum in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection is this rather bare-looking map. This type of VOC chart is also known as 'the third part of increasing latitude chart' (i.e. Mercator projection) and stretches from the Cape of Good Hope to the Sunda Straits. Although it covers almost the entire Indian Ocean, only a few coasts are identified: the south coasts of Africa and Madagascar, the coasts of Sumatra and the western part of Java, the coast of Melaka and the west coast of Australia. Furthermore, only important capes and other features are indicated: Baia de Inhambane and Ilha de Moçambique (in Mozambique), Pemba Island (Tanzania), Cape Comorin (India), Cape Dorfui (Somalia), Cape Comorin (India), Point de Galle (Sri Lanka) and the most important islands in the Indian Ocean.

What makes this chart special are the navigational routes of VOC ships that are indicated on the map in pencil. Most probably these routes reflected the voyages of the VOC ship *Hof niet altijd Zomer*. Both the ship and this map are connected with the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. This chart bears the logo of the Zeeland Chamber: a VOC logo with above the letter Z (for Zeeland) and below the letter M (for Middelburg, Zeeland's capital and the seat of the Zeeland Chamber). (MS)

Manuscript chart of the Indian Ocean
Creator: Abraham Anias
Object number: COLLBN 054-09-001
Geographic region: general
Material: manuscript on vellum
Date: 1738
Dimensions: 70 x 94 cm

Books and Manuscripts on the Move from East to West (and Vice Versa)

BY KASPER VAN OMMEN

Who could rightfully lay claim to the title of inventor of the art of printing? It was something which was debated far into the 19th century. Was the honour due to Laurens Janszoon Coster (1370-1440) from Haarlem or to Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1397-1468) from Mainz? In 1588 the Dutch humanist Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) was the first to put forward Coster as the inventor of printing in his book Batavia, in which he grounded the origins of the nascent Dutch Republic in the Batavian myth. Junius wrongly assumed that the invention of printing should be attributed to Coster, nor could he have guessed at the time that the first movable type, of clay, had already been made in China to print books four centuries earlier. The inventor of this movable type was Bi Sheng (990-1051), who is also assumed to have produced movable type made of tin. Prior to Sheng's invention, books had already been printed in China with the use of woodblocks (xylography). The oldest examples of this technique, however, are to be found in Korea and Japan and date from the 7th century. This technique involved strips of paper on which religious texts were printed. In the West, too, books were printed before Gutenberg's 'invention', using woodcuts that combined text and/or image. Each woodblock formed a separate page, printed on one side to make up a book.

The oldest and best-known printed book to have survived intact was discovered in 1900 in a forgotten library space in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang, China. The archaeologist Aurel Stein (1862-1943) acquired the book at a modest sum together with a number of cases filled with manuscripts and paintings. The book, or more precisely the seven leaves that were fastened together to form a scroll, is dated 11 May 868.The book is entitled *Hiraka sutra* (*Diamond Sūtra*) and contains a Buddhist text written in Sanskrit. The dissemination of Buddhism played an important role in book production in China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam, in the same way as the dissemination of Christianity would later boost the production of bibles by Gutenberg and his successors.

The art of printing spread from China throughout Central Asia in the era of the Mongol Empire (1206-1405). It is possible that the knowledge on this subject was

Figure 1: *Jingang Bore Boluomijing bianxiang* or *Diamond Sutra* (Korea, c. 1570). (Detail). The illustration shows the Buddha talking to his disciple Subhūti, surrounded by divine beings.

transmitted via trade contacts with the West along the Silk routes, thus ultimately making possible Gutenberg's invention. This is not only a modern insight, as this possibility was already taken into account in the 16th century. After having carefully studied a number of books printed in Canton (Guangzhou), the Italian historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) proposed in his Historia sui temporis (1546) that the origins of the art of printing in the West were to be found in China. Printing would then have been transmitted to the West via Russia. However, it cannot be altogether excluded that parallel developments were simultaneously taking place both in the East and in the West that led to similar developments and results with respect to printing.

A WIDE RANGE OF MATERIALS

We can also witness a movement from East to West in the exchange of knowledge on and the production of paper. Paper was invented in China in the year 105 CE. The production process was perfected in the centuries that followed. The expertise was transmitted to the Arabs by Chinese prisoners in Samarkand in 8th century. The Arabs in turn passed on this knowledge to the rest of Europe via Spain and Italy in the 13th century. In China, paper had been produced on the basis of rags, hemp, plant fibres, cellulose and other materials. Before the invention of paper, several writing materials were used in the West and in the East, including papyrus, linen, tree bark and metal. With the invention of parchment and papermaking, the West more and more focused on the use of these latter materials. In the East, however, a far wider range of writings materials continued to be in use for printing and writing. Thus there are examples of texts written on silk, metal, stone, jade, the bark of a birch or a mulberry, bamboo, palm leaf, rattan sticks, Chinese grass and the horn of a goat or buffalo.

In the East Indies and in India until c. 1500, texts were mainly written on the leaves of the lontar or nipa palm or incised on a metal base. Letters were etched into both sides of the lontar leaf and then rubbed with carbon black. The leaves were threaded together and kept in exquisitely decorated wooden boxes. Other book forms also featured in the East Indies, as in Sumatra, where the inner bark of the alim tree was used to manufacture concertina books, books that look like accordion pleats. With the introduction of Islam in the 13th century, paper increased in popularity as a carrier of text. Islam for that matter embraced the printing press with considerably less enthusiasm and prevented its introduction for several reasons until the 18th century. One of the main reasons was the powerful position of the scribes who copied the manuscript Quran. In general, the production of manuscripts side by side with printed books survived longer in Asia than in the West.

Figure 2: The two oldest printed double pages in Leiden date from the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). These pages are taken from part 7 of the *Yilitu* (*Rules and rites*, with illustrations).

Figure 3: The oldest manuscript from Java in Leiden University Library was added to the collection by Paulus Merula. It is a 16th century Javanese primbon carrying a religious, Islamic text.

FROM THE WEST TO THE EAST

The introduction of movable lead type in a number of Asian countries progressed via the West in the 16th century. Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits brought the printing press and movable lead type to the Philippines, India and Japan. In India this happened around 1556. A ship carrying Jesuits, amongst whom the Spanish-born printer Juan de Bustamante, was on its way to Abyssinia to set up a printing press there, but stranded on the coast of Goa. The Jesuits decided to remain there and produced several books in Portuguese, but also a number of books in the Malabar language (which was then believed to be Tamil). The promulgation of the Christian faith was the main motor behind this book production.

The arrival of the Dutch in the East Indies in the beginning of the 17th century saw to it that the printing press was also introduced in these territories. It has been suggested that printing activities were taking place in Batavia in the year 1638. The first more substantial clues for book production in the East Indies can be dated to 1659, however, when according to some sources Cornelis Pijl printed an almanac there. In the second half of the 17th century, printing in Batavia was flourishing thanks to the output of the printers Hendrick Brants and Jan Bruyn. These Dutch printed books were not theologian in nature, but may rather be called utilitarian, consisting as they did of lists, ordinances and official decrees (plakkaten).

'BOOKS CARRIED FROM FAR-AWAY COUNTRIES'

As has been said earlier, the introduction of the printed book in the East did not mean that the traditional manufacture of manuscripts ceased to exist. In Asia the handwritten book managed to survive far into the 19th century. The Asian Library collection features a number of these early and rare manuscripts. The printed books likewise include unique copies and many other rare copies originating from the East Indies, China, Japan and other countries. Initially these books were collected as curiosities from an exotic world, but gradually they came to be acquired in a more scholarly and systematic fashion. The passion for collecting culminated in the 19th century, when the Netherlands began to display a greater interest in its colonial territories in the East Indies and increasingly valued the artistic and spiritual life there.

From the start, Leiden University Library showed a great interest in books, manuscripts and objects from the Far East. The acquisition of a Javanese manuscript by Paulus Merula (1558-1607), who became librarian of Leiden University in 1597, is an early example of this interest. That year Merula paid a visit to the son of the Amsterdam merchant Conradus Jansz. van Dulmen (c. 1539-?). Van Dulmen was a spice merchant (cruydenier) who had amassed a considerable fortune trading in colonial commodities. He had earned a part of his fortune participating in Amsterdam's lucrative ship building and shipping company.

In his host's house, Merula was shown some extraordinary objects, including a number of palm leaves with enigmatic signs scratched on them. Merula was immediately fascinated by the unfamiliar script and decided on the spot to try and acquire the remarkable and exotic 'manuscript', which he also referred to as *merces literaria*, literary merchandise, for the library. Merula realised he would have to reach deep in his pockets for this rare item as it represented a certain monetary value. However, there was to be no purchase that day. After some reflection Merula wrote a bold letter to van Dulmen asking him to donate the manuscript to the library. According to Merula, the gesture would add significantly to the university's appeal and place the library on the international map. To Merula's surprise, van Dulmen agreed with the proposal and proceeded to donate the manuscript to the university in November 1597. The episode does not only reflect favourably on Merula's powers of persuasion, but also on the prestige enjoyed by Leiden University. Most of all, of course, the donation is a testimony to van Dulmen's generosity, for being willing to part with such a rare and precious item to support education and research at Leiden University.

THE FIRST PRIMBON IN LEIDEN

The manuscript which van Dulmen showed to Merula was a primbon: a mythical almanac containing notes about the mystical ideas circulating in the early years of Islam in Java. From the description in the 1597 *Catalogus principum* [...] it becomes clear that the language in the primbon was wholly unfamiliar. Merula and his contemporaries could only guess at its contents. They interpreted it as reflecting a number of Chinese laws, parts from the Quran or something completely different. The suggestion that the document contained parts of the Quran was not all that far-fetched, as the text includes several sentences and words in Arabic (though written in Javanese script).

Figure 4: Catechism in Javanese script on paper made from tree bark. The leaves have been folded into a leporello and are protected by a wooden board (*tika*). Central or East Pasir. 16th century or early 17th century.

Figure 5: Treatise on Islam in Arabic and written on tree bark. Java, 17th century.

The primbon had ended up in Amsterdam together with a number of other manuscripts thanks to Cornelis de Houtman, who had participated in the First Dutch Expedition to the East Indies in the years 1595-1597. It has been established on the basis of the language used that the primbon probably originated in East Java and was bought in Sedajoe in North Java. In the nascent Dutch Republic there existed considerable demand for exotic objects from the Far East. The merchandise, which included books, manuscripts, natural objects and other curiosities that arrived in the harbour of Amsterdam was sold to the highest bidders at steep prices on the quayside. Merula noted in his letter to van Dulmen that more such manuscripts were circulating in the Republic after the First Dutch Expedition. In the years 1598-1599 several fleets were equipped to sail to the East. In 1599 and 1601 the University Senate and the States of Holland urged the companies sailing to the East to look out for botanical and animal specimen on their travels which might serve both Leiden's academic community and the Republic's trade interests. The university's curators never submitted a similar request to collect books and texts, although there were at the time already several scholars, such as Joseph Scaliger, who were greatly interested in Oriental languages and cultures. The focus of companies like the VOC lay more on the spice trade and the profit it might bring than on books and manuscripts.
In the first decades of the library's existence, therefore, there were hardly any Oriental books and manuscripts to be found in the collection. There was no policy of systematically acquiring Oriental material to add to the collection. This changed with the appointment of Merula as librarian. Merula actively invited donations and bequests and regularly came across special Oriental books and manuscripts. In 1597 he compiled a catalogue listing all donations to the library since the foundation of the university in 1575. The aim of the new catalogue was to acquire even more donations for the library, as the library had insufficient funds to purchase valuable books. Merula's 1607 manuscript catalogue offers a survey of the books and manuscripts kept in the library's locked cabinets and office. This catalogue affords an insight into the number of Oriental books present in the collection up to that year. The cabinet with 'Books carried from far-away countries' contained six 'titles' of various Oriental works. In addition to the above-mentioned primbon they were a book in Arabic and one in Ethiopic, a manuscript with an Arabic and Javanese text that had been donated by Petrus Scriverius and a *Volumen Sinense Elegantissimum* offered by Petrus Pavius or Pieter Paauw (1564-1617), professor of Medicine and Botany.

The general wording in which the books were described suggest that Merula mainly regarded the objects as ornaments to grace the library. Merula did succeed in his plan to expand the collections of the university library through the addition of a number of donations. Another case documents Merula's rather alarming generosity. In that same period, Merula offered a fragment from a Chinese book as a gift to a visitor from Oxford. The motive or background for this particular donation is unknown, but the gift was of great significance to Oxford. The Bodleian Library began building a considerable collection of Chinese books in the following decades. Did the donated fragment originally belong to the *Volumen Sinense elegantissimum* donated by Pauw to the library? Judging from the

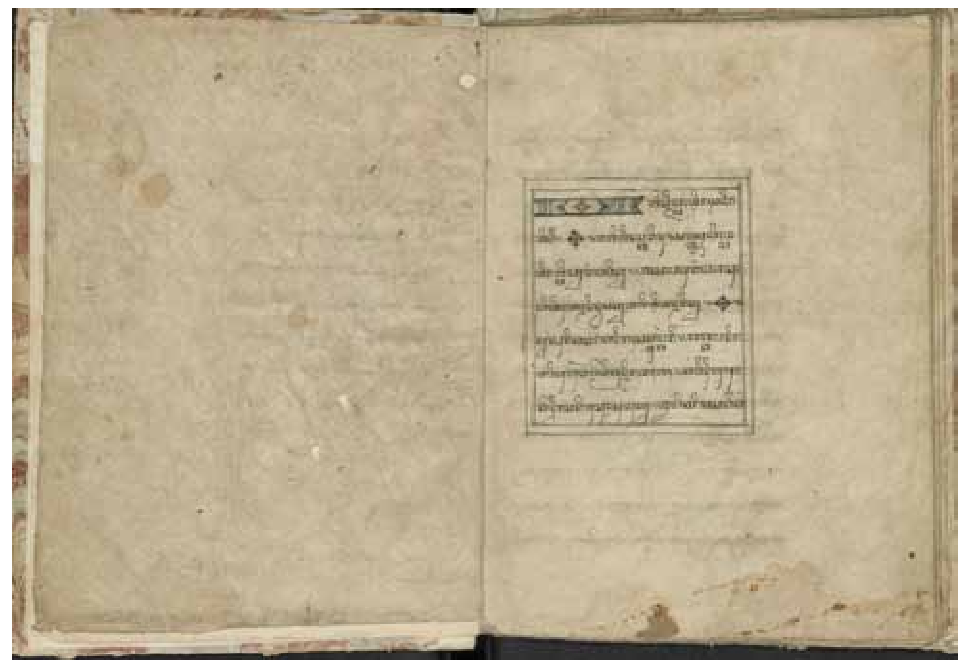

Figure 6: Text dealing with Muhammad's teaching and Islamic mysticism. Java, late 16th or early 17th century, from the collection of Bonaventura Vulcanius.

description of the fragment in the Bodleian Library catalogue it can be assumed it was part of the popular Chinese novel *Shui-hu-chuan*. This manuscript, too, probably found its way to Leiden following Cornelis de Houtman's first journey to Java. De Houtman had met Chinese people in Java and may have bought the book from one of them. In his dedication to the edition of the *Willeram* (1598), Merula noted the growing presence of Javanese and Chinese books in the Republic at the end of the 16th century.

A 'JAPANESE' BOOK

The professor of Greek Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614) also contributed by presenting a rare manuscript which he believed to be a 'Liber Japonensis', but which was in fact a book originating from the East Indies. The book came into the possession of the library after his death. The manuscript must have arrived in the Netherlands before 1600, although in this case, too, we are not sure how. It has been suggested that the manuscript was bought in the harbour town Sedoeja or Tuban in Java during the Second Dutch Expedition in 1598. Vulcanius probably received the manuscript from Damasius van Blyenburg (1558-1616), a student who lived in his house for a number of years and had close ties with one of the precursors of the VOC, the Amsterdam Compagnie van Verre, which had been set up by nine Amsterdam merchants in 1594 to send a fleet to the East Indies to purchase spices.

Vulcanius was unfamiliar with the script in the manuscript, which he wrongly assumed to be Japanese. We now know that the manuscript is written in Javanese and carries the title *Kitab pangeran Bonang* or *The Book of Bonang*. The manuscript, which was produced in East Java, is a treatise on Islamic theology and mysticism by Pangeran Bonang, one of the nine holy men (wali) to have introduced Islam in Java. The treatise is written on Javanese paper made of tree bark. It is the third oldest Javanese manuscript in the library's holdings.

Figure 7: Two examples (see also Figure 8) of books printed by the Jesuits in Japan: *Fides no dŏxi to xite P. F. Luis de Granada amaretaru xo no riacu* (1592) .

SCALIGER'S BEQUEST

In 1607 the library's Oriental collections were still modest in size. This, however, changed considerably when the university was offered the Oriental library of Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) two years later. In addition to books in Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and some other languages, his collection also contains a number of books printed in a variety of Oriental languages such as Japanese, Tamil and Russian. Like all the other books from Scaliger's bequest, they carry a pasted-in slip with his name on it, though it is occasionally to be doubted whether they were originally part of the bequest. In the description of Scaliger's bequest in the 1640 library catalogue, an entry with *Tres libri Chinensis* is mentioned for the first time. According to the 1609 auction catalogue of his Western books, Scaliger owned more books in Chinese. In his will, Scaliger also bequeathed a number of (blank) sheets of Chinese paper to the theologian Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641). The above-mentioned examples are early witnesses to the great interest expressed by scholars at Leiden University in books from the Far East. The library's collection would be considerably augmented in the 17th century with material from South East Asia, for instance through the bequest of Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and the purchase of the library of Isaac Vossius (1618-1689). It was only decades if not centuries later that scholars in the West were able to read the numerous foreign languages present in the collection. Only then did these books reveal their secrets. By that time, however, Leiden University already occupied a long-established position as a major centre for the study of Oriental cultures in all their aspects, languages and manifestations. It is a position, which is now reinforced by the opening of the Asian Library.

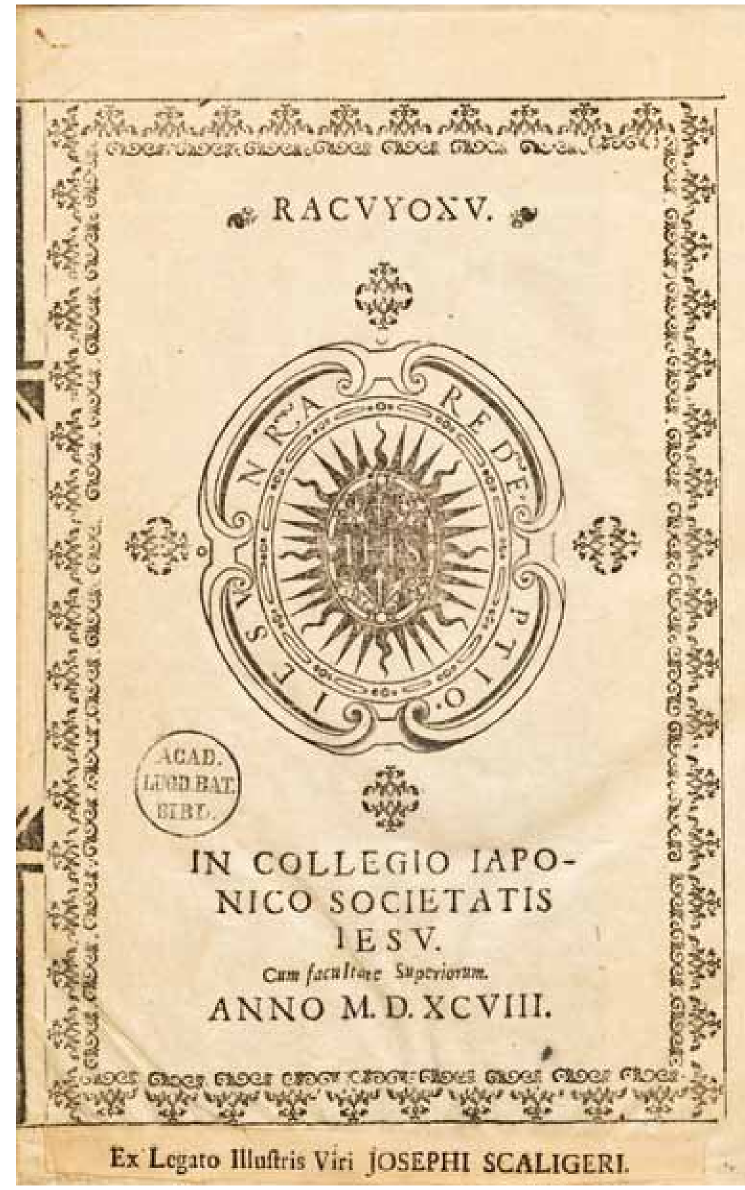

Figure 8: Title page of *Rackyoxu*, a Chinese-Japanese and Japanese-Chinese dictionary (1598).

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ITINERARIO, VOYAGE OFTE SCHIPVAART VAN JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN NAER OOST OFTE PORTUGAELS INDIEN

The naval explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten was born in Enkhuizen in North Holland. When the Spaniards and Portuguese had divided the world amongst themselves and other nations had not yet ventured out to foreign parts, van Linschoten undertook voyages to India in the service of the Portuguese. This book is an account of his travels and is based on his wide experience. Although the sea route to India was previously known, his work fired the Dutch spirit of enterprise and also led to Dutch expeditions to the East.

Van Linschoten's work is illustrated with numerous maps, views of coasts and islands and depictions of the indigenous population. The Dutch at home were offered a first glimpse of other peoples and civilizations, which may have been a culture shock of the first order. When in 1908 a society was founded in the Netherlands to publish accounts of old sea voyages, the obvious choice was to name it after van Linschoten. This copy, printed on large paper, was coloured by hand. (AVDL)

Itinerary; or the Voyage made by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the East or Portuguese Indies
Creator: Jan Huygen van Linschoten
Object number: 1372 B 11
Geographic region: Netherlands
Material: print on paper
Date: 1596
Dimensions: 31 x 21 cm

Confidential or commercial?

The Conflicting Interests within the Blaeu and Van Keulen Mapmaker Families

BY MARTIJN STORMS

The Dutch East-India Company (VOC) produced its own maps. In the course of its almost two centuries long existence (1602-1799), the VOC appointed official mapmakers to lead its map chamber in the East-India House in Amsterdam. For two periods, the office of VOC mapmaker was in the hands of two well-known map publishing families: the Blaeus (1633-1705) and the Van Keulens (1743-1799). Although the VOC mapmakers had to swear secrecy, it is open to question to what extent VOC cartography was considered confidential. How did the Blaeu and Van Keulen families reconcile the role of official VOC mapmakers with their activities as commercial publishers? Was there a conflict of interest between their commercial activities and their commitment to the VOC? We will try to answer these questions on the basis of maps and atlases in the collection of Leiden University Libraries.

SECRECY AND OFFICIAL MAPMAKING OF THE VOC

When the VOC was founded in 1602, the well-known astronomer and company co-founder Petrus Plancius became its first official mapmaker. He was also involved in the equipment of the ships and served as navigational instructor. The oldest instructions for a VOC mapmaker that have survived are those relating to the nomination of Willem Jansz Blaeu. These were copied after the instructions compiled for his predecessor Hessel Gerritsz. The instructions read that Blaeu was sworn not to reveal information about VOC mapping activities to persons outside the company, not to publish any VOC material without permission and to observe secrecy about his work. In the 18th century, these instructions were still more or less the same. The stipulations for Gerard Hulst van Keulen, the last official VOC mapmaker, still includes the instruction not to disclose any information about his activities to outsiders.

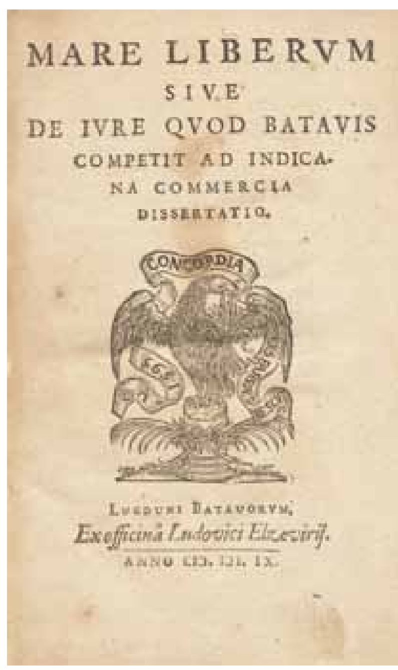
Official mapmakers of the VOC Chamber Amsterdam

1602-1608	Petrus Plancius (1562-1622)
1608-1617	Augustijn Robaert (15xx-1617)
1617-1632	Hessel Gerritsz (c.1581-1632)
1633-1638	**Willem Jansz Blaeu** (1571-1638)
1638-1673	**Joan I Blaeu** (1598/99-1673)
1673-1705	**Joan II Blaeu** (1650-1712)
1705-1743	Isaak de Graaf (1668-1743)
1743-1755	**Johannes II van Keulen** (1704-1755)
1755-1772	**Widow Johannes II van Keulen** [Catharina Buijs (1714-1781)]
1772-1781	**Widow Johannes II van Keulen and sons** [Catharina Buijs and sons]
1782-1799	**Gerard Hulst van Keulen** (1733-1801)

On the one hand, the VOC adhered to the principle that the sea was international territory, supported in this by Hugo Grotius' work *Mare Liberum*, which had been published by Elzevier in Leiden in 1609 (Fig. 1). Grotius' theory of a 'free sea' was the Dutch answer to the previous Spanish-Portuguese practice of Mare Clausum: the rule that an ocean or sea under the jurisdiction of a state was not accessible to other states. On the other hand, the VOC felt free to ignore this free trade principle if it suited its purposes, especially by maintaining a monopoly position with respect to its trade routes to the East Indies. With this monopoly, granted by the States General, the commercial company acted as a semi-official state organ. Consequently, the company wanted to keep their information about sailing instructions to the East, coastal profiles and charts to themselves.

For a long time it has been assumed that the VOC pursued a strict secrecy policy with respect to its map production. This perception changed when Kees Zandvliet's dissertation *Mapping for Money* was published in 1998. He argued that scholars have given too much weight to the few instructions and resolutions known in relation to the confidentiality of maps. Furthermore, resolutions 'concerning the return of loaned charts have been interpreted as evidence for secrecy instead of evidence that the VOC simply wanted their expensive charts returned'. Nevertheless, relatively little analysis has been done on the printed cartographic output of VOC territories. How many maps based on 'secret' VOC charts were effectively published in print, especially by the mapmaker-publishers wearing two hats?

Figure 1: Title page of Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum*, 1609.



MARE LIBERVM
SIVE
DE IVRE QVOD BATAVIS
COMPETIT AD INDICA-
NA COMMERCIA
DISSERTATIO.
CONCORDIA
Lugduni Batavorum,
Ex officina Ludovici Elzevirij.
ANNO CIƆ. IƆ. IX.

THE BLAEUS

On 3 January 1633 Willem Jansz Blaeu succeeded Hessel Gerritsz, who had died in the autumn of 1632, as official VOC mapmaker. For the next 73 years, three generations of the Blaeu family would be in charge of the Amsterdam map chamber. Willem Jansz Blaeu had set up business as a globe and mapmaker and publisher in Amsterdam in the early years of the 17^{th} century. In 1630 he published his first atlas, around the time his son Joan I began assisting him in the printing business. After Willem's death in 1638, Joan I succeeded his father as VOC mapmaker. He also took over the commercial publishing business, focusing more and more on atlases, an interest which eventually culminated in the publication of the famous *Atlas Maior* in the 1660s. This 'greatest atlas ever published' consisted of 600 maps in 9 to 12 volumes, depending on the language of publication. The income from the VOC helped Joan I to finance these commercial publishing activities. In 1672, the Rampjaar (the disaster year in Dutch history), Blaeu's workshop was destroyed by fire, and the next year Joan I passed away. This initiated a gradual decline of the printing house, now led by the third generation in the person of Joan II Blaeu, finally resulting in the public auction of the firm's holdings in 1695. Joan II also succeeded his father as official VOC mapmaker, but gave up this position when he was appointed VOC director in 1705.

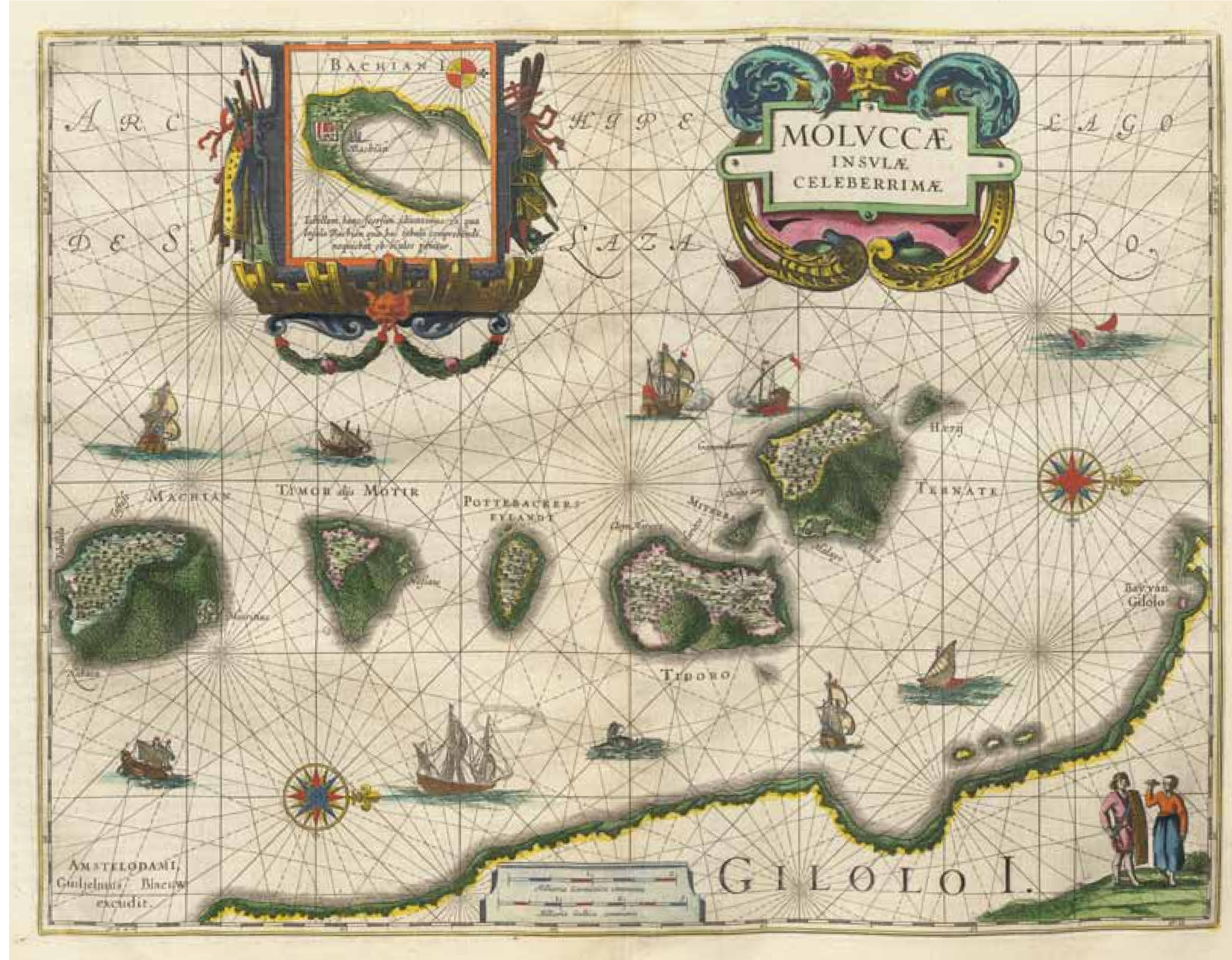


Figure 2: Willem Jansz Blaeu, *Moluccae Insulae Celeberrimae*, 1630 in his *Atlas Maior*.

In the first atlas published by Willem Jansz Blaeu, the *Atlantis Appendix* of 1630, the only three maps in relation to Asia were an overview map of the Asian continent, a map of the Holy Land and a map of the Maluku Islands (Moluccae Insulae Celeberrimae). The Maluku map covers the small North Maluku spice islands of Ternate, Tidore, Mare, Moti and Makian along the west coast of Halmahera. It is the only large-scale and detailed map of VOC territory

Figure 3: Johannes Janssonius, *Insulae Iavae*, 1659.

printed by Blaeu. However, this map was already published before Blaeu became the official mapmaker of the VOC. Moreover, this map had first been published by the widow of Jodocus II Hondius in the same year, after which Blaeu acquired the copperplate. In 1634 Blaeu added to his atlases maps of Siberia (Tartaria), the Middle East (Turcicum Imperium), Persia, India (Magni Mogolis Imperium), China and the East Indies (India quae Orientalis dicitur et Insulae Adiacentes). Zandvliet considered these additions to be 'a turning point, away from the era of secrecy'. However, these six maps are only overview maps on relatively small scales. More detailed maps based on VOC charts were never included in Blaeu's atlases, while Blaeu's major competitor Johannes Janssonius added charts of the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Banda Islands to some of his atlases in the 1650s. Apparently, the Blaeus were bound to observe the VOC instructions, while other publishers could afford to print such maps. An exception is the publication of a Chinese atlas by Joan I Blaeu in 1655. This *Novus Atlas Sinensis* was based on maps brought to Amsterdam by the missionary Martino Martini. Joan I Blaeu dedicated this atlas to the Heren XVII (board) of the VOC, probably in the hope of receiving a financial contribution. The Chinese atlas consists of a new overview map of China, 15 maps of the Chinese provinces and a map of Japan, including Korea. It should be noted that these maps were not based on VOC charts, but on original Chinese cartographic sources. Moreover, these maps were topographic in character and so unfit to be used as nautical charts. Finally, Joan I added a map of the Arabian peninsula to his *Atlas Maior* in 1662. When it came to VOC charts, Joan I Blaeu could only afford to sell manuscript copies to collectors occasionally. The copies of VOC charts included in the *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*, an expanded *Atlas Maior* owned by collector Laurens van der Hem, are the best known examples of this practice.

The main difference between the printed commercial (atlas) maps and the official hand-drawn VOC charts was scale. In general, the official charts were drawn on a larger scale and, consequently, showed more detail and were more accurate. A distinctive characteristic of charts is the rhumb line or compass rose network that criss-crosses the map image. This network is constructed from a central compass rose, surrounded by a circle of sixteen compass roses. Different colours to distinguish between the four cardinal directions, the four intercardinal directions and the eight further divisions are used for the interconnecting lines. Some compass roses are more elaborate, mainly when there was space available on the map (i.e. in the absence of geographical information). Often, these are the only decorative elements on official manuscript charts, sometimes together with embellished scale bars. Unsigned charts can be regularly attributed to specific mapmakers because of the characteristic style of the embellished compass roses. Sometimes coastal profiles are added to these charts, whether as small drawings along the coasts in the map image, or as separate images. The printed atlas maps, on the other hand, mostly contain decorative title cartouches, dedication cartouches as well as embellished scale bars, but, surprisingly, more sober compass roses in general. The atlas maps shown in this article (Fig. 2 and 3) are taken from the great folio atlases of respectively Blaeu and Janssonius. Both atlases are beautifully coloured by a 'meester-afsetter', a professional colourist. The Blaeu atlas has a vellum binding and the Janssonius atlas an impressive leather binding.

TWO CHARTS ON VELLUM BY JOAN II BLAEU

The comprehensive map collection of Bodel Nijenhuis – legated to Leiden University after his death – contains 79 VOC manuscript charts, fourteen of which were drawn on vellum. Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis (1797-1872) studied law at Leiden University, was director of the Luchtmans publishing house and, above all, the greatest private map collector of the 19th century worldwide. He was also one of the pioneers of Dutch research in the history of cartography. Two of these charts on vellum bear the name of Joan Blaeu: a chart of the Java Sea of 1673

Figure 4: Joan [I/II] Blaeu, VOC chart of the Java Sea, 1673, manuscript on vellum.

(Fig. 4) and one of the southern part of the South China Sea and the Gulf of Siam from 1686 (Fig. 5). Coincidentally, the first of these two charts was drawn in the year Joan I Blaeu died (on May 28) and was succeeded by his son with the same name. It is therefore impossible in this particular case to determine under whose auspices this map was made. The map of 1686 was produced in the period Joan II Blaeu was in charge of the map chamber in Amsterdam. Both charts were not part of the standard equipment of the ships that sailed from Holland to Batavia, or vice versa. They were produced to serve the inter-Asian sailing vessels. Both maps bear a privilege granted by the States General in the centre at the top of the chart, which in theory protected the publisher from pirated editions.

The chart of the Java Sea covers the area of the Greater Sunda Islands of Sumatra, Borneo, Sulawesi and Java. Of Java, as well as of the smaller islands of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa, the southern coasts are also included. Remarkable features on this map are the coastal profiles drawn along the coasts of Java with names as 'Schildpads Hooft' (Turtle's Head), 'Hoorens Hooft' (Horn's Head) and 'Stiere Hooft' (Bull's Head). Characteristic features of the chart of the South China Sea are the marked navigational routes in the Gulf of Siam. These are based on the routes of VOC ships in 1643 and 1644, reflecting the influence of the several monsoons in the area. Among the various Dutch names on the map are two company factories near Bangkok and Phnom Penh, indicated as 'Hollandtse Logie'. Another striking feature is the rectangular depiction of the Paracel Islands (Ilhas de Pracel) in the northeastern corner of the map.

THE VAN KEULEN COMPANY

The Van Keulen company was founded in 1680 by Johannes I van Keulen (1654-1715). The firm was located In de Gekroonde Lootsman (In the Crowned Pilot) on Amsterdam's Nieuwe Brug in the harbour area. The publishing house specialised in sea charts, sea atlases, pilot guides and navigational instruments, and was the leading company in Amsterdam in this niche. The Deventer-born Johannes I van Keulen established himself in Amsterdam in 1678. His son Gerard, who was born in the same year, took over the company after the death of his father. Afterwards, grandson Johannes II van Keulen, his widow Catharina Buijs and great-grandson Gerard Hulst van Keulen were in charge of the publishing house. Johannes II van Keulen was appointed official mapmaker of the VOC in 1743, his widow and son would succeed him in this office as well. The most important publication issued by the publishing house is the five-volume *Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-Fakkel* (*New Great Illuminating Sea-Torch*), first published in 1682-1684 together with cartographer Claes Jansz Vooght. This pilot guide of the European and West-Indian coasts was reprinted and translated regularly. An additional sixth volume, covering the coasts of the East Indies, was published in 1753. In addition, the Van Keulen company published a number of loose charts of the Asian waters, as well as a prelude to the publishing of the sixth part of the *Zee-Fakkel* as afterwards. After having flourished for more than two centuries, the family company was finally liquidated in 1885.

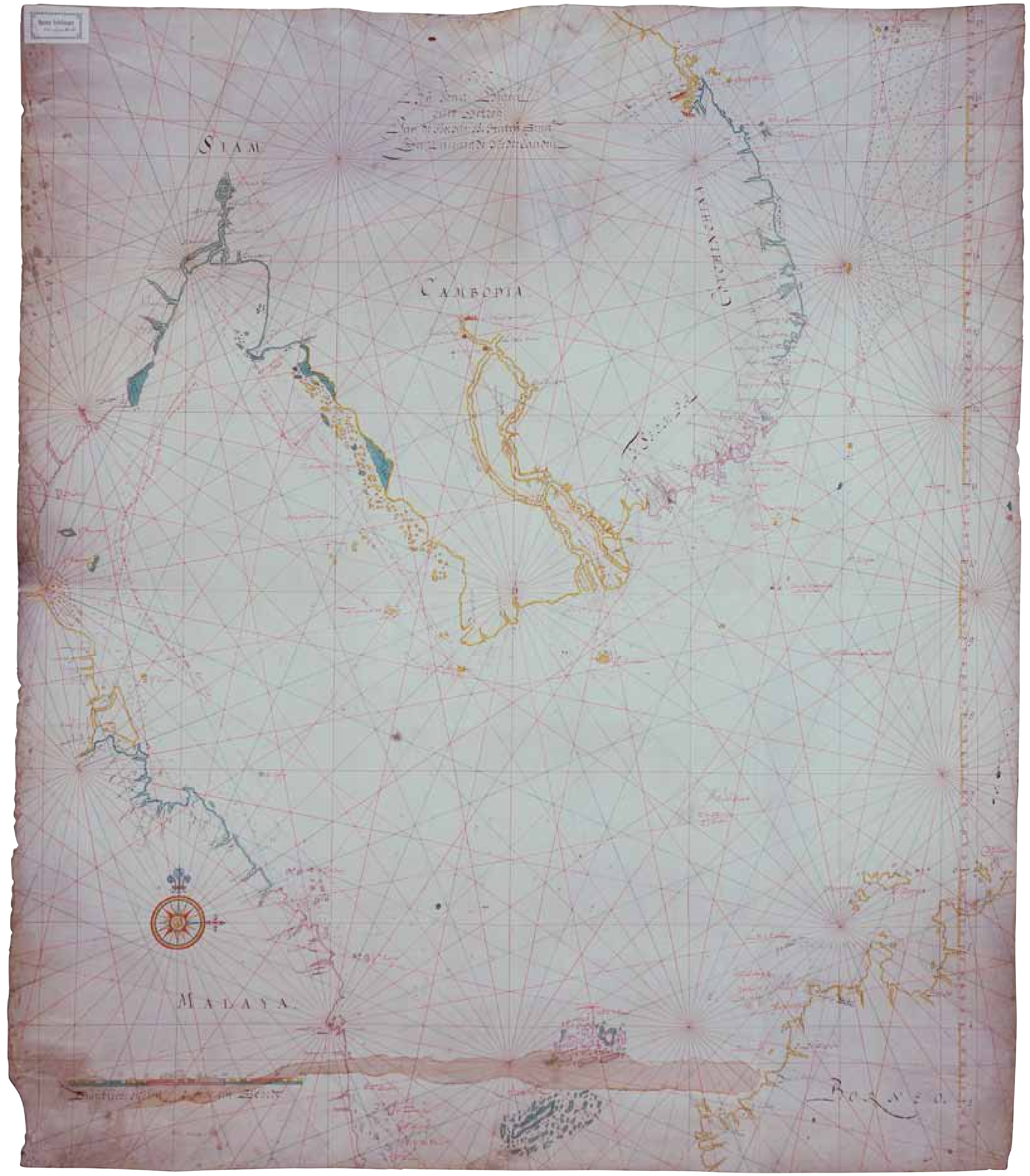


Figure 5: Joan II Blaeu, VOC chart of the South China Sea, 1686, manuscript on vellum.

DE

NIEUWE GROOTE
LICHTENDE
ZEE-FAKKEL,

HET SESDE DEEL,

OOST-INDIEN.

Beginnende aan Caab de Goede Hoop, en van daar langs de Kusten van Afrika, Arabie, Persie, Gusaratte, Cuncan, Canara, Malabaar, Cormandel, Orixa, Bengalen, Arrakan, Pegu Tanasriën, Malye, Siam, Cambodia, Chouchin China Tonqien, Sina, tot de Haven van Nangasakki in Japan; Mitsgaders de Eylanden Cylon, Sumatra, Java en andere Eylanden by de boven gemelde Kusten of in de Indische Zee gelegen.

JAN DE MARRE,

JOANNES VAN KEULEN,

BEWINDHEBBEREN

OOSTINDISCHE MAATSCHAPPYE

OOSTINDIËN.

JOANNES VAN KEULEN

THE SIXTH PART OF THE ZEE-FAKKEL

In the sixth part of *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-Fakkel*, sailing instructions, coastal profiles and detailed sea charts of the VOC were offered in print for the first time. This volume was published by Johannes II van Keulen in 1753 (Fig. 6-8). The author of this atlas was Jan de Marre, who was a VOC navigational examiner. For a long time the VOC had been reluctant to have its cartographic knowledge produced in print. Plans of the Blaeus to publish a pilot guide for the East-Asian waters were not supported by the VOC board. Because of this conservative approach there is a certain dialectics of lead (of knowledge). In effect, the VOC was running behind the facts. In 1703 in London John Thornton published the third volume of his pilot guide *The English Pilot*, devoted to the East Indies and based on British as well as Dutch sources. Many printed charts in this work were copied after VOC charts, particularly charts by Joan Blaeu. Furthermore, Jean-François Robustel published *Le Neptune Oriental* in Paris in 1745. This French pilot guide dealing with Asian waters was compiled by Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Denis d'Après de Mannevillette, an officer of the French Compagnie des Indes. He used various sources for his atlas, among others *The English Pilot*, but also Dutch up-to-date charts of the islands of Banca and Billiton. The VOC now simply could not stay behind, but it was a case of 'too little too late'. The sixth volume of the *Zee-Fakkel* was only reissued once in, or shortly after, 1755. This final edition contains some additional charts, but still bears the original title page with the year 1753. A copy of this relatively rare atlas is in the collection of KITLV, now part of the Asian Library. The Asian pilot guide was only published in Dutch, as the British and French were able to rely on their own publications. The VOC was already in decline and Van Keulen's cartography, too, was past its prime. Nevertheless, the Van Keulens would serve the VOC as its official mapmakers until the end of its existence in 1799.

CONFIDENTIAL OR COMMERCIAL?

Evidently, the commercial map printing practice of the Blaeus was limited by the restrictions imposed by the VOC. However, the office of VOC mapmaker was very lucrative and apparently outweighed the publicity restrictions. Contemporary Amsterdam publishers not bound to the VOC were less constrained in printing maps of VOC territories. The VOC policy only changed when the Van Keulens were in charge of the VOC map chamber in Amsterdam. In the first half of the 18th century, English and French pilot guides of Asian waters began to be published. At that point there was no navigational information left to keep secret any longer.

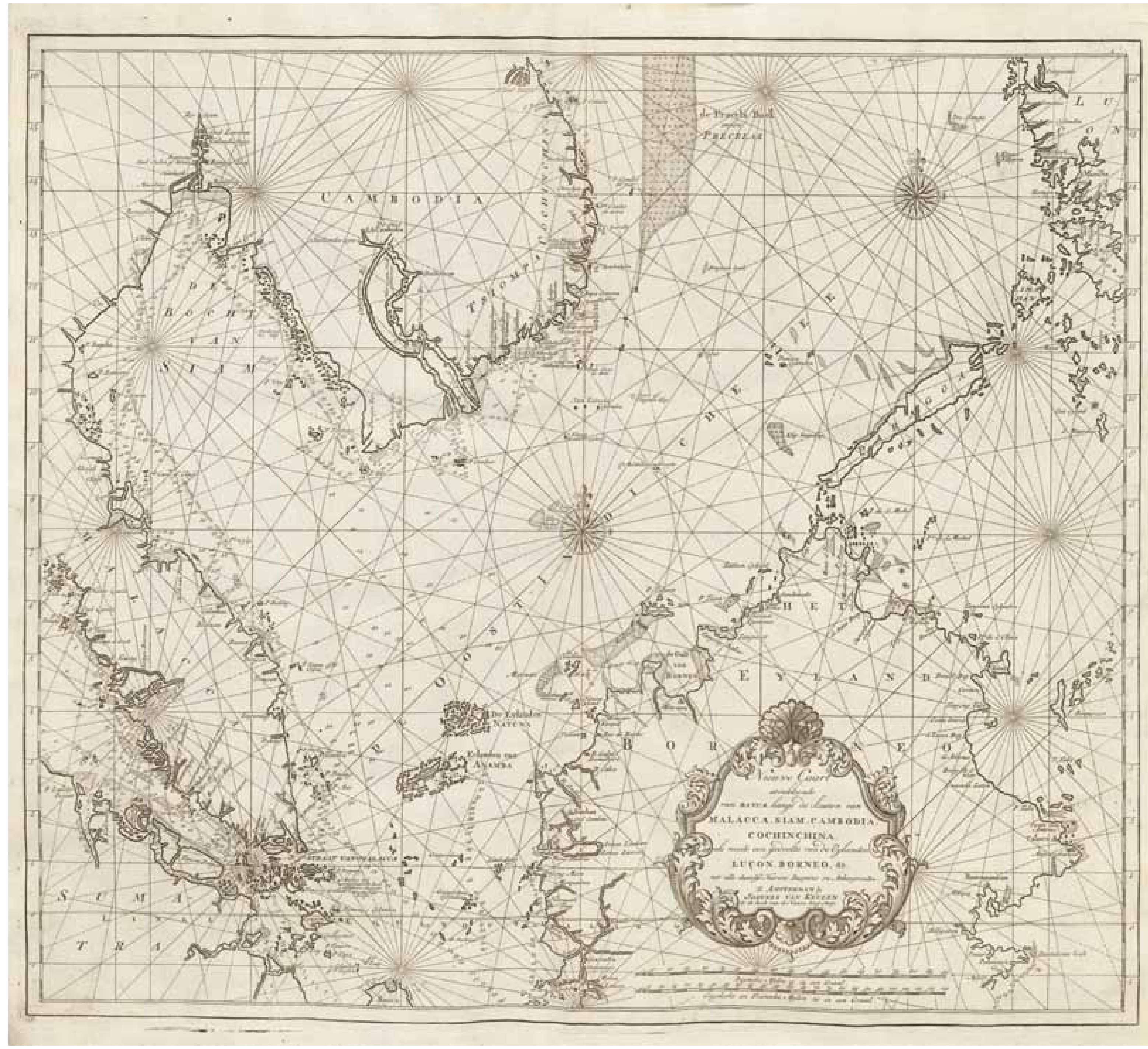


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Figure 8: Johannes II van Keulen, Chart of the South China Sea in the Zee-Fakkel, 1753.

Figure 6, left page top: Title page of the sixth part of *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-Fakkel*, 1753.

Figure 7, left page bottom: Dedication by Johannes II van Keulen to the VOC directors in the *Zee-Fakkel*, 1753.

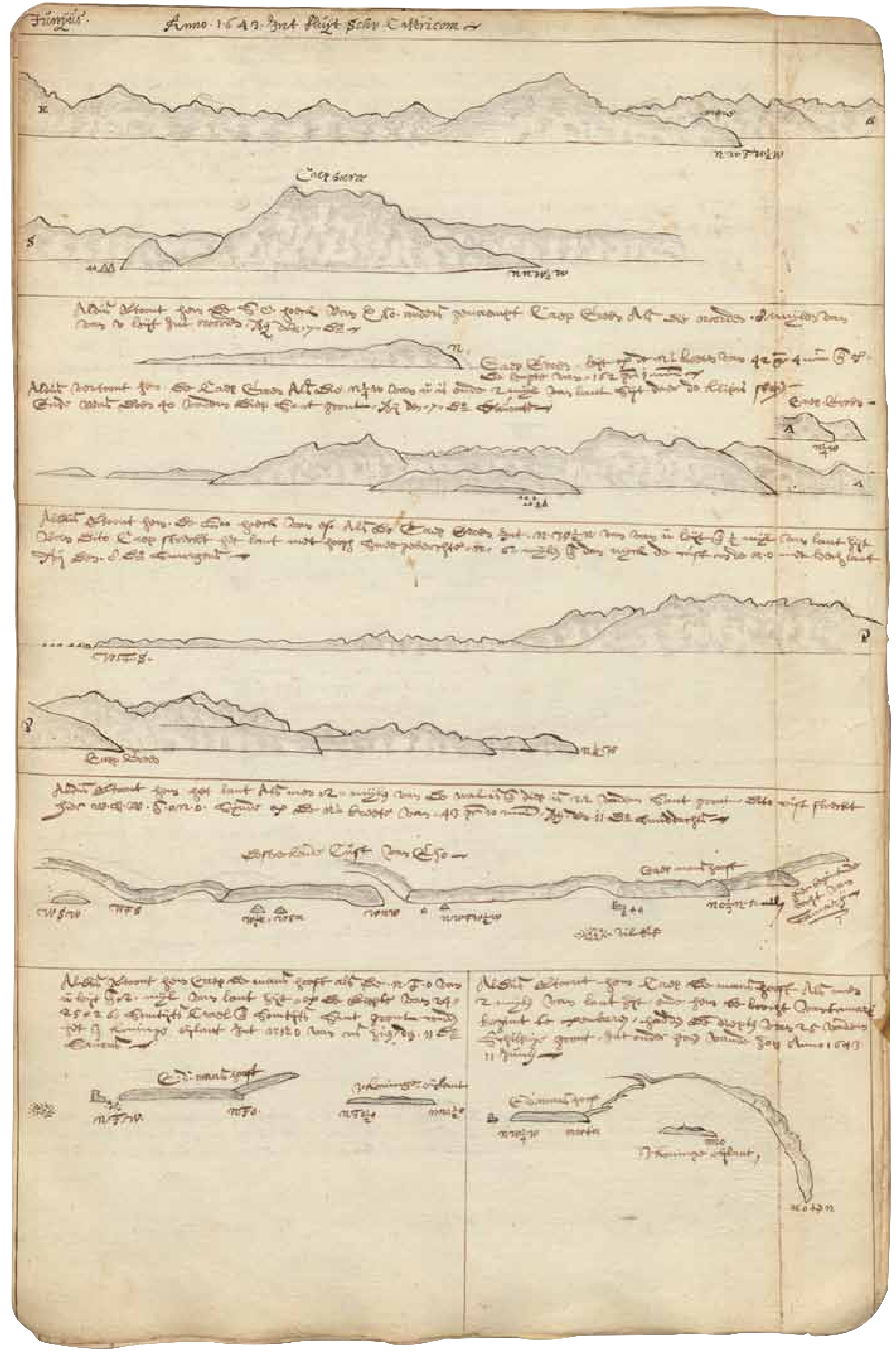
JOURNAEL OF DAECHREGISTER VAN DE REIS VAN HET FLUITSCHIP CASTRICUM

On 4 April 1643, the Dutch VOC ships Castricum and Breskens left the harbour of Ternate in Indonesia, and set sail for the seas northeast of Japan to discover islands rich with silver and gold. During the voyage the first mate of the Castricum, Cornelis Jansz. Coen, kept a ship's journal recording the progress made and the encounters with Japanese fishermen. He also included numerous drawings of the coastlines of Japan seen from the ship.

On 20 May, one and a half month after departure, the two ships lost touch with each other in a storm, just off the coast of Hachijō-jima, an island south of Tokyo. Due to this setback, the island was named 'Ongeluckich Eijlant' [Unlucky Island]. Cornelis Jansz. Coen incorporated several drawings of the island's coasts in his journal. This manuscript was donated to Leiden University by Prince Yusuf Kamal of Egypt in 1928. (MVD)

Journal of the voyage of the flute ship Castricum to the northeastern parts of Japan, under the command of Maerten Gerritsz. Vries

Creator: Cornelis Jansz. Coen
Object number: BPL 2251
Geographic region: Netherlands
Material: manuscript on paper
Date: 1643
Dimensions: 37 x 25 cm



Eyes on Asia: Photographic Memory of a Continent

BY MAARTJE VAN DEN HEUVEL

Photography has a major influence on our perception of Asia. We take photographs ourselves and share and cherish them with our friends and relatives. Photographs serve as a visual source for research or news coverage, they can tempt us as tourist information or challenge our stereotypical gaze when used in the visual arts. The Asian Library provides access to highly diverse and rich photographic collections that encompass all these various forms of photography. It is especially the sub-collections of the KITLV, the Kern Institute, the Oriental Collections and the Print Room which hold numerous photographs of Asia, together running into the hundreds of thousands. The earliest photographs of the region are to be found here, but also very recent ones by an Asian immigrant for example, who reflects on the culture of her homeland through the lens. Thanks to purchases and donations, the image of Asia is updated on an almost daily basis.

PIONEERS

Soon after the invention of photography in the form of daguerreotype had been introduced to the public in 1839, the new medium also found its way to Asia. A daguerreotype, named after its French inventor Jacques Louis Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), is a silver-coated copper plate that was treated with fumes such as poisonous mercury vapour to produce a photographic image. The travelling German photographer Adolph Schaefer – about whose life remarkably little is known, not even his years of birth and death – brought the daguerreotype to the Dutch East Indies on behalf of the Netherlands Ministry of Colonies. After having been trained by Daguerre himself in Paris and having purchased high-quality camera equipment in the French capital, Schaefer set off for the East to document antiquities in the name of archaeological scholarship.

Schaefer was already out of business in 1845. The photographic process turned out to be expensive and cumbersome. Moreover, daguerreotypes were unique and irreproducible, the images appeared as negatives and they were difficult to see due to their reflective surface. In the meantime, however, Schaefer had managed to produce 126 daguerreotypes of such objects as Hindu statues in the collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences as well as dozens of exterior

Figure 1: Adolph Schaefer, *Borobudur gallery*, 1845, daguerreotype, 8.5 x 6.7 cm. Leiden University Print Room collection.

photographs of the Borobudur. These images represent the oldest photographic images of antiquities in Java and the largest coherent group of historical daguerreotypes in the Netherlands, while they are also a major photo-historical rarity on an international scale. (Fig. 1)

In other Asian countries, too, photography was introduced in the middle of the 19th century. The Dutch also played a remarkable role in Japan in this respect. Photography entered the country which was so inaccessible to Westerners via the trading post which the Netherlands had exclusively obtained on the island of Dejima. Already in 1843 the Japanese merchant and scientist Ueno Shunnojo (1790-1851) borrowed a camera there, most likely from a passenger on a Dutch ship. Shunnojo then ordered a camera with all photographic accessories himself at the trading post, which reached Japan in 1848. Although he did not take up photography himself and went on to sell the equipment, his son, Ueno Hikoma (1838-1904), did get involved in photography.

Ueno junior belonged to a group of carefully vetted Japanese officials who were allowed to attend informative meetings on Dejima. Although the successive physicians Dr Jan Karel van den Broek (who held the post from 1853 to 1857), J.L.C. Pompe van Meerdervoort (1857 to 1862) and Dr A.F. Bauduin (1862 to 1870) were primarily supposed to teach medical science there, it soon appeared that their Japanese audience had wider interests. They were also keen to learn about trade and industries and were greatly interested in photography. Van den Broek presented to them the current photographic processes of daguerreotype and collodion print as scientific phenomena in the context of his physics and chemistry classes. With the knowledge thus obtained, Ueno junior set up the first Japanese photo studio in Nagasaki in 1862. From there he disseminated the knowledge of photography throughout Japan. The photo-historical contribution made by Bauduin is

Figure 2a: A.F. Bauduin, *Nagasaki, bay with ships*, c. 1864, photograph from the Bauduin collection. Leiden University Print Room collection.

Figure 2b: Ueno Hikoma, The photographer Ueno Hikoma amidst his family, c. 1866, photograph from the Bauduin collection, Leiden University Print Room collection.

noteworthy not only because he recorded the life of the foreign trading community on the Japanese island. Bauduin had also built an open-air studio in his garden, where he photographed groups of visitors – always taking care to include himself. He also kept in touch with Ueno and collected not only his own photographs but also those made by Japanese photographers at the time. Bauduin's collection therefore offers a unique insight into Japan shortly after the middle of the 19th century. (Fig. 2)

In the Arab part of Asia it was another Dutchman who introduced photography. The Leiden Arabist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) had converted to Islam and was the first Western person to take photographs in Mecca, in 1885. Like Van den Broek in Japan, Snouck Hurgronje initiated the spread of photography in Saudi Arabia. He trained the Saudi physician Abd al-Ghaffar in the technique of photography, after which the latter started a photo studio. As early as in 1839, the year photography was invented, the British in India had published some extensive articles on methods for producing daguerreotypes in the Bombay Times, so that anyone who took an interest was able to become proficient in the new medium. In China the first photo studios arose in 1856-1860, when trade contacts with the West were established following the Second Opium War.

SCIENTIFIC PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography was also an important source of information for the numerous expeditions that were organised from the Netherlands to map and document the colonies. The topographic photography used by the United States to explore the American West from the 1860s, served as an example. Early photography documenting indigenous parts of China and Mongolia already exists from the time a large Russian trade and scientific expedition was undertaken from St Petersburg in the years 1874-1875. The Netherlands organised not only military

Figure 3a (left page): Photo by C.J. Neeb, *First lieutenant H.J. Tromp de Haas (second left), equine veterinarian 2nd class, wading through the Kali Djangkok river with three cavalry officers during the First Lombok Expedition*, 1894, albumen print, 17 x 12.5 cm, KITLV sub-collection.

Figure 3b: Photo by Jean Demmeni, *Waterfall of the Tepoesè, affluent of the Bloeoe river, Central Borneo*, Borneo expedition led by Dr. A.W. Nieuwenhuis of the Geographical Society, 1896, 11.5 x 16.5 cm.

expeditions but also geographical ones to the Dutch East Indies from 1877, employing the new medium of photography. Between 1877 and 1959 the Royal Netherlands Geographical Society (KNAG) sent 35 expeditions to Asia, chiefly to the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. In addition, expeditions were set up by the Maatschappij ter bevordering van het Natuurkundig Onderzoek der Nederlandsche Koloniën (MNK: Society for the Promotion of the Physical Exploration of the Dutch Colonies). (Fig. 3a, b)

Apart from the photography generated by these early trade and research expeditions, physicians, anthropologists, archaeologists and other scientists also produced photography for their work. Depending on the scientific requirements, they all employed different methods to take photographs and systematise the photographic archive. The photographic collection of Leiden University Libraries holds a famous wooden cabinet with drawers containing diapositives on glass documenting tropical diseases. The classification system reveals that the researcher-photographer was not exclusively concerned with clinical pictures. Labels such as 'prostitution', 'water supply' and 'hygienic conditions' indicate a wider interest in the overall background of medical conditions.

A large photographic collection arose from commissions by the Oudheidkundige Dienst van Nederlands-Indië (the Archaeological Department of the Dutch East Indies). Initially managed by the Netherlands Ministry of Colonies, the collection was deposited with Leiden University in 1925, where it was made available and augmented for scientific research in the Kern Institute. This collection comprises the period 1863 to 1956, although most photographs date from the years 1913 to 1941. The photographs depict Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic antiquities, excavations, restoration activities, art objects and ethnographic objects in museums and 'in situ', inscriptions as well as native and colonial modern buildings of Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, Kalimantan and the Maluku islands. (Fig. 4)

Figure 4: Netherlands Indies Archaeological Department, Wall of fort Hollandia on Lonthoir near Banda Neira, c. 1920, 17 x 22.5 cm, KITLV sub-collection.

TRAVEL AND COLONIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Scientific photography is concerned with obtaining visual information for research and education; travel photography on the other hand is made up of personal recollections, kept in occasionally abundantly ornamented albums. The van de Stadts, who embarked on a honeymoon lasting over six months in 1908, made two distinguished albums. The couple travelled westward around the globe by ship and by train, successively visiting Japan, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Yemen and Egypt in Asia. We see how on the steamboat 'Prinz Ludwig' heading from Japan to China, Mrs van de Stadt was entertained with harpsichord music in the first-class Ladies Saloon, while Mr van de Stadt was made comfortable in the first-class Smoking Saloon. Their albums contain in addition to self-made photographs also purchased tourist photographs, prints, postcards, city plans, menu cards, stationery, hotel bills and dried flowers and plant leaves. It was a truly unforgettable journey. (Fig. 5)

We speak of travel photography when pictures are taken of places visited by people while travelling. Colonial albums are the products of photographers who have settled in the colony in question. Thousands of family albums dating from the 'tempo doeloe' (i.e. the good old times) shed light on the historiography of the Dutch colony in Asia from this personal perspective. There are amateur snapshots made by people in and around the house and during trips. As in the travel albums, these amateur pictures in colonial albums alternate with photographs by professional photographers. People had portraits taken in photo studios on cartes de visite or cabinet card format (i.e. the size of a postcard). When cameras became easier to move around and the photographic processes made it possible, the photographer was also invited to the house. It was customary to be portrayed in front of the home with the family, together with the servants. (Fig. 6a, b)

Figure 5: A page from the travel album of the Van de Stadts, who went on a honeymoon travelling westward around the world from March to November 1908. The page shows the menu aboard the "Eerens". This Dutch shipping company steamer took the newlyweds from Singapore to Batavia between 8-10 September 1908; adjacent an 'Admission ticket' for a six-month sojourn in Batavia.

PHOTO STUDIOS

In the 19th century studio photographers not only worked as portrait photographers but also responded to the growing demand for tourist photography. Photographs of cultural treasures and stunning landscapes were avidly collected. Photographers all over the world, including Asia, travelled around with their equipment and set up local photo studios to visually document and present the country to its inhabitants and the rest of the world. The British photographers Walter Bentley Woodbury (1834-1885) and James Page (1833-1865), better known as Woodbury & Page, owned flourishing photo studios in Batavia and Java from

Figure 6: Unknown photographer, *Man on top of a temple*, Magelang, 1889-1990, gelatin silver print, gold-toned, 15.9 x 21.0 cm, photograph from a colonial album originating from the Dutch East Indies. Leiden University Print Room collection.

Figure 6a: Woodbury & Page, *Ships at anchor in the Bay of Gorontalo in North Sulawesi*. Gold in the area of Gorontalo was traditionally mined by the indigenous population. Exploitation by Western firms started early 20th century, c. 1860-1880, albumen print, 16 x 23.5 cm, KITLV collection.

1856 to 1861. The Italian-British Felice Beato (1832-1909) did a lot of photography in China and had a photo studio in Japan until he left for Egypt in 1884. (Fig. 7a, b) Not much later, in 1888, the native Armenian Onnes Kurkdjian (1851-1903) established a photo studio in Surabaya, which was continued by his assistants after his death until 1936, supplying the world with idyllic and exotic photographs of the Dutch East Indies. (Fig. 8a, b) Studios sent out photographers to record landscapes, townscapes, architecture, local dignitaries but also ethnic groups. Their photographs spread across the world through publishing firms and bookshops.

Figure 6b: Woodbury & Page in Java, A Wayang Wong performer in Java, c. 1868, albumen print, 9 x 5.5 cm (visiting card), KITLV collection.

Ffigure 7a (top left): Felice Beato / Kusabe Kimbei, *Cave on Enoshima*, between 1885 and 1912, photograph from a Japan travel album, 27.5 x 36.5 cm (album dimensions). Leiden University Print Room. The Japanese photographer Kimbei was an assistant of the Italian-born photographer Beato. Kimbei later set up his own photo studio. When he acquired Beato's negatives in 1885, Kimbei was able to meet the demand for tourist photographs of the country and people of Japan.

Figure 7b (top right): Felice Beato / Kusabe Kimbei, *Japanese Sumo wrestlers*, between 1885 and 1912, photograph from a Japan album, 27.5 x 36.5 cm (album dimensions). Leiden University Print Room. The Japanese photographer Kimbei was an assistant of the Italian-born photographer Beato. Kimbei later set up his own photo studio. When he acquired Beato's negatives in 1885, Kimbei was able to meet the demand for tourist photographs of the country and people of Japan.

Figure 8a (bottom left): Onnes Kurkdjian, *Observations after the eruption of the Kelud in East Java*, 1901, gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 22.5 cm, KITLV collection.

Figure 8b (bottom right): Photographer George P. Lewis, active for Kurkdjian Studio, Surabaya, Java, *Mount Cikuray*, c. 1910, copper intaglio printing, 16 x 21.5 cm, KITLV collection.

Special mention must be made of the originally Flemish painter, photographer, actor, impresario and opera singer Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905), who was an artist and a cornerstone of Batavia's cultural life in the second half of the 19th century. (Fig. 9) Commissioned by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, he also produced numerous photographs of archaeological treasures of the Dutch East Indies, including the Borobudur in 1873 and temples on the Dieng Plateau that were often difficult to reach. Kassian Cephas (1845-1912) was the first native Javanese photographer. From 1871 he was employed as court painter and court photographer and left photographs not only of the Sultanate of Hamengkubuwono of Yogyakarta but also of cultural events like music and dance performances, Malay architecture and antiquities. (Fig. 10) Many thousands of photo prints by the above-mentioned photographers are held by the Asian Library, divided over the various sub-collections.

Figure 9 (left page): Isidore van Kinsbergen, Serimpi dancers of the Regent of Bandung, c. 1863-1865, 22 x 14 cm, KITLV collection.

HUMAN INTEREST

In the early decades of the 20th century, the rise of the illustrated press created a growing demand for photography. Initially, as with the photographic phenomena described above, the first photo journalists and documentary photographers active in Asia mainly came from Western countries. In addition to covering news stories, these photographers also documented social developments and daily life in photographs exemplifying the 'human condition'. In Asian countries, too, photo agencies were established, such as the Indonesia Press Photo Service or IPPHOS. This news agency was founded in 1946 and provided much of the visual communication on behalf of the Indonesian independence movement.

Figure 10: Kasias Cephas, *West or rear aspect of the Shiva temple of Candi Prambanan*, 1889-1890, albumen print, 16.5 x 22 cm, KITLV collection.

Sometimes human interest photographers engaged as autonomous artists in more elaborate photo projects undertaken during lengthy travels. In their socially committed photography they explored social themes or celebrated street life. A famous example is the Dutch photographer Ed van der Elsken (1925-1990). Together with his wife Gerda van der Veen (1934-2006), like him a professional photographer, he went on a trip around the world in the years 1959 and 1960, during which time he took street photographs in China, Japan, India and Malaysia that have long been internationally acclaimed. They were collected in the celebrated photo book *Sweet Life* (1966). (Fig. 11a, b) Apart from the published book itself, the Asian Library holds various preliminary studies of this iconic book. Van der Elsken also visualized the way he shaped his travelling impressions by including his hand-written notes and all of the elaborate cutting, pasting, fitting and measuring that went into his work. More recently, around the turn of the millennium, photographer Desiree Dolron (1963) visited various countries including India and Malaysia. For her project Exaltation. Images of Religion and Death, she studied religious rites that focus on intense physical experiences. (Fig. 12)

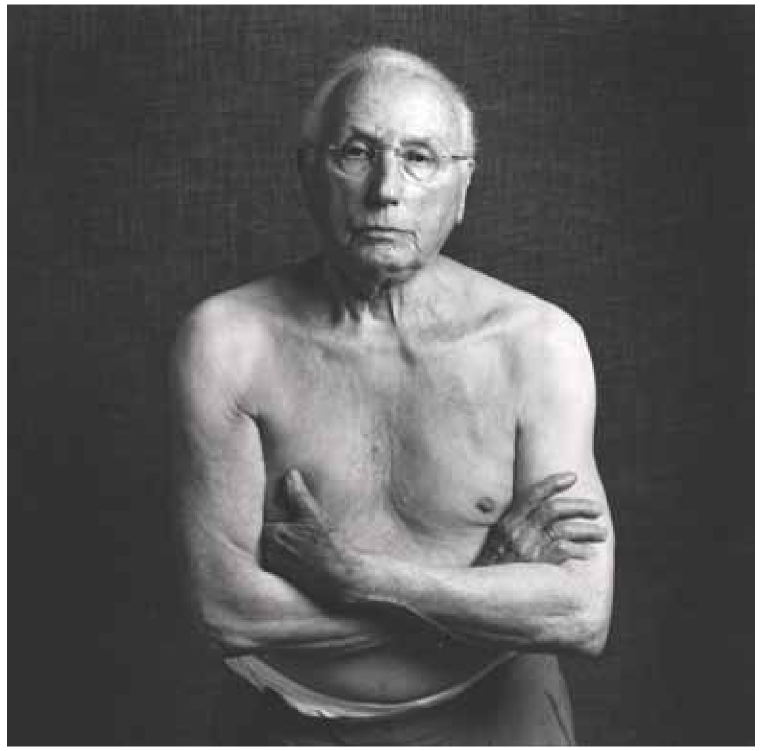
Figure 11a: Ed van der Elsken, *Sweet Life*. Landscape with a view of Seto Inland Sea; a squid is hung out to dry. One of the photographs taken by Van der Elsken on his 1959-1960 world trip, gelatin silver print, 29.9 x 23.4 cm. Leiden University Print Room collection.

Figure 11b: Ed van der Elsken, Two gangsters in the streets of Kamagasaki, 1959-1960, from the series Sweet Life, gelatin silver print, 29.2 x 39.8 cm. Leiden University Print Room.

Photographers were also responsible for bringing to the world's notice altogether different impressions of Asia. When in 1979 Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia after the Pol Pot regime had been brought down, Vietnamese photo journalists came across a photo studio amidst the horrors of Tuol Sleng prison in Phnom Penh. Here they found thousands of negatives and passport photographs of prisoners who had been photographed on arrival and would later be murdered in the Killing Fields outside the Cambodian capital. The photographs became the focus of historical investigation and debate, were the subject of art projects and recently provided visual testimony for the prosecution at the Cambodia tribunal.

AUTONOMOUS PHOTOGRAPHERS AND ARTISTS

Apart from these trends in photography that are primarily concerned with information value, artists create images that cause us to reflect on the workings and effects of the photographic image itself. They challenge stereotypes by juxtaposing an unexpected image with the familiar view. The Dutch photographer Jan Banning (1954) pictured the face of bureaucracy in various places in the world, including Asia. In a series of portraits



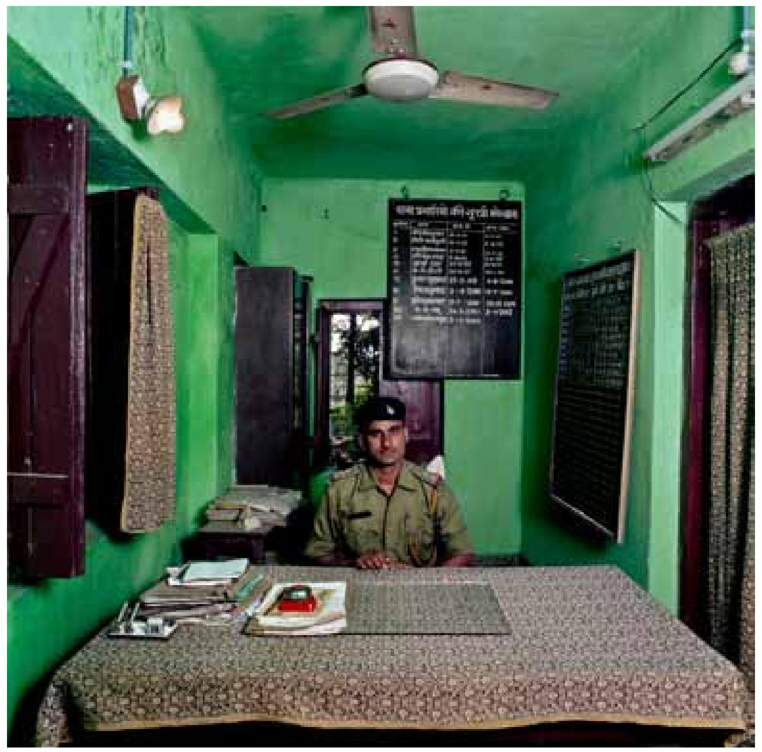


Figure 12 (previous page): Photograph by Désirée Dolron, Vegetarian Festival – Phuket (Thailand). (top:) *Kathu Shrine* (below:) *Fire Walking - Saphan Hin*, 1998, both photographs from the series Exaltation: Leiden University Print Room collection, donated by Stichting Fonds Anna Cornelis.

Figure 13: Left: photograph by Jan Banning, Dulhahman ('Sidul'), 2002, from the series Traces of War. Survivors of the Birma and Sumatra Railways, gelatin silver print, 18.8 x 19.0 cm, Leiden University Print Room collection, donated by Stichting Fonds Anna Cornelis.

Right: photograph by Jan Banning, Dolf Winkler, 2002, from the series Traces of War. Survivors of the Birma and Sumatra Railways, gelatin silver print, 19.0 x 19.0 cm. Leiden University Print Room collection, donated by Stichting Fonds Anna Cornelis.

Figure 14: Photography by Jan Banning, India, Bihar, c. 2003, from the series *Bureaucratics* (published 2008), chromogenic print, 32.6 x 32.3 cm, Leiden University Print Room collection, donated by Stichting Fonds Anna Cornelis.

entitled *Sporen van oorlog* (2005, published in English as *Traces of War*), Banning took photographs of survivors of the Burma and Pekan Baru railways, known as the 'Death Railways', always from the same frontal position, inviting a close inspection of the details. (Fig. 13) A similar conceptual approach is found in his Bureaucratics (2008), in which Banning photographed civil servants all over the world, including Asia, in their workplace. (Fig. 14) Photographer Xiaoxiao Xu (1984) arrived in the Netherlands as a teenager in 1999 and trained as a photographer in Amsterdam. Back in her native China she took photographs of the ancient She Huo ('God of the land') ritual, which is performed to give thanks for prosperity and bounteous harvests. The photographs present a remarkable mix of identification and alienation. (Fig. 15)

All photographs are made available to visitors of the Asian Library physically – as photo prints – and increasingly also as digital images. As diverse as the contexts and intentions are, that produced the photographs in the holdings of the Asian Library, as versatile are the photographic perspectives offered by the collections. At the same time it is evident that the Asia photo collection mainly reflects the Western, more specifically the Dutch, gaze on Asia. Perhaps it is inevitable, as we are mostly guided by our own perspective and the cobbler should stick to his last. Also, through the worldwide open access offered by the Internet, the Asian gaze is supplied directly from there in the form of digitised photo collections. However, it will also be an enriching experience to juxtapose and adjust our Western gaze on Asia on the basis of the photography originating from Asian cultures themselves. The photographic collections of the Asian Library are being augmented on an almost daily basis. Perhaps in the future, the image of Asia will be adjusted more along those lines.

Figure 15: Photograph by Xiaoxiao Xu, photograph from the series *She Huo*, between 2013 and 2015, chromogenic print, Leiden University Print Room, donated by the Stichting Fonds Anna Cornelis.

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INSECTA ET ANIMALIA

This collection highlight is known as the 'd'Acquet manuscript' after the owner of the collection, Henricus d'Acquet, a mayor of Delft at the end of the seventeenth century. Partly inspired by the founder of entomology Jan Swammerdam, it was fashionable to build an insect collection at the time. The animals were collected using a preservation technique that had been developed by Swammerdam.

D'Acquet owned not only European insects but also exotic ones from such places as the East Indies, Bengal and Martinique. The exotic insects probably derived from Swammerdam's own collection. In 1690 d'Acquet had his collection recorded in dozens of painted drawings and watercolours. In addition, d'Acquet described the insects himself, as is evident from the manuscript shown here with descriptions of the animals in his handwriting. These drawings and the manuscript were the first items to be transferred from the Royal Tropical Institute to Leiden University Libraries. (AR)

Insects and Animals
Creator: Henricus d'Acquet
Object number: rf-281
Geographic region: South East Asia and the West
Material: manuscript on paper
Date: second half 17th century
Dimensions: 31 x 22 cm

South Asia


MAGNI MOGOLIS IMPERIUM.
Milliaria Germanica Communia
15 30 45 60 75
TARTARIÆ PARS
SABLESTAN
KAKARES
INDIA INTRA GANGEM
INDOSTAN.
REGNI PERSICI PARS
SIGISTAN
Desertum Lut
GUADEL
MARE
Cabull
Attock
Chasmere
Candahar
Multan
Lahor
Penjab
Nagracut
Banchis
Bakar
Jenba
Buckar
Ieselmeere
Bando
Delli
Agra
Narvar
Gualiar
Patanes
Sanball
Barcanda
Siba
Piran
Patna
Iesvall
Gor
Kanduana
Mevat
Caor
Ava
Brema
Comotay
Sirote
Tipora
BENGALA
Cospetir
Tatta
Soret
GUZURATTE
Chitor
MALVA
Ranas
Reine des Collys
Beerar
Chandis
Resbutos
CAMBAYA
Cincui May lacus
Chiamay lacus
REGNI CHINÆ PARS
MAUG
PEGU

DEVĪ MĀHĀTMYA

Sheldon Pollock, the Arvind Raghunathan professor of South Asian Studies, Columbia University in New York, United States, on this object:

A scroll manuscript (Northern India, c. 1800) of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* opened to the beginning of the *Devīmāhātmya* ('Grandeur of the Goddess') section. Durga, goddess of power, sits with upraised sword, her lion conveyance crouching before her, with Sarasvati, goddess of culture, at her side, lute in hand and *haṃsa* bird at her feet.

A 'Hindu' object to be sure, but from a time when that category, to the degree it had any social purpose was defined less by what it excluded than what it included. The first text panel of the left-hand scroll (the two are otherwise identical in text and illustration) recalls an Islamicate pierced window (*jāli*), the letters replacing carved arabesques.

The illustrations show the mixture of Rajput and Mughal styles that had become generically Indian by the later 1700s, and newly developing standards of half- and full-profile views. The scroll form itself, unusual but not unprecedented for religious works in this period, may be related to the old Jain *vijñaptipatra*, or illustrated letter of invitation to a monk. The object thus provides a good example of old India's vision of culture and power – a vision of diversity and accommodation – that held sway before modern religious nationalism set out to destroy it.

Devī māhātmya
Object number: or. 18301
Geographic region: Northern India
Material: manuscript on paper
Date: early 19th century
Dimensions: 200 x 10 cm

Visitors to India

Travelling with Old Travel Books

BY ALEXANDER REEUWIJK

How to prepare when you're about to go on a trip? Naturally by searching for up-to-date information about your chosen destination on the Internet and visiting your local bookshop to buy travel guides. Some of you may also have bought some travel accounts in addition to the usual Lonely Planets or Rough Guides. Have you ever considered, however, preparing yourself by going to a library with a large collection of antiquarian travel books and country descriptions, such as the Asian Library? Here you will be able to enrich your journey or, in the words of the Dutch historian and biographer Dik van der Meulen: 'The historical world will only reveal itself to you when you travel with old travel stories.' This article will show you how to use these early printed travel books and country descriptions based on four accounts of India by travellers from the past.

AN AUDIENCE WITH THE GREAT MUGHAL

The former capital of Mughal India, Agra, boasts dozens of monuments. At a distance of some 2.5 kilometres from the Taj Mahal stands Agra Fort, the red sandstone administrative bastion on the bank of the Yamuna river. Commanding a view of that same Taj Mahal, Agra Fort is one of the greatest tourist attractions of the country and has been a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1983. The enormous complex includes a palace, a mosque and several public buildings. Anyone visiting the fort cannot but go away deeply impressed. Beautifully located on the bank of the river, it is elegantly built with marble and sandstone. But still. Now that the building is completely bare, it almost seems as if it no longer has a soul. As if it had never been inhabited. Take the Diwan-i-Am, for instance, the hall of audience. It is a beautiful open building with a roof supported by dozens of columns joined together by ornate arches. In the middle of the hall there is a dais where the emperor's throne must have once stood. But the hall is completely empty, and however much you exercise your imagination, it is difficult to picture how the public audiences of the Great Mughal actually took place. What kind of throne did he have? How were the members of his imperial household positioned around him? And what exactly happened during a public audience?

Figure 1: Frontispiece of Sir Thomas Roe's account of his years spent at the court of Great Mughal Jahangir.

To find out, eyewitness accounts are essential and these are to be found in libraries with historical travel accounts. And there are plenty of these. The Mughal Empire, like the Persian and Ottoman empires, exerted a great appeal on the West in those days. Diplomats, traders, artists and fortune seekers travelled to India and wrote books and accounts on the subject, in some cases illustrated with fine engravings. The best known are by the French physician François Bernier (1620-1688), the jewellery merchant Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689), the Italian adventurer Niccolao Manucci (1638-1717) and the British diplomat Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644). The latter especially wrote one of the most important reports about the fourth Great Mughal of the dynasty, Jahangir (1569-1627). Roe appears to have been one of the few travellers who managed to get close to the Great Mughal himself. He stayed at the latter's court in the former capital Agra between 1615 and 1618. His chief mission was to secure imperial protection for the British factory at Surat, a textile city on India's west coast. Roe was not only a diplomat, but also an excellent observer, as is obvious from his account of the time he spent at the imperial court. One of the earliest publications of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies is a now rare Dutch translation, published by the Amsterdam bookseller Jacob Benjamin in 1656: *Journael van de Reysen, Gedaen door den E.H'er Ridder Sir Thomas Roe*. The University Library of Leiden owns a copy of this travel account. The small quarto volume printed in black letter narrates how Roe presented the Great Mughal with a Western painting he had brought with him. His description of his first encounter with Jahangir is especially evocative, as appears from this passage:

> When I came in I found him sitting cross legged on a little throne, all clad in diamonds, pearls, and rubies; before him a table of gold, on it about 50 pieces of gold plate all set with stones, some very great and extremely rich, some of less value, but all of them covered with small stones; his nobility about him in their best outfit, whom he commanded to drink merrily.

Roe was almost knocked off his feet by the enormous riches of the court. He described its splendour in great detail and became one of the Great Mughal's most devoted drinking companions in the process. Roe was also present at one of Jahangir's public appearances. It was customary that the Great Mughal had himself weighed on his birthday, and have his weight in gold, jewels, fabrics and food distributed among the people, as appears from the following description:

> The second of September was the King's birthday, which was celebrated as a great feast, whereby the King is weighed against some jewels, gold, silver, gold, silver and silk fabrics, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things of every sort a little, which is given to the Brahmins.

Jahangir was officially born on 31 August. Whether Roe was here mistaken a day or two or whether the anniversary was celebrated a little later is not clear. After having been weighed, an elephant parade was organised in honour of Jahangir. Here, too, it seems as if there was no end to the riches. Roe describes the procession as follows:

> He [Jahangir, AR] was so rich in jewels that I must confess I never saw together such invaluable wealth. The time was spent bringing his greatest elephants before him, some of which, being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or ten elephants waiting on him clothed in gold, silk, and silver. Thus passed about twelve companies most richly furnished.

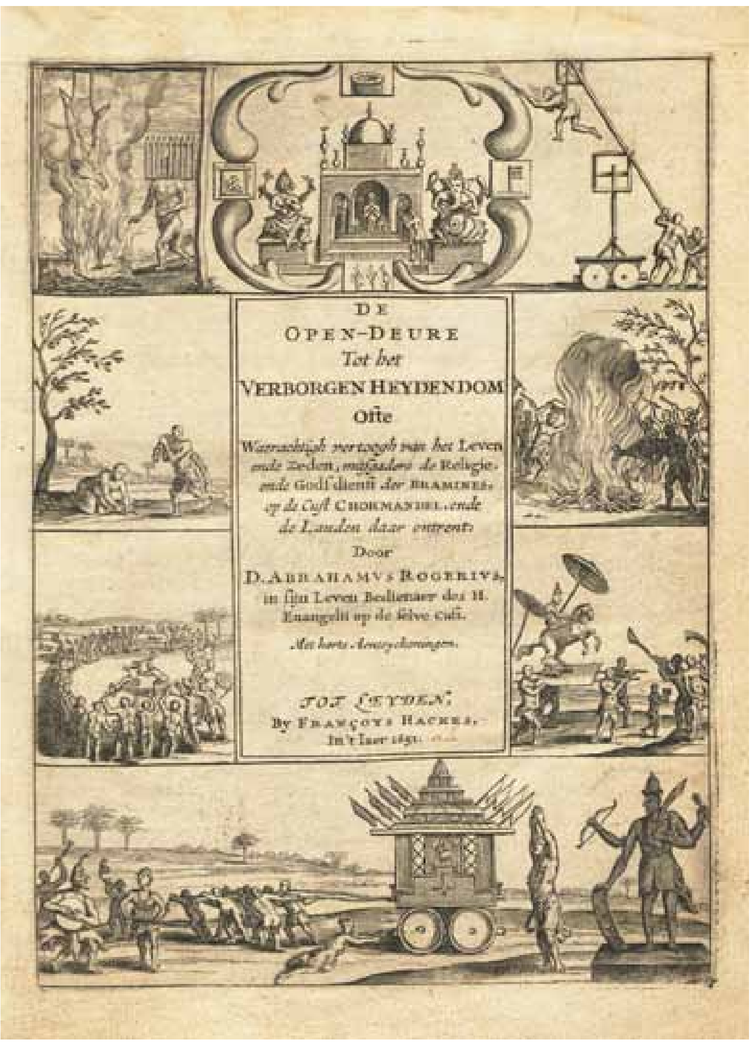
Figure 2: Jahangir's anniversary, with the weighing on the right and the elephant parade before the Great Mughal on the left.

Included in the *Journael van de Reysen* is a copper engraving illustrating Roe's account. In the background on the right we see how Jahangir is being weighed, while in the foreground on the left the Great Mughal is seated on his throne as richly ornamented elephants pass by. Text and image offer you an idea of what it must have looked like at the time. The next time you are in that same hall of public audience at Agra Fort, it will still be empty. Visitors provided with audio tours are walking around the hall, but if you have read Sir Thomas Roe's account, you will be able to conjure up the lively descriptions and engravings from his book. The still environment comes to life and it is almost as if you are in dialogue with the past, thanks to the experiences Roe set down in writing.

THE FIRST DESCRIPTIONS OF THE HEATHENS

An old travel account can make a historical place come alive and feed the traveller's imagination. But there are also other ways of using a historical description. Early printed books are able to offer enrichment or a historical context that can help throw more light on contemporary society. In the words of the former South Asia curator of the Tropenmuseum: 'Indian society, after all, is suffused with religion.' How to try and grasp this religiosity, though? Obviously by visiting Hindu temples and attending religious festivals. But do we really understand what we see there? Which rituals are being enacted? Which gods are being worshipped? What are the sacred texts and what do they say? Such questions have of course been asked before. Throughout the centuries, visitors of India have been fascinated by Hinduism. Among them were the Dutch ministers Abraham Rogerius (1609-1649) and Phillipus Baldaeus (1632-1672). They both preached on the Coromandel coast in what is now Tamil Nadu, one of the states of South India. In addition they studied Hinduism, then still known as heathendom, and wrote the first two serious studies on the subject. The aim of their research and the books they produced was of course to come to a better understanding of these polytheistic heathens in order to be able to convert them. Their works, however, also provided the basis for further research into Hinduism and are still regularly cited in the modern literature. The most important one was written by Abraham Rogerius, who was born in Haarlem. He studied theology in Leiden and went on to travel to Pulicat via Batavia and Surat. Pulicat was the VOC's chief trading post in South India, and had a fort, a church and two burial grounds. Here Rogerius studied the rites and rituals, morals and customs of the Brahmins for some ten years, aided by two local Hindus:

Figure 3: Frontispiece of Abraham Rogerius' *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*.



Damersa and Padmanaba. In addition he was one of the first to translate a number of aphorisms from Sanskrit.

His colleague Philippus Baldaeus was more focused on Hindu texts and statues. His motivation, however, was identical to that of Rogerius, as becomes clear from the epigram underneath his portrait in *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen*:

> This is Baldaeus' self, who brought Christianity
> Through life and doctrine to blind paganity

Baldaeus devoted a great deal of attention to describing the Hindu gods and their manifestations. His accounts are illustrated by copper engravings with fine allegorical representations. Naturally he also provided a description of one of the best known gods in the Hindu pantheon, Ganesh. Numerous stories circulated as to why Ganesh had the head of an elephant. Baldaeus had the following, abbreviated, explanation to offer:

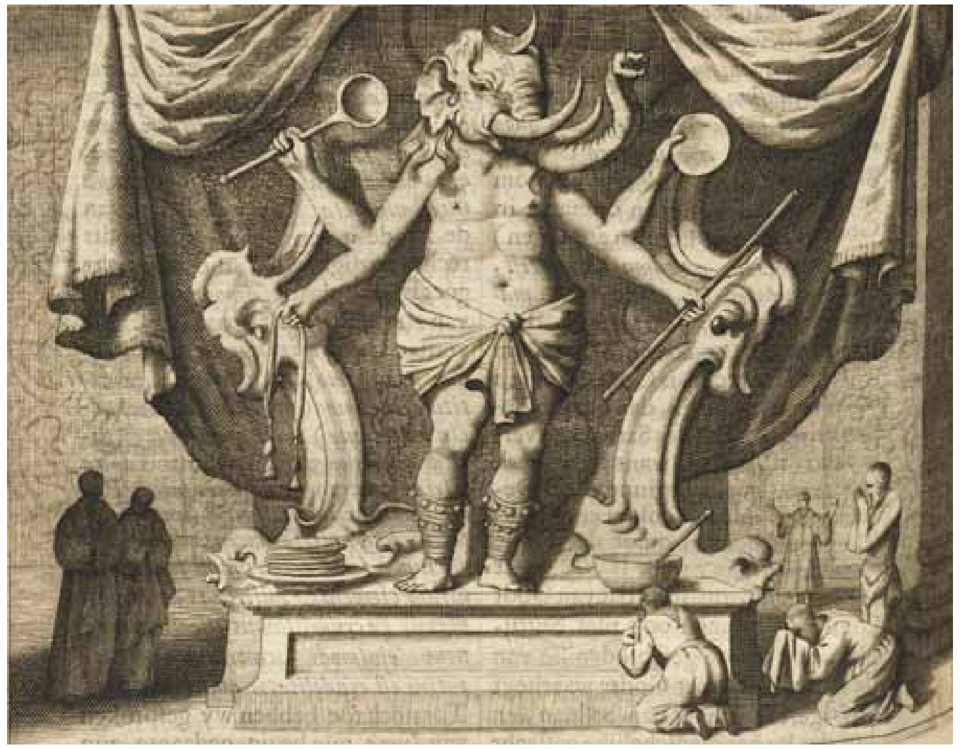
> (...) his [Ganesh, AR] birth happened as follows: Ixora [Siva, AR] (after his penance) residing in Kalaisa, it happened that his wife Paramesceri [Parvati, AR] cast her eyes on the woods, where she saw an elephant and his mate sporting, she called out to Ixora, requesting him to go sporting with her outside in the woods. Ixora granted her this, and together they went out into the woods, and having changed into an elephant, he ate of a certain green fruit, which made him drunk, and being mad like this he uprooted the trees with his trunk. Paramesceri having eaten of the same, she became like her husband, yelled out loud, producing a wild sound like elephants do, she tore up with her teeth and trunk all she found in her way, throwing sand and dust on her body, as do the elephants, and having long walked through the woods, they coupled, the female becoming pregnant there and then, and gave birth to a child with the head and face of an elephant.

Ganesh is depicted full length in the engraving, a loincloth wrapped around his slightly chubby body. He is standing under a canopy, holding in his four hands various attributes, while worshippers are kneeling before him. In his engravings and stories, Baldaeus brought the divine effigies in the temples to life. By describing the role of the gods, their history and relationship to other gods and avatars and by having them depicted in masterful engravings, they became more meaningful for the reader. Obviously many stories were adapted and clarified in the course of the centuries and the study of Hinduism is now pursued in ways

Figure 4: Portrait of Philippus Baldaeus.

Figure 5: An engraving of Ganesh, the god with the elephant's head.

Figure 6&7 (opposite page): Front and back view of a devadasi, a servant of god.



that are more objective than these two evangelizing ministers could ever muster, but the statues of the gods nevertheless achieve historical depth by reading books like these. What is more, the stories told by Rogerius and Nadaeus remain highly readable even after 350 years.

TRAVELS WITH HAAFNER

Sir Thomas Roe's account breathes new life into the past, while the books by the two Dutch clergymen help throw more light on Hinduism and with it contemporary Indian society. It may perhaps seem as if historical travel books are only here to enliven or enhance our knowledge. But travel books can also be read for the fun of it. Books without any primary purpose, as was still the case for the books by the two ministers, but simply well-written travel accounts about the regions you intend to travel to yourself. Historical travel books also show how other cultures were regarded by Western visitors in the past. One of the most fascinating examples in this genre is that of the native German Dutchman Jacob Haafner (1754-1809), who had been employed by the VOC in South India for a number of years, but had his fill of it. He lambasted the behaviour of missionaries and colonisers, reserving most of his criticism for the British. After lengthy travels along the east coast of India and Sri Lanka he returned to Europe to settle in Amsterdam, where he recorded his experiences. In his works he reveals himself as an enlightened author and thinker, who advocated equality and consequently opposed such human wrongs as slavery. In his chief work of travel, *Reize in eene Palanquin* (*Travels in a palanquin*), Haafner devoted a chapter to the temple dancers, the devedasis, freely translated the servants of the gods. The role of temple dancer existed until 1988, when it was officially prohibited. They still exist in the southern part of India, though, where they live as semi-illegal sex workers, in the name of religion. In Haafner's time they were still real temple dancers. Not every girl, however, qualified to become one. First of all, she had to possess certain physical features that were clearly laid down:

> A girl wishing to become a devadasi, has to meet several requirements. She has to have a beautiful face, be brisk of step, supple of limb and well-formed. She must not have any physical defects or any disgusting and incurable diseases, nor must she be marked by smallpox. She must not yet be of marriageable age, engaged to anyone or bound by vows of marriage. These and other requirements apply to devadasis both of the first and of the second rank; although for the latter the rules are not so strict.

Haafner offered a detailed description of devedasi dress, jewels and rituals. The dancers of the first rank lived within the temple walls, where they were taught such skills as dancing and singing. Only when the statue of the god was carried through the streets would they dance around it. The dancers of the second rank, however, lived in freedom, residing in the villages or towns. This did not mean that they were allowed to mingle with 'inferior folk', such as 'pariahs, Moors and Europeans', according to Haafner. He nevertheless managed to attentively observe and describe their dances:

> Their dances are so different from ours. Some involve supple and rapid movements of the limbs, which, however, are orderly and graceful; others again consist of airy and artful leaps and steps. They are excellent pantomimers. With astonishing accuracy of posture and gesture, they are able to perform while singing and dancing a love story, or any other topic – even a fight – and they have brought the art of expressing such passions to such perfection that our own dancers and players on stage, with their cold, meaningless gestures, twisting of their bodies and their breakneck leaps – would pale in comparison to an Indian dancer.

The description is very lively and Haafner researched his subject well. As a result, his work remains a valuable travel book to this day, which sheds light on India as it was two centuries ago, in the same way as contemporary travel stories can help explain the ways we look at other cultures now. Thus travel stories can be used in different ways in contemporary travel, allowing us to engage in dialogue with the author and have us travel with him or her part of the way.

MATA NI PACHEDI (THE CLOTH OF THE MOTHER GODDESS)

Johannes Beltz, deputy director of the Rietberg Museum in Zürich, Switzerland on this object:

The book shows a powerful block print in black, red and white by Jagdish Chitara, an artist of the Waghari community from Gujarat. This book is important as it offers immediate and beautiful access to the tradition of the ritual cloths of the Mother Goddess. The main image is the Mother Goddess shown as Vihat, the patron goddess of artisans. She is riding a buffalo. In her hands she is holding a sacrificial cup, weapons, and a piece of leather.

Having done my initial fieldwork on untouchability and social emancipation in India, I particularly appreciate this beautiful book as a successful joint venture of author Gita Wolf and artist Jagdish Chitara. Like the Leiden University Libraries, the Rietberg Museum collects not only 'high art' but also art originating from underprivileged and marginalized sections of society from different parts of the world.

Mata ni pachedi (The cloth of the Mother Goddess)
Creator: Jagdish Chitara
Object number: 1020 A 23
Geographic region: Gujarat, India
Material: woodblock print
Date: 2015
Dimensions: 25.5 x 25.5 cm

HINDU PILGRIMAGE MAP OF BRAJ

In 2014 Leiden University Libraries received a gift of maps of India collected by Professor of Sanskrit Hans Bakker. Included in this collection was a set of twelve printed pilgrimage maps. Four of these brightly coloured maps are concerned with 'vraja caurāsī kōśa kā nakasā or yātrā', which literally means: the pilgrimage to Braj which covered eighty four kos. Kos is an ancient unit of distance of c. 2.25 miles; so 84 kos is over 300 kilometres. Braj (or Vraja) is a region in Uttar Pradesh considered to be the land of Krishna, and is particularly sacred to Vaishnavas.

The pilgrimage circuit is indicated on the map. It took the Krishna/Vishnu devotee up to eight weeks to complete this tour barefoot. The pilgrimage includes famous places such as Mathura, Vrindaban and Gokul. (MS)

Hindu pilgrimage map of Braj
Object number: COLLBN_054_19_003
Geographic region: India
Material: Colour Print
Date: 20th century
Dimensions: 51 x 38 cm

Serendipity among Books: the Van Manen Collection

BY BERTHE JANSEN

The beauty and brilliance of the Kern Institute library was once that you could wander along shelves upon shelves of books and simply pick up any book to peruse the pages. At times the book would be over a hundred and fifty years old, nearly falling to pieces in your hands. At others, it was a surprise to find the work had never really been thoroughly read by anyone, as some of the pages would still be uncut. When I was a student at Leiden I loved being at the Kern Institute library, at that time still housed in the Nonnensteeg, aimlessly browsing the available works. While library books should, of course, not be written in, I enjoyed the corrections and comments made in the margins by my predecessors, my teachers, and other book vandals. Sometimes the book would have a piece of paper in it: a bookmark, a list of errata, or a simple shopping list (eggs, cheese, bread, and don't forget the bin liners!).

The more fragile and rare works were not so easily available, though. The so-called Van Manen collection – consisting of over 1,500 block prints and manuscripts – is a case in point. During one of my first visits to the Kern Institute library, I came across two Tibetan men who had been hired to catalogue and microfilm these works (this project took place between 2004 and 2007). The manuscripts in question mostly deal with Tibetan culture and religion and had been collected by Johan van Manen (1877-1943) (Fig. 1). This Dutch collector, scholar and librarian was initially a member of the Theosophical Society and lived in India most of his life. In 1918 he was appointed by the Asiatic Society in Bengal, first as the chief librarian, later he

Figure 1: Johan van Manen at age 21 (1898).

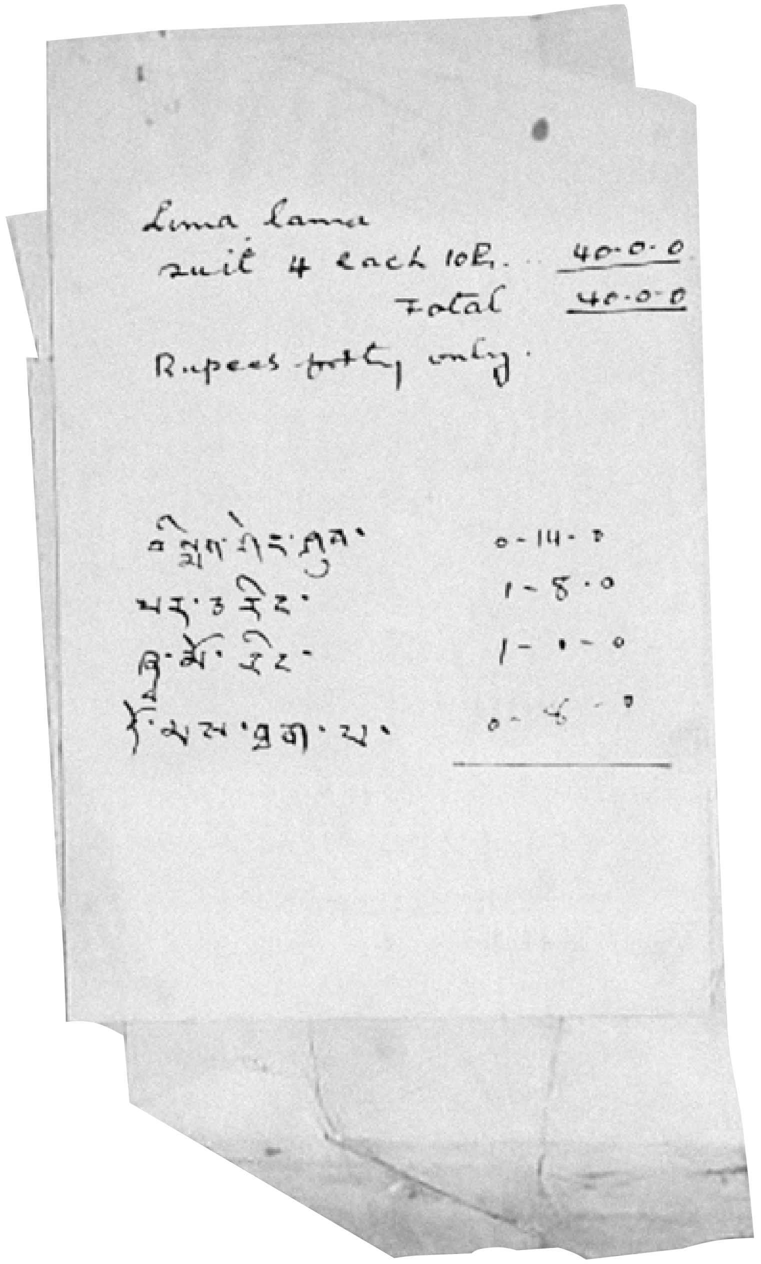


Figure 2: Receipt found in *Khrims yig zhal lce 13 dang 16 bcas le tshan gnyis yod* (Legal documents consisting of "The 13 laws and the 16 laws", author and dates unknown).

became the secretary-general. His position allowed him to collect works and produce scholarship, although strictly speaking he never worked at any university. Still, he can be said to have been the first Dutch sibetologist. He is mainly known for the many Tibetan language texts he collected and for a number of works he wrote himself. Van Manen also collected a number of South Indian manuscripts on behalf of Professor Vogel and – by extension – the Kern Institute.

Of great importance are the 182 manuscripts written in Lepcha or Róng – a now nearly extinct Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Sikkim. It is the largest collection of its kind in the world and therefore of great value to linguists. As Tibet was not accessible to most foreigners at the time, Van Manen had gathered around him several people, mostly of Tibetan origin, whom he commissioned to collect and buy a large number of Tibetan texts in Tibet. Mostly based in Darjeeling, they also assisted him in copying works that could not be bought, but merely borrowed. One of these men, Phuntshok Lungtog (Phun tshogs lung rtogs, 1882-1926) who was originally from Lhasa, worked as the main scribe on account of his good nature and handwriting.

One of Van Manen's other major contributions to Tibetan Studies is that he inspired (and probably even sponsored) three of his assistants to write down their life stories. To Phuntshok Lungtog he is reported to have said: 'Describe with great care where you have been and what you have seen and done in the past forty-one years of your life!' At the time – and even now – it was highly unusual for ordinary Himalayan people to author autobiographies, as these, by definition, were the exclusive reserve of Buddhist masters of some standing or realization. The Tibetan word for autobiography, *rang rnam*, literally translates as 'self-liberation', indicating that any such life story would necessarily involve an account of spiritual progress. These particular life stories, written in both Tibetan and English, inform us about ordinary – yet not so ordinary – lives, detailing the festivals, rituals, and customs of Himalayan people in and outside Tibet in the beginning of the 20th century, against the backdrop of the British Empire. An edited English version of these three autobiographies was published in 1989, which quickly became a work many scholars of the Himalayas referred to in extenso. Unknown to many, however, is the fact that the Tibetan language accounts contain far more detail and give a clearer picture of the authors' views on Tibetan society as well as on their experiences in British India. It is thought that the English version was based on an oral translation of the Tibetan, which is a lot longer. This hand-written manuscript – it was never properly published in the Tibetan language – is of course part of the Van Manen collection housed at Leiden University Library (I.KERN BR.79/M69). It is beautifully imperfect: corrected spelling mistakes, additions, and the crossing out of words and even whole paragraphs abound. As the authors were not, properly speaking, trained in the peculiar and often obtuse writing style of literary Tibetan, the language is wonderfully informal and lively and may also inform us about the Tibetan dialect(s) spoken in and around Darjeeling in the first half of the 20th century. As it stands, these three Tibetan autobiographies await further study. One day perhaps this manuscript may even be published in the Tibetan language.

This is not the only manuscript in the Van Manen collection that is digitally available. The block prints and manuscripts that were initially microfilmed, have now been made almost fully accessible in digital format by Leiden University Libraries. While it is not possible to examine them in real life, scholars from all over the world are now able to look at and download, these works online. Browsing a digital collection, however, is quite a different experience from walking along rows upon rows of books, occasionally taking one out just because the look of it appeals (by all means, do judge a book by its cover!). Those in the business of marketing books (and music, for that matter) speak of 'serendipity' in this regard – the fortunate event of chancing upon something (the origins of this word also

Figure 3: Drawings in the Lepcha work *Gyá-nok nám-yuk* (according to the description in the work 'a pilgrim's guide to Samyé' (*bSamyas gnas yig*), by Songma Lepcha, 1907).

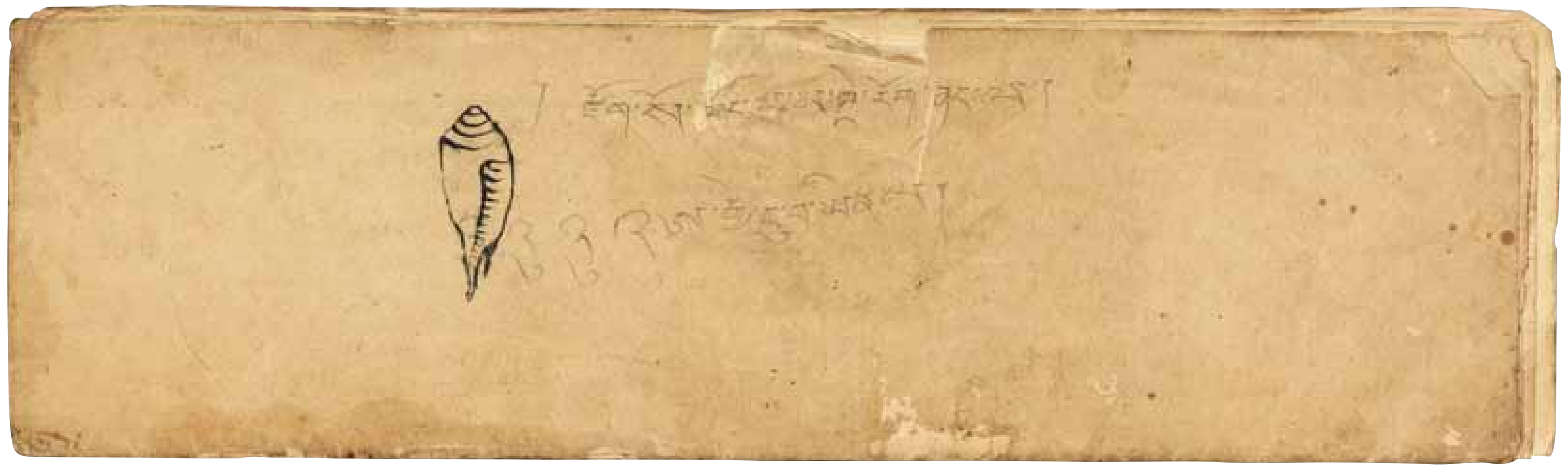


Figure 4: The final page of Skyabs *'gro'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus* (a brief account on taking refuge, by Bar bla (d.u.)).

has to do with Asia in a way, but this is another story altogether). The fact that many of us now purchase our preferred literature online means that we no longer buy the books that catch our eye in the bookshop, those that feel nice in our hands, and those that deal with a topic we would never have considered to read, but to which we feel drawn nonetheless. Business paradigms of online shops now attempt to introduce serendipity in different ways, with varying success.

When going through digital material – be it in the library online collections or on Amazon – it is not the case, of course, that serendipity is a thing of the past. Recently, I located a version of a text important to my current research in the Van Manen collection (I.KERN BR.79/M76). To my surprise (and I must say, to my delight), I found that the first eight pages of the work did not consist of the Tibetan legal text I expected, but of a number of receipts. While entirely irrelevant to my research project, I was captured by the careful records of expenses, in all likelihood once part of Johan van Manen's personal bookkeeping. One of the receipts is dated 3 August 1933, and was issued by the 'Gentlemen's tailors' M. Alvarez in Calcutta – where Van Manen lived from 1918 until his death. Three suits, two 'pants', and two shirts were purchased at the grand total of 15 rupees and 12 annas. Another bill, dated 30 July 1933, is from a tailor in Calcutta, Kalisahai Jagannath, but the items bought are not clearly legible. The next scrap of paper, in Van Manen's hand-writing, is bilingual and details in English, among others, the cost of four suits for 'Lima Lama' (it is a mystery as to who this is). In the Tibetan script it lists the cost of, among others, a long (high?) hat and an extra rope (or belt) (Fig. 2). Another list, probably found by the people who microfilmed the texts between the pages of this manuscript and dutifully copied it, consists of items Van Manen must have bought, along with their prices. Among the things he purchased were bootlaces, buttons, socks, a bar of soap, cigarettes, an electric bulb, and a sponge (here misspelled 'spong'). These bits of paper by no means reveal the great mysteries of the life of this scholar, librarian, and text collector. Rather, they give an insight into the mundane aspects of van Manen's existence and, perhaps, the cost of life in Calcutta in the 1930s.

Throughout this collection we find the corrections and notes by Van Manen and his assistants, written in the margins of the manuscripts. We even find some interesting doodles by Van Manen's Lepcha scribe, Tsering Lepcha (also spelled Songma Lepcha) (I.KERN 2740/L19, Fig. 3). Sometimes, however, we come across other odd scribbles. On the back of an anonymous block-printed text that deals with the value of taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (I.KERN BR.79/H337) – a rather serious topic indeed – some Tibetan words are penned down in pencil next to a small printed image of a conch shell. The hand looks like that of a child's and almost all of the words are misspelled. It can be roughly translated as: 'It is finished! Now don't get upset and cry 'boohoo'' (Fig. 4). Again, there are no earth-shattering conclusions we can draw from this. We know that Van Manen never married and that children were probably not part of his household. Who then felt comfortable enough to 'annotate' this text in this way? We will probably never find out, but what we do know for certain is that when we browse through the Van Manen collection, sooner or later we will find a myriad of smaller and larger gems. The wealth of Buddhist and Bon religious texts, a number of which are not available anywhere else in the world, as well as the Lepcha manuscripts, are doubtlessly the crown jewels of the collection, but the notes, the scribbles, and the receipts certainly ornament – in a rather mundane way – these exalted works. While not directly relevant to my research, I can imagine a time when precisely these receipts, notes, lists of expenses, and shopping-lists will provide crucial historical material.

During the renovation works carried out in the library, the Kern Institute books were not available on open stacks for quite some time – fortunately they are now. The Van Manen collection is still largely inaccessible, partly due to the fragile condition of the works. However, spending a number of afternoons browsing through the digital collection still somehow reminded me of the time when I would walk along the stacks of books of the beautiful old Kern Institute library, picking up the obscure looking ones, getting inspired by pencil marks, notes, and shopping lists.

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LARGE CHARTER ON COPPER PLATES WITH SEAL OF KING RĀJENDRA CHOLA I

The world-famous Leiden Chola charter – 30 kilos in weight – consists of twenty-one copper plates held together by a massive bronze ring bearing the seal of Rājendra Chola I, king of this South-Indian dynasty.

The text on the first five plates is in Sanskrit using Grantha script and opens with the praise of the Hindu god Vishnu. The text continues with an explanation of the genealogy of the Chola dynasty, which began with a mythical divine (solar) ancestor. The remaining sixteen plates are in Tamil and recall some of the great achievements and good deeds by Rājendra I's father, king Rājarāja I (r. 985-c.1014). A long passage recounts how, on the 92nd day of the 21st year of his reign, Rājarāja I donated the revenue of a whole village to a Buddhist monastry (vihara) built by the Malay king of Sriwijaya in Nagapattinam, a port town on the Coromandel coast. In 1025 his son Rājendra Chola I put an end to this harmonious relationship between the two kingdoms when he conquered Sriwijaya and imprisoned its king. (DJ)

Large charter on copper plates with seal of King Rājendra Chola I
Object number: or. 1687
Geographic region: India
Material: copper
Date: 11th century
Dimensions: 58 x 35 cm

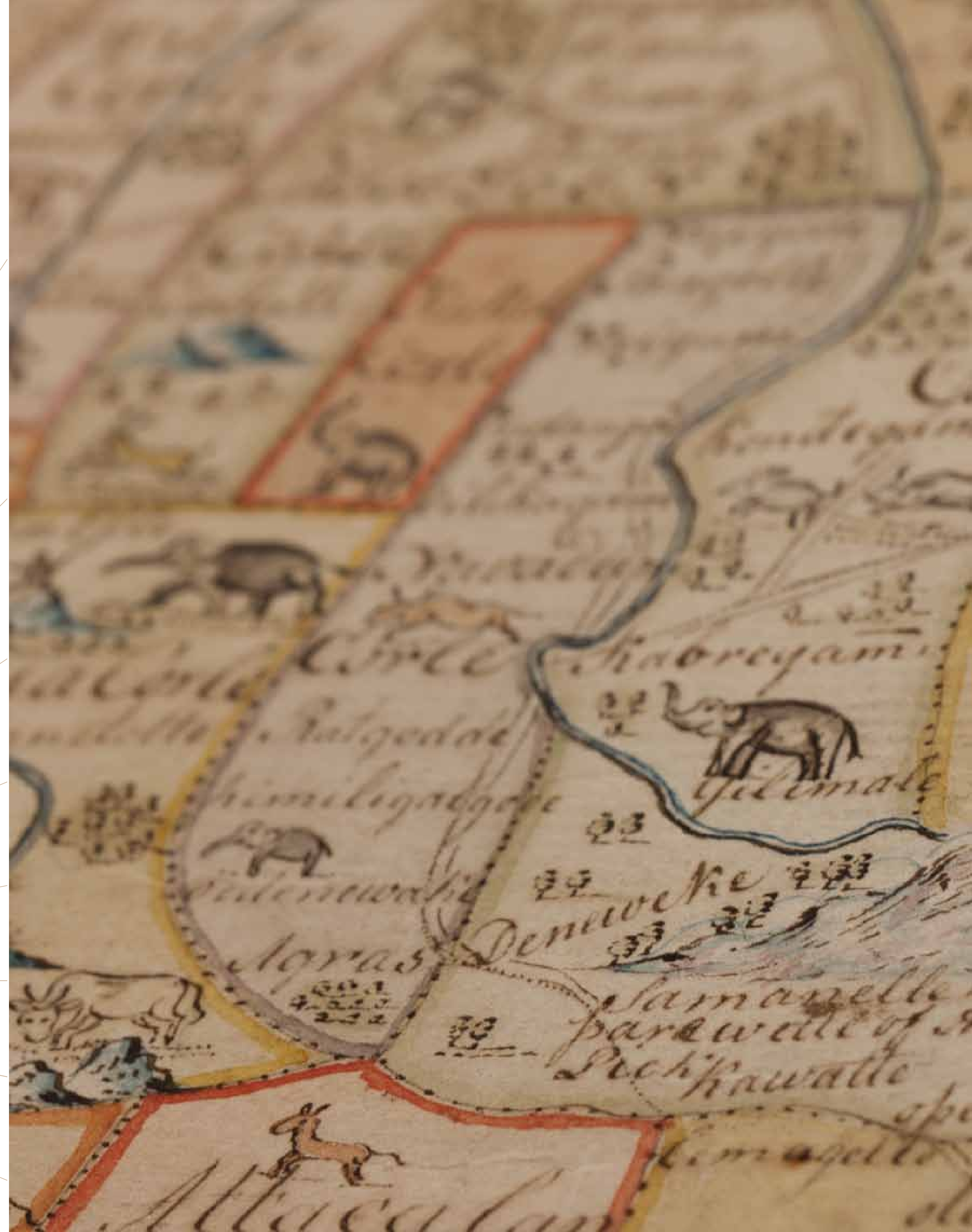
THE ELEPHANT MAP OF CEYLON

One of the most remarkable manuscript maps related to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the Bodel Nijenhuis Collection is called *Het Eyland Ceylon in het Singalees genaemt Lankadiep*, better known as the so-called 'elephant map' of Ceylon. The map is anonymous and undated, but was probably made around 1766 in relation to the peace treaty between the VOC and the kingdom of Kandy signed that year.

At first sight, the animals appear to be scattered randomly over the island, but on closer inspection they seem to be related to the administrative division of the island. On the map all 'Corles' or counties of Ceylon are named and distinguished by colour. In all, the island is subdivided in some 70 regions. Four types of animals can be found on the map: elephants, oxen, deer and pigs. In addition, three human figures holding poles are featured, probably hunters. With only a few exceptions, one type of animal only is depicted in a 'corle'. These depictions probably indicate their habitats on the island. In all 57 elephants, 38 oxen, 13 deer and 10 pigs can be counted, although the oxen and deer are sometimes hard to distinguish.

The elephant is a characteristic symbol to be found on many maps of Ceylon, printed as well as manuscript maps, but generally only a single elephant is featured in the cartouche. This map can really lay claim to the title of 'elephant champion'. In two places on the map, pairs of mother and baby elephants are drawn. (MS)

The Elephant Map of Ceylon
Object number: COLLBN 002-09-031
Geographic region: Sri Lanka
Material: manuscript map
Date: second half 18th century
Dimensions: 46.5 x 73 cm



Sanskrit Manuscripts from the Kern Collection

BY PETER BISSCHOP

It is not all that well known that Leiden University Libraries hold a valuable collection of hundreds of Sanskrit manuscripts. The majority of these manuscripts were acquired during the first half of the 20th century by the Kern Institute, which had been founded in 1925 as the national centre of expertise on India. The Kern Institute's strong tradition of scholarship has created a rich collection of manuscripts that still awaits thorough exploration. In this small survey I will highlight a few manuscripts from the collection to illustrate what they may tell us about Sanskrit manuscript culture.

But first of all, what is Sanskrit? There are different ways to answer this question. A common answer would be that Sanskrit is the ancient language of India; it belongs to the Indo-European language family and is one of its oldest members. In fact, the encounter with Sanskrit gave the impetus to the study of language relations in Europe. In a speech delivered in 1786 the British Orientalist Sir William Jones famously declared: 'The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.' These words effectively founded the field of historical linguistics as one of the major disciplines of the 19th century, which continues to be a thriving field of study at Leiden University to this day.

Because of its longevity, readers of Sanskrit have access to a history of 3,000 years of language and literature. Sanskrit has been a phenomenal transcultural force in Asia for many centuries. It penetrated all aspects of pre-modern Indian culture and society, from the village to the court, from poetry to religion, from horse breeding to mathematics, and it made its way far beyond the borders of the Indian subcontinent, stretching over large tracts of South and Southeast Asia, including present-day Pakistan, India, Nepal, Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam, as well as Central Asia.

Figure 1: Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nepal, palm leaf, c. 12th c.).

The vast majority of Sanskrit manuscripts, however, come from South Asia. Although we do not know exactly how many Sanskrit manuscripts there are, it has been estimated that there may survive a staggering 30 million manuscripts, held in private and public collections around the world. It is testimony to Sanskrit's phenomenal role in Indian culture and society across the ages. The Sanskrit manuscripts now held in the Asian Library may make up only a tiny portion of the world's manuscripts, they form an important collection in their own right and deserve our attention.

Among the oldest of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Kern collection are two manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* or *'The Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Verses'* (I.KERN SKR. A 8 and I.KERN SKR. A 9). The two manuscripts, which may go back to the 12th century CE, are written on palm leaves and incised in black ink, in Nepalese script. Palm leaf manuscripts survive longer than paper manuscripts and the climate of Nepal in particular has been conducive to the longer preservation of such manuscripts, in comparison to India where the environmental conditions are different and manuscripts do not have a chance to survive for so long. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* belongs to the oldest strata of the Buddhist 'Perfection of Wisdom' literature and may have been composed just before the start of the common era. It was very widely distributed and played a major role in what has been called the 'Cult of the Book' in Mahāyāna Buddhism. The text prescribes its own worship in the form of a written book (*pustaka*), and copies of this literature soon spread far and wide across Asia. The first Chinese translation was already made in the 2nd century CE. Like other copies of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, the two Leiden manuscripts start with a hymn dedicated to the goddess Prajñāpāramitā (*Prajñāpāramitāstuti*). The text itself begins with the famous words *evaṃ mayā śrutam* 'thus I have heard', reporting the alleged words of the Buddha. The folios of I.KERN SKR. KERN A 8 are in disarray and incomplete, but I.KERN SKR. A 9 is nearly complete, the only folio missing being the last one, which would have included the concluding colophon offering valuable information on the place and date of copying. I.KERN SKR. A 9 is an extensive manuscript, consisting of 191 folios in total, written on both sides in a neat hand. The manuscript has two string-holes in the middle to keep the individual leaves together and it comes with two unpainted wooden covers. This is the standard format for palm leaf manuscripts. These two Leiden manuscripts are still awaiting closer study in comparison to the many other *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts around the world, many of which are decorated. They are part of a global heritage.

A very different Sanskrit text that was likewise distributed far and wide is the *Mahābhārata*. Along with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the narrative of Rāma, it is considered one of the two Sanskrit epics, founding texts whose influence on the rich cultures of South and Southeast Asia can hardly be exaggerated. In essence the *Mahābhārata* tells of the conflict and eventual battle between two opposing sides of the same family (the Bhāratas, whence the text's name), but, consisting of about 100,000 verses in total, it has acquired a truly encyclopedic form, as the *Mahābhārata*'s own maxim says: 'what is found here … is to be found elsewhere too … but what is not found here is to be found nowhere'. The Kern collection includes several *Mahābhārata* manuscripts. Such manuscripts as a rule do not contain the text of the entire epic but only that of a single book. The *Mahābhārata* manuscript illustrated here (I.KERN SKR. A 10) is a manuscript of the *Rājadharma* or *'The Rules for Kings'*, which traditionally forms part of the 12th book of the 18 books that constitute the entire *Mahābhārata*. The manuscript is incomplete, but still contains an impressive 149 double-sided folios. It is a paper manuscript made of large folios measuring 57 x 10,4 cm, held together by two heavy wooden covers. Whereas the two *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts are written in Nepalese script, the *Rājadharma* manuscript is written in Bengali script. These three manuscripts illustrate that texts composed in Sanskrit may be written in different scripts, depending upon the local script of the scribe. Working with Sanskrit manuscripts one has to learn a variety of scripts, for a single text may be distributed in various regions of the subcontinent. The text of the *Māhābhārata* varies greatly. It exists in different recensions, some of them defined by region. By comparing the readings of our manuscript with the readings reported in the critical edition of the text, we can establish that it transmits a form of the *Mahābhārata* that is in line with the Bengali recension of the text. This should not come as a surprise; the manuscript was after all produced in Bengal. By investigating more manuscripts, even of a text that has already been edited, we can gain a better understanding of the complex transmission of the Sanskrit epic. While much early research has gone into the reconstruction of the original or 'Urtext', there is these days a burgeoning interest

Figure 2: Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nepal, palm leaf, c. 12th c.).

Figure 3: Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Nepal, palm leaf, c. 12th c.).

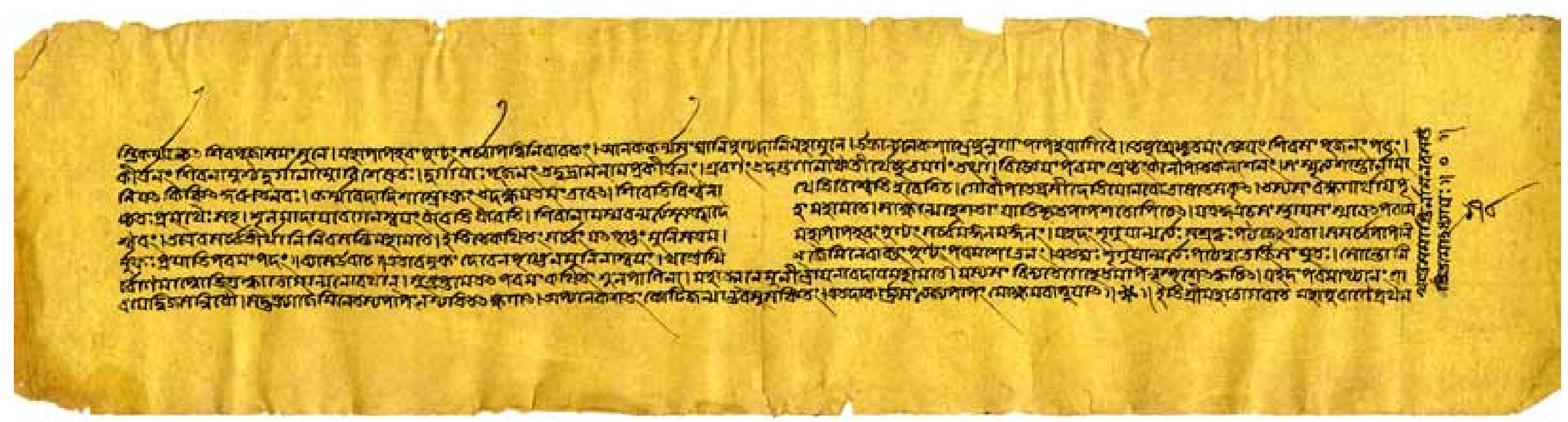
in studying the life of the text through the ages; manuscripts like this provide us with the most concrete evidence for this life.

Following on from the two epics, a massive body of literature was composed in Sanskrit and other Indian languages under the name of Purāṇa. I am myself engaged in a long-term project of a critical edition and study of one of these Purāṇas, the *Skandapurāṇa*. The term Purāṇa, which literally means 'old', has been aptly rendered by the *Mahābhārata* scholar James Fitzgerald as 'a primordial account of primordial things'. Purāṇas deal with matters of space and time: cosmology, cosmography, divine and human history, as well as ritual and myth, are all to be found in Purāṇic compositions. The Purāṇa genre is a highly prolific genre. There are hundreds of Purāṇas, some with a pan-Indian spread, others restricted to a particular region or caste. They can be very large compositions and have provided the backbone of brahmanical Hinduism through the ages. Manuscripts survive in great numbers; the Kern collection also includes several Purāṇa manuscripts. One of them is a copy of the *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa*. The manuscript (I.KERN SKR. A 12) consists of 175 folios in total. It is written in a neat Bengali script on handmade paper. The final text colophon reads 'thus in the illustrious *Mahābhāgavata*, the great Purāṇa, the completion of the first book, the seventy-ninth chapter'. Although this colophon tells us that it only contains the first book of the *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa*, the text in fact appears to be complete. Other manuscripts of the *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa* likewise only make mention of the first book, but it is doubtful if more than this first book ever existed. There is a tendency in the composition of Purāṇas to present them as parts of larger wholes. To add to the confusion there is another Purāṇa with a similar sounding name, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, which is a Purāṇa about the god Kṛṣṇa and his worship. This Purāṇa is well-known in the west. Followers of ISKCON (the International Society of Kṛṣṇa Consciousness), more popularly known as Hare Krishnas, are in the habit of distributing copies of this Purāṇa on the streets, in the English translation by Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada. They mostly refer to it as *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*. The *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa*, by contrast, is a Purāṇa dedicated to the Goddess (Devī). It is a text from medieval Bengal. As though this were not enough, there also exists a *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa*, likewise dedicated to the Goddess and also from Bengal. These texts with seemingly overlapping titles illustrate the prolificacy and complexity of the Purāṇa text corpus.

A text somewhat similar in style to the Purāṇas is the *Śivadharma* or *'The Rules of Śiva'*. In recent years I have started preparing a critical edition of a part of the *Śivadharma* based on copies of several manuscripts acquired from different libraries around the world. In Nepalese manuscripts the *Śivadharma* constitutes a collection of eight texts, but in manuscripts from South India we only find two of them: the *Śivadharma* (also called *Śivadharmaśāstra*) and the *Śivadharmottara*. The Kern collection includes a South Indian manuscript of the *Śivadharma* (I.KERN Skr. II. 40). It is one of the several hundreds of manuscripts that were brought to Leiden by the tibetologist Johan van Manen between 1928 and 1931, just a few years after the founding of the Kern Institute. It is a palm leaf manuscript of 91 folios written in the South Indian Grantha script. In manuscripts from South India the characters were not written in ink but inscribed with a pointed stylus on the palm leaves. To make the incised characters more visible, the manuscript had to be wiped with a cloth soaked in oil or lampblack. Not all the manuscripts brought to Leiden from South India by Van Manen were subjected to this treatment, but the *Śivadharma* manuscript was and so the characters are clearly visible. The date of copying of the manuscript is given in the final colophon in the local era. This can be converted to 22 April 1830. Since the folios are numbered 77-167, it is likely that the manuscript originally formed part of a bundle with another text. The text of the *Śivadharma* appears to be complete. Although the *Śivadharma* is not very well known, the work was of great importance for the spread of Śaivism, the religion dedicated to the god Śiva, in the early medieval period. Many manuscript copies survive from different parts of the Indian subcontinent, including Nepal, Bengal, Kashmir and South India, written in a variety of local scripts, and there are even references to it in inscriptions from the ancient Khmer kingdom in Cambodia. The text is now becoming the object of study of several scholars of Śaivism; hopefully this will eventually lead to a critical edition that will also incorporate the readings of the Leiden *Śivadharma* manuscript.

I end with a curiosity. One of the attractions of working in a library spanning 150 years of Indological studies, ever since the establishment of the Chair in Sanskrit by Hendrik Kern in 1865, is the enduring presence of one's predecessors. It is not an uncommon experience to borrow a book from the library that comes with a dedication by one of the former professors of Indology in Leiden or one of their colleagues, at home or abroad, at the time. Books like these are invaluable; they

Figure 4: Manuscript of the *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa* (Bengal, paper, c. 19th c.).



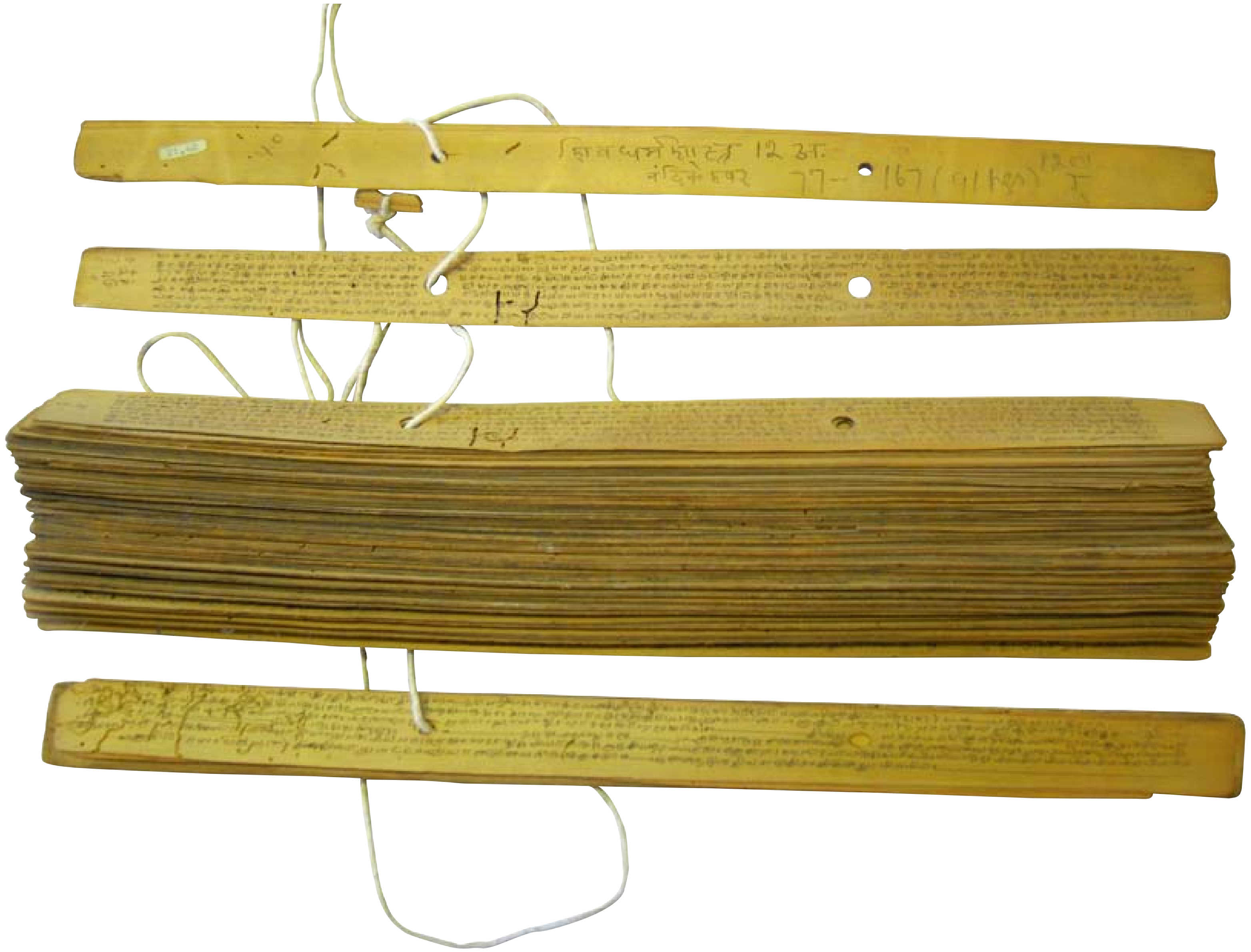
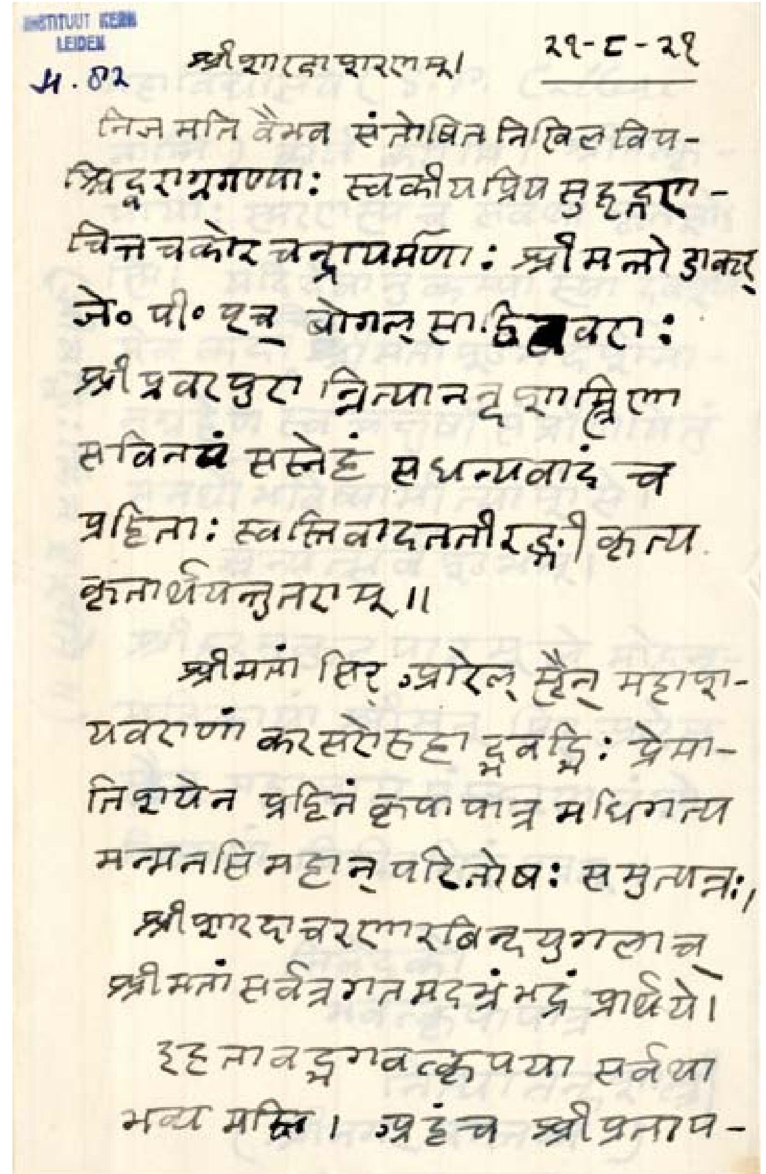


Figure 5: Manuscript of the *Śivadharma* (South India, palm leaf, 22 April 1830).

establish a community of scholars in a particular place across time. A beautiful document in this light is a Sanskrit letter (Or. 26.811, box 18, map 54, nr. 76). The letter, dated 21 August 1921, was written by the Kashmiri Pandit Nityānanda Śāstri and dedicated to Dr. J.Ph. Vogel (*ḍākṭar je. pī. ec. bogal*). As can be seen from my transcription, the initials J.Ph. have been written phonetically as *je. pī. ec*. The letter, written from Srinagar, is composed in ornate Sanskrit with a great sense of style and diction. In it Nityānanda Śāstrī thanks Vogel effusively for his letter, which he had received via the 'lotus-hand' (*karasaroruhā*) of Sir Aural Stein, the famous Hungarian tibetologist, indologist and explorer of the Silk Road. The letter, written just a few years before the founding of the Kern Institute, reminds us of a colourful past when letters, and letters written in Sanskrit at that, were the medium of communication instead of e-mails. It is also a testimony to an international community of scholars working together beyond national boundaries. In this light not so much has changed.

Note: This contribution is loosely based on several of my 'Pustakavācaka' columns for the *Nieuwsbrief van de Vereniging van Vrienden van het Instituut Kern*.



श्रीशारदा शरणम्। २१-८-२१

निजमतिवैभवसंतोषितनिखिलविप-
श्चिद्दूराग्रगण्याः स्वकीयप्रियसुहृद्गण-
चित्तचकोरचन्द्रायमाणाः श्रीमन्तो डाक्टर्
जे० पी० एच् बोगल् सा[illegible]वराः
श्रीप्रवरपुरात् नित्यानन्दशास्त्रिणा
सविनयं सस्नेहं सधन्यवादं च
प्रहिताः स्वस्तिवादततीरङ्गीकृत्य
कृतार्थयन्तुतराम्॥

श्रीमतां सिर् आरेल् स्टैन् महाप्रा-
यवराणां करसरोरुहाद्भवद्भिः प्रेमा-
तिशयेन प्रहितं कृपापत्रमधिगत्य
मन्मनसि महान् परितोषः समुत्पन्नः।
श्रीशारदाचरणारविन्दयुगलाच्च
श्रीमतां सर्वत्र गतमदभ्रं भद्रं प्रार्थये।
इह तावद्भगवत्कृपया सर्वथा
भव्यमस्ति। अहं च श्रीप्रताप-

Figure 6: Letter by Pandit Nityānanda Śāstrī to Dr. J.Ph. Vogel (Srinagar, 21 August 1921).

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KAMMAVĀCĀ MANUSCRIPTS

Burmese Kammavācā manuscripts are firmly embedded in the Theravada Buddhist tradition and are deeply interlinked with ancient Buddhist rituals related to monkhood. They are composed of khandakas from the Vinaya Pitaka, the monastic rules and disciplinary code for monks and nuns. Such manuscripts were often commissioned and presented to monastries on special occasions. Depending on the status and wealth of its donor, a Kammavācā manuscript can be made of paper, palm leaf, cloth, ivory (rare!), or, as in this case, thin sheets of copper.

The text is written in four to seven lines on both sides of the sheet in archaic Pali square script, using black lacquer made from tamarind pits instead of ink. After the copper is gilded, the red decoration is applied. Two wooden boards, executed in the same style, protect the manuscript. The sheets of copper are wrapped together with the wooden boards in a yellow, orange or reddish cloth. (DJ)

Kammavācā manuscripts
Object number: or. 17959
Geographic region: Myanmar
Material: lacquer manuscript on sixteen gilded sheets of copper with wooden boards.
Date: 20th century
Dimensions: 10 x 54.5 cm

Southeast Asia

Visualising Female Islamic Leadership in Indonesia: Suara Aisyiyah and Amanah

BY TIKA RAMADHINI AND DAVID KLOOS

The primary medium of the sermon is the voice. Yet, in this era of mass mediation, preachers increasingly make use of visual images to communicate with their audience. Take, for example, this picture, posted on Instagram by Oki Setiana Dewi (5,3 million followers), one of Indonesia's best-known female 'celebrity preachers' (*ustazah seleb*) (Fig. 1). Many religious authorities today make savvy use of new media. At the same time, it is valid to ask how new the use of such images really is. Oki Setiana Dewi stands in a long tradition of popular preachers whose authority depends more on personal charisma and public communication than on formal religious education and scholarship. Many celebrity preachers are successful not because they are seen as the most knowledgeable, but because they are experts in getting their message across and to persuade, inspire, or touch their audience. When and how did mass-mediated images become a part of this history? This article analyses images of female Islamic leaders in two Indonesian Muslim women's magazines found in the Asian Library's collection, *Suara Aisyiyah* (1920s-present) and *Amanah* (1980s-present). While the celebrity preacher – launched into stardom by television, the internet, and the commercialisation of public religion – is a relatively recent phenomenon, images like the one posted by Oki Setiana Dewi build on a process of visualising and personalising religious authority that has been long in the making.

Figure 1: Oki Setiana Dewi. Posted on her Instagram account, June 2016.

THE VOICE OF AISYIYAH

Suara Aisyiyah ('The Voice of Aisyiyah') is the official monthly of Aisyiyah, the women's wing of the Indonesian reformist Muslim association Muhammadiyah. When it first came out in 1926, Suara Aisyiyah was one of the first serial publications by and for Indonesian women.

Figure 2: Portrait of Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, the founding leader of Aisyiyah. *Suara Aisyiyah*, October/November 1952.

Figure 3: Portrait of Aisyiyah leaders in South Sulawesi. *Suara Aisyiyah*, October/November 1952.

Established in 1917, Aisyiyah provided an opportunity for women to participate in Islamic activism and to express their religious views, albeit within the framework of the larger, male-dominated movement. Its leaders came mostly from the middle class. However, as a social movement, active mostly in education and charity, it always sought to reach out to other, less privileged segments of society. In the 20th century, the organisation was able to exercise a strong influence on Indonesian ideas and discourses about Islam and women, advancing a blend of religious conservatism and calls for women's emancipation. As the organisation's mouthpiece, *Suara Aisyiyah* has been a prominent platform for the emergence and representation of female Islamic leadership in Indonesia.

Historians with an interest in women and Islam in Indonesia have engaged extensively with the written content of *Suara Aisyiyah*. Less attention has been paid, however, to the fact that it was also the first magazine to show pictures of female Islamic authorities. Women who were photographed included leaders and, somewhat less frequently, the teachers and preachers (muballighat) trained by the organisation. Figure 2 shows Nyai Ahmad Dahlan (1952), the wife of the founder of Muhammadiyah, Kiai Haji Ahmad Dahlan, and the first leader of Aisyiyah.*Suara Aisyiyah*'s early editions revolved mostly around activities such as yearly meetings, inaugurations of new board members, charity events, and the opening of new Aisyiyah schools. The function of the magazine was thus primarily to inform the members of the organisation. As a result, its imagery was dominated by portraits and convocations or group photos (Fig. 3).

Another dominant image, from the early decades through to the 1990s, is that of the leader or preacher on stage, talking to an audience in a microphone. The following photograph of an Aisyiyah leader in Central Java, during the celebration of the organisation's anniversary in 1983, is typical in this respect (Fig. 4). Viewing such images of female leaders and preachers captured in mid-speech, caused us to contemplate the significance of the magazine's name, 'The Voice of Aisyiyah'. These photos represent modernity. They also seem to reflect a need felt by the editors of *Suara Aisyiyah* to show that women's voices were being heard. These images, in other words, communicate a soundscape, visualizing women's (amplified) voices and their role in public debate, a debate that used to be reserved for men.

A conspicuous new type of image appears in editions of the late 1970s. Aisyiyah leaders are photographed while arriving at an event or meeting, sometimes in the company of public figures. A 'red-carpet' element is introduced in this type of imagery. Figure 5 portrays a group of Aisyiyah leaders, including the chairwoman, together with a delegation from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The company visits a Muhammadiyah hospital and is received by the Indonesian Minister of Home Affairs, Malikus Suparto (not in the photo). The women wear a modern-style *kebaya* (long-sleeved blouse) on top of a traditional *kain* (wraparound skirt) and a typical 'Aisyiyah-style' (loose fitting) head scarf. This kind of modern *kebaya* and *kain* was also popular among the wives of high-level government officials at social events. Photos in the magazine show the leaders of Aisyiyah wearing sunglasses and sporting their handbags. Drawing attention to their upper middle-class background, the imagery in the magazine becomes altogether more glamorous. Today, this picture may come across as a celebrity photo made by paparazzi, featuring a strong 'to see and be seen' atmosphere. By 1990, promotional articles advertised particular garments for readers who wanted to look just like the leaders of Aisyiyah on the covers. In a low-key manner, this reminds us of today's celebrity preachers, who are also seen as fashion icons and often become the ambassadors of commercial products.

PERSONALISING AUTHORITY

Published since 1986, *Amanah* ('Mandate') was the first popular Muslim women's magazine in Indonesia. In contrast to community-based magazines like *Suara Aisyiyah*, it was a commercial enterprise, catering to the needs of Indonesia's growing, relatively affluent and increasingly pious urban middle class. In the 1980s, President Suharto's dictatorial 'New Order' regime was at the apex of its power. The press was heavily curtailed and the tone of popular women's magazines was apolitical. At the same time, popular women's magazines constituted a crucial forum for ideological contestation. As the anthropologist Suzanne Brenner has written, magazines like *Amanah* show that the struggle for the image of the modern Indonesian woman was also a struggle about the future vision of the Indonesian nation. Images of women were often ambiguous. On the one hand, they served to communicate a future-oriented narrative of development, celebrating the education of girls and the 'career woman' (*wanita karir*) as a primary marker of modernity. On the other hand, they communicated a

Figure 4: Noer Syamsuni, Aisyiyah leader in Sragen, Central Java. *Suara Aisyiyah*, July/August 1983.

Figure 5: Aisyiyah leaders in Jakarta. The woman on the top-left is the chairperson, Prof. Baroroh Baried. *Suara Aisyiyah*, August 1979.

Figure 6: Nyai Ida Aziz, chairperson of the Islamic Center Indonesia. *Amanah*, December 1988.

conservative and state-backed message about the Indonesian woman as a wife and mother: docile, obedient, and burdened with the responsibility of maintaining long-established norms and traditions.

The emergence of *Amanah* must be understood in the context of a multifaceted and globally salient Islamic movement – sometimes referred to as the 'Islamic revival' – and the active participation therein of women. *Amanah* was part of a new Islamic pop culture, moreover, which included magazines as well as books, movies, television, music, comics, fashion, blogs, and visual art. Greg Fealy, a researcher in Southeast Asian Islam and politics, has argued that these expressions both reflected and gave shape to a more individualised form of Islam, in which traditional religious institutions were less dominant than before. In its early years, *Amanah* explicitly targeted an audience of religiously knowledgeable women. Some of its columns required in-depth knowledge of Islam. These columns disappeared in the mid-1990s, as the Islamic movement increasingly came to be regarded, to borrow Fealy's words, as 'just another middle-class lifestyle with its own glossy magazines, glamorous cover models, and fashion industry'.

In contrast to *Suara Aisyiyah*, *Amanah* targeted a broad audience. It contained more pictures of men, including the occasional male religious leader. The rather secular category of *wanita karir* is a recurring element. In this light, the frequency with which female Islamic authorities featured in the magazine's pages is actually quite surprising. Our survey yielded hundreds of images. These are often strikingly different from the images in *Suara Aisyiyah*. Take, for example, the image in Figure 6, which is quite representative of portraits in Amanah in the 1980s and 1990s. Nyai Ida Aziz, chairperson of the Islamic Center Indonesia (a well-established religious foundation), is portrayed here while adopting an informal, almost casual pose. The story is draped, literally, around the image, which is almost as large as the page itself. Compared to *Suara Aisyiyah*, in which photographs play a smaller and more subsidiary role, the article demonstrates a very different hierarchy between text and image.

Figure 7: Hajjah Sri Istuti Malik, head of Madrasah Tsanawiyah, an Islamic school in Malang, East Java. The text below her name translates as 'Spiritually-Based Leadership'. *Amanah*, February 2004.

Elements like pose, angle and composition give portraits in *Amanah* a more personal character. In contrast to *Suara Aisyiyah*, there is a strong suggestion that the photographs are not, or minimally, staged. A 2004 portrait of Istuti Mamik, the head of an Islamic school in Malang, East Java, comes across as a spontaneous snapshot of a woman at work in her office (Fig. 7). Personalised portraits are not, of course, based solely on images. The accompanying text is equally important. In the article about Istuti Mamik, for example, which tells the story of her school, a lot of attention is given to her 'charm'. She is described as a person who is highly spiritual, open to everyone, and who teaches with kindness. There is, we learn, 'a personal touch' to her leadership. Besides discussing her professional

Figure 8: Dian Rivia Kriswandini, a preacher and religious teacher, together with her husband and daughter. *Amanah*, March 1990.

Figure 9: Caption: Prof. H. Siti Baroroh Baried, Aisyiyah's longest serving chairperson (1965-1985) and professor at Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, together with her daughter. *Amanah*, March 1990.

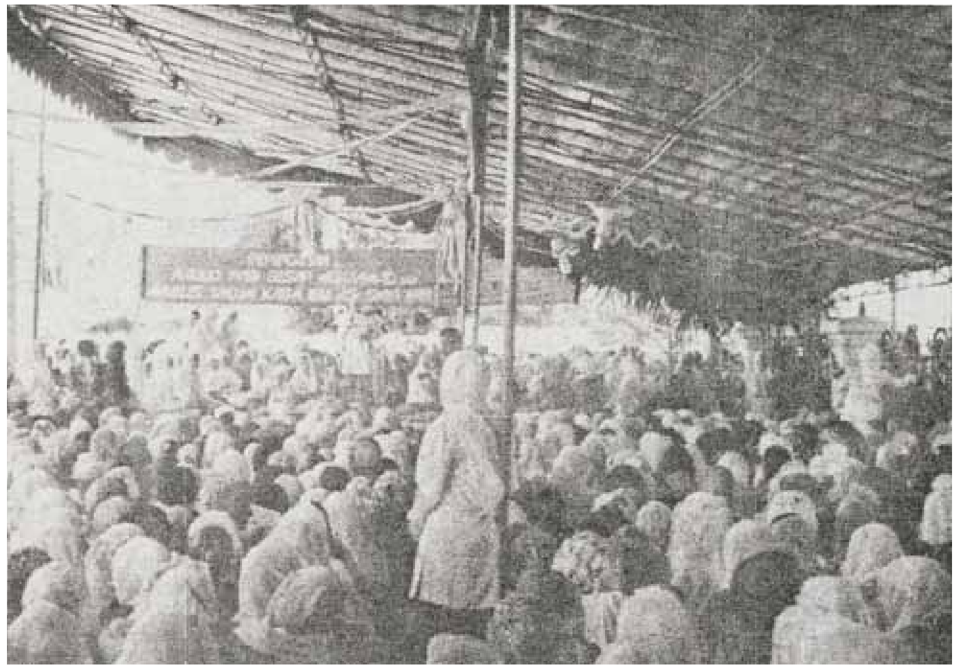
career, the article also offers a glimpse of her daily life. Istuti Malik is portrayed as a loving mother and a woman with a modest lifestyle.

Images from this period constitute a conspicuous precursor to the emergence of the celebrity preacher. Antedating the immense popularity of reality television in present-day Indonesia, articles in *Amanah* portrayed female Islamic leaders in a variety of personal settings: in front of their car, posing with their family (Fig. 8), at home, teaching their children how to use a computer (Fig. 9), or on holiday in the snow (Fig. 10). These images render immediate and familiar that which, for most of the viewers, would otherwise have remained distant and inaccessible. They reflect, in other words, a nascent sense of celebrity culture.

A related issue is the portrayal of events. Going through the first volumes of *Amanah* – shortly after examining hundreds of instalments of *Suara Aisyiyah* – our eyes were caught by a photo of a sermon delivered by a preacher at the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammed in Jakarta in 1988, which was attended by thousands of people (Fig. 11). In *Suara Aisyiyah*, audiences are occasionally visible, but always in the background. They are never the main focus of interest. In this photograph, it is instead the preacher herself who is barely visible. Clearly, the aim of the image is to give the reader/viewer a sense of the throng of people that came to listen. Images like these reflect the fundamental differences between *Amanah* and *Suara Aisyiyah*. One is a commercial publication that depends strongly on being visually attractive (explaining, for example, choices of composition). The other is a periodical printed for the members of an organisation. One is based on selling 'Islam-as-lifestyle'. The other is an expression of a distinct religious ideology. *Suara Aisyiyah* can afford, to some extent at least, to be visually unappealing. At the same time, the images are indicative of a historical development that takes us beyond the particularities of both magazines. They show the early emergence – in print rather than on television or in social media – of celebrity culture. *Amanah*, with its depiction of personalised authority, may be seen as a frontrunner, but it was not the sole proprietor of a more person- or celebrity-oriented imagery. As we have seen, *Suara Aisyiyah* introduced a 'red-carpet' element in the late 1970s. Amanah went much further in this respect, as its

Figure 10: Hajjah Tutti Alawiyyah, Rector of the As-syafiiyah Islamic University and former leader of the Aisyiyah youth organization, together with her husband. *Amanah*, December 1995.

Figure 11: Hajjah Tuti Alawiyah, preaching at a *maulid* (birthday of the Prophet) celebration at the Asy Syafi'iyah school in Jakarta. *Amanah*, November-December 1988.



focus on pop culture and personalised celebrity-like images broke new grounds for female popular preachers in Indonesia.

GENDER AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

Women have come to play an increasingly important role in new religious movements and organisations throughout Asia. This feminisation of public religion is not limited to the grassroots. In Indonesia, female preachers, teachers, and leaders of Islamic institutions, organisations and political parties challenge the common stereotype that religious authority is an exclusively male domain. At the same time, gender constitutes an increasingly important aspect of the ways in which popular preachers present themselves to their audience. This, of course, applies to men as much as it does to women. In a book on Aa Gymnastiar, one of the first and most popular (male) television preachers in Indonesia, James Hoesterey explains that his success is at least partly due to the fact that he has been able to cultivate a 'modern' perception of masculinity by presenting his mostly female audience with the image of a gentle and romantic family man.

The personalisation of religious authority through visual images is a gendered process. It is a development that involves different, sometimes contradictory, messages for the consumers of these images. In the case of *Suara Aisyiyah* and *Amanah*, the consumers are in large majority women. Personalised images may contribute to the ability of female audiences to identify with, take inspiration from and act on the idea that women can be religious experts, advancing norms and interpretations independently or less dependently of men. At the same time, the images we selected for this article show that we need to be careful in drawing sweeping conclusions about the impact on established gender norms. In the case of *Amanah*, images of female preachers have served to (re)produce and strengthen conservative values as much as they have served to advance the position of women.

Thus, female preachers have been portrayed in the context of their home or household, next to their husbands, teaching their children, and so forth. While Aa Gym (as he is affectionately known) is also often portrayed with his family, such images typically serve to situate him at the head of a large and loving family. Meanwhile, the contrast between family pictures and a photograph of him posing in flight suit prior to riding a fighter jet (as printed in Hoesterey's book) is striking to say the least.

Pictures seldom stand alone, of course, and the gendered imagery analysed in this article is intertwined with written content. In *Amanah*, male preachers are often featured in the 'hard news' section and cited, for example, on policy issues. Female preachers appear more often in 'soft news' sections, such as public figure profiles or so-called 'inspirational' articles. This bias affects the visual representation of the preachers. Hard news generally attaches more importance to text, with long articles leaving relatively little space for photos. The appearance of female Islamic leaders in soft news sections makes them, literally, more visible. It enables female Islamic leaders to show who they are and what they do. Visual content – providing information about dress, physical environment, or family – plays an important role in this respect. It may seem, then, that it is not just the hard/soft news opposition, but also the gendered imagery itself that portrays these women as somehow less serious or important than their male counterparts.

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TILE TABLEAU COMMISSIONED BY THE KVOW (ROYAL SOCIETY FOR EAST AND WEST)

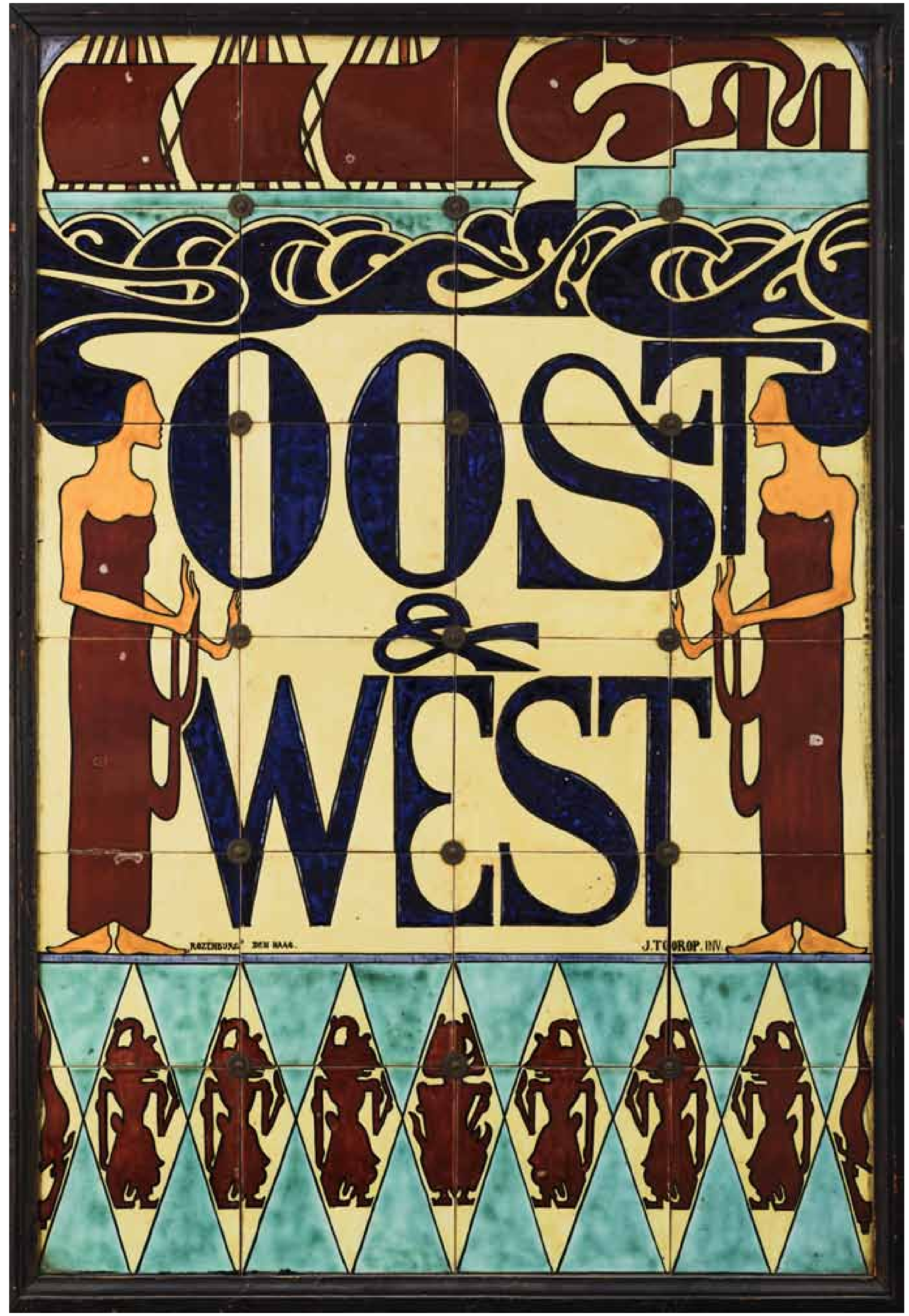
Dutch art historian and specialist in Art Deco, Art Nouveau and The Stijl, Frans Leidelmeijer, on this object:

This tile tableau designed by Jan Toorop for the Koninklijke Vereeniging Oost en West (KVOW) around 1915 and produced by the earthenware company Plateelbakkerij Rozenburg in The Hague is the first tile tableau made by the Dutch-Indonesian artist. The KVOW was established in 1899 because the ladies organizing the East Indies section of the Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid (National Women's Craft Fair) in The Hague (1898) had noticed the general public's total lack of knowledge about the East Indies.

Toorop also designed the poster for this exhibition, probably because he was known to be a staunch advocate of women's emancipation.

The aim of the KVOW was to introduce the Dutch public to Indonesian art and craftwork. A shop called Boeatan (Malay for 'craft') was accordingly opened in 1903, selling delicate Indonesian craftwork. There was also a tea corner where ladies dressed in sarongs and kebayas served tea and Indonesian snacks. In 1933 Boeatan moved to an address on Kneuterdijk, where an Indonesian restaurant was opened on the first floor. In 1949 the firm was taken over by the firm of Lensvelt, which transformed it into the still existing Indonesian restaurant Garoeda.

Tile tableau commissioned by the KVOW (Royal Society for East and West)
Artist: Jan Toorop (1858-1928)
Object number: 52V10
Geographic region: Netherlands
Material: Earthenware
Date: c. 1915
Dimensions: 92 x 63 cm



Maps in the Crowd: Crowdsourcing Old Maps in the Special Collections

BY PATRICK GOUW AND MARTIJN STORMS

Leiden University Libraries is home to a large collection of old maps, with a strong focus on Asia. To improve the usability and visibility of this material, a crowdsourcing project was initiated in which the general public was invited to participate. For this purpose, a special online application was developed which enabled a large group of users to match the digitized old maps with a modern topographic map. By means of this 'georeferencing' process, no less than 7,000 maps of Indonesia and Southeast Asia were enriched with coordinates that will greatly benefit future research.

INTRODUCTION

On the afternoon of Sunday, 26 Augustus 1883 the volcano of Krakatoa in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) erupted (Fig. 1). It was one of the deadliest and most destructive eruptions ever recorded, destroying over 70% of the island and its

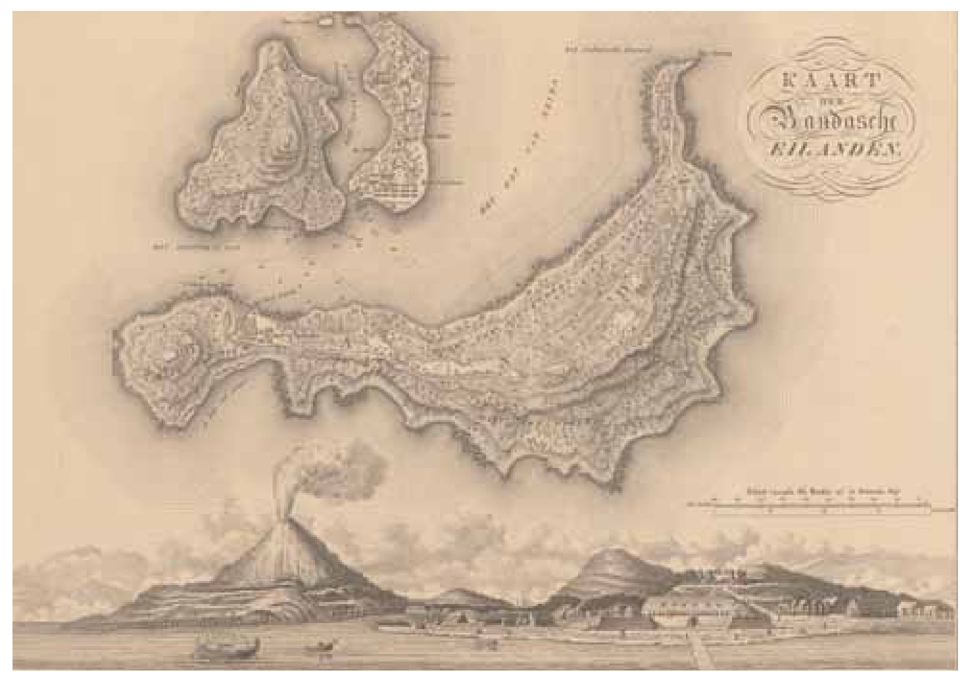


Figure 1: Eruption of a volcano; detail of a map of the Banda islands.

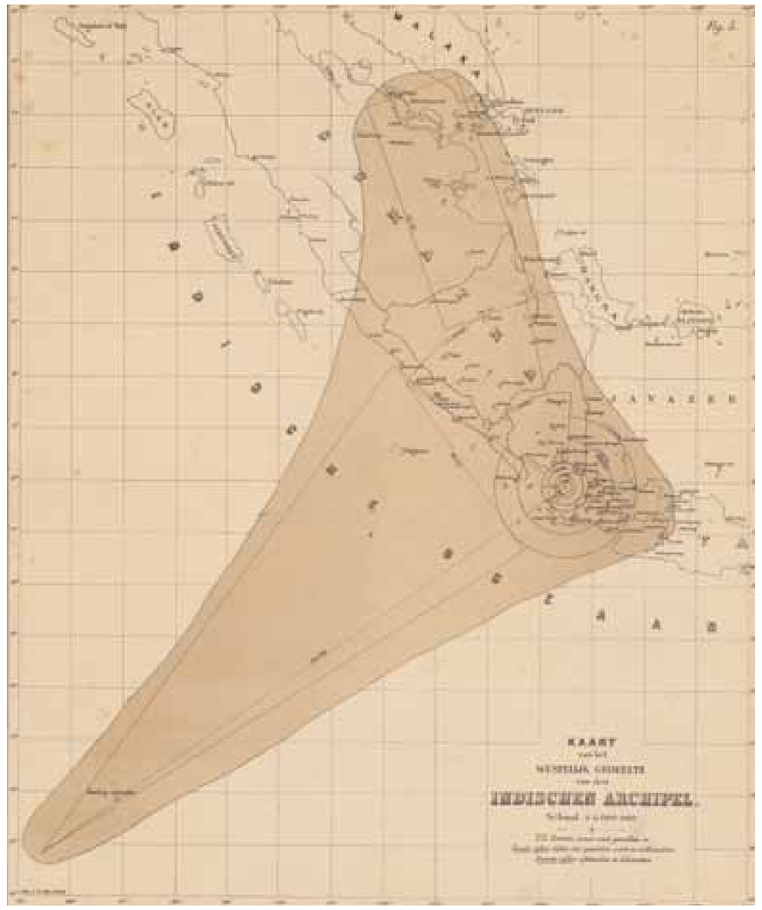


Figure 2: Map (1886) of the western Indonesian archipelago, showing the extent and thickness (indicated in red) of the ash fallout resulting from the Krakatoa eruption.

surrounding archipelago and killing around 36,000 people. With 20 million tons of sulfur being released into the atmosphere, it caused a volcanic winter that reduced worldwide temperatures by an average of 1.2 degrees Celsius for five years.

Shortly after the eruption, the Dutch Governor-General ordered a series of 43 maps, plans and graphs to be published in relation to this natural disaster. They provide a striking image of the devastation and the impact on the entire region. For instance, one of the maps (Fig. 2) shows the extent of the volcanic ash fallout, reaching as far as the Cocos Islands some 1,200 kilometers away. Others highlight the distribution of the tsunami waves and the coastal flooding in the Sunda Strait Area in the aftermath of the eruption.

These and other maps tell the story of the Krakatoa catastrophe from a different angle, adding to the information contained in the written texts (eyewitness accounts, newspaper reports etc.). Old maps, therefore, provide invaluable knowledge for anyone working on the history, geology and culture of the affected area. But in order for them really to start 'speaking out', they have to be studied in relation to other data. In other words, the (static) scanned image of an old map held by a library in its collection needs to be reworked into a small dataset that can be (re-)used elsewhere.

THE PROCESS OF GEOREFERENCING AND CROWDSOURCING

One way of achieving this is by adding geographic coordinates to the digitized old maps and – as a result – projecting them in their exact location on a modern topographical map. This process is called 'georeferencing' and forms the basis of the (on-going) project Maps in the Crowd. In total, more than 7,000 digitized maps from the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV) were selected for digital enrichment.

Comprising both colonial and modern material (19^{th}-20^{th} centuries), this collection focuses mainly on (thematic) maps, atlases, town plans and manuscripts of modern-day Indonesia and Southeast Asia (but also Surinam and the Dutch Caribbean, which are currently dealt with in another phase of our crowdsourcing project).

Due to the size of our map collection and the scale of the operation, it proved impossible to have all the work done by the library's regular staff. Crowdsourcing, that is utilizing the knowledge, skills and time of a large number of online volunteers, turned out to be the solution. This also fitted in nicely with our policy of engaging more people from outside the university with our Special Collections. Having the general public performing the actual georeferencing, monitored by library staff, led to the swift completion of the project in just a few months. This successful partnership, which is to be continued, also provided the library with valuable feedback and insights into our collections and services (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: A dedicated crowd of volunteers worked in close cooperation with the library staff to complete the project.

Through a special online application (the 'Leiden Georeferencer'), members from the 'crowd' were presented with a two-sided screen, featuring an old map from our collection alongside a modern one (Fig. 4) Their job was then to link the two together by selecting and highlighting five or more corresponding geographical points. Subsequently, the software automatically aligned the data and showed the now georeferenced historical map as an overlay in Google Maps. An additional transparency slider enabled users to see through the overlay and back into the old map, displaying the similarities and differences between the two maps.

Georeferenced maps can be used and analyzed further in Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and form an integral part of the current trend of digital scholarship. For this reason, this corpus of newly enriched map data will be made publicly available for download – in due time – to researchers, students and others. Our volunteers can pride themselves in having actively contributed to the progress of academic research!

EXISTING SOURCES, NEW QUESTIONS: URBAN PLANNING IN SURABAYA

Working with old maps has the great advantage of providing researchers with a view of the world that has since disappeared. Maps function as time capsules that tell the story of a specific place or area at a specific moment in history. These 'snapshots' can provide a valuable resource besides the traditional written texts and should be studied in close proximity. Georeferencing, therefore, is the ultimate 21^{st}-century way of enabling historians to continue their core investigations: asking new questions of existing sources and mapping changes over time.

Studying the past with the aid of maps can reveal interesting information. It can draw attention to dramatic changes in the landscape or, on the other hand, expose continuity over several centuries. A number of specific KITLV maps included within the Maps in the Crowd project, featuring Surabaya (the second largest city in Indonesia), can provide a prime example of this.

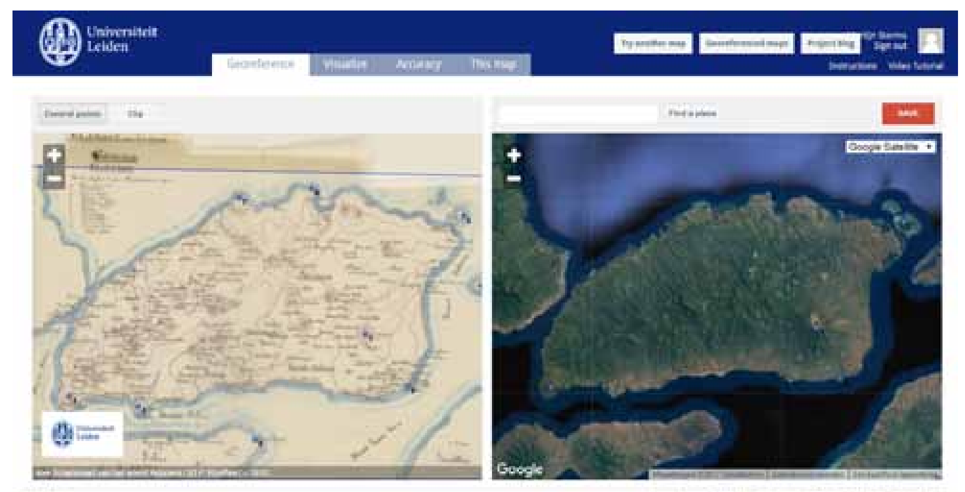


Figure 4: A special online application, the Leiden Georeferencer, was developed to link the old and modern maps.

Figure 5: Map (1898) featuring the proposed design for the new Surabaya water works.

In the year 1898 a map (Fig. 5) was drawn as part of an extensive investigation into the improvements for the water supply of this fast-growing city. This map features the recommendations made by a Dutch engineer and architect called Hidde Petrus Nicolaas Halbertsma. He suggested utilizing water sources from the nearby mountains by installing a system of reservoirs and water towers. At the time, however, his plans were not put into action.

Another report, this time from 1917, confirms that Halbertsma's recommendations had indeed not been followed up. But the need for an improved and updated system had grown to be even more urgent. His plans served as the basis for contemporary urban planners, who estimated that Surabaya would need to increase its water supply by 50% before 1920, and with even more before the year 1930. Still, on a 1925 map of the area there is as yet no sign of any of the building projects which Halbertsma had designed and his successors had referred to in their report.

It is not clear whether the city lacked the necessary funds to carry out the projects or whether the plans were simply cancelled at some point in time. In 1943, however, another map does show the completion of new water works (Fig. 6). The reservoir or tower (designated with the number 17) is almost on the same spot where our Dutch architect originally planned it in 1898. And although the reservoir may have been built closer to the city than was intended by Halbertsma, his concept was eventually accomplished.

Despite the massive transformation of Surabaya over the last 80 years, the water works are still partly in place, and can be seen on the georeferenced maps of the area. Once again, by closely looking at the old maps and relating them to other data, they tell the story of urban development from a different perspective.

MAPPING INDONESIA

Finally, it is interesting to note how a georeferencing project can also shed some light on more general issues in regard to colonial history. Although the 7,000 digitized maps from the Dutch East Indies do not represent the total sum of all maps that were produced of the Dutch East Indies (though they do represent a substantial part) its distribution pattern, however, provides insight into the late 19th and early 20th-century mapping intensity throughout the former Dutch colony.

As part of the Leiden Georeferencer application a visualization tool called 'Map Finder' shows the results of all georeferencing efforts on a Google world map [Fig. 7. Each map from the collection is indicated with a red dot.

The most striking element is the high mapping density on Java. Clearly, this island was the center of the Dutch East Indies, with its capital Batavia/Jakarta and other major cities like Bandung, Semarang and Surabaya. Moreover, Java is the most populated island of Indonesia. Sumatra comes second and here, there seem to be some clusters around the major cities: Banda Aceh, Medan, Padang and, surprisingly, Bangka Island. The other islands are mapped with a lower intensity, with only a clear cluster of maps in the southwestern part of Sulawesi around Makassar.

In general, it can be concluded that there has to be a correlation between the mapping density and the population density of Indonesia. Even more, the dot pattern corresponds with the coverage of the Dutch topographical map series of Indonesia. The most dense areas are more similar to those that are covered by the large-scale topographical map series.

2017: FOCUS ON ASIA

Leiden University Libraries intends to continue its georeferencing efforts, aiming to maximize the number of publicly available, digitally enriched maps from its collection. We believe that embracing the methods of both georeferencing and crowdsourcing is the right way forward for a research library that is both committed to Digital Scholarship and reaching out to the general public. The next focus within the project will be on maps relating to the whole of Asia. As before, we hope (and expect) our dedicated crowd to keep up their valued efforts and join us for several more episodes of the Maps in the Crowd story.

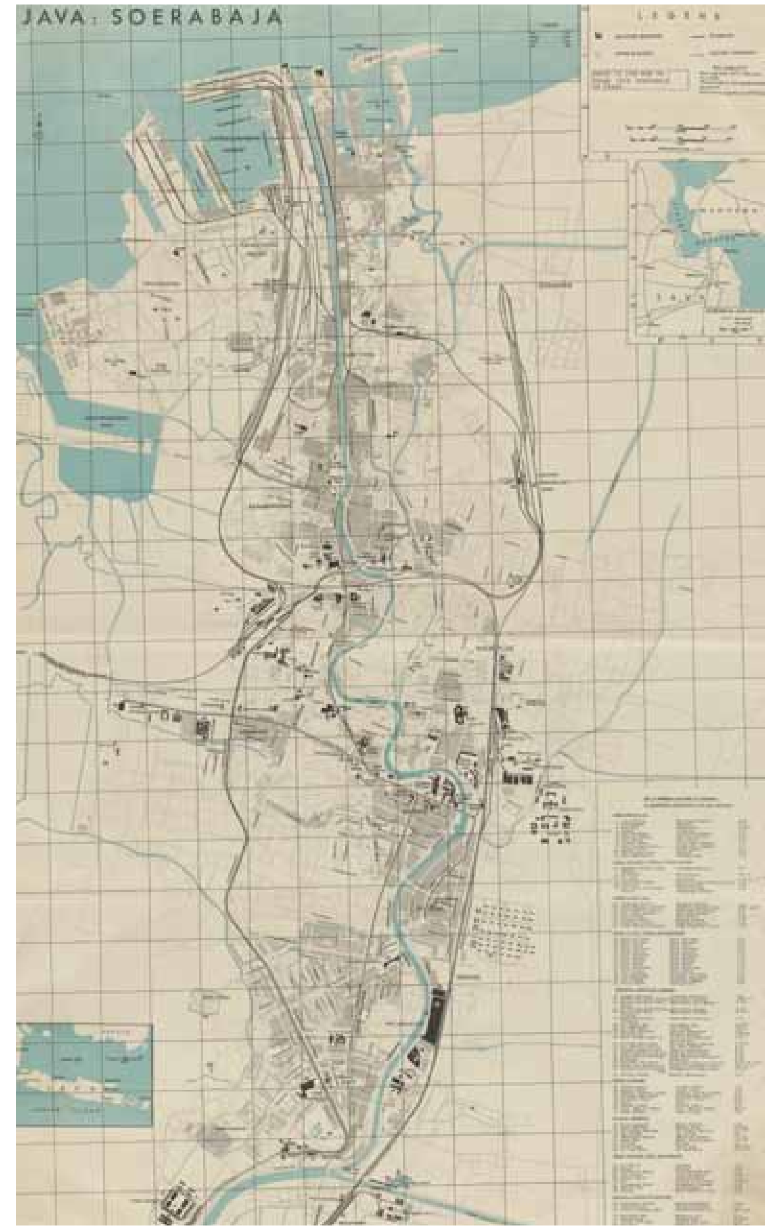


Figure 6: Map (1943) showing the water-works that were eventually realized in the urban area of Surabaya.

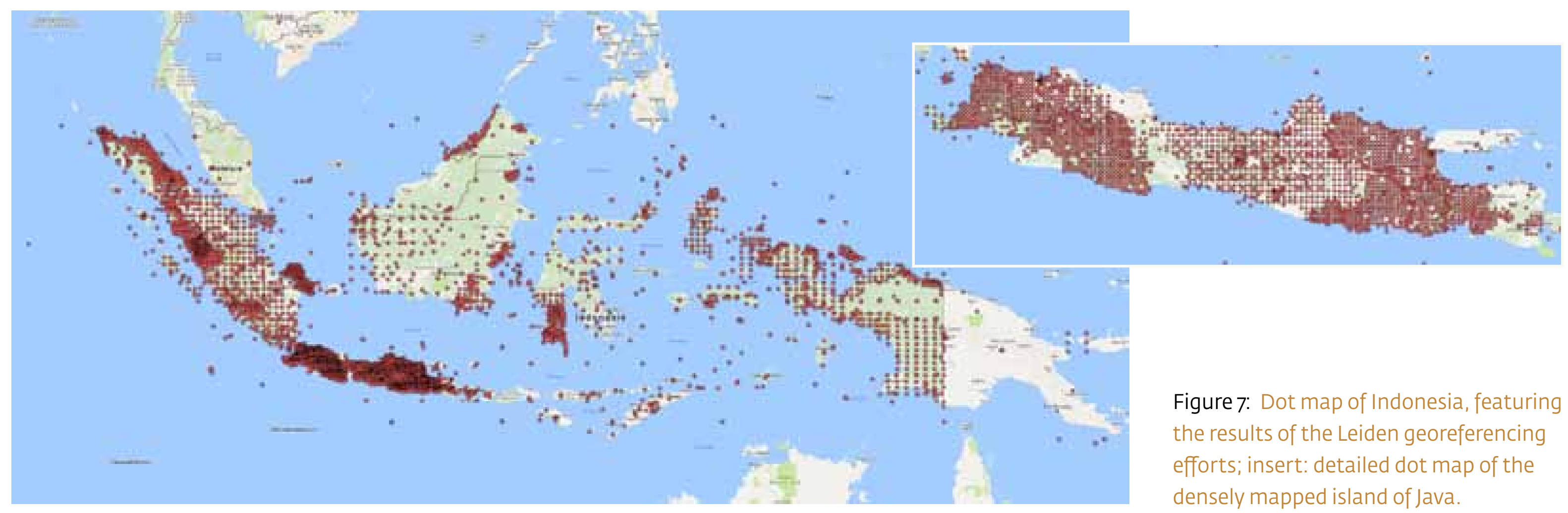


Figure 7: Dot map of Indonesia, featuring the results of the Leiden georeferencing efforts; insert: detailed dot map of the densely mapped island of Java.

BATAK RIFLEMAN'S MANUAL

This leporello manuscript belongs to the pustaha literature of the Toba Batak of Sumatra. The text, two-sided on accordion-pleated tree bark, is written in lines parallel to the fold. For protection it is kept between two wooden boards that are sometimes decorated with wood carvings in the form of snakes or lizards. Traditionally, the contents of a pustaha is closely related to magic, divination and medicine. Its creator is usually the datu or guru, and only he or his pupils read out the text during ceremonies and rituals. The illustrations are believed to protect the user or to harm his enemies.

The manuscript shown here contains instructions for rifle shooting. Rifles were also fired for divining purposes, but the depiction and illustrations of various shooting positions, rifles and bullets evoke the character of a manual. This pustaha manuscript was acquired by Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, possibly even commissioned by him, during his Sumatran period (1851-1857). (DJ)

Batak rifleman's manual
Object number: or. 3526
Geographic region: Indonesia
Material: manuscript on tree bark
Date: mid-18th century
Dimensions: 10.5 x 9.8 cm

Travelling through the Emerald Belt: A Plea for a Post-Colonial Double Perspective

BY RICK HONINGS

When you land in Indonesia for the first time after having seen the green archipelago from the airplane, you will not only be overwhelmed by the sweltering heat. You will also immediately smell you have arrived in the East, as the exotic scents already waft towards you while you are still in the terminal. Times may have changed since Indonesia's independence, but the sensation of the tropics remains the same.

An avalanche of travel literature has survived testifying to the Dutch presence in the former Dutch East Indies. Partly thanks to the holdings of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), the Asian Library now owns a large collection of travel literature from the colonial era,

Figure 1: Batavia, by Jacob Keyser 1730.

written by well-known and lesser known authors, men, women and children, dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. They all have one thing in common: they document the journey towards and residency in the country which Multatuli referred to as the 'Gordel van Smaragd' ('Emerald Belt') in his *Max Havelaar* (1860).

Many of these texts are by now familiar to us and modern editions have been prepared of some of the manuscripts. Although they have been gratefully used as a source of historical information, the study of this specific genre – travel literature of the former Dutch East Indies – is still in its infancy, at a time when travel writing is attracting considerable international scholarly attention.

TRAVELLING TO THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

After the Dutch first set foot on Javanese soil towards the end of the 16th century – the Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 – two centuries of travel ensued to bring back spices and other commodities from the fertile archipelago. We are relatively well informed about these travels as a great deal of archival material has been preserved. Surprisingly this is less so for those travels that were undertaken from the time the former Dutch East Indies were turned into a real colony, in 1816.

From that moment the volume of travel, at first obviously by sailing vessels, increased. Initially the voyage took about eight months, which was gradually reduced to some five weeks. From 1835 experiments were made with overland mail via Egypt, so that ships no longer had to sail around the Cape of Good Hope. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 further cut travelling time. Sailing vessels disappeared, to be replaced by steam ships of the Stoomvaart-Maatschappij 'Nederland' (Netherlands Steamship Company) and the Koninklijke Rotterdamse Lloyd (Royal Rotterdam Lloyd). In the 1930s a regular flight service to the former Dutch East Indies was put into operation, until World War II and the Japanese occupation temporarily put a stop to all traffic between the Netherlands and its colony.

In the period 1816-1945 numerous travels were also undertaken within the Dutch East Indies. This was less so during the rule of the Dutch East India Company, as this multinational largely operated from trading posts on the coasts of Asia. The hinterland was hardly explored in those days, the main focus being on what the archipelago might yield commercially. There was less interest in indigenous nature and culture. This situation would only change in the 19th century.

The year 1830 saw the introduction of the Cultuurstelsel (Cultivation System), which required Javanese farmers to reserve a fifth of their land to produce crops for the European market. After 1870 a number of changes were introduced. The abolition of the Cultivation System and the opening of the Suez Canal led to some degree of Europeanisation. More and more Dutch citizens tried their fortunes in the East, while the number of women travelling with them from Europe rose slowly as well. Tourist trips through the Dutch East Indies were also organised more often. From 1900 the Netherlands pursued an Ethical Policy, based on the awareness that a colony was not only there to profit from: something had to be done in return. Thus the Dutch authorities began investing in education, health care and infrastructure.

Figure 2: Vue du palais de Buitenzorg, W.J. Gordon after A.J. Bik, 1842.

These developments, however, also contributed to the rise of Indonesian nationalism in the 1930s, and when the Japanese occupation ended, Dutch colonial presence was no longer tolerated. On 17 August 1945 Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. That day is still an official holiday in Indonesia, but the Dutch would only acknowledge Indonesian sovereignty in 1949, after much bloodshed. The saying 'Indië verloren, rampspoed geboren' (Indies lost, disaster born) did not come true, but the Netherlands has still not come to terms with its colonial past. The Dutch East Indies are woven into the DNA of Dutch society, and the question is whether they will ever entirely disappear from it.

DUTCH EURASIAN LITERATURE

Hundreds of Dutch travellers in the period 1816-1945 have left documents recording their journeys to and in the 'Empire of Insulindia', whether fiction or non-fiction. All writers marvelled at the country's luscious but perilous natural beauty, where tigers and snakes were lurking dangers, at the exotic dishes and at its rich culture, including the practice of *guna guna* (black magic), which was experienced as both fascinating and mysterious.

The genre of fiction has already received ample attention, leading to numerous publications. Rob Nieuwenhuys' *Oost-Indische spiegel* (1972) is still important in spite of its shortcomings. An improved edition appeared

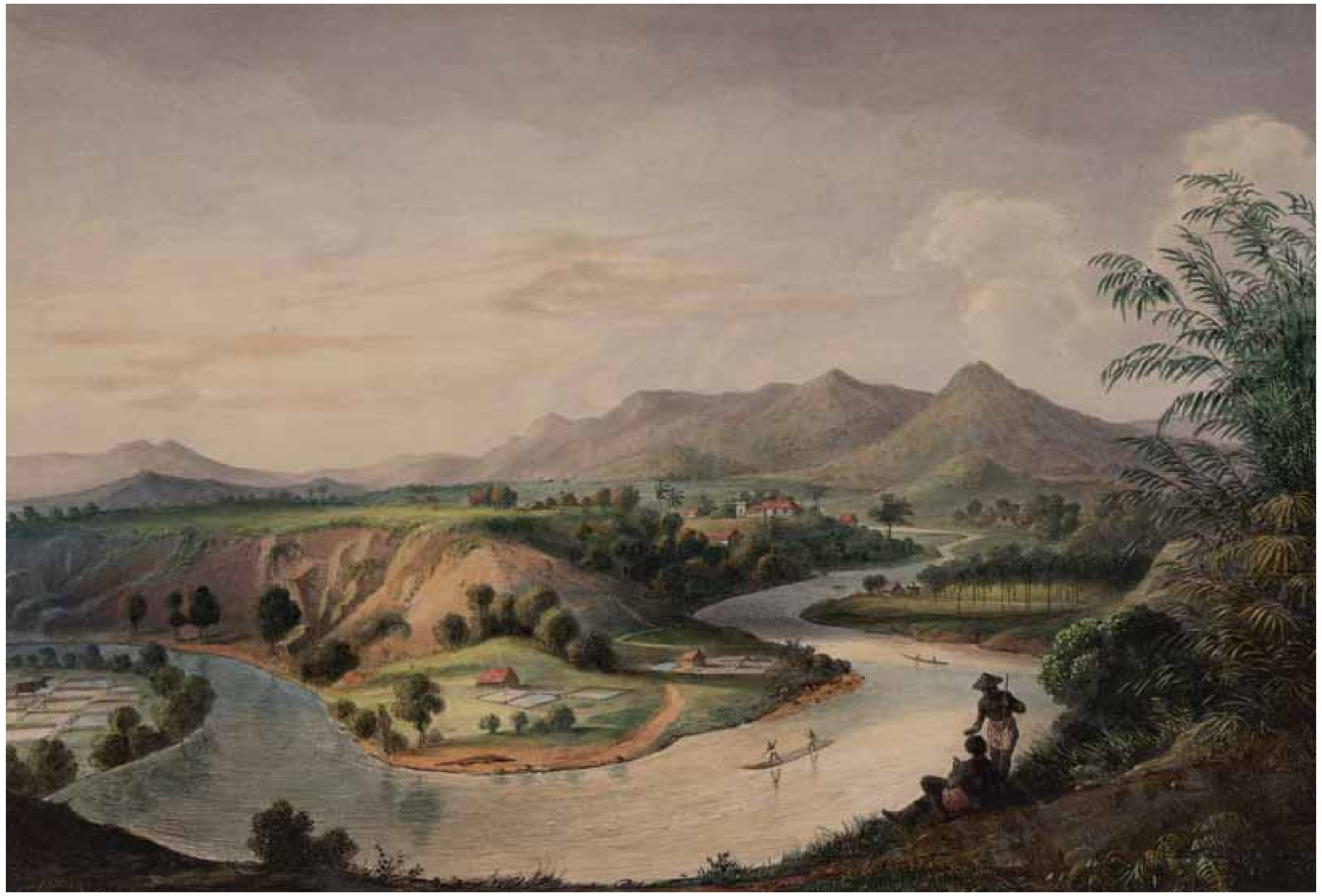


Figure 3: Vue prise des domaines de Koeripan, W.J. Gordon after A.J. Bik, 1842.

in 1978, followed by a translation in 1982: *Mirror of the Indies: A History of Dutch Colonial Literature*. Peter van Zonneveld's *Album van Insulinde: Beknopte geschiedenis van de Indisch-Nederlandse literatuur* came out in 1995. E.M Beekman's *Troubled Pleasures: Dutch Colonial Literature from the East Indies 1600-1950* was published in 1996, appearing in Dutch two years later as *Paradijzen van weleer*. Another work, *Europa buitengaats: Koloniale en postkoloniale literaturen in Europese talen*, edited by Theo D'haen, saw the light in 2002. This volume of essays devotes generous attention to Dutch Eurasian literature. Fiction is also the main focus of the scholarly journal *Indische Letteren* (1986-present).

The second genre, non-fiction, which also comprises Dutch Eurasian travel texts, has been explored much less. The only study in this field is *Een tint van het Indische Oosten: Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (2015), edited by Rick Honings and Peter van Zonneveld. Compared to the interest existing abroad – especially in the anglophone world – the colonial travel story has evoked little scholarly attention in the Netherlands. If the genre was examined at all in the past, it was almost exclusively viewed from a traditional literary and historical angle. Barring a few exceptions, the post-colonial perspective, which subjects the colonial discourse of these texts to critical analysis, has so far not been applied to this body of literature. Which literary strategies were used to legitimise Dutch colonial presence in travel texts from the period 1816-1945? And how was the colonial ideology communicated in such texts? In order to answer these questions it is essential to start from a post-colonial point of view.

TRAVELLING WITH 'IMPERIAL EYES'

Following the literary scholar Edward Said, there has been a lot of attention internationally in the past few decades for the colonial ideology that is expressed in colonial literature. Travel literature, too, has been a focus of interest, as these texts helped shape ideas about the colonies. A seminal study in this field is *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* by Mary Louise Pratt (1992, revised edition 2008). Pratt studied the ways in which the white man took visual possession of the land, and especially how it came to be expressed in travel stories of the 19th century. To this end she discussed the strategies that were used to lend political legitimacy to the colonial (in this case British) presence. These strategies can be equally applied to the Dutch body of colonial literature.

Pratt views the colonial situation as a contact zone in which several cultures clash, leading to 'radical inequality'. In the travel texts this inequality constantly manifests itself in so-called binary oppositions, with the culture of the colonial ruling class persistently presented as superior and that of 'the Other' as inferior.

There are plenty of instances to be found in the writings left by men, women, and even children. Ten-year-old Anna Abrahamsz, a niece of Multatuli, went to the Dutch East Indies in 1847 and kept a travel log. The diary reveals how she saw everything in terms of the opposition between civilised and uncivilised: European music and dance are fine, the native tandak dance and gamelan music are awful. Even a celebrated author like Louis Couperus looked at the Dutch East Indies through imperial eyes. Anyone reading his travel book *Oostwaarts* (1924,

Figure 4: Louis Couperus with his wife and a few native children on Lake Toba.

translated into English as *Eastward*) will find that he looked upon the European buildings and offices in Medan as 'white edifices bespeaking prosperity, successful labour, an admirable European effort', which far excelled native culture. The white Dutchman acted from an inherently superior position; the inlander was according to Couperus 'a born servant'.

In the texts of other travellers, too, the indigenous population is presented as inferior, and naïve compared to the Dutch. Often the comparisons used involve children and animals. Thus the cigar manufacturer Justus van Maurik described forced labourers in his *Indrukken van een Tòtòk* (1897) as cheerful creatures, because, like children, they lacked the mature ability to reflect: 'They certainly do not look downcast or gloomy. Quite the opposite!'

Female travellers, too, were no exception to the rule and saw through imperial eyes. When the Austrian Ida Pfeiffer came across a group of men she described as follows: 'Their features were gripped by some passion or other, which made them even uglier; and their large mouths with protruding teeth resembled more the jaws of a wild animal that the mouth of a human.' Even a radical feminist like Aletta Jacobs, the champion of women's liberation and equal rights, was not exempt from the racism of colonial discourse when she travelled in the East in 1912. In her travel account, she compared the 'uncivilised' population with monkeys grooming each other. Such animalisations are plentiful. And like so many others, Jacobs viewed 'becoming like an Indo' as a threat to the purity of the white race. The effect of such representations was that it legitimised the colonisation of the land, as the population was clearly underdeveloped, unable to look after itself and in need of help.

Another strategy mentioned by Pratt is that of the 'Victorian discovery rhetoric': the journey through the colony is presented as a tour of discovery. The implication is that the land has not yet been properly charted, that it has not yet been in contact with civilisation. For that reason it was often referred to as 'empty'. By extension, nature was often aestheticised. Travellers portrayed the land as an unexplored paradise, so fertile that spices, tea, tobacco and rice grew by themselves in large quantities. At the same time it was, like all uncharted territory, a dangerous country, demanding the European's constant vigilance. By representing the land in this way, Dutch colonial presence was once again legitimised: a fertile paradise simply asks to be appropriated, and untamed nature must be controlled.

There are also plenty of instances of this strategy to be found in Dutch travel literature. Nicolette Peronneau van Leyden was a young girl when she lived in the East between 1817 and 1820. She presented nature as extremely dangerous: several times she barely escaped death, having found bloodthirsty crocodiles, poisonous snakes and savage tigers in her way. The Romantic author Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn, who was born in Germany, travelled in Java between 1835 and 1848 and recorded his experiences in several books. During his travels he climbed mountains, surveyed lakes, took measurements of craters and analysed volcanos. As such he presented himself as an explorer who had braved many dangers and had found a paradise nobody had yet set foot in. He gave Latin names to several of the natural phenomena

Figure 5 (left page): Moonlit landscape, from the Java album by A. Salm and J.C. Greive, 1872.

Figure 6: F.W. Junghuhn (1809-1864) in the Parahyangan in West Java.

he 'discovered' – which is also a colonial strategy. The beauty of 'bounteous nature' overwhelmed him, prompting him to write lyrical, aestheticising passages in which he painted with words. Sunsets, rainbows, vistas: they were all extolled by Junghuhn using an array of adjectives to present an unspoilt and 'empty' paradise, with the indigenous population merely serving as a backdrop.

A PLEA FOR A DOUBLE PERSPECTIVE

To counterbalance this dominant imagery it is crucial to tie it to another, as yet hardly explored perspective: the native one. It is fascinating to study travel texts by Indonesians as well. How did they perceive their country, where a small Dutch elite controlled several million inhabitants? To what extent do their narratives deviate from those of the Dutch?

The research into such travel texts is hampered by a linguistic barrier, because in contrast to the British situation, the indigenous people of the former Dutch East Indies did not or hardly ever use the language of their colonial rulers. A few exceptions notwithstanding, there are hardly any instances of 'writing back' to be found in the Dutch context. For this reason it is often claimed that research into the native perspective is impossible in the Netherlands. To give a voice to the muted population, Dutch and Indonesian literary scholars therefore need to join forces.

What might be the benefit of reading such native texts from a post-colonial perspective? It requires research by an expert in both the Javanese and Malay languages to answer that question. We do, however, have some indication thanks to two such texts that have already been published in a Dutch translation. The first one, *Op reis met een Javaans edelman* (*Travels with a Javanese Nobleman*) appeared in 2013, being the account of Radèn Mas Arjo Adipati Tjondronegoro, who travelled in Java between 1860 and 1875. This work is an instance of 'autoethnography', to speak with Pratt, it is a text of one of the 'colonized subjects to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's terms'.

On the face of it, the Javanese nobleman Tjondronegoro would appear to judge his country from the same colonial perspective as the Dutch traveller: he, too, looks down on and regards himself as far elevated above the common people. Being a noble prince, he is in a similar position as the Dutch. He is a great admirer of European culture: he appreciates its technological progress, the splendour of its colonial architecture, the orderliness of the road system set up by the Dutch.

There are, however, strategies in evidence in this travel text that are not to be found in the Dutch counterparts. By means of post-colonial analysis it can be established that *Op reis met een Javaans edelman* contains subtle criticism of the colonial ruler. Thus the Javanese nobleman is certainly responsive to the ordinary Javanese. They are obviously lower in social hierarchy than he is, but they are definitely not presented as invisible. The Dutch, moreover, are implicitly portrayed by him as an occupying power. On several occasions during his travels he stresses the presence of Dutch military forces and army barracks. In addition, the Javanese nobleman expresses a special interest in his own native culture, especially ancient culture, which fills him with pride. On his travels he inspects ancient Javanese funeral inscriptions and studies time-honoured native traditions and stories. It might be said that in this way, prompted by a nationalist consciousness, he reclaimed his own culture which had been marginalised by Dutch colonial presence.

There is no outspoken criticism of the colonial situation to be found in Tjondronegoro's work, though it does occur a few decades later in a travel account by the Javanese prince Radèn Mas Haryo Soerjosoeparto. His account was written in Javanese and published by the Commissie voor Volkslectuur (Committee for Popular Literature) in 1916. A modern Dutch translation appeared in 2014. Soerjosoeparto went to the Netherlands by ship in 1913 to study in Leiden. He, too, was impressed by Dutch culture and technology and the polished refinement experienced on board. However, like Tjondronegoro, he also reclaimed his own culture, for instance by calling Bogor, a place that had

Figure 7: View of the Gunung Sumbing volcano, F.W. Junghuhn.

been taken over by the Dutch and renamed Buitenzorg, by its Indonesian name. The Javanese he describes are people of flesh and blood. And like Tjondronegoro he was focused on and longed for the grandeur of Java in past times. Unlike Tjondronegoro, however, Soerjosoeparto connected this longing with a political ethics: 'The time that one people will rule another people is past.' This cannot be interpreted in any other sense than containing subtle criticism of colonial rule.

I recommend that we build a bridge between two separate worlds: that of Dutch and Indonesian literature. The Asian Library is the ideal place to start from. The library preserves not only Dutch travel texts, but also dozens of Indonesian texts from the 19th and hundreds from the 20th century, in print and in manuscript, in Javanese and in Malay. A post-colonial analysis of these texts will give a voice to the muted majority and will add a valuable counter-perspective to the history of colonial thought in the Emerald Belt.

Figure 8 (left page): Portrait of *Radèn Mas Arjo Adipati Tjondronegoro* at the age of thirty.

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The Maecenas and the Misanthrope: Gerret P. Rouffaer and Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk

BY FRANK OKKER

Figure 1: Gerret Rouffaer with his sister Caroline, c. 1868.

Sadness and anger are two powerful motives to build a comprehensive collection. Gerret Pieter Rouffaer, one of the founding fathers of the Asian Library in Leiden, was driven by both, in combination with an intense longing for recognition. The latter was a sentiment which he remarkably enough shared with an altogether different type of collector, Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk. They met each other during Rouffaer's first journey to the Dutch East Indies, a trip that took him away from home for almost four and a half years.

Profound sadness entered the life of Gerret Pieter Rouffaer (1860-1928) already at an early age. Brought up in Kampen, a city in the east of the Netherlands, in a family of three elder sisters and an ailing mother, Gerret was just old enough to witness his father, a former captain in the merchant navy, making a considerable fortune ashore as a wine merchant and stockbroker. Unfortunately he died when his son was not yet six years old.

Unlike his father, Rouffaer, who was at the top of his class in secondary school, aspired to an international career. For that reason he chose to train as a mining engineer at the Polytechnic College in Delft, though he was greatly disappointed by the impractical focus of the curriculum. As he himself put it succinctly, he pursued his chosen discipline in an environment where nothing but 'pastures make up the visible crust of the earth and the only thing that is actively mined here as a commodity is butter'.

In Delft he did encounter students at the Indische Instelling, an institution that offered training in the languages, geography and ethnology of the Dutch East Indies to prepare them for a career in colonial government. These youths were strongly influenced by the ideas of Multatuli, the well-known critic of the colonial system; it was partly thanks to their enthusiasm for his work that Rouffaer soon acquainted himself with the complete work of the former Assistant Resident of Lebak.

It is likely that Rouffaer, who was a diligent student, would have successfully completed his training. However, in the spring of 1879 he was again struck by tragedy. First his mother died and in the same period he went through a romantic attachment that was as mysterious as it was tragic. Rouffaer abandoned his studies and moved to Rustoord, a country estate near Deventer, where his eldest and best-loved sister Caroline lived with her family. He would not stay there often, however.

ON THE RESTLESS VOLCANO

Rouffaer soon took himself off on extended art trips throughout Europe. The death of his parents had not left him penniless; at the age of twenty he could rely on a sum of more than thirty thousand guilders (the equivalent of over three hundred thousand Euros nowadays). The destination of his first journey was Italy, where he visited Milan, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Naples, Pompeii and Paestum. He was a leisurely traveller. He spent an entire week at Pompeii, including a sleepless night close to the crater of the Vesuvius, where 'everything around you is quiet and lonely, and before you is that restlessly working volcano belching forth columns of smoke that are made to look like molten lava by the firelight below, while thousands of large and small red hot stones are thrust upwards by that same volcano – oh, how small and insignificant one feels when faced with such forces of nature!' (Letter to his childhood friend, the painter Willem B. Tholen, 8 November 1879).

Rouffaer greatly enjoyed staying abroad. In 1880 he lived in Rome for six months and in the following years he travelled not only in Italy, but also in France, England, Spain and Portugal. He was keen on learning the native languages and steeped himself in the visual arts. He had a gift for languages. 'Well, I've more or less got the hang of Italian', he wrote to a former study friend, reporting not long afterwards that 'my Spanish is coming along fast'.

On his travels he regularly sent parcels of books to his friends when he felt it was requisite reading. In a letter sent from Rome in the spring of 1883, Rouffaer even offered a third of his fortune, or ten thousand guilders (the equivalent of a hundred thousand Euros nowadays) to Multatuli whom he held in great admiration. The wary writer, however, did not know what to make of the offer and politely turned it down.

Rouffaer was not content to remain a connoisseur of art only. He regularly bought paintings himself, as well as a few Turkish tapestries during an excursion to Tangier. In 1885 he managed to acquire a valuable 17th century painting by Jacob Bellevois, The Mouth of a River in Stormy Weather, which he proudly rated as a 'rugged masterpiece'. Less than a month later, however, he donated the rare painting to the Rijksmuseum in honour of its relocation to the new premises on Museumplein. His explanation of why he let go of his cherished masterpiece so

Figure 2: Borobudur c. 1886, from Rouffaer's photo collection.

soon after having acquired it, shows that Rouffaer, too, was motivated by a longing for recognition: 'In this way I hope to demonstrate that I care for our art and our country.' Later he donated another painting, The Launching of a Fishing Boat by Anton Mauve, to the museum. The masterpiece by Jacob Bellevois is now in the Huis ten Bosch royal palace in The Hague.

A HAZARDOUS CROSSING TO THE EAST

Rouffaer's life was certainly not without trials at this time. He was deeply troubled by the poor health of his sister Caroline, whom he regularly accompanied when she was being nursed in a sanatorium in the mountains or on the Italian Riviera. She finally died in her brother's arms at Rustoord in the spring of 1885.

To console himself, Rouffaer went on a long journey to the Dutch East Indies, where, after a hazardous voyage aboard the clipper frigate De Voorlichter, he arrived in Tanjung Priok, the harbour of Batavia, on 5 November 1885. Initially he intended to explore Multatuli's experiences as a government official, but Rouffaer soon found

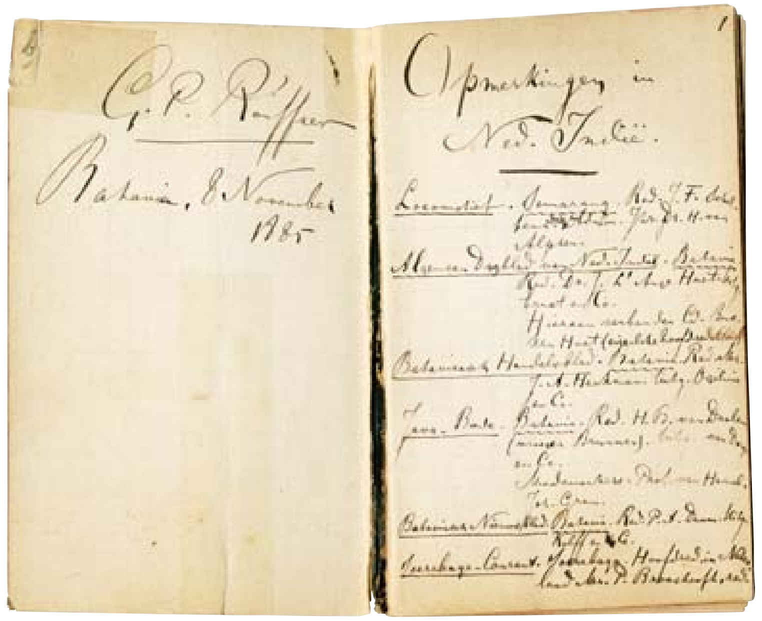

Figure 3: Notes made by Rouffaer on his first journey to the Dutch East Indies.

himself drawn to the library of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences). There he threw himself into the history of the East Indies and colonial society. He also befriended the librarian, Jan L.A. Brandes, the linguist who lived in Batavia to study ancient Javanese manuscripts and inscriptions on copper and stone.

Thanks to his association with Brandes, Rouffaer began to seriously investigate the indigenous art of the colony. When he learnt that the engineer Jan Willem IJzerman, the chairman of the Archaeologische Vereeniging van Djokjakarta (Archeological Society of Yogyakarta), had discovered the foundation of the Borobudur and had come across some bas-reliefs with inscriptions, Rouffaer immediately left for the temple complex. In three days' time he single-handedly unearthed three broad bas-reliefs with six inscriptions, which he carefully copied on Chinese paper. He sent them to Brandes, together with a large number of details about the temple. Next he travelled to the sanctuaries of the Dieng Plateau in Central Java, where he also copied a number of inscriptions.

AUTHENTIC DEEDS AND CHARTERS

Rouffaer did not stop at copying inscriptions. Near Yogyakarta he discovered a phallic stone, a so-called lingam. He made a copy of its long inscription on the spot and sent it off at once to Brandes. Rouffaer was reluctant to leave the half sunken stone behind and lugged it with him to the house of A.J. Spaan, the Resident of Solo. He offered to have the monument sent to the museum in Batavia at his expense, but it was not necessary. Resident Spaan took care of the transportation of the stone, and Rouffaer received from Brandes the translation of the deciphered manuscript by return of post.

In the autumn of 1887 Rouffaer stayed for a long time in the principalities of Yogyakarta and Solo, the principal two of four native states with limited political sovereignty in Central Java. There he did research into the history of land ownership on Java, an outcome of his interest in Multatuli, which would lead to one of his most important publications. He carefully established contact with several officials in the households of the princes, who furnished him with the authentic legal texts and charters. This required patience and lengthy visits: often Rouffaer only received the coveted item after a visit lasting three to four hours.

These rare texts all had to be copied first, as Rouffaer was unable to read them himself. He then sent the copies to Brandes to be translated. Rouffaer paid three 'scribes' out of his own pocket to make the copies. All the same, it sometimes took more than two weeks before the entire text was copied. In this way Rouffaer amassed a comprehensive collection of rare historical documents, which are now part of the Asian Library. In addition he also built a rapidly expanding collection of indigenous art objects, including numerous batiks.

A HELMSMAN WITH A GIFT FOR LANGUAGES

Following his research in the principalities, Rouffaer went on a trip to Bali in the autumn of 1888 to study the method of distemper painting and Balinese temple art. He stayed in the small town of Singaraja in the Buleleng district. Rouffaer took the opportunity to visit the renowned linguist and misanthrope Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894), whose praises had been sung to him by Brandes.

Rouffaer met the linguist in his rudimentary bamboo house, perched amidst indescribable junk covered with a thick layer of dust. It was in these surroundings that van der Tuuk had been working on his comprehensive Kawi-Balinese-Dutch dictionary for the past fifteen years. Nor did he pause on account of his guest. Rouffaer saw with amused surprise how van der Tuuk leafed through one of the tomes of his dictionary, came across an error and corrected it on the spot.

Rouffaer was amazed at the appearance of the capricious scholar with his peculiar but bright 'piggy eyes' and his 'coarse and gruff voice'. He made no

Figure 4: Overview of the Waspada tea plantation near Garut, photo by Woodbury & Page.

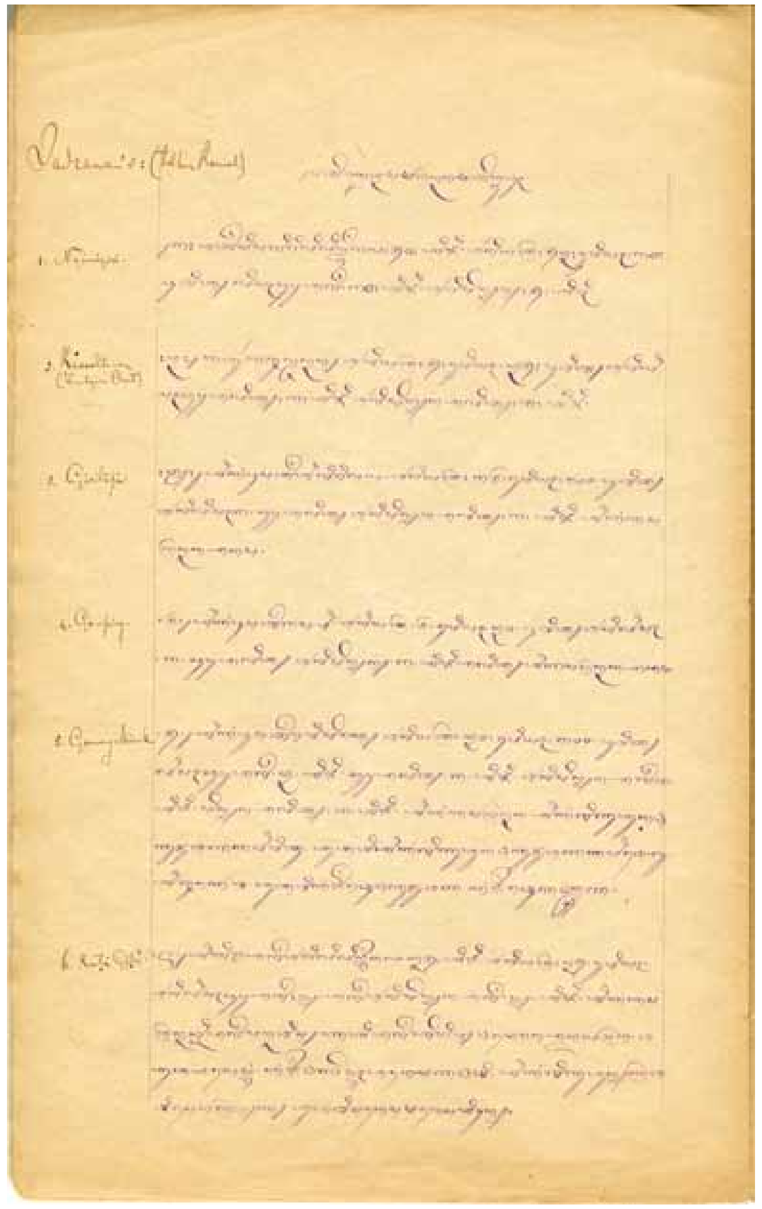

Figure 5: Page of a 19th century Javanese manuscript with annotations by Rouffaer.

attempt to suggest he might want to stop for the night, as he knew van der Tuuk would not appreciate the intrusion. They did have breakfast together, a meal Rouffaer instantly regretted, as the tinned hotchpotch he was served played havoc with his stomach.

Brandes, who had not allowed himself to be deterred, had stayed in the ramshackle house in Buleleng for four weeks a few years earlier. He came away from the experience half the man he used to be. According to Rouffaer, it took him three years to get over the meals van der Tuuk had served. It was therefore with great relief that Rouffaer took his leave of the scholar whom he characterised as a 'deap-sea helmsman with a gift for languages'. What he also noticed was that van der Tuuk, in spite of his aversion to company, did reveal a real need to be acknowledged. When he left, the scholar urged him to communicate the complaint to Brandes that van der Tuuk heard so little from his junior colleague.

THE COLONIAL LIBRARY

During the almost four and a half years of his first East Indies journey, Rouffaer did not spare himself. His health began to fail him more and more, partly due to his incessant activities; in the end a fierce attack of malaria forced him to return to Europe in the spring of 1890.

After a lengthy period of recovery, which he mainly spent in the interior of Spain, he settled in The Hague in the middle of 1897 to continue his East Indies studies with the help of the library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, now Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies).

This time it was a burst of anger that galvanised Rouffaer into action and resulted in an exceptional achievement. He was so vexed by the chaos in the collection of books, periodicals, manuscripts, maps and naval charts that he offered to rearrange the lot as a volunteer. The offer was gratefully accepted by the secretary of the KITLV, E.B. Kielstra.

Rouffaer first started on an inventory of the collection of maps and naval charts. Within a year a fine catalogue was ready, containing careful descriptions of the hundreds of maps and arranged under thirty-two transparent headings. Kielstra was so impressed by Rouffaer's dedication that he proposed to his fellow chair members to employ the volunteer officially. Rouffaer was accordingly appointed deputy secretary of the institute on 1 July 1898, with a special responsibility for the library. He was paid a modest salary of six hundred guilders a year for his first paid job – the equivalent of eight thousand Euros nowadays – but it was an important form of recognition to him.

Rouffaer next tackled the collection of books, periodicals and manuscripts. He did much more than arranging and describing the collection, however. His plan was to turn the library into a leading institution, one that might compare with the large scholarly institutes of Europe. The brand new official had also thought of a prestigious name for his institution: the Colonial Library, in line with the venerable Royal Library that had been founded precisely a century earlier.

VALUABLE GIFTS

To expand the still modest collection, Rouffaer approached numerous institutions at home and abroad, requesting them to exchange their publications with those of the KITLV and to part with any duplicate copies in their collection. Thanks to his great enthusiasm and tenacity, he managed to persuade private owners to donate often highly valuable books to his library. He also frequented specialised antiquarian bookshops and book auctions, where he acquired major publications on colonial history, such as the travel accounts of Spanish and Portuguese seamen.

In addition, Rouffaer also set up a special photographic collection focused on colonial art and history. He soon turned to Brandes, whom he presented with a

Figure 6: Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk in front of his house near Singaraja, c. 1880.

Figure 7: Rouffaer at the age of thirty.

page-and-a-half long list of Hindu monuments of which he believed the Batavian Society owned photographs. In case there were unique copies among them, he requested his colleague to have duplicates made at the expense of the KITLV. Rouffaer was no humble supplicant. He would like to receive a hundred of the most characteristic images 'with proficient speed'. 'It almost goes without saying that the Colonial Institute would also greatly appreciate receiving anything that may be donated free of charge' (letters by Rouffaer to Brandes, 8 June and 5 July 1898).

Rouffaer only had a small budget for the library, which he regularly exceeded with his energetic acquisition policy. In such cases he was supposed to obtain permission from Kielstra, but this often took too long for his liking. As soon as he felt he was on to a major publication that was essential for the Colonial Library, he immediately acquired the book and then donated it to the institute. In his correspondence with Brandes he also expressed his willingness to pay for the photographs himself if the institute was unwilling to do so.

An important library is naturally in need of a meticulously compiled catalogue. Rouffaer began working on the catalogue in the summer of 1898 and had the manuscript ready four years later. The volume, which included more than a thousand pages, would not be printed until 1908. The delay was caused by Rouffaer's unrelenting urge for perfection. He was in the habit of asking the printing house for yet another extra revision, so that he could again introduce a number of changes or include a few more major acquisitions.

Figure 8: Title page of the *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek*.

CATALOGUS
DER
Koloniale Bibliotheek
VAN
het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië
EN
het Indisch Genootschap
DOOR
G. P. ROUFFAER en W. C. MULLER

's-Gravenhage
Martinus Nijhoff
1908

The final result was a book he had every reason to be proud of. The catalogue was arranged under no fewer than seventy-eight transparent headings which provided researchers with a ready overview of all publications on such subjects as the system of free labour in the plantations, Islamic history or the monopoly on salt and opium. The work concluded with two extensive indexes, four supplements and five pages of errata.

In addition to building up the library, Rouffaer also authored a large number of books and articles, including a richly illustrated survey of the development of the art of batik which contained several images of outstanding fabrics from his own collection. This book, too, was long in the making. The two-volume work, by G.P. Rouffaer and H.H. Juynboll, was eventually published in Utrecht in 1914 as De batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar geschiedenis.

Rouffaer was rewarded for his efforts with the honorary membership of the KITLV, followed by an honorary doctorate from Leiden University in October 1921. Rouffaer responded to these marks of respect in characteristic fashion by donating to the institute 650 historical images by the British photographers Woodbury & Page. They are now part of the Asian Library, together with the KITLV collection he helped build, a collection that is as comprehensive as it is valuable.

The author would like to thank Liesbeth Ouwehand

Figure 9: Fragment of a wayang pattern of a kain (cloth) from Semarang, c. 1850 (from: *De batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar geschiedenis*).

BABAD PAKU ALAMAN

Babad, or chronicles, have been a vital element of Javanese historiography for hundreds of years. They recorded the history of local leaders and royal families as perceived by the ruling elite.

This *babad* manuscript is a beautifully gilt ornamented and leather-bound volume of almost 200 pages. It narrates the story of the Central Javanese sovereigns, the forebears of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Paku Alam I, who is deemed to be a direct descendant of Adam and Eve in the 58th generation.

Yogyakarta was one of two major pre-colonial royal cities in Java and remains a significant centre of Javanese culture to this day. The *Babad Paku Alaman* was once owned by the Resident of Yogyakarta, Frans Gerardus Valck. In 1838 it was presented to Hendrik, Prince of the Netherlands, the only member of the Royal family to ever have visited the Dutch East Indies. (DJ)

Chronicle of Paku Alaman
Object number: D or. 15
Geographic region: Indonesia
Material: illuminated manuscript on paper
Date: 1800
Dimensions: 43 x 29 cm

Pliny of the Indies: Rediscovering Georg Rumphius' Ambonese Herbal

BY NORBERT PEETERS

Books, too, are known to have their 'dark hours'. Nothing more perfectly illustrates this than *Het Amboinsch Kruidboek*, a herbal written by Georgius Everhardus Rumphius (1627-1702), a German naturalist who was employed by the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC). The very existence of this work was threatened on several occasions. 'The original sleeps with the fishes', the librarian of the Special Collections at the University Library of Leiden whispered as he placed a box before me on the issue desk. As the ship Waterlandt was homeward bound, it was sunk by a French squadron in the Bay of Biscay in 1692. With it perished the first six completed parts of the Ambonese herbal, which eventually would run to twelve parts. We owe the survival of the first half of Rumphius' masterpiece to the interest of a single affluent reader. Two years before the maritime disaster took place, VOC Governor-General Johannes Camphuys (1634-1695) received the first six parts of the *Kruidboek*. He was so greatly impressed by Rumphius' as yet unfinished masterpiece that he decided to resign from office to study the *Ambonese herbal* at leisure. Fortunately he ordered a copy of the manuscript to be made before having it shipped to the Dutch Republic. After the first failed attempt in 1692, the first six parts eventually arrived in 1696 (by that time supplemented with three new parts), followed in the next years by the last three parts and an accompanying index. Although the work would not be printed until the years 1741-1750, the *Ambonese Herbal* is the first detailed study of the flora of the Malay Archipelago.

Figure 1: Portrait of Georg Rumphius in his study, from *Amboinsch Rariteitenkamer*. The portrait was executed by his son, Paulus Augustus.

The above recounts only a single setback in the stormy existence of the *Ambonese herbal*. However, the manuscript also barely survived a massive earthquake, theft and – last but not least – a raging fire that laid to ashes the writer's house and the plates of the nearly finished manuscript. The book appeared doomed even after its safe arrival in Amsterdam. The VOC at first prohibited its publication to prevent valuable botanical knowledge of tropical crops falling into the hands of colonial rivals. After the ban was lifted in 1702, there were insufficient funds and no interest for further publication. The manuscripts were safely stored away in the vaults of the VOC until Johannes Burman (1706-1779) was allowed to prepare them for publication in 1735. Rumphius' magnum opus was finally published almost half a century after his death. A consortium of publishers from Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht eventually managed to bring out the twelve books plus the appendix (the 'Auctuarium') in seven volumes between 1741 and 1750. The *Ambonese herbal* contains more than 7,000 pages and includes descriptions of no fewer than 1,200 plant species and nearly 700 illustrations.

Georg Rumphius may be the most famous botanist you never heard of. Together with the botanists Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691), Jacobus Bontius (1592-1631) and Paul Hermann (1646-1695) he ranks as one of the four pioneers of Asian botany. However, in spite of the botanical importance of his oeuvre and the determined efforts to publish Rumphius' gargantuan labour, the author and his life work have all but sunk into oblivion. Indeed, we may wonder whether there is any real difference between the fate of the original now lying on the bottom of the ocean and that of the published books gathering dust on the shelves of the Special Collections department. Even the academic world is largely unaware of the existence of this great work. Only occasionally do scholars dip into this sunken green treasure. Even so, Rumphius' botanical descriptions are acclaimed for their accuracy and literary value and still considered to be the best references for many plant groups in the Moluccas.

LUCUBRATIONES

On Boxing Day 1652 the young Rumphius, then an 'adelborst' (an apprentice naval officer) in the service of the VOC, travelled to the East as Jeuriaen Rumph of Hanau. The voyage went smoothly and rapidly, and the yacht Muyden cast anchor at the port of Batavia in July 1653. After a short stay in Batavia he travelled as a 'vaandrig' (the most junior officer rank) and 'fabryck' (engineer) to Ambon, a small island in the Maluku archipelago, where he would spend the rest of his life. This idyllic Indonesian island is surrounded by a crystal-clear blue sea filled with colourful coral reefs. On the horizon you can see the calderas of volcanic islands rising from the ocean, with their fertile slopes draped in lush verdant vegetation. Upon arrival Rumphius was determined to explore these majestic mountains, valleys and emerald seas of the Mollucas and he devoted his entire life's work to collecting, cataloguing and studying the flora and fauna of this region.

As an officer of the VOC he swiftly rose from the rank of 'onderkoopman' (junior merchant) via 'koopman' (merchant) to 'opperkoopman' (senior merchant). However, he qualified his exemplary career as a 'mask' that enabled him to 'earn the daily bread for me and my family'. His leisure time was devoted to the study of the flora and fauna of the so-called 'water-Indien' (the Indonesian archipelago), as well as its native languages and customs. As such he followed the example of Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE), the Roman naval commander who found sufficient time to produce substantial works on natural history (*Naturalis Historia*). To justify his activities to his superiors, Rumphius referred to them as 'lucubrationes' (nightly studies by candlelight). After five years his botanical investigations gradually became more defined, and in 1658 he decided to Latinise his name from Jeuriaen Rumph of Hanau to Georgius Everhardus Rumphius following the example of other European scholars. His promotion to the rank of 'koopman' in the quiet village of Hitoe (in the northwestern part of Ambon, now called Hitu Mesing) in 1660, provided more time to focus on the study of tropical vegetation. The VOC, too, began to appreciate the importance of his botanical work and supplied him with the necessary study books and funds from Batavia.

THE BLIND SEER OF AMBON

Soon however, prosperity turned into adversity. At the age of thirty-two, Rumphius started suffering from angle-closure glaucoma (described by Rumphius as Suffusio or Cataracta Nigra) which left him blind. At first his loss of eyesight accompanied by excruciating headaches forced him to abandon his activities, and he lost all hope of 'bringing my imperfect chaos to an end' ('myn onvolmaakte Chaos ... te voltoyen'). At first his wife Susanna and son Paul August aided him in the continuation of his scientific endeavours. Eventually, he received support from the VOC, and was able to complete his work with the borrowed hands and eyes of draughtsmen and scribes.

To top the disaster, Ambon was hit by a series devastating earthquakes and tsunamis during the nocturnal festivities to usher in the Chinese New Year on 17 February 1674. Rumphius wrote an extensive treatise on this natural calamity entitled *Waerachtig Verhael van de Schrickelijke Aerdbevinge* (1674). In this truthful tale of the terrible earthquake that hit Ambon, he described in matter-of-fact terms how the disaster exacted more than two thousand victims, including his wife and youngest daughter. The archives of Fort Victoria on Ambon contained an account of the aftermath: 'It was heart rending to see the man seated next to his dead and to hear his cries of woe, due to his fatal accident and to his blindness alike.' As a tribute to his wife, and partly in acknowledgement of her help in collecting plants, Rumphius named an orchid species she had discovered in honour of her: *Flos Susannae* (nowadays: *Pecteilis susannae*).

BREAKING THE ICE

The title of the Ambonese herbal is somewhat misleading. Rumphius did not confine himself to the flora of Ambon, but covered the flora of the entire Indonesian archipelago. As his guiding principle he chose a classification scheme of plant species that was based on Aristotle (384-322 BCE) and the latter's student Theophrastus (372-287 BCE), the father of botany. Rumphius' botanical descriptions are arranged under three main headings: trees, shrubs and herbs.

The first five books of Rumphius' herbal concern 'all kinds of trees, edible, fruit-bearing, spicy, as well as wild ones', followed by two books on shrubs and vines ('tree ropes'). In book 8-11 he describes herbal plants, in which category he also includes orchids. The final book is devoted to 'Sea trees' (Zee-boompjes) or 'Coral growths' (Coraal-gewassen).

The *Ambonese herbal* begins with a note of caution to the reader. Rumphius explains that the reader must not expect to find tall tales of monsters from the wilds of the jungle. Instead, he presents 'an entertaining, but nonetheless useful history'. And so, in his own words, he has 'broken the ice' in the matter of the botanical study of these 'Provinces in the East'. The reader is also told that the first version of the Ambonese herbal was written in Latin and only later translated into Dutch (Nederduyts). The translation was partly necessary due to his blindness. The main reason for rendering the herbal in the vernacular, however, was to offer 'the common man' and especially the Dutch in Indonesia insight into the use of medicinal tropical plants.

Figure 2: Illustration of the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*) from *Herbarium Amboinense*.

CALAPPUS TREE

The first plant described by Rumphius was the lofty coconut palm (Calappus tree), in his words the 'Captain of this *Ambonese herbal*'. This was no arbitrary choice. As soon as a ship sailed into the coastal waters of the Indonesian archipelago, coconut palms were the first green crops to wave their welcome to the thirsty seamen. The second botanical inhabitant described by Rumphius was the areca or betel palm (Pinang palm). This plant, too, forms an integral part of the vegetation of the Malay Archipelago. The locals wrapped pieces of the areca nut (botanically speaking not a nut but a fruit, which is also true of the coconut) together with a grain of chalk and other ingredients in a siri leaf and chewed it. This small packet was then 'chewed, chewed again, and swallowed, until all juice and savour are drawn from the cud.' To this day some of the paths on Ambon are still dyed red by the expectorated remains of the areca nut.

Rumphius offered the reader botanical information on all the tropical fruits adorning the market stalls on Ambon, from the fragrant mangoes and papayas to the tart 'Jambus' (Java apples) and 'Blimbings' (starfruits). The most 'excellent fruits of the Indies', however, were the durians. These fruits are round in shape, 'studded with thorny and stiff spikes, sharp-edged like long and point cut diamonds.' The spiky husk is cleft in two with a hatchet to expose the creamy yellow pulp. The fruit emits a very unpleasant odour, but 'its taste is as delightful as its smell is unpleasant'. Rumphius also noted that rice was not to be found at the local markets, unlike in the rest of the Malay Archipelago. The local population instead made bread, porridge and other dishes from flour obtained from their staple food plant, sago palm (Metroxylon sagu). Rumphius not only described the importance of this palm for the local diet, but also informed his reader about the insect scourges affecting the plantations, such as the black palm weevil that lays its eggs in the wood fibres of the sago palm.

Figure 3: Illustration of the true sago palm (*Metroxylon sagu*) from *Herbarium Amboinense*, including the different larval stages of the black palm weevil.

NUTMEG AND CLOVES

According to Rumphius, the clove tree (*Syzygium aromaticum*) and the nutmeg tree (*Myristica fragrans*) were the finest gems among the Indonesian flora. Cloves are closed, nail-shaped flowerbuds which hang from the clove tree in small bunches. The dried flower bud was very popular because of its aromatic and medicinal properties. Nutmeg was in high demand for the same reason. The fruits of the nutmeg tree have the colour and size of a ripe peach. When the husk bursts in the sun, a dark brown nut is exposed, covered by an aril of 'crimson mace'. The mace is dried and the nut is separated from its hard coat. These precious spices were the main reason why Rumphius stayed in the Maluku Islands. To explain why clove trees and nutmeg trees were endemic to this region, Rumphius appealed to God: 'As it pleased the Supreme Creator [...] to conceal the sparkling rock, the red metal and other jewels deep in the bowels of the earth, in like manner he also planted two exquisite spices, to wit cloves and nutmeg, on only a few small islands.' The Dutch trade monopoly on clove, nutmeg and mace was so lucrative that in the Treaty of Breda which ended the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667), the Dutch were content to relinquish Manhattan in exchange for the withdrawal of the English from Pulau Run, one of the Banda islands in the Moluccas.

ORCHID BIOLOGY

A large part of the *Ambonese herbal* is devoted to plant species that are beneficial to man. However, in his investigations Rumphius was also driven by what the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) would later call 'pure curiosity' (*pure curiosité*). One of Rumphius' chief botanical contributions is the first scientific description of orchids from South East Asia. Rumphius noted that many orchids did not sprout from the soil, but grew on the branches and trunks

Figure 4: Illustration of a durian fruit (*Durio zibethinus*) from *Herbarium Amboinense.*

Figure 5 (right page): Illustration of a branch from the clove tree (*Syzygium aromaticum*) from *Herbarium Amboinense.*

of rain forest giants (epiphytes). He compared these epiphytes with aristocrats residing in elevated castles or fortresses, displaying their wealth in all manner of colour, fragrance and shape. He also put paid to a number of stubborn myths about the reproduction of orchids by demonstrating that they did not sprout spontaneously but propagated themselves through delicate seed, which after fertilisation ripened in pods that resembled starfruits. Finally, Rumphius was the first to describe the '*Angraecum album majus*' or moth orchid (nowadays:

Figure 6: Illustration of the various layers of a nutmeg fruit from *Herbarium Amboinense*.

Phalaenopsis amabilis), a flower that has been elected as one of the three national flowers of Indonesia, one of whose relatives is cultivated by many at home on the windowsill.

PLINIUS INDICUS

Rumphius was awarded the honorific title 'Plinius Indicus' by the illustrious Academia Naturae Curiosorum (nowadays known as the Leopoldina). By all rights he may be called the father of Indonesian botany. In the Ambonese herbal and his other famous posthumously published works, *D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer* (on exotic shells and other natural curiosities), *D'Amboinsche Historie* and *D'Amboinsche Lant-beschrijvinge* (on geography and geology) Rumphius almost succeeded in mapping the entire natural history of the Moluccas. His *Ambonese herbal* remains a priceless source of information for tropical botany to this day. At the same time his work offers a wealth of ethnobotanical and linguistic information. The *Ambonese herbal* impresses on the reader the deep bond between the indigenous people of the Mollucas and the surrounding flora, a bond that is also reflected in the fact that the common names for the same plant species almost equal the number of languages spoken in this region. In addition to the Dutch and Latin names (and, when available, also Arabic, Portuguese and Chinese names), Rumphius also listed all the names of plants in the regional languages.

In the *Ambonese herbal* Rumphius provided an unbiased account of the local customs and cultural practices of the indigenous people inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. It was an attitude that was unique at the time. What is more, he attached great value to the traditional medicinal lore that he received from local female herbal healers (*dukuns*). They explained to him the herbal remedies for tropical illnesses and instructed him in the special properties of plants and the attendant medical practices, such as abortion, libido enhancers and the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases like 'Fire piss' or 'Gonorrhea'. In the preface Rumphius countered the criticism of Europeans who dismissed these cultural stories and customs as 'fables, superstitions and old wives' tales'. He expressed his conviction that '(...) among these fables there is always some truth and hidden properties concealed in nature, like in the fables of Ovid, or other Poets (...)'.

Three centuries later, Rumphius is being proved right. The medical practices of the indigenous population on Ambon indeed contain grains of truth. The Mayo Clinic in the United States conducted research into the medicinal properties of plants described in the first part of the Ambonese Herbal. In addition to the medicinal plants that are known to pharmacology, nine new candidates were identified. A successful contender for pharmacological application is the atun tree (*Atuna racemosa*). Rumphius referred to the therapeutic effect of the kernels of this palmlike tree as an antimotility agent. The clinical research carried out by the Mayo Clinic team showed that an extract of the kernels had an antibacterial effect. This extract proves to be highly efficacious in fighting two hospital bacteria that are resistant to conventional antibiotics. Eric Buenz, an ethnobotanist who headed the research team, was even hopeful that the plant would lead him to a new antibiotic with great therapeutic potential. And so Rumphius's *Ambonese herbal* continues to be an entertaining and extremely useful source to this day.

Figure 7: Illustration of the Flos susanna (*Pecteilis susannae*) from *Herbarium Amboinense*, an orchid species named after Rumphius' wife.

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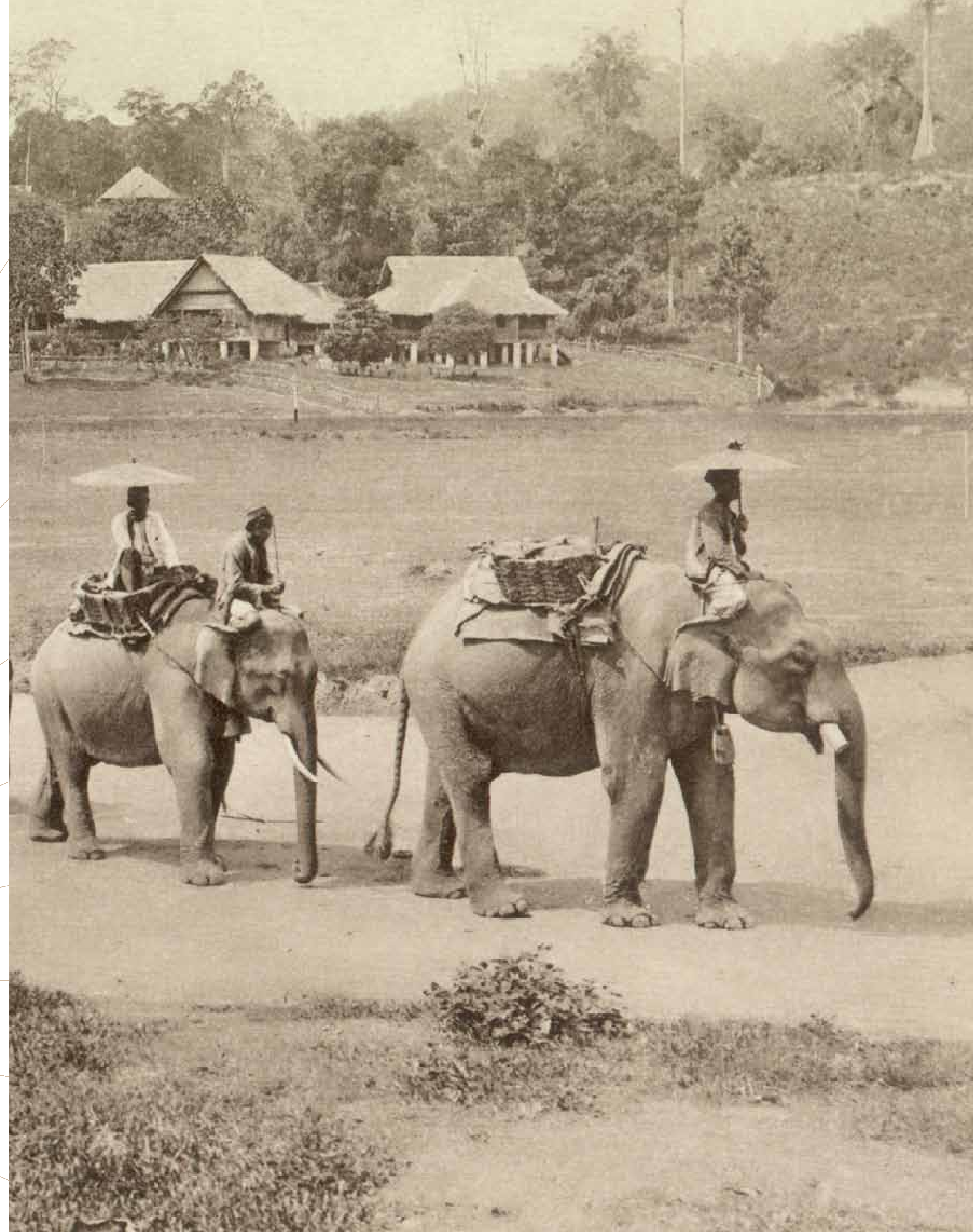
ELEPHANTS IN RAUB

Kleingrothe is well-known for his photographic documentation of landscapes, town views of Medan, and the detailed record of the agricultural production cycle on the Deli plantations. After 1900 Obernetter in Munich printed Kleingrothe's work as heliogravures in several loose-leaf portfolios.

The published albums mainly focus on Kleingrothe's Sumatran work, all showing an image of a tiger with its paw caught in a metal trap on the cover. The elephants in Raub are part of an album in the same series titled Malay Peninsula (Straits Settlements & Federated Malay States). Like many of his fellow photographers, Kleingrothe travelled widely to take photographs that were of interest commercially. With the commercially published albums, his photographs became available to a wider audience in the Indies as well as in Europe. (LO)

Elephants in Raub
Creator: Carl Joseph Kleingrothe (1864-1925)
Object number: KITLV 79971
Geographic region: Malaysia
Material: heliogravure
Date: between 1900 and 1910
Dimensions: 12 x 19.5 cm



It All Began with a Cleveringa Lecture: The Kong Koan Archive of Batavia

BY LEONARD BLUSSÉ

No people on earth are as fond of emblematic inscriptions as the Chinese. The expressive characters and flowery expressions of the Chinese language are perfectly suited for such use. As proof we only have to only look at the lacquer boards inscribed with moral and aspirational Chinese calligraphy which used to hang above and on both sides of one of the arches of the atrium of the Arsenal, the old building where the departments of Chinese, Japanese and Korean studies were formerly housed. Four horizontal characters across the top read 'Good government asks for perseverance' (政贵有恒). The two vertical boards or *lianbian* (联匾) offer a similar message in more flowery language: 'Wishing justice of administration and welfare of the people so that throughout the land praise will be sung of happy and peaceful times.' (窃愿官清民乐通国欢声歌化日) and 'expecting an efficient government and a fair judgment so that a harmonious and spring-like atmosphere may be created throughout the hall' (惟期政简讼平满堂和气引春风). It is to be hoped that these tablets, as well as the five large wooden tablets lauding the illustrious deeds of former Chinese administrators in Batavia which also decorated the atrium, will find a home in the new Asian library.

These elegant paeans to virtuous government, beautifully executed as works of art, deserve honor because they originate from the Kong Tong, the former office of the Chinese Council or Kong Koan of Batavia, which administrated the Chinese population of that vital colonial city from 1742 to 1942. The Kong Koan consisted of Chinese officers, members of the local urban elite who were presided over by the Chinese *Kapitein* (Captain) and later by the Chinese *Majoor* (Major) of Batavia. This unique semi-autonomous body has left us the largest still existing archive of an 18^{th} and 19^{th} century overseas Chinese urban community. Before we look at the contents of this archive, let us first investigate how it was acquired.

Collections in museum or university libraries are commonly judged in utilitarian terms. When they are described, we typically learn about the contents of the collections but only rarely do we read about their provenance or history. This short essay is an exception to this rule. Leiden University acquired the Kong Koan collection only some twenty years ago. How the archive and the accompanying lacquer boards of that venerable institution ended up in the library of the Sinological Institute, now fully integrated in the Asian library, deserves to be told. This story of preservation also illustrates the crucial role which Leiden graduates, in this instance alumni living in Jakarta, have played from time to time in preserving our collective heritage. It all began with a Cleveringa lecture.

The Cleveringa lectures are without doubt the most effective way for the *Alma mater* to stay in touch with her alumni. Organized by the Leiden University Fund (LUF), these lectures are held all over the Netherlands and places in the world with a sizable community of Leiden alumni. They are held to commemorate the courageous lecture given by the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Prof. R.P. Cleveringa, on 26 November 1940. When the German occupying forces began persecuting Dutch citizens of Jewish ancestry and ordered Dutch universities to expel their Jewish professors, Cleveringa spoke out in a public lecture maintaining that these policies went straight against the device of Leiden University: *Libertatis Praesidium* (Bulwark of Freedom). In the aftermath of this speech, which led to Cleveringa's arrest and a university-wide strike, Leiden University was closed by the German authorities only to reopen after the war.

To reinforce University ties with alumni in the Netherlands and worldwide, the LUF annually sends some forty speakers (often accompanied by a student) to commemorative meetings (15 in the Netherlands and 25 abroad) on 26 November. An advisory committee makes sure every chapter is offered an appropriate speaker, or at least strives to do so. This is not always an easy task. An imaginary list of preferred speakers seems to be drifting around because the chapters are often asking for a select group of speakers. As a long-standing member of the advisory committee, I once spotted a very popular professor who was still sought for several years after his death. Finding a speaker who is willing to lecture at a location far away in Asia is not always easy, either. The committee often hopes a faculty member is there already. Thus when it turned out I would be in Singapore in the autumn of 1993, it was decided I should deliver the Cleveringa lecture in Singapore and also in nearby Jakarta.

The Jakarta chapter organized the lecture at the magnificent 18th century former mansion of Governor-General Reynier de Klerk (1710-1777). It was a privilege to give a talk in the historical surroundings of this beautiful building, which for many years served as the 'Landsarchief' of the colonial government and was renamed the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia after 1949. Standing on the steps of the porch and overlooking a crowd of Indonesian and Dutch alumni on a beautiful tropical night with the city traffic rumbling by in the background was a euphoric experience.

My talk was devoted to the contributions made by ethnic Chinese citizens to the history of Indonesia's capital. The choice of this topic was not accidental. During the Suharto period (1967-1998) members of the Chinese ethnic community encountered much cultural discrimination, some of which not subtle at all. Chinese names had to be changed into Indonesian-sounding names, Chinese schools were closed down, and books, periodicals and newspapers in Chinese were banned. All historical traces of Chinese presence in the city were being obliterated – I had only to point at an overturned centuries-old Chinese stone inscription next to the building. The tomb of the first Chinese Captain of Batavia, So Bencon, one of the city's founders, once prominent and well preserved, had now disappeared inside private housing. Most of all, I expressed my deep regret that the archives of the Kong Koan or Chinese Council of Batavia, which had governed the Chinese community for centuries, were said to have been burned by the Japanese army during the Pacific War. These remarks about cultural losses drew audible gasps from the large crowd of Indonesian alumni standing and seated near me.

The lecture was as usual followed by convivial bantering and shoulder patting among the participants, but then suddenly something unexpected happened. Myra Sidharta, a well-known authority on Chinese Malay literature and a Leiden alumna of the late 1940s, where she obtained her master's degree, tugged my sleeve and whispered in a somewhat conspiratorial tone of voice: 'I think I have discovered where the remains of the Kong Koan archive are stacked away, shall we go and have a look tomorrow?' And with that the 1993 Jakarta Cleveringa lecture was instantly transformed, for me at least, into a voyage of discovery.

The next morning we drove to the Jalan Lautze, the site of the centuries-old Sentiong temple. An elderly gentleman in a T-shirt, boxer shorts and slippers met us at the entrance and took us through to the backyard. Producing a rusty key, he unlocked the door of a dilapidated warehouse. As the door slowly opened, *tikus* (little mice) scurried off into the dark in all directions. When some shutters were opened, we saw something stunning. Set amidst an accumulation of rusty old bicycles and discarded material, piled high on several tables and on two bookcases as well, were large numbers of handwritten Chinese documents.

The sight was breath-taking. A dream come true for yours truly, the sensation not unlike stepping into a Gustave Doré illustration of a Jules Verne story. And there were just three of us there. No one standing behind us to wonder what we were gaping at. Had someone else been there, and had that person asked me what I was staring at, I surely would have answered, much like Howard Carter did watching the remains of Tutankhamun at Luxor in 1922, 'wonderful things.'

A quick inspection showed that these were indeed the Kong Koan archives long regarded as lost, and that the trove even included documents dating back to the 1770s. Confronted with the matter of how to approach this apparently chaotic accumulation of papers, we decided first to buy large sheets of plastic. These were spread over the precious documents to protect them, as the ramshackle old building's equally compromised roof was leaking heavily. I implored the watchman – who turned out to be the son of the last secretary of the Kong Koan – to watch the papers carefully until I was able to return during the summer holidays and appraise the documents and assist in taking decisions on their preservation. Sadly, no one in Jakarta possessed the combined knowledge of history and classical Chinese needed to assess the archive. Thirty years of government clampdown had been effective indeed.

In the summer of 1994 I returned to Jakarta in the company of my former teacher, Professor Tsao Yungho, the by then retired director of the research library of National Taiwan University, to assess the situation in detail. We spent three weeks taking stock of what was still legible and going through the painful process of discarding worm-eaten paper remains that were past the point of rescue. Leiden University's representative in Jakarta, Professor Jacob Vredenbregt, had already been called in by Myra Sidharta to see if he could help us find a preferably air-conditioned location where this trimmed archive, still, however, consisting of some 600 kilograms of documents, could be safely stored until a proper repository was found.

In Leiden the head of the university's foreign office, Wouter Teller, who at the time generously helped so many field workers in Indonesia, arranged funding for these emergency measures.

Soon after my return to Leiden I received an urgent call from Jacob Vredenbregt in Jakarta, telling me I had to return immediately as it had been decided after consultation with representatives of the Chinese community that, given the impossible political situation and the lack of local interest in these documents, the entire Kong Koan collection should be presented to Leiden University on one stringent condition: I had to vouchsafe personally that the archive would not only be restored, preserved and stored at the Sinological Library, but would also be made accessible to international research in its entirety. This was a daunting challenge indeed. After giving it some thought I decided I was willing to shoulder this heavy responsibility if I could share it with representatives of the Indonesian Chinese community in the Netherlands.

After further efforts, the details of which we may leave for another occasion, a 'Friends of the Kong Koan Archive' foundation was established with the assistance of Professor Paul Thung and Mr. Liem Ho Soei from the Hague. With the financial and instrumental support of the members of this foundation as well as the 'National Library of the Netherlands', the restoration of the Kong Koan papers was undertaken in the framework of the so-called *Metamorfoze* preservation programme, which focused on university collections in need of preservation.

The archive of the Kong Koan, as subsequently transferred to the Netherlands along with the beautiful lacquer aspirational and laudatory signs that once decorated its headquarters in Batavia, has helped scholars to rediscover and tell the fascinating story of the Chinese community of Batavia. The origins of the Kong Koan or Chinese Council of Batavia, the informal government by means of which the Chinese Batavia elite looked after the well-being of their ethnic community, date back to the 17th century. Shortly after the founding of Batavia in 1619, Governor-General Jan Pietersz Coen appointed the prominent Chinese merchant Bencon alias Su Mingguang as chief or *Kapitein* to settle civic affairs among his countrymen. His successors soon had so much work on their hands that from 1678 onwards they required the help of *luitenants* (lieutenants), secretaries, *Chineesche wijkmeesters* (Chinese supervisors of town quarters, acting in addition to their Dutch counterparts) and various lower-ranking employees, all of whom were instrumental in collecting taxes, taking the annual census, and maintaining public order. The Chinese Captain and his lieutenants met once or

Figure 1: The Chinese massacre at Batavia, 1740.

twice a week to settle disputes and other issues arising among their countrymen. The minutes (*gongan bu*) of these meetings which were dutifully recorded by the secretaries today provide a *Fundgrube* for the social historian of Chinese life in the tropics. All of these minutes were annotated and edited by a team of scholars from Leiden University and Xiamen University between 2002 and 2015 in a total of 15 volumes produced by Xiamen University Press.

The administration of the Chinese temples and the Chinese cemeteries that were established in and around Batavia all fell under the responsibility of the Kong Koan. The same applied to other institutions for the social welfare of the Chinese citizens, such as the Chinese orphanage, the Chinese hospital and the Body of Curators (*College van Boedelmeesters*) which were set up by the colonial authorities in cooperation with the Kong Koan. Some of these institutions mirrored similar Dutch institutions in town. The Body of Curators was directly linked to its Dutch sister institution and Chinese inheritances had to be presented before Dutch public notaries in conformity with Dutch law.

The office of the Chinese Captain of Batavia resembled in many respects that of a local mandarin in China. A semi-autonomous organisation spontaneously evolved from this office in the form of the 'Chinese Council' (*Chinese Raad* or Kong Koan), in which the elite of Batavia's Chinese society joined forces to supervise social and religious matters, including education, cemeteries and temple management. In 1717 the Kong Koan first emerged under that name in official colonial correspondence when it was given permission to register Chinese marriages in town and collect marriage fees, the proceeds of which were authorized to be used for the maintenance of the Chinese hospital and the orphanage.

In 1740 the assault on Batavia by Chinese vagrants and agricultural labourers from the sugar plantations in the *Ommelanden* who had lost their jobs in the preceding years of crisis, provoked a horrendous massacre of Chinese citizens in the town. As a result of the pogrom within the city walls, the Chinese town population of some 8,000 persons was all but annihilated. This slaughter, however, did not deter new immigrants from China. Within a few years Chinese immigration was at its former level. In 1747 the Dutch authorities, who tried to learn from this horrific event that still haunted them, decided to relocate both the survivors and the new Chinese immigrants to a specially designated 'China town', the *Chineesche Kamp*. As an act of goodwill, the Chinese Council was provided with a consultation hall (*Kong Tong* or *rumah bicara*), which it later transformed into a *Yamen*-like office building. Here customary law was administered and community interests were discussed. Throughout the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, the Kong Koan administered several private estates (*particuliere landerijen*), which it had purchased over the years to create space for cemeteries. The sale of burial plots on these estates provided the Chinese Council with a steady source of income.

As a mature institution, as witnessed by the records that were kept in the normal course of affairs, the daily tasks of the Kong Koan were as follows:

A	The adjudication or mediation of disputes in the community.
B	The registration of arrivals, marriages and divorces, and deaths among the Chinese population.
C	The management of real estate, rented or sold to people for housing, and in particular the administration of the cemeteries, and thus the selling of funeral plots.
D	The management of charitable organisations.
E	The management of local Chinese temples and the rituals connected with them.
F	The management of education.

The marriage and funeral records maintained by the Kong Koan are of particular interest, as they deal with two important Chinese *rites de passage*. Every culture emphasises different aspects of life and death. As Christians tend to assign great importance to the registration of baptism, the Chinese traditionally focus on the rituals of marriage and, most important of all, on funeral services. Travel accounts by European visitors to 17th and 18th century Batavia devote much attention to the conspicuous consumption related to Chinese marital and funeral ceremonies.

Figure 2: The office of the Kong Koan in Pre-war Batavia.

No wonder that the colonial authorities heavily taxed these rites, The proceeds of these taxes, however, were channelled back to welfare projects for the benefit of the Chinese community. The Chinese cemeteries of Batavia were only open to people of Chinese descent or their kin.

The Chinese-style marriages were also for the Chinese only. As women were not allowed to emigrate from China, there existed a chronic shortage of Chinese brides in Batavia. As a result, indigenous women first had to be integrated into

Figure 3: The meeting room or rumah bicara of the Chinese council.

Figure 4: Major Tan Eng Goan, 1858.

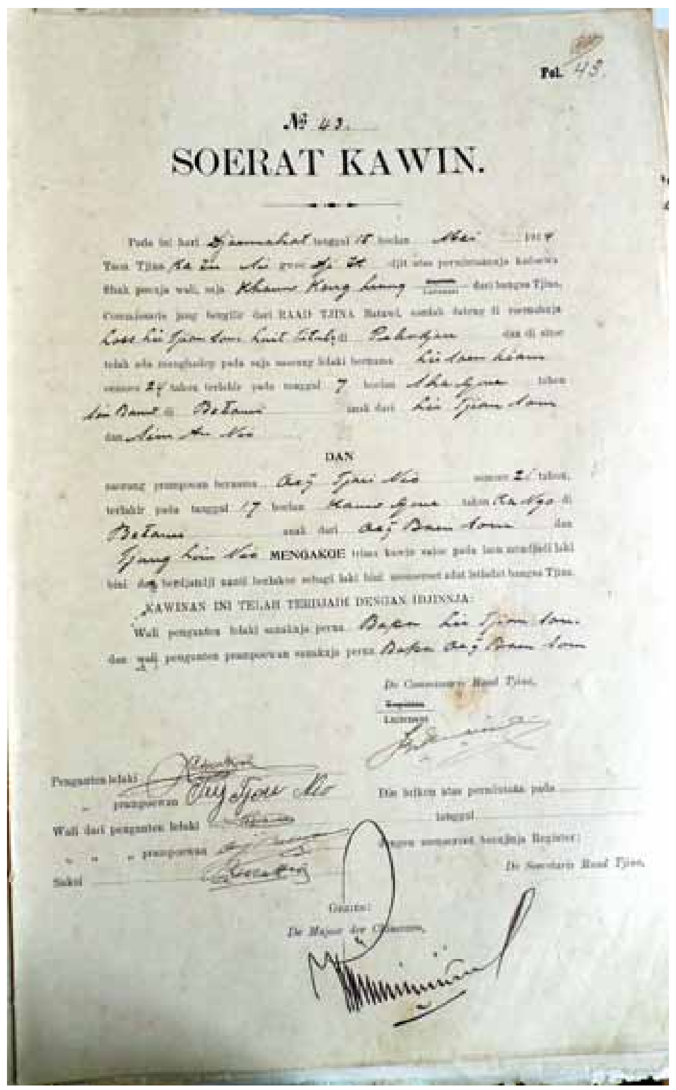
Figure 5: Marriage certificate (1914).

Figure 6: Marriage certificate Dao Guang 17 (1837).

Chinese society by being adopted by a Chinese family before they could be admitted to marry in the community. Such measures were also meant to preserve a distinctive Chinese community.

It should be noted that the formation of Chinese institutions which were managed by an urban Chinese merchant elite were actively stimulated by the Dutch colonial administration. The policy was to keep different ethnic groups clearly separate from each other within the town. The ethnic Chinese were of particular administrative interest as they represented the town's middle class. Guaranteeing strong tax revenues, the Chinese community served as a kind of 'milk cow' for the colonial administration. It created a situation in which officials found it advantageous to encourage the Chinese elite to preserve their distinct manners and customs and also to dress in a distinctively Chinese fashion. These policies further accentuated the specific ethnic and social features of Batavia's Chinese community.

Contrary to Confucian China, where the merchant class as such was generally held in low regard, Batavia's Chinese community was led by its own merchant elite. Viewing themselves as having risen to positions similar to those of the leaders in the Chinese communities from which they had come, the Batavian Chinese merchant elite dressed up for official occasions in much the same way as local officials would for public ceremonies in China.



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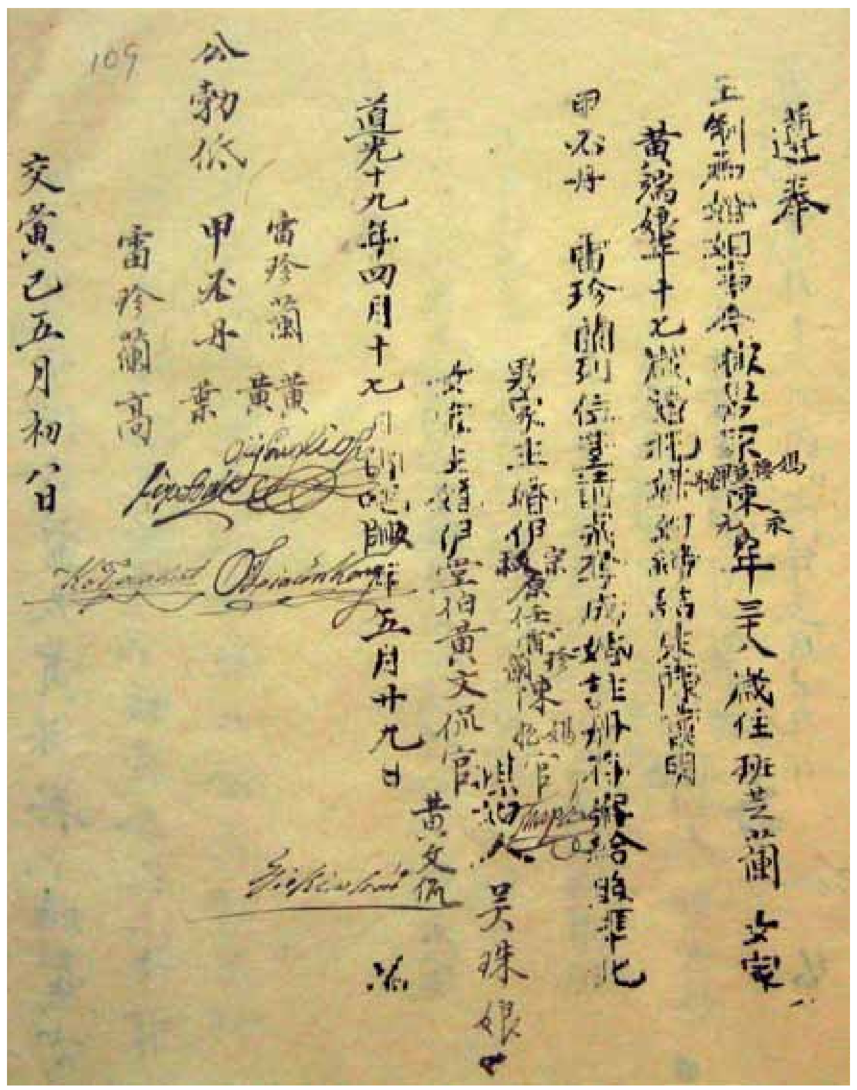

Figure 7: Street scene in Batavia's Chinese quarter (1900).

Since the arrival of the Kong Koan archives in 1995, a team of volunteers has been devoting great amounts of time to restoration activities, preparing an inventory, and publishing and digitising the archival records. Special appreciation is due to Professors Wu Fengbin and Nie Dening of Xiamen University, who spent much time as co-editors of the *Gongan Bu*, and Dr. Cheng Menghong and Dr. Monique Erkelens of Leiden University, who wrote their PhD theses on the tenures of Tan En Goan (1843-1865) and Khouw Kim An (1908-1945), the first and last Chinese Majors of Batavia.

This year, 2017, which is also the year of the opening of the Asian Library, marks the completion of the digitization project of the Kong Koan archives and the publication of the fifteenth and final volume of the minutes of the Chinese Council. With this, at long last, the promise to fully open the formerly anxiously hidden Chinese archives of Batavia to international scholarship has been discharged. Large numbers of scholarly articles as well as MA theses and several PhD theses have already been produced which bear testimony to the rich fruits of the Kong Koan archives. The hopes of the various donors upon presenting this extraordinary collection to Leiden University have been achieved. Now that the Asian Library is fully operative, and with the Kong Koan archive having been digitised, it is to be hoped that a new location will be found within the Asian Library to display the historical lacquer boards of the Kong Koan which are so closely connected with this archival repository.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For further inquiries or more information about recent literature on the archive, visit the website www.kongkoan.nl.

YAKARTA, KARET TENGSIN

Documentary maker and photographer Marieke Verheyen made a name for herself with *Elsewhere*, a project documenting the original homelands of the majority of immigrants living in the Netherlands. *Elsewhere* presents both the enchantment and the claustrophobia of views from people's windows in text and image.

The project contrasts views from the homelands of the migrants – Bosnia, Ghana, Indonesia, Morocco – with views in the Netherlands. The images are augmented with Dutch perspectives on foreign regions and foreign perspectives on the Netherlands. The photographs show views from the windows of living rooms.

The viewer as it were looks out of the window over the inhabitant's shoulder at the world outside, obtaining a glimpse of his or her daily life. *Elsewhere* was partly made possible through funding from the Fonds Anna Cornelis, a foundation that donates to Leiden University Library the original prints, contact prints, photographer's documentation and the final published books of all the series it sponsors. (MVDH)

Yakarta, Karet Tengsin
Creator: Marieke Verheyen (1954)
Object number: PK-F-AC.0787
Geographic region: Indonesia
Material: chromogenic print
Date: 2004
Dimensions: 28 x 35.4 cm

A Proper Send-Off: Farewell Albums from the Netherlands Indies

BY LIESBETH OUWEHAND

The combination of the words 'souvenir' and 'presented to' is to be found in the majority of farewell albums compiled in the Netherlands Indies. Farewell albums are, according to me, the most beautiful albums in the collection. Often they feature specially crafted bindings and motto pages in gold printing or calligraphic writing, with which the presenters expressed their gratitude. The albums discussed in this article are all part of the comprehensive photo collection of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV). This collection has been compiled over more than a hundred years and is kept at the University Library. Apart from farewell albums, the collection offers a wide range of photo albums, such as family albums, travel albums, military albums and so on. Farewell albums form a separate category, one which is typically colonial Indonesian in nature. These albums were given to a (European) recipient of some standing who either went on leave to Holland, retired, or else went on to pursue his carrier elsewhere in the archipelago. Farewell albums are not just of interest from a material point of view, but also from a socio-historical perspective. These albums give insight into the networks of the higher echelons of colonial society.

PRESTIGIOUS GIFTS

In 1894, after having worked for more than five years as Assistant Resident Hardeman received a luxurious farewell album from the colonial, indigenous and Chinese administrators of the department of Buitenzorg (present-day Bogor) on the island of Java. From the 1910s onwards, farewell albums came into vogue. With Hardeman's voyage to Holland in 1894, his farewell album is one of the earliest examples found in the collection. The Buitenzorg-based German photographer Paul Herrmann was commissioned to make the individual portraits of the various administrators. Herrmann produced 35 cabinet portraits, that is portraits mounted on cards measuring 16x11cm. These cards were inserted in the album pages, showing the sitter within the printed border of the album page. Apart from the hand-decorated motto page, the interior of the album is standard. It is an ordinary, purchased 19th century slip-in album. It is the binding, however, that makes this token special. The black-leather cover with silver fittings and the photographs of Hardeman's European, Chinese and Sundanese colleagues made the album a prestigious and a personal souvenir.

Farewell albums not only form a typically colonial Indonesian category, the album's outward appearance can also be markedly Indonesian. In 1916 engineer Daniel de Iongh, the department head of the Samarang-Joana Stoomtram-Maatschappij (SJS) or Samarang-Joana Steam Tram Company, received a large-size photo album when he changed career by becoming mayor of the same city, Semarang. On this occasion the SJS commissioned an album from the Semarang-based photographic studio of Charls & Co. The coloured cover is made of chiselled leather, the same technique that was used to make *wayang kulit* or shadow puppets. The design also refers to *wayang kulit* performances. A so-called *gunungan* or mountain motif adorns the binding. This motif is especially of interest in the context of a farewell. The *gunungan* is held up during a *wayang kulit* performance to mark the beginning and the end of a performance and the different scenes of the story. The *gunungan* motif was well chosen with respect to De Iongh's farewell, as the album marked the end of his SJS 'story' and the beginning of a new one as a mayor. Not only the photographic content, but the presentational form of the album made it a meaningful object.

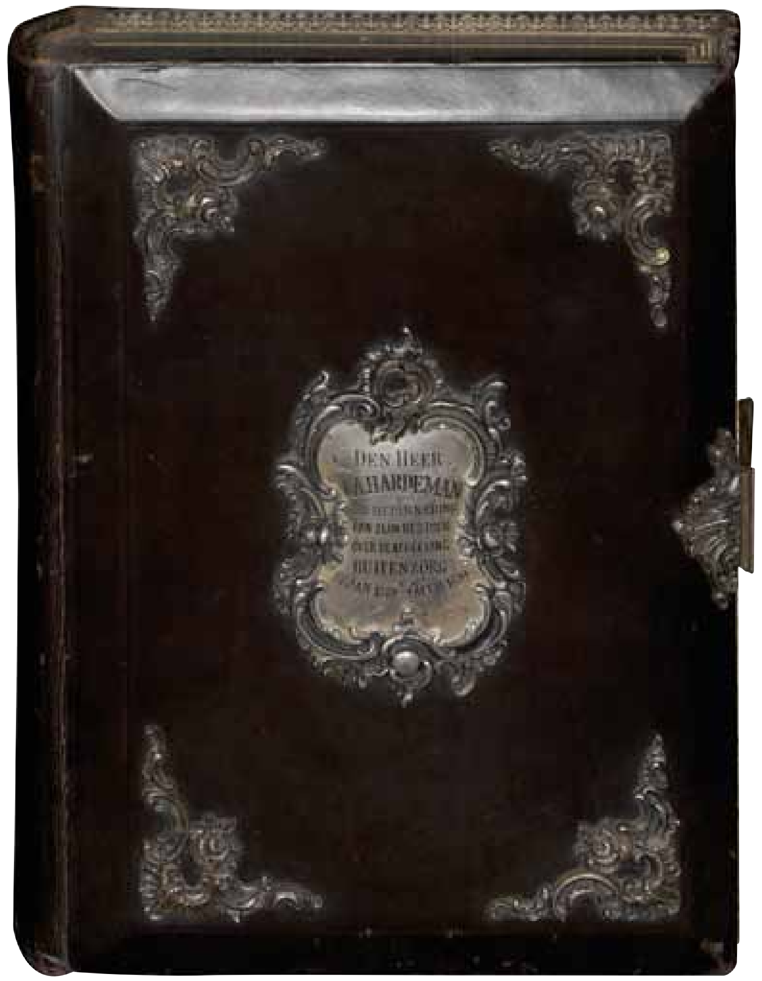

Figure 1: Cover with silver fittings, farewell album dedicated to J.A. Hardeman. The motto is inscribed on the silver plate, 1894.

Hardeman's album and De Iongh's token with their specially crafted casings and commissioned photographs by well-known photographers made them prestigious gifts. Both Herrmann and Charls & Co. were commissioned by the employers of respectively Hardeman and De Iongh to make a photographic document of their colleagues and, in the case of De Iongh, also of the workplace. These photographs were therefore especially produced to mark a farewell. The photographers in question sold commercial images as well, which were used by various compilers of the farewell albums to commemorate the end of an era.

STANDARD FAREWELLS

Around the turn of the 20th century, photography in the Indies was practised by both professional photographers and a few (well-to-do) amateurs. From the 1910s onwards, photographic equipment, such as cameras, became more affordable and easier to use for the enthusiastic amateur. Even though snapshot photography took off from this period, the demand for commercial photographs remained. These commercial images, produced on a large scale, showed so-called types and views, that is, photos of 'exotic' inhabitants in full attire, idyllic landscapes and urban highlights.

The various photographic topics all showed the picturesqueness of the Indies, which made them popular items to fill family albums, travel albums and farewell albums.

Photographer Otto Hisgen is a unique presence in the collection, whose commercial photographs ended up in more than one farewell album. The Batavia-born photographer left the Indies as a teenager and boarded the steam ship Koningin Regentes in Amsterdam on 26 June 1897 to return to the archipelago. There he started working in the studio of Bisschop in Semarang. As advertised in the daily *De Locomotief*, Hisgen opened his own studio at Bodjong in the same city in April 1902. Even though Hisgen produced commercial photographs of the landscape outside Semarang, the bulk of his work pictured Semarang's well-known spots. Hisgen's farewell albums were all commissioned in the 1920s.

Although Hisgen had his studio in Semarang, fifteen of his commercial images of downtown Semarang were used in a farewell album by the Civil Medical Service Head Office in Batavia, nowadays Jakarta. The album was offered to a senior official, Willem Thomas de Vogel, when he left on leave to Holland in November 1921. The logo of the Civil Medical Service is displayed on the front cover of the specially crafted leather binding. The addition of Hisgen's Semarang views to the album is connected to De Vogel's previous position as the city's physician. De Vogel, whose work was well regarded, even had a road named after him. That the Batavia-based compilers ordered some of Hisgen's views for the album was an obvious choice. Hisgen's 'standard' views were paired in the album with photographs that were more connected to De Vogel's field of work, such as disease control and health education. De Vogel's departure, incidentally, prompted another photographic gift, one completely devoted to yaws control in Cheribon (or Cirebon) on West Java, by one of the subdivisions of the Medical Service.

Figure 2: A *gunungan* on the binding of De Iongh's farewell album, 1916.

The other farewell albums were donated to Hisgen's fellow townsmen. Physician Boele Jacobus Ferf, for example, received a large-size album in 1925 after having practised in Semarang for twenty years. Ferf left Semarang to retire in Holland. The watercolour motto page shows a typically picturesque Indonesian landscape with palm trees, a rice field and a volcano. This page is followed by two leaves filled with autographs of the givers, Semarang's grandees, such as Pels Rijcken, director of the SJS and Neijs, retired Assistant Resident. These people were part of Ferf's network in Semarang society. At Hisgen's studio, the compilers chose famous spots of the city, such as the Malay quarter, the railway station, as well as several images of the Bodjong road where Ferf's practice had been located. Originally, the photographs were not accompanied by any captions. Ferf would have been able to identify all the urban highlights of Semarang himself, after having lived in the city for twenty years. The captions found in the album are a

Figure 3: Motto page decorated with a typical Indonesian landscape in watercolour, 1925.

later addition. It is possible that the captions were made by Ferf much later in time after he had moved to Holland to commemorate the names and places.

The photographic content of Ferf's album largely overlaps the farewell album that was given to Schröfer and his wife in the same year, 1925. Semarang's highlights such as the port, the Pekodjan road, prominent buildings like the office of the Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorwegmaatschappij (Dutch East Indies Railway Company) and the protestant Dome Church are found in this photo album as well. Schröfer, who also retired, received the album as a farewell gift from his friend and teaching colleague Klein Lankhorst. Schröfer remained in Semarang. Unlike the examples discussed so far, the exterior of this album does not display any of the characteristic features of a farewell album. Klein Lankhorst must have bought a standard album at Hisgen's studio or at a bookshop, which was then completed by Hisgen. The modest handwritten motto page by Klein Lankhorst, without any decorations, and the captions written by him in person, make it an utterly personal souvenir, an acknowledgment of their friendship.

Another token in the collection of which the materiality is striking was donated to the previously discussed engineer Daniel de Iongh, who became mayor of Semarang in 1916. This farewell album is the heaviest and largest farewell album produced by Hisgen. The album, entitled *Semarang Municipality* (*Gemeente Semarang*), was offered by the town council in 1927. This token had to be laid out on a table by De Iongh to be able to view the contents. The album opens with

Figure 4: Group portrait of the town council of Semarang, 1927. Photographer: O. Hisgen.

a motto page in calligraphic writing, followed by the autographs of all council members. Apart from the wide variety of Hisgen's town view pictures in the farewell album, one image was custom-made by Hisgen; a photograph of council members posing. De Iongh is one of the unique examples in the collection whose colonial career can be entirely traced through farewell albums. After Semarang he moved to Bandoeng, to become the director of the so-called Departement van Gouvernementsbedrijven (Department of Government Buildings). In 1933 director De Iongh resigned from the Department in Bandoeng and left for Europe. Newspapers, such as *Het Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, gossiped about his polemical nature and his difficult relationship with the Volksraad (People's Council). The same newspapers also reported on the warm and emotional send-off. Appreciation for De Iongh's work was also shown by the gift of two further albums, one large-size album by his Department and another one, as the daily *Indische Courant* reported, presented by the National Dutch Indies Railway and Tram Company.

Hisgen's mass-produced commercial photographs often featured in impressive and expensive farewell albums. They were prestigious gifts, presented to Europeans of some standing within colonial society by fellow Europeans. This might suggest that photographic gifts exclusively circulated in the European network of the Dutch

Figure 5: Office of the Dutch East Indies Railway Company at the crossing of Randoesari and Bodjong in Semarang, before 1927. Photographer: O. Hisgen.

Figure 6: Decorative motto page in the farewell album donated to De Iongh by the Department of Governement Buildings in Bandoeng, 1933.

Indies. However, farewell albums were not the exclusive reserve of the European inhabitants of the archipelago.

ARAB AND JAVANESE ELITE

The collection holds a number of farewell examples which from a material point of view seem less outstanding at first sight, but were nevertheless very meaningful with respect to supporting networks. When the Resident in Soerabaja in East Java Hillen moved to Batavia in 1924 to become director of the Departement Binnenlands Bestuur (Department of Administration of the Interior), he received three farewell albums. One album was given by Soerabaja's police department. In this album, the city's urban highlights are mixed with portraits of European administrators and the so-called field police. Interestingly enough, Hillen was also given two items compiled by people not belonging to the European echelons. Said Mohammed Bin Saleh Bin Agil gave him a farewell album. The small-size album does not show any images of Soerabaja's well-known places, but contains snapshots of meetings between the Arab community and Hillen. The extensive captions in Indonesian report on Queen Wilhelmina's twenty-fifth jubilee celebrations at the Al Arabiya club, which were attended by Hillen and his colleague, Assistant Resident Hiljé. The remaining photographs are related to the latter's send-off, also in 1924. The bulk of the album forms a photographic documentary of Hiljé saying goodbye to the Arab community. This farewell even made headlines in the daily *Indische Courant*.

Another send-off in snapshots given to Hillen was compiled by the Javanese *boepati* (indigenous administrator) Raden Toemenggoeng Soerjowinoto. The landscape of the Grissee regency, near Soerabaja, home to Soerjowinoto, was elaborated on by the *boepati* in both snapshots and captions (in Dutch). On the cover Soerjowinoto put the photographic reproduction of Hillen's menu showing two portraits of Hillen and his wife and the food list, which, as was reported by the newspaper *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, formed the official menu. The newspaper further noted that the food 'tasted good despite the lack of French dishes' on the menu. Soerjowinoto was one of the many persons present at the dinner, which was held in the big hall of the Stam & Weyns restaurant

Figure 7: Album page with a snapshot showing the visit of Hillen and Hiljé during Queen Wilhelmina's twenty-fifth jubilee celebrations at the Al Arabiya club in Soerabaja, 1924. Photographer: unknown.

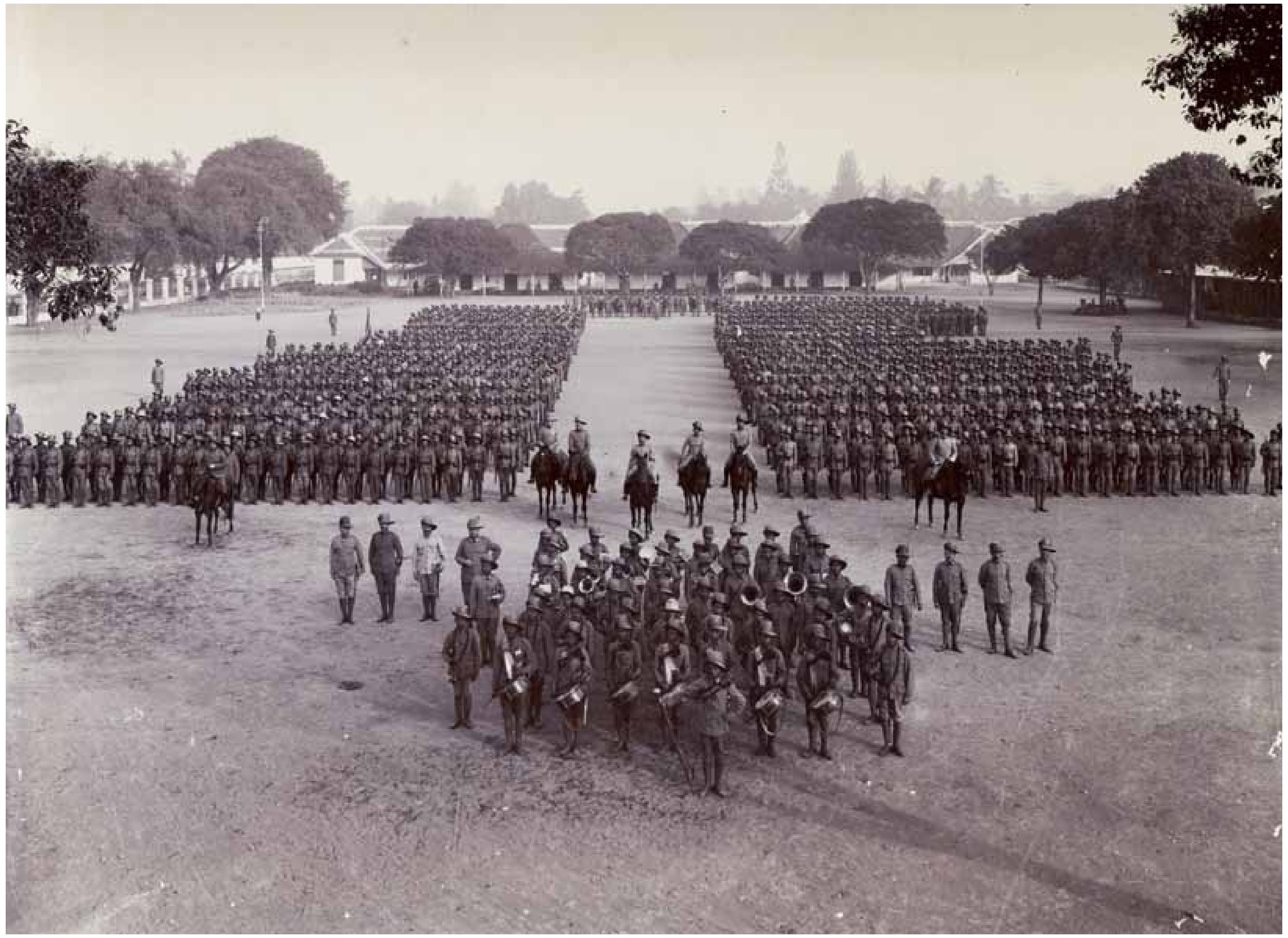

Figure 8: Legion of the Mangkoenegaran princedom on the parade ground in Solo, c. 1925. Photographer: Albert Russche & Co.

in Soerabaja. Given the fact that Hillen received three farewell albums when he moved to Batavia, he must have been well-liked both in and outside the European community.

Army captain Schrek also received a farewell album from prominent Javanese representatives. Between 1922 and 1925 Schrek served the legion of the Mangkoenegaran princedom (LGMN) in Solo. Even though the legion was partly funded by the colonial government and the European army officers headed by Schrek were responsible for the training of the legion's personnel, the princedom's army was mainly a Javanese affair. Schrek's token contains twenty-two professional photographs made by the Solo-based studio Albert Russche & Co. Russche made group portraits of the different legion departments. These group portraits were not made especially in honour of Schrek's departure, but were made during previous events. Only one photograph was taken by Russche to mark Schrek's farewell. The image shows Schrek among candidate officers. The small blackboard in the middle of the portrait marked the occasion: 'in remembrance of captain Schrek, LGMN leader 1922-1925'. The album was compiled under the auspices of Mangkoe Nagoro VII. Schrek's album, therefore, is an example of a proper Javanese send-off.

Farewell albums were specially crafted to mark the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. Without exception, a lot of work was put into these tokens, whether they were large-size albums with hand-made covers and attractive motto pages or small-size snapshot albums. As a result, farewell albums are utterly personal and special. Prestigious souvenirs were often filled with mass-produced commercial photographs, which made them less personal at first sight. For the recipient, however, the pictures formed a tangible memory of the work field and location. Some obtained more than one album during their (administrative) career. Others received more than one album upon their departure, issuing from within their professional network. The farewell albums thus give insight into the colonial career development of the recipients. For the greater part, farewell albums circulated within the European echelons of the colonial society. Indigenous or non-European elites, such as Javanese or Arab inhabitants of the archipelago, participated in this typically colonial Indonesian tradition as well, since they moved in the same network. The albums show us the interconnections of the upper echelons in the professional field.

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ILLUSTRATED BALINESE MANUSCRIPT

This manuscript full of magical human and animal figures is a model book for a '*balian*', a Balinese magician, containing a store of images to be painted on his client's amulet as circumstances prescribed. In some cases the spells to be uttered while preparing the amulets are given as well. The language of these magical mantras is Old Javanese. The book, which also contains instructions for defensive as well as aggressive magic, comes from the Balinese population in western Lombok.

The manuscript is written on a simple palm leaf with the mid-rib still attached. The covering leaf, which was added later, is a double leaf and contains a list of contents. The little piece of palm leaf likewise added later gives the size of the original book: thirty-five leaves. Text and drawings were engraved with a writing knife into the upper layer of the palm leaf. Subsequently this top layer was dusted with soot and then cleaned again. The black dust then remained behind in the grooves. The manuscript also includes pictures of: a dog with a snake emerging from its mouth, Taya Panulah, the supreme god who wards off dangers, a male figure standing on a fish-elephant, and a male figure wearing a crown and standing on a kind of dragon. (DJ)

Illustrated Balinese manuscript
Object number: or. 5294
Geographic region: Indonesia
Material: manuscript on palm leaf
Date: mid-19th century
Dimensions: 4 x 23 cm

Secret Treasures: Prince Dipanegara in the Javanese Manuscripts

BY PETER CAREY

Leiden University Library's Oriental Manuscript collection contains unimaginable riches. As a young researcher preparing my thesis on Prince Dipanegara (1785-1855) and the Java War (1825-1830) in the early 1970s, I was privileged to spend two years in the Library when it was still at its beautiful former site at Rapenburg. Of course, I had prepared myself by consulting Theodor Pigeaud's four-volume *Literature of Java* (Pigeaud 1967-1980), but it was only when I actually sat down in the Oriental reading room that the serendipitous beauty of these Javanese manuscript collections really came alive.

Amongst the many beautiful manuscripts which passed through my hands during that time, I would like to take just two examples. Both are related to my Dipanegara researches and both involve contemporary Javanese coloured drawings and watercolour paintings dating from the late 19th century.

The first involves a striking image from the Snouck Hurgronje collection. This shows the exiled Prince Dipanegara in Fort Rotterdam (Makassar) reading from an Islamic mystical text (*taṣawwuf*) while surrounded by his family. The name of the local artist and the origins of the image are unknown. However, given that Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) lived in Bandung in West Java while serving as Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken (Adviser for Arab and Native Affairs) between 1889 and 1906, it is possible that the image has a West Javanese origin.

The image is doubly interesting for historians. First, it illustrates something that has long been suspected but only recently proven, namely, that Dipanegara was a Sufi Islamic mystic. Brought up by his great-grandmother, Ratu Ageng (circa 1730-1803) on her Tegalreja estate just to the northwest of Yogyakarta, the prince was raised as a devout member of the Shaṭṭārīyah brotherhood. His stepmother, it is now known, was a leading proponent of this mystical brotherhood (*tarekat*) in the late 18th-century Yogyakarta court. These mystical teachings informed Dipanegara's life and struggles during the Java War. They were also later mirrored in his Makassar Notebooks, namely, his reflections on Javanese history, religious traditions and Islamic practice, which he wrote up while in exile in Fort Rotterdam, Makassar, in the late 1830s. No less a personage than Prince Hendrik

Figure 1: Imaginary coloured drawing of Dipanegara in Fort Rotterdam (Makassar) reading an Islamic mystical text (*taṣawwuf*) accompanied by his wife, Raden Ayu Retnoningsih, and a son referred to as 'Pangeran [prince] Ali Basah' who is either having a vision of a Javanese spirit or being admonished by the prince's dwarflike *panakawan* (intimate retainer), Bantengwareng (circa 1810–58), who also served as his male children's tutor while Dipanegara was in exile in Makassar (1833-55). Leiden Codex Orientalis 7398 (Snouck Hurgronje Collection).

de Zeevaarder (1820-1870), youngest son of the Dutch king, Willem II (r. 1840-1849), after his visit to Dipanegara in Makassar on 7 March 1836, wrote to his father how Dipanegara spent his exile days copying out passages from the Qur'ān and drawing out mystical diagrams (*daérah*).

At the same time, the existence of this fine coloured drawing of Dipanegara as a Sufi mystic tells us something about the reverence in which the prince was held both as an historical figure and as an Islamic leader. He may have gone down to defeat at the hands of a superior Dutch military force at the end of the Java War and condemned to live the last twenty-five years of his life as an exile, but his name clearly lived on. Indeed, with every passing year the memory of the Java War leader's struggle against the hated Olanda (Dutch) grew. By the second decade of the 20th century a broad coalition of Islamists, communists and nationalists representing Indonesia's multifaceted *pergerakan nasional* (national movement) were enjoined by no less a person than the founder of Indonesia's Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia/PKI), Henk Sneevliet (1883-1942), to emulate Dipanegara's example in the struggle to free the Indies from Dutch rule.

The second example of a remarkable illustrated Javanese manuscript, which opened new vistas for me on Diponegoro and the Java War, is the so-called *Buku Kedung Kebo* (Chronicle of the Buffaloes' Watering Hole). Commissioned by the first post-war bupati (regional administrator) of Purworejo (pre-1831, Brengkelan), Raden Tumenggung (later Raden Adipati) Cokronegoro I (in office, 1831-1856), it tells the story of the Java War as seen through the eyes of a bitter enemy of Dipanegara who served as a commander of *hulptroepen* (native auxiliaries) for the Dutch. A native of Bagelen, the administrative region of which Purworejo became the post-war district capital, Cokronegoro commissioned the Buku in 1842-43 to celebrate his Java War exploits and subsequent elevation as bupati. One of Dipanegara's former senior army commanders (*Basah*) in eastern Bagelen, Haji Ngabdullatip Kerto Pengalasan (circa 1795-post-1865), who retired to Semarang after the war and whose name appears to have lived on in one of the city's historic urban wards (*kampung*) – Basahan (Priliawito and Royanto 2015) – also provided important narrative inputs according to the published version.

The most interesting version of the Buku from a visual standpoint is KITLV Or 13. This is an incomplete version of the full text and was copied in Semarang in 1866 from a manuscript belonging to a Javanese medical doctor (Mister Jawa). It has a number of wonderful illustrations which seem like a Javanese version of the Bayeux Tapestry in their hieratic colourfulness, dynamism and attention to detail.

The illustrations in this Leiden manuscript stretch over the period from Dipanegara's pre-war life at Tegalreja through the early Java War years and they contain a number of interesting features. The first and most striking is that Dipanegara is never depicted in his holy war (*prang sabil*) outfit of white (sometimes green) turban and white tabard (*jubah*) which we know from Adrianus Johannes Bik's (1790-1872) wonderful pencil sketch drawn in the Batavia Stadhuis during his pre-exile detention (8 April-3 May 1830) was his normal wartime apparel. Instead they depict him in close-fitting black 'priestly' robes which one associates with the figure of the *pandita* (sage) or *resi* (ascetic) in the Javanese shadow-play (wayang kulit). The reason for this is simple. Following the Java War,

Figure 2: A page from the second book of Dipanegara's Makassar manuscript depicting a *daérah* (mystical diagram) for the regulation of the breath during the utterance of *dhikr* (short religious phrases repeated over and over again) during prayer, inspired almost certainly by the devotional practices of the *Shaṭṭārīyah tarekat* (Sufi Islamic mystical brotherhood). *Hikayat Tanah Jawa*, p. 22. Photograph by courtesy of the late Raden Mas Yusuf Diponegoro, formerly of Jalan Irian no. 83, Makassar. A copy of this manuscript is in the Leiden UB.

which had been fought on the Javanese side as a religious (Islamic) holy war rather than one fuelled by dynastic ambition, the Dutch greatly feared any further challenge to their authority from the religious communities in Java. Any image which depicted Dipanegara in his holy war garb was deemed subversive in their eyes – similar today to having images of Usama bin Laden as an al-Qaeda *mujahid* (Islamic warrior) on one's Facebook page. Given that the Buku was commissioned by a staunch Dutch ally who achieved prominence as a regional administrator (bupati) in the post-Java War colonial era, great care was taken not to offend Dutch sensibilities. Hence the Java War leader's unusual sartorial appearance.

Second, leaving aside the special case of Dipanegara, the images are notable because every detail of the dress is correct. Thus, when the flighty Surakarta ruler, Sunan Pakubuwono VI (reigned, 1823-1830) and his prime minister, Raden Adipati Sasradiningrat II (in office, 1812-1846), are depicted in the early days of the war deliberating whether to support the Dutch or throw in their lot with Dipanegara, all the features of their dress are recognisably Solonese: the cut of their surjan (Javanese high-collared coats), the style of their *blangkon* (Javanese head-dress) and *kuluk* (stiff light-blue court fez), the haft of their kris (Javanese daggers) and the pattern of their court batik (intricately patterned wax-dyed fabric) are all of a piece with the style of the Kasunanan or Sunan's court.

The same holds for the arresting image of an irate Dipanegara striking the corrupt Yogyakarta patih (prime minister), Danureja IV (in office, 1813-1847), with his hard-soled slipper (*selop*) in full view of a member of the Sultan's family (*sentana*) in circa 1817 in the Yogyakarta court. All the features of the respective outfits of the dramatis personae in the drawing – including the patih who was known as a keen fashionista ('a fine Javanese, who dresses well, rides magnificent horses and has beautiful women', in General de Kock's words) – are depicted with great accuracy in the drawing, only this time all the details are calibrated to the Yogyanese court setting.

Figure 3: Prince Dipanegara (dressed in black) giving instructions to his followers, Kiai Jayamustapa and Kiai Mopid, before they set out on their pilgrimage (*ziarah*) to Nusakambangan, the island near Cilacap where the flower of victory (*kembang Wijayakusuma*), which will betoken Dipanegara's future royal status as the Just King (*Ratu Adil*) and holy war (*prang sabil*) leader, grows. Dipanegara is depicted sitting under a *kemuning* (Kamboja, Chinese myrtle) tree on his meditation stone (*séla gilang*) at his retreat (*panepèn*) of Selareja just to the northeast of Tegalreja.

For this particular image there is also something deeper – a political message which resonates to the present day. Dipanegara's argument with the Yogya prime minister related to the lease of court lands at Rajawinangun to the east of Yogyakarta, which were thought to have been alienated for the patih's pecuniary gain. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose – the modus operandi of Indonesian corruptors has seemingly changed little over the past two centuries so it is hardly surprising that this image is still referenced today by contemporary Indonesian writers. This was how the Indonesian political commentator, Wisnu Nugroho, put it in his Kompas.com column following the recent arrest of the Head of the Regional Parliaments, Irman

Figure 4: Sunan Pakubuwono VI (reigned, 1823-1830) of Surakarta conferring with his prime minister (*patih*), Sasradiningrat II (in office, 1812-1846) about whether to help the Dutch in the early stages of the Java War (1825-1830) or throw in their lot with Dipanegara.

Gusman, on 17 September 2016: 'The 'how much will you pay' (*wani piro*) culture of present-day Indonesian corruption was already alive and well 200 years ago [...] whoever gave the most bribes or gifts in the shape of money or goods or especially beautiful women, he was the one who would be favoured [and] the blow from Dipanegara's right slipper still burns on our faces [...]'.

Finally, there are cameo roles for the Dutch and the Belgians – Holland being for a brief period joined with the Southern Netherlands in a United Kingdom (1815-30). We see the 'small, fat and shy' Yogya Resident, Anthonië Hendrik Smissaert (in office, 1823-1825), seemingly plotting the doomed expedition against Dipanegara's Tegalreja residence on 20 July 1825 with the patih and the commander of the sultan's bodyguard, Mayor Tumenggung Wiranegara. We can also discern in a separate image depicting the fighting at Tegalreja, the bearded Belgian commander of the cavalry contingent, Second Lieutenant Jean Nicolaas de Thierry (1783-1825), who would take his own life within days of the failure of his mission.

So where does this all leave us? At the start of a great exploration perhaps –and where better to start than in the Leiden UB's new Asian Library!

As for a final word, perhaps the honour should go to the luckless Thierry. His parting conversation with his fellow Walloon, the Belgian artist Anthoine Auguste Joseph Payen (1792-1853), reminds us that vivid sketches can be drawn not only with the paint brush but also with words. And this, after all, is the task of the historian. 'The historian's essential creative act is the resurrection of the dead' as the father of modern Jewish historiography, Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), put it:

> 'With the cavalry on one side and the infantry on the other, the [Dutch-led force] went round the village which enclosed the estate [Tegalreja]. They could

Figure 5: Prince Dipanegara (dressed in black) hitting the corrupt Yogya prime minister (*patih*), Danurejo IV (in office, 1812-1847), with his hard-soled slipper (*selop*) as a result of an argument over the lease of court lands. A member of the sultan's family (*sentana*) looks on in amazement.

see the rebels withdrawing slowly across the ricefields. Pangueran [Pangéran] Dipo Negoro [Dipanegara] was not very far away mounted on a beautiful black horse [Kyai Githayu] with a superb harness. He was clad entirely in white in the Arab style. The end of his turban flapped in the wind as he made his horse prance. The reins attached to his belt, he [seemed] to be dancing in the midst of his lance-bearing bodyguard.'

Figure 6: Drawing of a meeting between the Resident of Yogyakarta, A.H. Smissaert, the prime minister (*patih*) of Yogyakarta, Radèn Adipati Danureja IV and the commander of the sultan's bodyguard, Major Tumenggung Wiranegara, in the Yogyakarta Residency house. The sketch may depict them planning an attack on Dipanegara's residence at Tegalreja on 20 July 1825.

Figure 7: Coloured drawing of the fighting between Dipanegara's followers and Dutch soldiers at Tegalreja on 20 July 1825 at the beginning of the Java War. The prince is shown to the left of the drawing astride his favourite horse, Kiai Githayu (or Gentayu), shaded by a yellow parasol, the mark of his status as Sultan Erucakra (The Just King). The bearded Belgian officer in command of the Dutch cavalry, Lieutenant Jean Nicolaas de Thierry, is mounted on a chestnut horse to the right and the commander of the sultan's bodyguard is under the flag in front of Dipanegara to the left. The Javanese reads: '*Pangran Dipanagara, wadya brandhal, prang wadya Kumpni, prang mayur kapten* (Prince Dipanegara, the rebel army fighting the "Company" [Dutch] troops, [and] fighting the Major [Wiranegara] and Captain [sic, Lt Thierry])'.

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East Asia

CHINA
Veteribus
SINARVM REGIO
nunc Incolis
TAME
dicta.
Desertum Lop.
Murus quadringentarum leucarum inter montium crepidines a rege China contra Tartarorum ab hac parte eruptiones, extructus.
TARTARIÆ PARS.
CHINA.
QVINCII.
XIAMXII.
SANCII
HONAO.
IVNNA
FVQVAM
NANQVII.
CHEQVIAM
QVICHEO.
QVANCII.
SVINAM
CANTAM.
INDIÆ PARS.
Inf. Corai
IAPON INS.
Meaco
Tokoesi.
Cikoko
OCEANVS CHINENSIS
Chiamay Lacus
Linea sub Tropico Cancri.

CHONGXIU ZHENGHE JING SHI ZHENG LEI BEIYONG BENCAO

This Materia Medica by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (c. 1052-1136) – first printed in 1082 and reprinted many times – was the standard Materia Pharmacopoeia until around 1600. The work is illustrated with images of plants, animals and minerals. This illustration shows the government's monopoly on salt monopoly and its production and administration.

The Asian Library has three volumes of this work (volumes 4, 20, 21), which were among the first Chinese books acquired by Leiden University Libraries. They probably came from the estates of Scaliger (1609) or Vulcanius (1615). To date, in total fifteen volumes have been traced which are dispersed over six countries in Europe. (KK)

Revised Roots and Herbs ready for use, arranged with evidence from the Classics and Histories, from the Zhenghe period [1111-1118]
Creator: Tang Shenwei
Object Number: UBL SINOL VGK 7971.42
Geographic region: China
Material: Woodblock print on paper
Date: 1581
Dimensions: 28 x 18 cm

A Digital Database of North Korean Printed Posters

BY KOEN DE CEUSTER

The Asian Library hosts a digital archive of over 1,000 North Korean printed posters from the private collection of Willem van der Bijl. Purchased in North Korea over nearly a decade, this collection has posters spanning nearly the entire history of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), with the oldest posters dating back to the final year of the Korean War (1950-1953). The posters chart a visual history of North Korea as a political project. Driven by slogans handed down through party or state organs, posters are an important part of the country's propaganda and agitation apparatus. For a poster to achieve maximum effectiveness, the image weaves the slogan's utopian appeal into a recognisable representation of reality. This poster collection is a unique tool for scholars interested in the political, economic, social, and/or cultural history of North Korea.

MAKING SENSE OF NORTH KOREA

Mention North Korea in polite company and reactions range from mild bemusement and utter incomprehension to total ridicule. Stories of eccentric leaders threatening neighbouring states with nuclear Armageddon collide with defector tales of human rights abominations. Stock images of starving children overlap with recurring pictures of military parades or quirky mass dances. The apparent perplexity North Korea provokes is a consequence of a general lack of contextual knowledge. North Korea gets reduced to the anecdotal, out of time and out of synch with the rest of the world. Except, of course, it is not; and it never was.

The failure to make sense of North Korea is caused by many factors, ranging from mundane physical distance, over an obvious language barrier to clear ideological dissonance. Instead of acknowledging these obvious obstacles and deal with them, they are reasoned away by suggesting that information regarding the real state of affairs in North Korea is hard to come by. This statement hinges on what 'real' means here. There is plenty of information out there that provides ample insight if handled with proper care and a sound research methodology. The latter is often the problem.

North Korea has a thriving poster culture, with people from all walks of life trying their hand at drawing posters. Posters are typically locally produced site-specific small-size posters, hand painted and put up briefly on signboards in schools, housing complexes and worksites. Larger painted billboard-size posters are erected at construction sites or appear in front of office buildings to complement ongoing campaigns. In addition, poster competitions and exhibitions are regularly organised on regional and national levels. And then there are the printed posters that feature in this digital archive. Produced and distributed nationally, these posters are designed by (often well-known) professional artists with careers typically in illustration and/or painting and have print-runs of between 20,000 and 100,000. Typically, on top of the name of the artist and the number of prints, the metadata provided on these printed posters also mention the commissioning authority, the printing house and the publication date.

Nowadays, a small cottage industry is peddling standard-sized hand-painted reproductions of posters to tourists. Where the appeal to tourists lies in the unfamiliarly forceful visual language of some posters, to North Koreans, posters, along with slogans, are part of their everyday environment. Public spaces, whether outdoors or indoors, are dotted with slogans. Slogans are ideological exclamation marks staring down at workers in factory halls, greeting passers-by from rooftops, or punctuating the Pyongyang skyline. Posters are extensions of these slogans. They visually complement and embellish the omnipresent slogans. Both slogans and posters are an inextricable part of the kind of society North Korea is, where ideology trumps everything else.

TEXT

That North Korean posters are picked up by foreign visitors is testimony to the appeal of their design. Originally, however, posters are more than simple aesthetic interventions in space. Posters are explicit propaganda tools that seek to speak to viewers and rouse them into action. The effectiveness of a poster hinges on how an initial slogan is visually unpacked into an immediately accessible and understandable image. Typically, the main poster slogan stands apart from the image, attached in a separate banner at the bottom of the image as a legend to the viewer (Fig. 3). Slogan letters are most often red, on a white background. In a variation on this scheme, and typically for subordinate clauses that qualify the main slogan, slogans appear visually embossed on the poster image by keylining the slogan letters (predominantly in white) (Fig. 1 & 7). Though here too, the preferred

Figure 1 (left page): Hyŏn Ch'ung-sŏp, [top] *Rice transplantation at the right time!* [bottom] *Dense planting with few seedlings is the foundation of high-yield rice!* Ministry of Culture and Propaganda, 1953.

Figure 2: Anonymous. *All together to vote in order to strengthen the local power bodies!* (n.p. n.d.) 1954/5? A worker is holding up his ballot, while lifting a placard calling on everybody to vote in local elections. The centre of the poster (background) is made up of the DPRK state seal.

letter colour is red, the colour scheme of the poster image will in the end determine what kind of colour makes the slogan visually stand out most. Reflecting a recurrent colour scheme in North Korean flags, red and gold are often paired (Fig. 4).

The separation between slogan and image, playfully hinted at in figure 2, where the main character is holding up a board with the slogan, reflects both a power and a processual hierarchy. The slogan is handed down to the artist from the political and ideological centre. The artist only creates an image that illustrates, visualises and enlivens the slogan, but the primacy of the slogan is never contested. Still, in some instances, slogans are graphically integrated into the figurative representation to great effect; a particularly beautiful example being the way the cloth produced in a textile factory is swirled into the word '[light industry] first policy' (Fig 7).

While overall the slogan informs the image without being part of it, the poster image often does include additional textual information. Such textual elaborations augment the readability of the image, while at the same time constraining the interpretation of the poster image and situating the slogan within a specific ideological context. As such, a closer harmony between slogan and image is achieved. 'The Party calls!' (Fig. 4) in particular shows the intricate pairing of text and image. Both the size of the golden letters against an otherwise dark background of trousers and skirts, the overall frog perspective of the poster and the sense of urgency evoked by the way 'The Party calls!' is plastered across the middle of the poster draws the viewer's eye. What the party effectively calls for is explained in the secondary slogan running across the top of the poster in italicised square letters imposed on the image like an authoritative off-screen voice. On closer scrutiny, more textual information is hidden in the image. The main figure in this poster is not only holding the flagpole of the red flag unfurling in the background, he is also clenching a red booklet. This 'letter sent by the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party to all party members' is the actual centre and throbbing ideological heart of the poster. This genuine letter is the party calling. Driven by the appeal of the Party, party members in the poster smash through a brick wall covered in graffiti that read the words 'old standards' (a reference to the secondary slogan and its call for a new work ethic), as well as 'conservatism and passivity', two key ideological concepts that fuelled other contemporaneous campaigns (see below, Fig. 8).

IMAGE

While the textual dynamics of this specific poster are multi-layered, the image is straightforward and single-layered. The perspective along with the fiercely determined posture and gaze of the worker puts the viewer on the defensive. It is as if the parade of party members is crushing down on the viewer, sweeping him up in the ideological fervour created by this party appeal for a new work ethic. Although the eventual message is quite complex and not readily available, there is an undeniable clarity and simplicity to the image and the primary slogan. If anything, this poster calls for immediate and unquestioning responsiveness to the party's demands. Generally speaking, poster images are composed of three different levels: front, middle and background (or variations thereof). The poster calling for the

Figure 3: Hyŏn Chae-dŏk, *We are honourable transportation warriors!* Political Bureau of the Ministry of Transportation, (1955).

mobilisation of labour to construct sporting venues for the 1989 World Festival of Youths and Students (Fig. 6) is a fine example of how a poster image is assembled. The foreground is made up of a single figure (upper body only) appealing more or less directly to the viewer, thereby echoing the habitual hortative mood of the slogan. Here, the worker is urging not only the viewer, but also the work brigades mobilised in a speed campaign – information provided by the text on the red flags – towards the construction site, which makes up the middle ground of the poster. The background in this poster shows the blueprint of the construction project: an assemblage of generic apartment buildings along with sports gymnasia and a hotel facility as a mirage inspiring the worker who is urging the work brigades on.

Another visually and textually multi-layered poster is the 2005 poster calling for 'an all-out advance towards the threshold of a strong and prosperous nation!' (Fig. 8). Again a worker is holding a booklet. This time, it is Kim Jong Il's February 2005 'Appeal to the *songun* revolution forward march meeting, sent to the citizens and all the soldiers of the People's Army' from which the poster slogan calling for an all-out advance is culled. The flags in the parade behind the main figure are dotted with slogans popular during Kim Jong Il's *songun* rule: 'death-defying defence', 'single-hearted unity' and 'death-defying achievements', all variations on the theme of total dedication to the leader that dominated *songun* propaganda. 'Strong and prosperous country' was the buzzword launched to energise the country as it resurfaced

Figure 4: Kwak Hŭng-mo, [centre] *The Party calls!* [top] *For the creation of a new labour standard! All together to the production site!* National Art Publishing House, 1958.

Figure 5 (right page): Ro Ŭi-gŏn, [white] *For the attainment of the goal of 10 million tons of grain*, [red] *all together for the implementation of the five-point policy to transform nature!* Korean Workers Party Publishing House, 1976.

from a decade of famine and economic collapse. Kim Jong Il promised a golden dawn, hence the background colour. Beyond the red flags, the outline of vigorous construction, smoke-billowing industry and a tightly managed agricultural plane is visible. Historical depth is provided by the projection of a popular 1958 poster in the golden sky behind the main figure. This Chollima campaign poster, named after a mythic horse, recalls the first mass mobilisation campaign that brought North Korea initial economic success in the face of considerable infrastructural and financial bottlenecks. The horseman carries a flag emblazoned with the phrase 'towards the construction of socialism'. The poster slogan's subline refers to the earlier mentioned 'conservatism and passivity'. Such historical references are typical for Kim Jong Il era propaganda posters, partly because it demonstrates historical continuity following the leadership succession from father to son, but more specifically because it seeks to rekindle the 1950s revolutionary enthusiasm as North Korea struggled to overcome general despondency.

A similarly dense poster (Fig. 5) from an earlier age calls for the realisation of the five-point policy to transform nature, a plan proposed by Kim Il Sung in an October 1976 speech to the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea. The published speech is held close to his chest by a party worker encouraging viewers to join the effort of reaching the ultimate goal to produce 10 million tons of grain (the rice and grain in the foreground), the aim of the nature transformation plan. The five different plans – tideland reclamation, afforestation and water conservation, land readjustment and improvement, expansion of terraced fields and the irrigation of non-paddy lands – are named in five red banners and visually illustrated in five distinctly detailed vistas that converge on this future goal of grain abundance. Here the slogan is visually sucked into this centripetal movement adding a sense of urgency and purpose to this campaign call.

PROPS

Clarity of structure and simplicity of image composition are important features that enhance the readability of a poster. So too are repetitiveness and recognisability of image elements, whether props, figures or colour associations. In posters, all characters represent specific professions and/or social classes. Though subject to some historical adjustment, professions are generally identifiable across posters by dress code and props. Farmers are typically female, particularly when shown in a group representation of the working classes: farmers, blue and white collar workers (Fig. 4). Female farmers are always shown with a white head cloth, and often dressed in traditional Korean dress (Fig. 1). The most generic prop is a sheaf of rice, though during the rice-planting season rice seedlings make more sense. Calling for the close planting of rice seedlings during the final spring of the Korean war (1953), the main character turns to the viewer, holding out a rice plant, a bundle of rice seedlings in her other hand. A typical period prop are the camouflage branches tucked onto her back. The background image to this poster is cleverly constructed, where the scene of a grim war front with a torn US flag and two helmets left abandoned under the onslaught of advancing North Korean troops is peeled away to reveal the peacefulness of the scene in the rear, where the rice planting is in full swing.

Figure 6: Paek Hang-nyang, Ro Ŭi-gŏn, Song Si-yŏp, *All together to the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students custom-built construction!* Korean Workers Party Publishing House, 1986.

Though farm labour is a typically female occupation in posters, when it comes to positions of responsibility, men are shown to be in control of farm cooperatives, as is clear from the nature improvement poster (Fig. 5). Women on the other hand monopolise light industrial labour, donning white aprons or white coats (food processing), their hair kept together with colourful headkerchiefs (Fig. 7). Heavy industry is by and large the preserve of male characters, steelworkers taking pride of place, their props consisting of hard hats, goggles and rakes. In 1950s posters, workers were typically depicted in blue overalls and white shirts with rolled-up sleeves (Fig. 2 & 4). Construction work brigade members typically wore khaki coloured short jacketed uniforms, a harness and a hard hat as prop (Fig. 6 & 8).

TONE

As a propaganda and agitation instrument, the aim of a poster is to affect and/or rouse the viewer into action. The impact has to be immediate, which means that the visual message has to be loud and clear. A poster achieves this effect by having a central figure engaging the viewer. The way the main character is positioned vis-à-vis the viewer depends on the mood of the poster. When the main character, or a synecdoche representing him, is meant to be imperative he confronts the viewer directly from on high. When the protagonist is meant to be exhortative, he is more likely to be represented in profile, urging the viewer on. Facial expressions

along with gestures will further impart a sense of urgency. Direct forceful messages are typically communicated by men, whereas women feature in softer and rather more appealing posters (Fig. 7). Even in the Korean War poster (Fig. 1), where the woman planting rice is facing the viewer directly, the tone is soft, the slogan merely declarative. Still, there is an appeal there which is absent from the 1955 Ministry of Transportation poster (Fig. 3), which is all about *esprit de corps*, strengthening corporate identity, but does not seek to affect the conduct of the average viewer.

IN CONCLUSION

North Korean posters are instruments of thought control. They are part of a complex system of political and ideological mobilisation which relies on education, culture, media and social organisations. Posters seek to nudge the citizens of North Korea into ideological commitment and action. They are about convincing people, which only works when posters are readily readable to a North Korean citizen. The readability of a poster depends on the recognisability of what is depicted, which in turn relates to literacy in the visual language of posters, and to socially prevalent and/or accepted ways of representing reality. In that sense it is also possible to provide a reverse reading of posters, showing how reality is constructed.

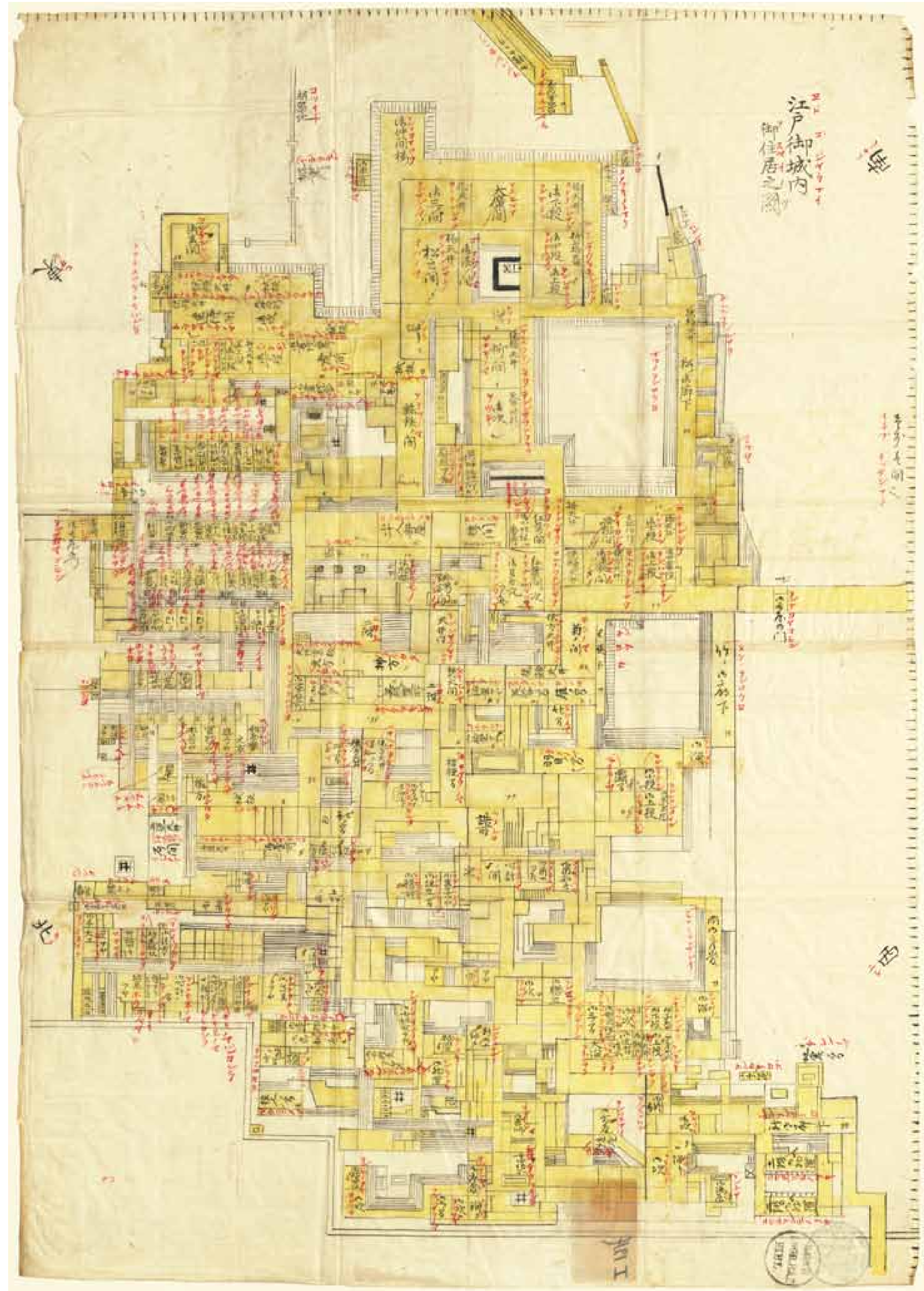
Figure 7 (left page): Song Si-yŏp, [top] *Light industry first policy!* [bottom] *Let us produce more and better kinds of mass consumer goods!* Korean Workers Party Publishing House, 1994.

Figure 8: Yu Ir-ho, *Forward in an all-out advance towards the threshold of a strong and prosperous nation!* Workers Party of Korea Publishing House, 2005..

MAP OF THE ROOMS AND THE INTERIOR OF THE CASTLE IN EDO

From c. 1640 until 1868 Japan was effectively ruled by the Tokugawa *shōgun* dynasty from Edo (now Tokyo), while the Emperor was living in Kyōto. Philip Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) was able to borrow this and other secret maps from the astronomer Takahashi Sakusaemon, exchanging them for materials on Western history and world geography that were highly coveted by the Japanese.

But when Von Siebold's copies of these maps were discovered by chance, he was forever banished from Japan. Takahashi and other Japanese collaborators received severe corporal punishment. In 1868 the *shōgun's* palace became the new Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Von Siebold acquired this paper map during his stay in Japan from 1823-1830. (KK)



Map of the rooms and the interior of the castle in Edo
Object number: ser. 337
Geographic region: Japan
Material: Manuscript map
Date: 1825
Dimensions: 80 x 60 cm

The Korean Cinema Collection

BY NAMHEE HAN

Over the past decade, Korean studies has enjoyed serious scholarly attention, and students have expressed an increasing interest in Korean cinema and popular culture, usually called the Korean Wave. However, finding research materials in these areas is not an easy task, especially because their placement in university libraries is often arbitrary. In this short essay, I will provide guidelines for students and researchers wishing to conduct research on Korean cinema in the Asian Library's collection at Leiden University. First, I will briefly examine the history of Korean film studies, which has deeply informed how the university library collection has been built and expanded. Second, I will introduce online resources that can help students and researchers with limited Korean-language skills develop their research projects. In the third and fourth parts, I will address the uniqueness of the Asian Library collection of Korean cinema. Due to limited space, these guidelines are not intended to be exhaustive but simply aim to show the wide range of the library collection of Korean cinema, focusing on DVDs and visual materials.

THE MYTH OF 'NEW KOREAN CINEMA' AND THE KOREAN FILM COLLECTION

It is crucial to examine the history of Korean film studies to understand how it has shaped the current conditions for this area of research. University libraries usually build new collections in response to the rise of new academic fields. Korean cinema is a relatively new discipline within both Korean studies and cinema and media studies. Earlier works on Korean cinema often dwelled on this fact, emphasizing its newness or contemporaneity, as we see in the book titles of *Contemporary Korean Cinema: Identity, Culture and Politics* (2000), *Korean Cinema: The New Hong Kong* (2002), and *New Korean Cinema* (2005). Although scholarly works on Korean cinema now extend to the studies of colonial film products and North Korean films, the newness of Korean cinema is still taken for granted without thorough investigation. Is or was Korean cinema really new? Before answering this question, we should first look into the establishment of Korean film studies as an autonomous academic field.

The myth of the newness of Korean cinema can be attributed to the institutional histories of Korean studies and cinema and media studies, neither of which took it into serious account. Area studies, to which Korean studies belongs, emerged after the Second World War. They were shaped under Cold War politics and were closely tied to government funding and institutional support. According to Bruce Cumings, William Donovan, George F. Kennan, and John Paton Davies played a major role in establishing American area studies during the Cold War era by bringing an enormous amount of government and foundation funding to universities. While area studies were nominally academically independent, it cannot be denied that U.S. academic institutions, whether or not intentionally, performed an intelligence function during the Cold War. They offered language courses and developed curricula on the history and literature of particular nation-states to produce regional experts. Korean studies was also built upon the study of language, history, and national literature. In particular, research topics and methods were shaped under Cold War ideology, which was imposed from two directions: Cold War American academia and South Korean scholarship under that country's authoritarian regime. For example, as Heekyoung Cho has pointed out, the Cold War prevented South Korean scholars from examining the role of Russian literature in developing modern Korean literature and colonial legacies in national literature.

Korean studies and Asian studies in general have tended to undervalue the study of film and popular culture. Most researchers have long ignored cinema and privileged the fields of history, literature, and North Korean studies. It was not until the 1990s that cinema began to be considered a critical object of study and a major subject in undergraduate curricula in Asian or Korean studies. Although articles and books on Asian films started to be published in the 1980s, researchers with limited language skills often ran the risk of taking an Orientalist approach to Asian films. This tendency can be seen in some earlier works on Korean cinema published in the 1990s, which mainly focused on representations of Buddhism and folk tales, showing an ahistorical and monotonous understanding of what they dubbed 'traditional Korea'. Compared with these earlier works, recent studies such as *Split Screen Korea: Shin Sang-ok and Postwar Cinema* (2014) and *Unexpected Alliances: Independent Filmmakers, the State, and the Film Industry in Postauthoritarian Korea* (2014) have broadened the scope of research topics and methodologies, challenging previous assumptions about Korean cinema.

Korean studies at Leiden University has undergone major transitions since the early 2000s and now takes Korean cinema and popular culture into serious account. Korean film studies in Europe has tended to place emphasis on classics and history. At Leiden University, religion and classical studies were leading disciplines within Korean studies, and accordingly, the library collection centered around religion, history, and classical literature. The collection's criteria have changed dramatically since the 2000s to include modern Korean literature, cinema, and visual works. It is made possible through collaboration with and support from the Korea Foundation, the Literature Translation Institute of Korea Library, the National Library of Korea, and the National Assembly Library. The collection of Korean cinema was given fresh impetus in 2008 when Leiden Korean studies was selected as a beneficiary of the Korean Film Council and equipped with hundreds of DVDs and books on Korean films. Since I joined the staff at Leiden University in 2014, I have attempted to expand the scope as well as the quantity of the collection in consultation with librarians. It has been a great pleasure to see Korean films being actively used in various courses and for students' research projects. As of October 2016, the Asian Library owns more than 800 DVDs and 200 books on Korean films. The quantity and scope of our collection, which is discussed in detail in the following sections, demonstrates that the Asian Library now acts as a hub of Korean film studies in Europe.

WHERE TO BEGIN: ONLINE RESOURCES

There are two practical reasons to begin with introducing online resources on Korean cinema. First, online databases immediately show what films are available for research. Second, given that there are no reference books or extensive dictionaries on Korean film studies, we can use online resources to access basic information about Korean cinema. The Korean Movie Database (KMDB) run by the Korean Film Archive, the Korean Film Biz Zone (KOBIZ) run by the Korean Film Council, and the YouTube channel of Korean Classic Film Theater are good places to start.

The KMDB (http://www.kmdb.or.kr/index.asp?; www.kmdb.or.kr/eng/) is the most comprehensive Korean- and English-language online database for Korean cinema and Korean film history. Almost all fiction films, major documentaries, and short films are searchable on it, so you can check there to see what is available. It provides historical facts on individual film productions and information about individuals in the film community. In addition, the KMDB includes visual sources, including digitized posters and film stills and indexes of newspaper and journal articles about particular films. If you have not seen a lot of Korean films yet, you may want to check out the lists of '100 Korean Films' and '50 Indie Films' compiled by film critics and journalists to see what films are considered essential. You can watch some of these films at the YouTube channel of Korean Classic Film Theater (https://www.youtube.com/user/KoreanFilm). The website has uploaded a wide range of works, from colonial films to contemporary box-office hits and from auteurs' works to popular genre films. As of October 2016, 137 Korean films with English subtitles are immediately accessible. Meanwhile, the KOBIZ (http://www.kobiz.or.kr/; http://www.koreanfilm.or.kr/jsp/index.jsp) focuses more on industrial aspects of Korean cinema. It offers box office statistics, newsletters on the contemporary South Korean film industry, and free E-books on Korean cinema, film history, and the film industry.

I strongly encourage students and researchers to do cross-reference checks when they use online databases. Due to a lack of official records or statistics for earlier decades, the KMDB and KOBIZ provide limited information about films produced before 2000. It is essential to check historical facts by using both online databases and print materials such as newspapers and film journals. I hope that in the near future, the international Korean film studies community will create an index of Korean film and academic journals on Korean cinema compatible with the FIAF International Index to Film Periodicals.

KOREAN CINEMA: MORE THAN ONE

The Asian Library collection of Korean cinema offers a wide range of DVDs of Korean films, giving equal attention to both North Korean and South Korean products. Compared with academic works on South Korean cinema, there are relatively few works on North Korean cinema. However, as a number of North Korean films are available on DVD, it seems that North Korean film and visual studies will soon emerge as a distinct academic discipline in Korean studies.

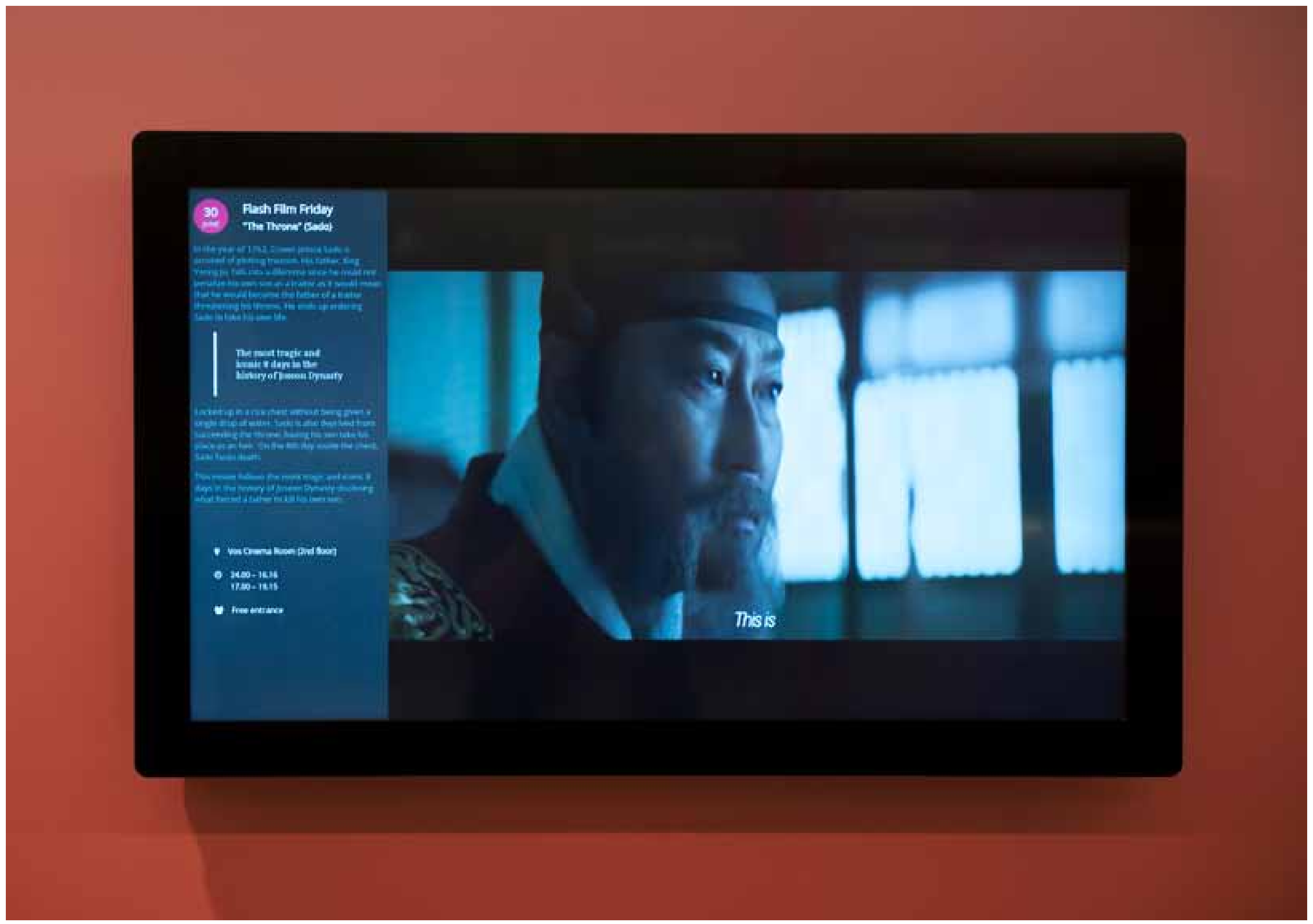
In collecting visual materials on South Korean cinema, we have aimed to broaden the scope of the collection, from mainstream films to independent products, from well-known auteurs' works to popular genres, and from fictional films to documentary and experimental works. Placing a wide range of Korean films in the university library is essential to augment students' and researchers' limited viewing experiences and challenge their assumptions about Korean cinema. We often have the illusion that the digital environment makes Korean cinema immediately available and can facilitate research on Korean cinema. However, digital platforms only feature a limited number of contemporary South Korean films, most of which are box-office hits and mainstream products. Independent works are usually unavailable on digital platforms and thus remain unknown to students and researchers. Comparing and contrasting mainstream and independent films that deal with similar social issues galvanize class discussions and help students to develop original thesis topics. For example, a mainstream work, *J.S.A.* (2000) and an independent film, *The Gate of Truth* (2004) provide an intriguing framework to explore how an imagination of ideal brotherhood between North Korea and South Korea is often promoted while military tensions are put aside.

The collection of North Korean cinema has recently been accelerated as more films are becoming available on DVD. The history of North Korean film studies is short, and only a few academic works on the topic have been published in English. Working in this area requires additional effort from students and researchers to develop new research questions and methods. Before taking all North Korean cultural products for granted as monotonous propaganda or socialist works, we should identify the genre, form, style, and mode of an individual film, analyzing its particular aesthetics as well as investigating the historical and political context within which it was produced and consumed. Looking at the North Korean films in our collection, you will find that comedy is one of the major genres and that a film series is a particular mode of production in the North Korean film industry. I expect our rare and valuable collection of North Korean cinema to lead to innovative research in the future, another way in which the Asian Library is unique.

VISUAL KOREA: MORE THAN ONE WAY

Our collection of Korean cinema ultimately challenges the current state of Korean film studies by having visual materials not only made within Korea but also made about Korea. The idea of 'visual Korea' is not prescribed, but in the process of being constructed. Korean studies has been developed as international intellectual communities actively participate in critical debates on world politics that affect divided Korea as well as the societies and cultures of the two Koreas. Film can be both an aesthetic creation and an audiovisual document that shows us how Korea is perceived inside and outside Korea, and what social, political or cultural issues filmmakers are attempting to address. In particular, what we know of visual Korea is often suggested by transnational works. Since the 2000s, films about North Korea and films shot in P'yŏngyang, North Korea have increased. They include Dutch filmmakers Raymond Feddema and Peter Tetteroo's *Welcome to North Korea* (2000), Daniel Gordon's documentary trilogy *The Game of Their Lives* (2002), A State of Mind (2004), *Crossing the Line* (2006), a rare internationally co-produced comedy, *Comrade Kim Goes Flying* (2012), and the recent documentary, *Under the Sun* (2016), to name a few. If we take a traditional approach to what Korean studies is, these works may not seem to belong to Korean studies. However, they are valuable sources that invite us to explore what visual Korea refers to, and what or who produces it.

The transnational works that constitute 'visual Korea' also offer students and researchers a critical opportunity to contemplate ethical issues in research that deals with potentially controversial topics and involves vulnerable objects. As Steve Erickson has pointed out, we cannot deny that transnational films set in North Korea often involve voyeurism, proposing a hierarchical gaze between the viewer and the one who is looked at. Voyeurism in films reminds us that they show the filmmakers' desire to see, rather than portray North Korean society itself. In investigating cinematic and visual works about Korea, we must examine our intentions and responsibilities as viewers and researchers. The Asian Library is continuing to collect global cultural products about Korea, practicing ethical concerns in our collection criteria.



THE COLLECTION OF KOREAN CINEMA AND EUROPE'S KOREAN FILM STUDIES

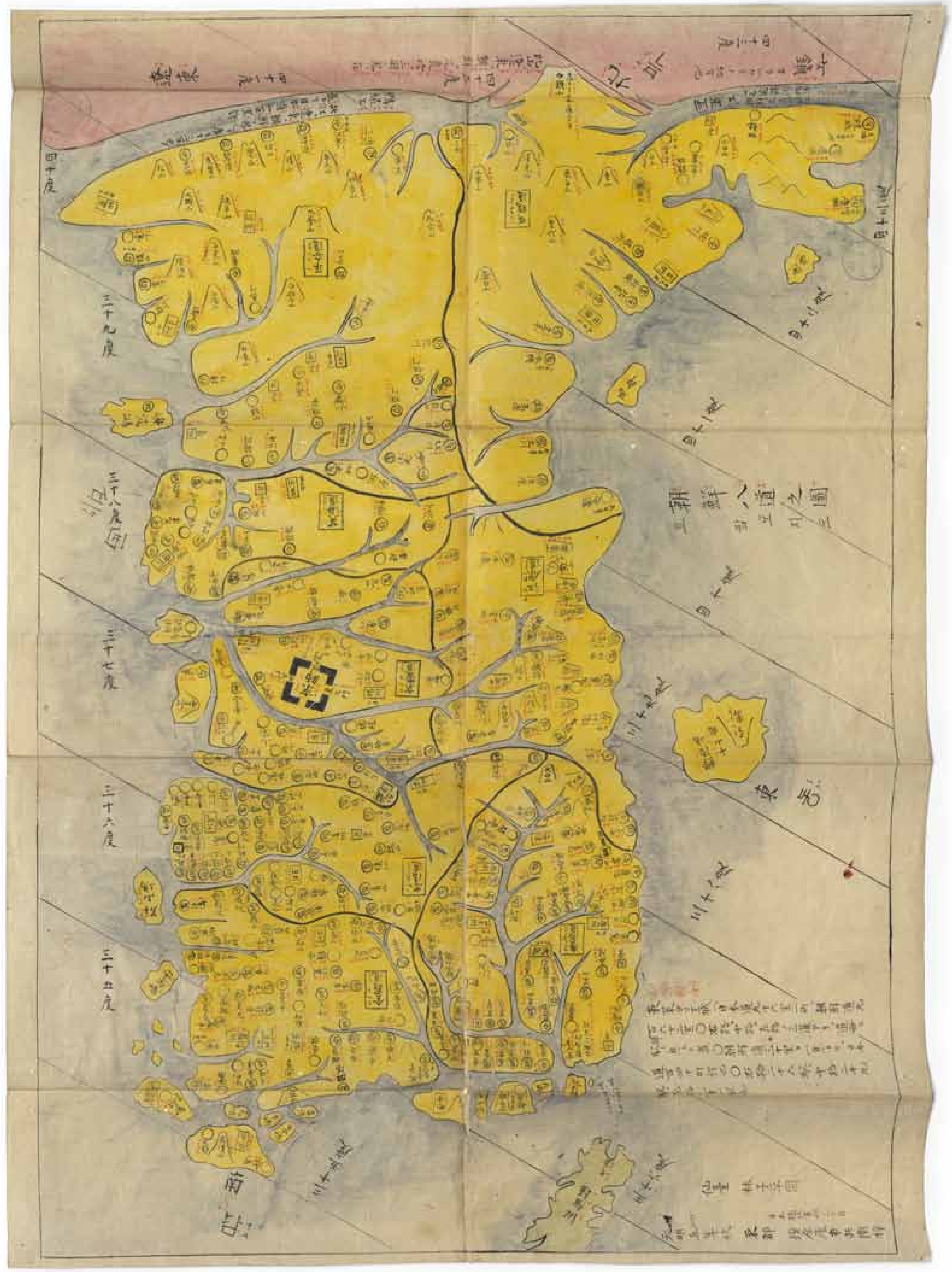
As discussed above, Korean film studies has been shaped by ideologies of knowledge and disciplinary boundaries and can thus challenge the particular historical, political, and institutional conditions, that require specific forms of archiving, collecting, and researching the subject. Korean film studies has a short history in Europe, and university libraries still confront financial and administrative challenges in developing high-quality collections of Korean cinema. The Asian Library is not an exception. However, one thing is for sure. The shape and direction of its future depends on the communal effort of Leiden University, the Asian Library, Korean studies at Leiden University, and myself. The greater depth and rigor that our collection of Korean cinema aims to achieve will bolster Korean film studies in Europe as well as Korean studies in general.

JAPANESE MAP OF KOREA

Three slightly different versions of this Japanese map of Korea are kept in the collections of Leiden University. The map was designed by Hayashi Shihei (1738-1793), a Japanese military scholar. It is one of the five maps he compiled for his book *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* (Illustrated general survey of the three countries), describing Korea, Okinawa (including Taiwan) and Hokkaido. Shihei's publications arose from his concern about the growing Russian power in East Asia.

He advocated an improvement in the Japanese defence. Since his work was published without authorisation, Shihei was placed under house arrest by the Edo government in 1792. A woodcut and manuscript copy of the map were sent to the Netherlands by Jan Cock Blomhoff, head of the Dutch trading post at Dejima, another manuscript copy was dispatched by Philipp Franz von Siebold. (MS)

Japanese map of Korea
Creator: Hayashi Shihei
Object number: ser. 187a:5
Geographic region: Japan/Korea
Material: woodcut and manuscript
Date: after 1786
Dimensions: 75 x 53 cm



C.F.M. de Grijs and the Sino-Dutch Treaty of Tientsin (1863)

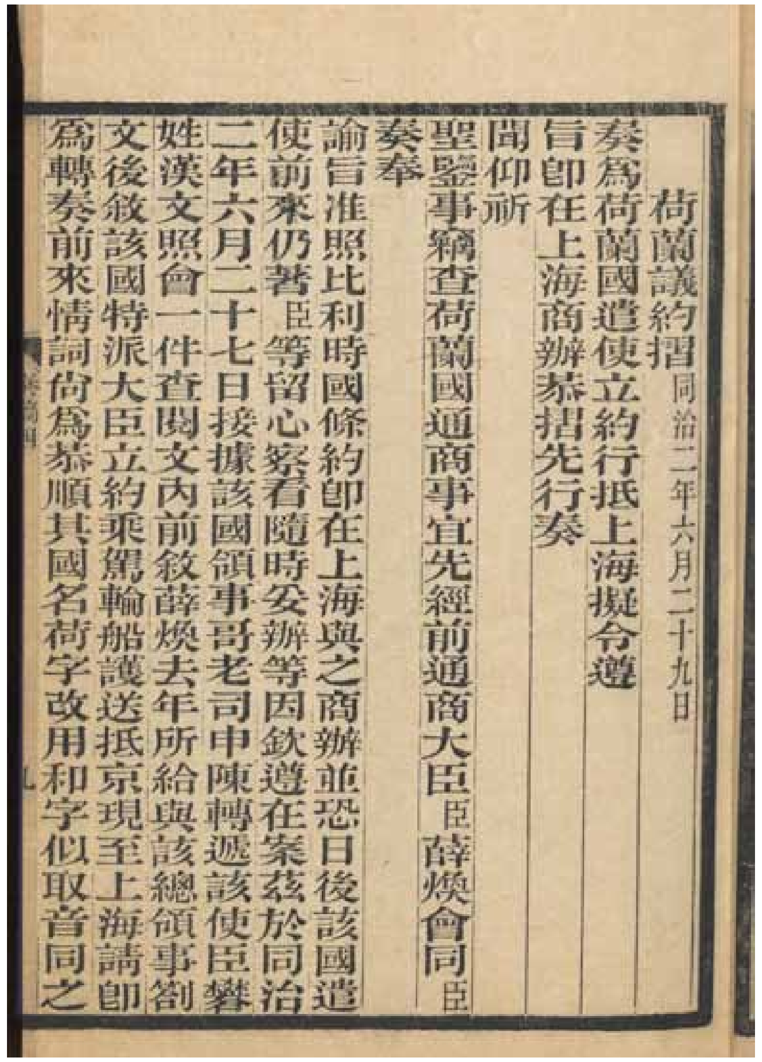
BY KOOS KUIPER

When the widow of the sinologist C.F.M. de Grijs (1832-1902) presented her late husband's manuscripts and other documents to Leiden University Library in 1902, she may not have realized that it would take more than a century before these would be properly described and studied. De Grijs was a military pharmacist who after his graduation was allowed to study Chinese with Professor J.J. Hoffmann in Leiden for a year and a half (1854-1855) to be able to consult Chinese works on natural history. Afterwards he was sent to the Dutch East Indies to work in a pharmaceutical factory in Batavia, but went to China one year later to continue his studies there. He studied for seven years in China, mostly in Amoy (Xiamen), where he was also acting Vice-Consul for the Netherlands and took care of seven young Dutch students of Chinese. He became one of the first Dutch sinologists. De Grijs is best known for his Dutch translation of a Chinese coroner's handbook and for editing J.J.C. Francken's Amoy-Dutch dictionary. De Grijs' most extraordinary other achievement was no doubt his work as interpreter and secretary for the Dutch plenipotentiary, J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, at the negotiations for the Sino-Dutch Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) in July-October 1863.

THE NEED FOR A SINO-DUTCH TREATY

In this treaty of trade and friendship, Sino-Dutch relations were established for the first time after more than two centuries of unsuccessful efforts in this direction by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), in 1655-1657, 1666-1668, 1685-1687 and 1794-1795. In the 19th century, the British had taken the lead in trying to open up China for trade and the Christian mission, succeeding through force of arms – the Opium Wars of 1841-1842 and 1856-1860 – and diplomacy, in concluding the 'unequal treaties'. As a result, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain and five Treaty Ports were opened, including Amoy, later also other places. The Dutch maintained a neutral position but were able to profit from the success of the British.

After the Second Opium War and the British-French expeditionary force occupying Tientsin and Peking, damaging the Emperor's Summer Palace, and resulting in the Convention of Peking of 1860, the Chinese established a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zongli yamen), and other nations followed in concluding similar 'unequal treaties' with China. When in 1862 China forbade ships from nations without a treaty to enter Chinese rivers, the Dutch, who did not have much trade with China at the time, were obliged to attempt to conclude a treaty as well. The most important clause in such a treaty was the most-favoured nation clause, which always appeared in treaties in Europe, allowing each nation the same privileges as other nations had obtained. In 1862, the Dutch Ministry of Colonies charged the Dutch 'Consul in Canton' (Guangzhou, but residing in Macao), the merchant J. des Amorie van der Hoeven, to start preparations. Van der Hoeven requested that De Grijs would be charged to accompany him as his interpreter. At that time, the Chinese did not yet have interpreters and all negotiations and correspondence were in Chinese.


荷蘭議約摺 同治二年六月二十九日
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聞仰祈
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諭旨准照比利時國條約即在上海與之商辦並恐日後該國遣
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Figure 1: Fragment of Li Hongzhang's memorial to the Emperor of 13 August 1863, about the arrival of the Dutch plenipotentiary in Shanghai. Blockprint.

C.F.M. DE GRIJS' ROLE

De Grijs, who had been studying and working in China for seven years, was not too eager to take on this task, which was not very well defined in the beginning. Apart from his moderate level in Mandarin – the Dutch sinologists studied Southern dialects, mainly Hokkien (Minnanhua) as spoken in Java, and not Mandarin – this was probably also because, as a result of his studies and contacts with Chinese, he tended to sympathise with the Chinese and disapproved of aggressive Western attitudes towards China. Van der Hoeven's promise that De Grijs would afterwards be assigned to take the signed treaty to the Netherlands in person, must have helped to reconcile him with his task.

De Grijs surely realised the historical importance of these events: he carefully kept his copies of the Dutch-Chinese official correspondence, his letter copybook with his correspondence for the year 1863, and wrote an – unpublished – article about the proceedings and his impressions of Northern China. These documents paint a lively picture of the preparations for the expedition to Tientsin, the negotiations and their aftermath, and De Grijs' impressions of Tientsin and Peking. The picture can be completed with material preserved in the National Archives in The Hague, and with published Chinese archives on foreign relations that are kept in Leiden.

PREPARATIONS

As usual, all communication before the negotiations was in writing, and in Chinese. The first contact was laid in the second half of 1862 by Consul Van der Hoeven, who was assisted by foreign translators. From 1863 on, all correspondence was sent by the same Van der Hoeven, but now in his official role as plenipotentiary, and with the assistance of De Grijs as translator (and his teacher Ang In Liong 汪寅亮). Whereas in 1862, Van der Hoeven's name as Consul had been simply transcribed as Fang 方 in Chinese, De Grijs chose the more suitable name and more sophisticated character Fan 礬 for him as plenipotentiary.

The Dutch delegation departed on 29 July 1863 from Hong Kong on a Dutch warship, the steamer Citadel van Antwerpen, a name that commemorated the Dutch-Belgian War of 1830. They first went to Shanghai (staying there 4-8 August), where according to a Chinese letter from the Superintendent of the Southern Harbours (Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs) of 1862, they were supposed to conclude the same, extremely short, four-article treaty which the Belgians had already signed that year. As this was considered an affront to Dutch dignity, Van der Hoeven upon leaving Shanghai sent a letter to Li Hongzhang, the new Superintendent there, announcing his departure to Tientsin and his wish to conclude a full treaty in the North.

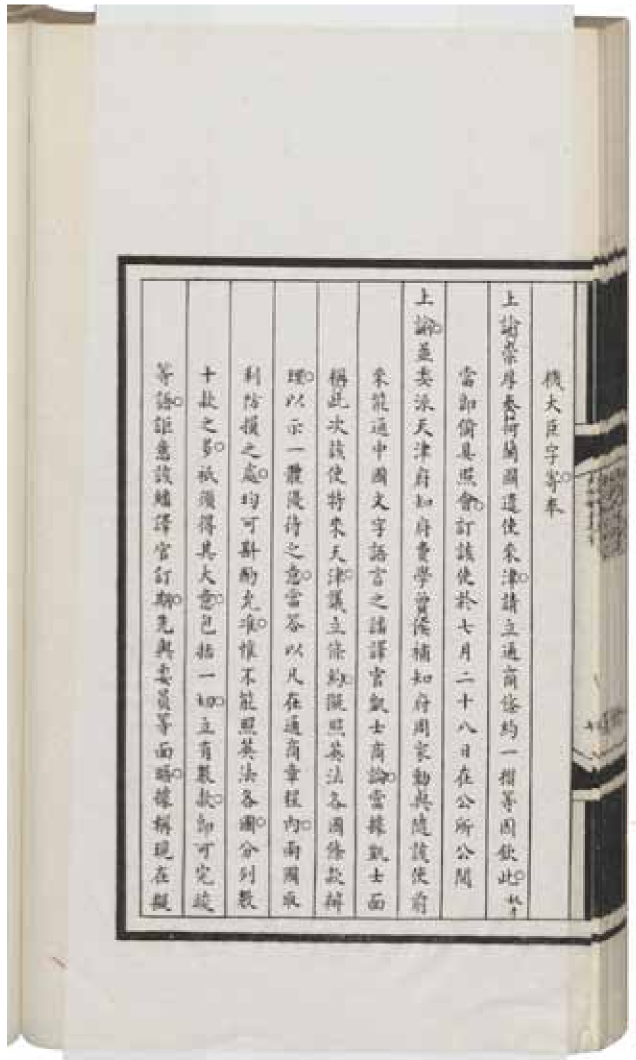
Li Hongzhang then sent a memorial to the Emperor, in which he quoted the letters of the Dutch, stating that they should in any case be prevented to proceed to the capital, and that he had ordered them to return to Shanghai. He also noted that in the previous letters the Dutch had called their ruler 'the Great Emperor of the Netherlands,' which was wrong and should be changed, but this had now been corrected into the 'sovereign of the Netherlands' (using the same term the British had been using for their King since 1842); so this problem was at least solved. This change in terminology was due to the new interpreter De Grijs. It should be noted that at the time (and later also) there was some confusion about the correct Chinese translation of these Western terms. Li did not mention that the Danish, who had gone to Peking earlier that year with British support, had concluded a full treaty after three months of negotiations.

After arrival at the roads of Tientsin (19 August), De Grijs was first sent to Tientsin to make arrangements for living quarters during the negotiations, which were expected to take up half a year. He rented a Chinese house for three months, bought furniture and left his teacher Ang to take care of the house. De Grijs then dispatched a letter announcing their arrival to Chonghou 崇厚, the Superintendent of Trade of the Northern Harbours, who was a Manchu. He travelled back to accompany the delegation, which included Van der Hoeven, Colonel G.P.J. Mossel, a few navy officers, and twelve marines to Tientsin.

Some time after they had arrived in Tientsin (29 August), Li Hongzhang's letter requesting them to return to Shanghai was handed over, which also warned them that there would be no official waiting to receive them in the North. But they also received a letter from Chonghou stating that he wished to speed up negotiations, no doubt in order to prevent them from going to the capital.

THE FIRST MEETING

In his letter, Chonghou had also stated that he wished to inspect Van der Hoeven's full power in a neutral place, but this was unacceptable to the Dutch. After some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來能通中國文字語言之譯官凱士商論當據凱士面
稱此次該使特來天津議立條款擬照英法各國條款辦
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等語詳意該譯官訂期先與委員等面晤據稱現在擬

Figure 2: The start of the negotiations: introduction of the commissioners Fei Xuezeng, Zhou Jiaxun and De Grijs (Kaishi) by Chonghou to the Emperor. Facsimile of manuscript.

exchange of letters, Chonghou gave in, and it was arranged that the two plenipotentiaries would meet each other first in a neutral place, the pawnshop, a beautiful building which also served as a kind of bank, and where later all negotiations would take place. Chonghou could then come over to inspect Van der Hoeven's full power 'as a friend', and Van der Hoeven could also visit Chonghou.

Almost thirty years later, De Grijs disclosed that the Chinese were indignant that Van der Hoeven had been appointed plenipotentiary, because he was actually a merchant in Macao. A few days after their arrival, Chonghou told De Grijs: 'Yes, I know that you are a learned man and not a merchant, while Mr. Van der Hoeven is carrying on trade.' De Grijs added that he was always treated with distinction, while Van der Hoeven was not as highly regarded as Colonel Mossel of the Navy. According to the ancient Chinese ranking of social classes — consisting of scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants — the merchant class was the lowest. Doubtless, these remarks were also aimed at humouring De Grijs. Another reason for the anger of the Chinese negotiators was that they may have felt deceived, as 'plenipotentiary Fan' turned out to be the same person as the 'Consul Fang' from the earlier correspondence.

On the first official meeting (10 September), when Chonghou had received his full power from the Emperor, both sides appointed commissioners to carry out the negotiations. According to De Grijs, Chonghou appointed Gao Congwang 高從望 (a Director) and Zhou Jiaxun 周家勳 (the Prefect Appointee of Tianjin) for the Chinese side, but according to Chinese sources, these were Fei Xuezeng 費學曾 (the Prefect of Tianjin) and Zhou Jiaxun. De Grijs was appointed to represent the Dutch side. The Dutch surprised Chonghou by immediately presenting a Chinese translation of a draft treaty in 19 articles and suggesting a date for further negotiations.

THE NEGOTIATIONS

De Grijs characterized his counterparts as follows:

> Because he [Chonghou] always strives to keep good relations with the foreigners, he leaves the negotiations about less pleasant subjects to two persons who all the time assist him and act as his agents: the youngest Zhou Jiaxun, who has the rank of daotai (Resident or Director), is very shrewd, very talkative, very impertinent, but he will shrink back from someone who dares to oppose him; he always began the attack when they were in a position that was difficult to defend; when he was repulsed, the second person, Gao Congwang, came to his aid. This gentleman, the governor of Tientsin Prefecture and surroundings, has

Figure 3: From right to left Chinese calling cards of: Prince Gong; Wenxiang, Bai Qiwen; Zhou Jiaxun, Gao Congwang, Fei Xuezeng; Fan Da Hewen (Van der Hoeven), Kaishi (De Grijs).

> a lot of experience with Europeans; he is more careful than his colleague and tries to mitigate somewhat the effect of the former's too sharp tongue. I mean here the character of these gentlemen in official intercourse: as soon as the work is finished, they are charming, generous, and even kind-hearted and sincere.

Actual negotiations began on 14 September. The Chinese emphasized that it should be a short treaty, containing the smallest number of articles possible. They now presented a shorter draft of 10 articles. De Grijs gave the following description:

> On 14 September the first meeting of the newly appointed commissioners took place, and a series of skirmishes started that were sometimes extremely unpleasant. The above-mentioned two Chinese officials, Zhou Jiaxun and Gao Congwang, acquitted themselves bravely of their tasks and tried all the time through various detours to stray away from the matter in question, to subjects that were completely outside the topic. It was a constant effort to keep them to the point. Since the meetings proceeded without strict ceremonial, it was rather easy to let those gentlemen know the opinion of the Dutch plenipotentiary, without having to resort to all kinds of elegant phrases. The meetings usually started about half past nine and ended at one o'clock, and were mostly concluded with a collation, where the three commissioners forgot their

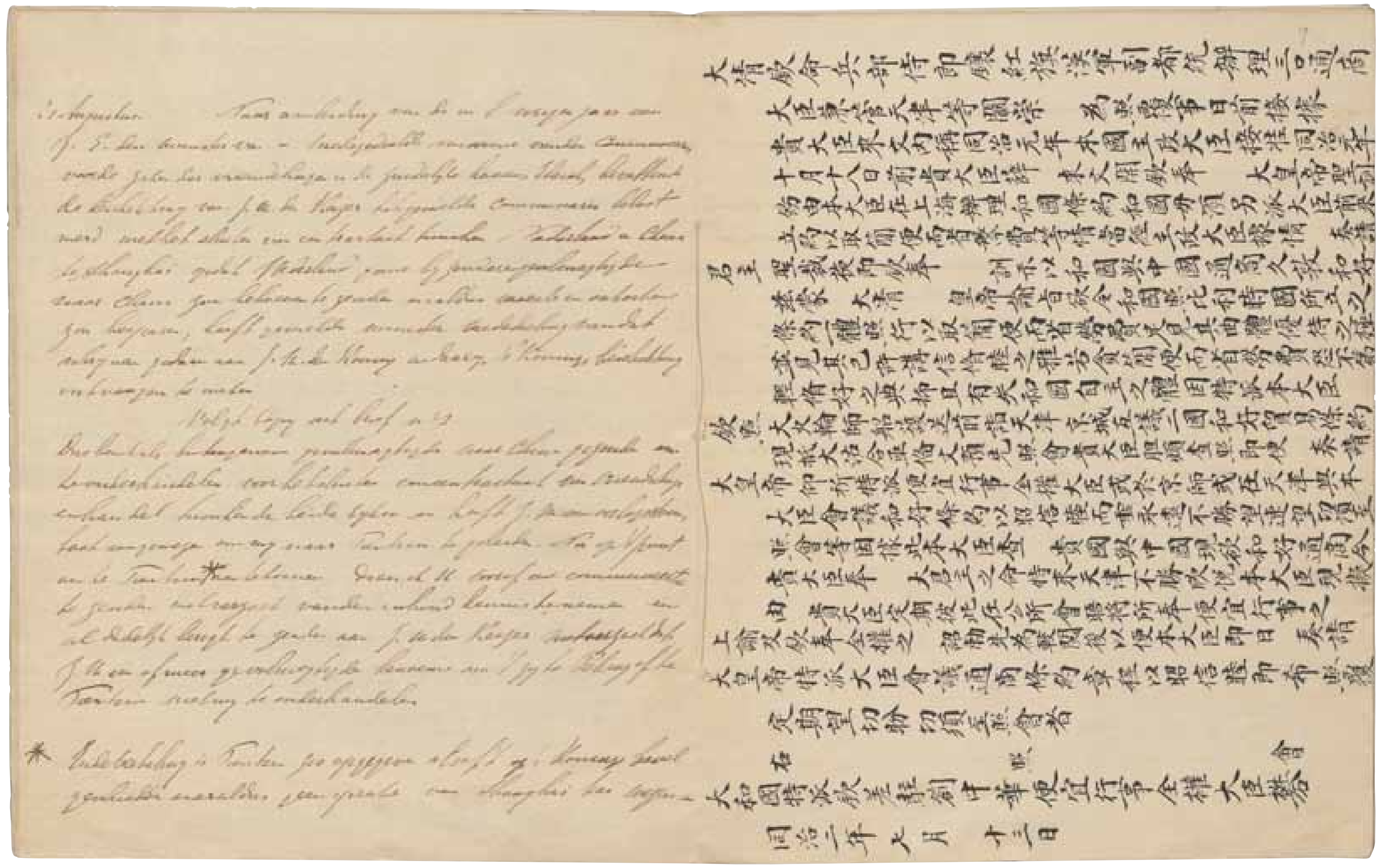


Figure 4: De Grijs' Dutch translation of a Chinese letter and a copy by Ang In Liong of another Chinese letter.

animosity over champagne and Chinese pastry, and had ample opportunity to exchange all kinds of questions about Europe and China.

In the days that followed, Van der Hoeven made a new version of 16 articles, which De Grijs translated into Chinese. At the next meeting, the number of Chinese commissioners was doubled to four; this may explain the different names mentioned by De Grijs and Chonghou. Chonghou gave the following description of the negotiations:

> When there were points that they would not agree with, they refused obstinately. After repeated direct negotiations about each article, either by our guiding them with kind words or by straightforward rebuking, several times corrections were made. The envoy Van der Hoeven (Fan) does not understand Chinese, but I noticed the discontented tone of his words, while De Grijs was extremely crafty, and each time he argued forcefully, bringing forward the treaties with Prussia and Spain and querulously annoying us without interruption. My humble opinion is that in contacts with foreign states, one always has to exhaust all possible arguments. Foreigners are by nature treacherous. If you refuse them too bluntly, the matter will be spoiled, but if you give in too lightly, this may foster extravagant expectations. This is why I had ordered the commissioners to work from other angles on De Grijs, proclaiming our standpoint again and again, to try to make him change his mind, in order to make him assimilate to our sphere of influence.

What the Chinese probably most hated in the discussions was Van der Hoeven's (in his own words) 'objectionable' tactic of threatening to proceed to Peking with British support, as the Danish had done. De Grijs probably also would not have liked this, as he did not mention it in his reports (nor did Chonghou). Apart from irritation, he felt great respect for his Chinese counterparts:

> Truly, I believe there is not much reason to criticise Chinese diplomacy. They are clever, and extremely clever: for instance, when I noted that a treaty should contain extensive directives on the duties of ships and captains, they asked whether all ships that arrive and leave are always found out or not, and how they will get to know those laws that exist as long as there is no treaty with China.

After only 20 days of negotiations and on the basis of five different draft texts of respectively 19, 10 and three times 16 articles, a final agreement was reached. The number of articles remained a sensitive point for the Chinese: this number was finally dropped in the title. And the Chinese second draft of 10 articles was not mentioned at all by Chonghou, which suggested that the reduction from 19 to 16 was entirely a Chinese achievement. This is understandable when one realises the dangers for Chinese officials who negotiated with foreigners. One of Chonghou's predecessors, Qiying 耆英, who had negotiated with the British from the 1840s on, had been demoted and finally sentenced to death in 1858, and the same would later happen to Chonghou after he made a concession to the Russians in 1879; fortunately, that verdict was never executed and he was released after paying an enormous fine.

The Dutch had achieved their aim of a full treaty including the most-favoured nation clause, and the Chinese had managed to delete all objectionable clauses, such as signing the treaty in the capital, a tariff reduction for Dutch camlets (Leidsche polemieten), accepting the Dutch text as the final version, and exchanging the ratifications in the capital. Stationing a Dutch diplomat in Peking was not mentioned, but would be allowed as a result of the most-favoured nation clause. One important clause in which De Grijs achieved victory was the right to appoint merchants as Dutch Consuls (such as Van der Hoeven), although he, having himself acted as Vice-Consul for seven years, was personally not in favour of this.

The treaty of friendship and trade was signed on 6 October 1863. In his report to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs which was immediately dispatched, Van der Hoeven expressed a high opinion of De Grijs' contribution, ending his letter as follows:

> Finally I feel compelled to declare to Your Excellency that a large part of the success of my negotiations is due to the knowledge and tact of Mr. C.F.M. de Grijs, whose — for the Chinese — charming and persuasive interpretation of my arguments, and general familiarity with the modes of thinking and forms of courtesy, afforded me a highly necessary support.

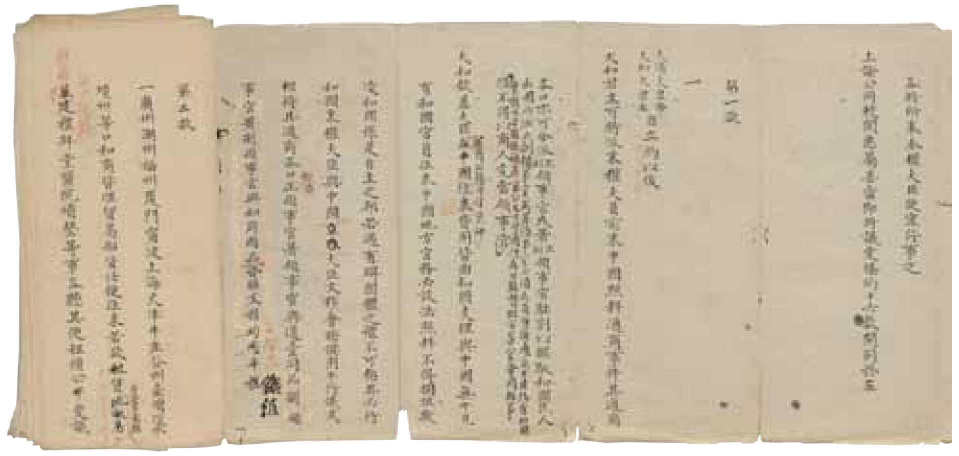
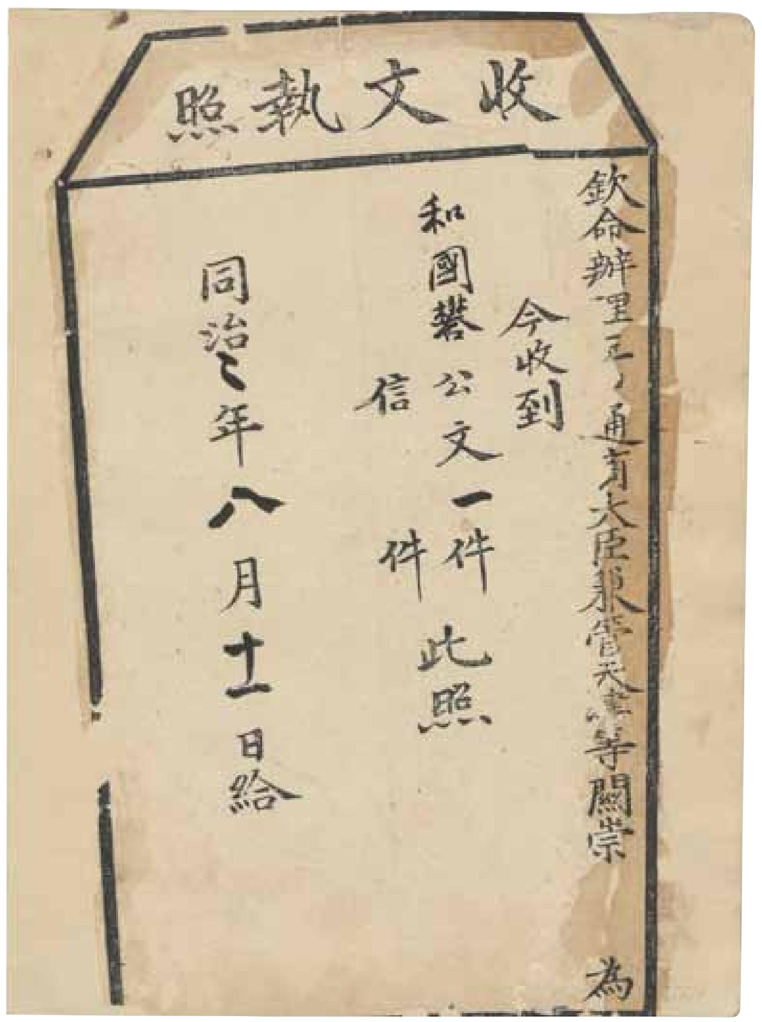


Figure 5: First pages of Prince Gong's draft treaty of 22 September 1863 with the addition of mercantile consuls.

THE RATIFICATION

The day after the treaty was signed, De Grijs departed for Peking to take it for ratification to the Netherlands via Siberia, which was allegedly a cheaper and faster route. In the capital he visited and described several sights, such as the Temple of Heaven (damaged by foreign visitors), the Summer Palace (damaged, but not fully destroyed by foreign troops in 1860), the enormous city walls (forbidden for the Chinese themselves to walk on, though foreigners were allowed to do so). After now being warned not to travel via Siberia during the winter, he returned to Tientsin and went by ship, arriving in the Netherlands in December 1863. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was not pleased with the high costs of bringing the treaty in person, and did not listen to De Grijs' advice to exchange the ratified treaties as had been stipulated in the treaty rather than send letters of ratification according to European practice. After ratification by the King, De Grijs was charged with bringing the letter of ratification to China, where he arrived in May 1864. But when the Chinese discovered in October 1864 that he had not brought the original treaty as they had done themselves, the exchange was postponed. The Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, Guo Songtao, admitted that the European manner was more practical, but could not obtain a ratification letter from the Emperor. Since De Grijs was needed in the Dutch East Indies as a Chinese interpreter, he left China and was appointed as interpreter in Semarang. The exchange of ratified treaties took place in Canton in July 1865 with the assistance of the Dutch student interpreter J. de Breuk.



收文執照
欽命辦理三口通商大臣兼管天津等關崇 為
今收到
和國欽 公文一件
信件 此照
同治二年八月十一日給

Figure 6: Chonghou's acknowledgement of the receipt of a letter, dated 23 September 1863.

In 1865 De Grijs wrote an article about the treaty and his impressions of China, which he then offered for publication to the Royal Institute for the Languages, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands Indies (KITLV) in The Hague. One and a half years later it was rejected as it had been submitted, since 'publication would not be in the interest of the author'. No further motivation was given; the article was presumably rejected because in some respects De Grijs sympathised too explicitly with the Chinese. The manuscript is now kept in Leiden University Library.

From De Grijs' description it becomes clear that China, although weakened as a result of foreign aggression, could at that time still successfully resist demands from the Dutch which they considered unreasonable or unacceptable. In this respect, therefore, this treaty cannot be considered an 'unequal treaty.'

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MANUSCRIPT MAP OF SHIMA

The collection of Japanese maps of Philipp Franz von Siebold includes an impressive series of about twenty large provincial manuscript maps. These provincial maps were compiled by the orders of the Tokugawa shōgunate in the Edo period. The map shown here is a map of the province of Shima (the eastern corner of today's Mie Prefecture).

The map differs from the other provincial maps in this series because the colour-coded indication of counties is lacking. It looks as if this map is a simplified copy of the original official map dating from the second half of the 17th century. However, the most important routes, both over land and over sea, are indicated with red lines. The most prominent feature on this map is the plan of Toba Castle, also known as 'the floating castle of Toba' or 'the two-colour castle' (because the walls on the sea side were painted black, and those on the land side were painted white).

In relation to the rest of the map, the plan of the castle is dramatically enlarged, probably to mark its importance. Throughout the Edo period the castle was the administrative centre of the feudal Toba domain of Shima province. Nowadays, the castle is in ruins. (KK)

Manuscript map of Shima
Object number: ser. 265
Geographic region: Japan
Material: manuscript on paper
Date: c. 1825
Dimensions: 90 x 126.5 cm

The Way of Collecting the Dao

BY MARC GILBERT

Johan Peter Gumbert was born in a family where books held a prominent place. As his father was the manager of J.L. Beijers, a bookshop and auction house located in Utrecht, his passion for books came almost natural to him. However, his fascination for the translation of one small Chinese book into western languages gave birth to a unique collection of several hundred volumes published in more than thirty languages. Collected over decades, these books are now included in the holdings of the Asian Library.

THE BIBLIOPHILE

Dr. Johan Peter Gumbert (1936-2016) was an internationally renowned professor of Latin palaeography and codicology. A disciple of Gerard Isaac Lieftinck (1902-1994), he shared his passion for the medieval manuscript books with his students at Leiden University, where he taught between 1979 and 2001. His contribution to the study of Middle Dutch literature is significant and fully recognized by his peers. Co-founder of the Gazette du livre médiéval, Peter Gumbert was also a member of the Comité international de paléographie latine. In 1997 he became a member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, prior to being appointed Knight in the Order of Oranje Nassau in 2011.

The articles written in homage to Gumbert on the occasion of his retirement or to commemorate him, unanimously pay tribute to his enthusiasm in sharing his knowledge with others. However, there is something Professor Gumbert was more private about, an inner sanctum he hardly shared: his fascination for the translations of the *Dao de jing* – commonly translated into English as the Classic of the way and virtue.

'I like the *Tao Te King* […]; I first came to know it in 1956 (in the German version of the Lin Yutang version), and soon found myself owning several translations of it. I then became fascinated by the fact that these translations are so different, and that so many of them are expressions of byways of European thought rather than translations,' Gumbert wrote in his unpublished Remarks on a 'bibliography' of translations of the *Tao Te King*, dated June 2013, on which this article is partly based.

Figure 1: Prof. J.P. Gumbert and his collection of translations of the *Dao de jing*.

THE CHINESE TEXT AND ITS EARLY RECEPTION IN THE WEST

The *Dao de jing* is attributed to Laozi, a legendary figure of Chinese philosophy. Although Sima Qian (c.145-c.87 BCE), the first great Chinese historian, dedicated a biography to Laozi in his *Shi ji* (Historical records), no proof of his existence has been uncovered yet. This concise fundamental text of Chinese thought (about five thousand characters arranged in 81 sections) has a rather complex textual history. Its date of creation and compilation are still debated, while archaeological excavations (Mawangdui, 1973 and Guodian, 1993) revealed the existence of different versions of the text. The Guodian discovery showed that the earliest form of the text dates back to at least 300 BCE. More ancient versions may have existed. For centuries, this abstruse book aroused interest: about 700 commentaries have been written in China and about 250 in Japan. In the 18th century, the *Dao de jing* began firing the imagination of the Western world.

The Jesuits were the first to introduce the *Dao de jing* in Europe, with a Latin translation presented to the British Royal society in 1788. The Dao was then related to a divine being, thus paving the way to a Christian interpretation of the text that would remain firmly rooted in European mind until the turn of the 20th century. When Abel-Rémusat published the first Western scholarly study on the *Dao de jing*, *Mémoire sur la vie et les opinions de Lao-Tseu*, speculations about a Christian doctrine concealed in the Chinese text were still predominant. Abel-Rémusat related three Chinese characters in chapter fourteen of the *Dao de jing* (夷希微, transcribed by him I-hi-weï or IHV) to the tetragrammaton forming the name of Yahweh and usually transliterated YHWH.

From then on, translations and interpretations in Western languages continued to appear. Regardless of the edition(s) or the version(s) on which these publications were based, the *Dao de jing* has been interpreted in such diverse ways (as a philosophy of life, mysticism, esotericism, as a solution to all kinds of problems, etc.) that it gave birth to a rich variety of texts, including some inventive misreadings.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

In a letter written in 1960, Professor Gumbert wrote he was aware of eighty translations and owned nine of them.

* 2
L'uomo fissa la beltà come beltà,
indi dispregia ciò che non ha beltà.
E l'uomo stabilisce il bene come bene,
e poi deplora tutto ciò che non è bene.
Essere e Nonessere combaciano a vicenda.
Difficile e Facile si tessono a vicenda.
Lungo e Corto si distinguono a vicenda.
Sopra e Sotto si completano a vicenda.
Suono e Pausa si accordano a vicenda.
Prima e Dopo si cambiano a vicenda.
L'Un dell'Altro ognor si cerchia,
e l'Un nell'Altro si rispecchia,
così Tutto si libra sul Niente.
Quindi Viandante Buonoaniente,
Puro e Silente e col Nonagire,
vive, fa vivere e può compire;
lascia andare, è Senzatendenze,
e Fermo compie tutte le tendenze.
Non cerca poteri, onori o possesso,
e ognuno da solo può trovare Sé Stesso.

* 3
Quando esaltano fede e valori,
cercano gloria, poteri e onori;
e predicando dogmi e dottrine,
creano odio, lotte e rovine.
Beni difficili da ottenere
producono ladri e borse nere.
Quando si mostra ciò che turba,
il Cuore del popolo si disturba.
Viandante aggiusta Tutto, eccome!,
acquieta il Cuore e nutre l'Addome.
Senzabrame sa stare col Senza,
si avviva e ravviva di Essenza.
Sa solvere ogni ambizione,
sa nutrire le Ossa e l'Embrione.
Libera il popolo dall'infurbire.
Di Conoscenza vive e di Nonagire.
E Tutto cedendo Tutt'Uno divenire.
Quieto dall'Interno
guidare l'esterno.

* 4
La Via riempie eppure è Vuota,
sa dare a tutti ma non trabocca,
è Senzaspazio, Senzatempo, Ignota;
per essa Tutto entra e Tutto sbocca.
Aguzza il rotondo, smussa lo sporgente.
Intreccia il semplice, snoda l'intricato.
Illumina il buio, smorza lo splendente.
Ricava il piano, livella il ricavato.
Insondabile: c'è, e non si piglia;
è Identica, Immobile, Sfuggente;
e io non so di chi sia figlia:
da essa attinge il Reggente.

Figure 2: Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of the Italian opera based on the *Dao de jing*: *Dao, la Via: La Via dell'Immortalità*.

Peter Gumbert soon found himself frustrated by the quality of the existing bibliographies on the subject. As a result, he decided to provide a scrupulous inventory of the Western-language translations of the *Dao de jing* he had encountered.

In his view, translation had to be understood in a wide sense. Both his collection and his bibliography therefore included not only complete or partial translations of the original Chinese text, but also editions with comments or added content.

In his bibliography, Gumbert used a code to differentiate between these different types of 'translation': S for selection, E for essay, P for paraphrase, T for material published in journals (from Dutch Tijdschrift, 'journal'). These letters could be combined according to the described edition. For example, *The inner life and the tao-teh-king* (1912) by C.H.A. Bjerregaard is described as SE, as it is an essay including a selection of chapters from the original text. Such a bibliography allowed Gumbert to stress the gradual development of some translations through time and the changes between early versions (which often happened to be published in journals: T) and final ones. He gave as examples the work of Günther Debon, Richard Wilhelm or Paul Carus.

Translations of existing translations are also a substantial part of this collection which includes retranslations into English, French, Spanish and

Portuguese of the German version by Richard Wilhelm, *Das Buch des Alten vom Sinn und Leben*. This phenomenon was quite widespread throughout the West, as also evidenced by the Icelandic version by Smári and Jóhannesson based on the Danish translation by Ernst Møller.

'Mutability of translations of translations even when their base does not change' is something that deeply struck Peter Gumbert. He articulated his amazement in his Remarks when he wrote the following comment: 'the Dutch and German versions of Feng [Gia-fu] both underwent serious reworking. (The second Dutch form is now quite different from Feng's version; but at least it is called a 'herziening' [revision]. The German version underwent quite as serious changes, but with no mention of the fact!).'

A second code established by Gumbert helps to differentiate between editions he was able to acquire, those he had found in a library but did not possess, those he owned a photocopy of or those he had seen but did not consider worth purchasing. For most of the items described by Gumbert in his bibliography, regular bibliographical details are provided (author, title, edition, etc.). For books published in certain languages (English, French, German, Italian), the translation of the first sentence of the book is given: 'The way which can be walked upon is not the eternal Way; the name which can be uttered is not its eternal Name' (*The Remains of Lao Tzu Retranslated*, Herbert A. Giles, 1886); 'The Tao that can be told is not the invariant Tao / the names that can be named are not the invariant Names' (*The Tao of the Tao Te Ching: A Translation and Commentary*, Michael Lafargue, 1992). Gumbert could not collate these lines with the original text as he did not read Chinese, but this system nevertheless allowed him an initial comparison between the different translations in the same language.

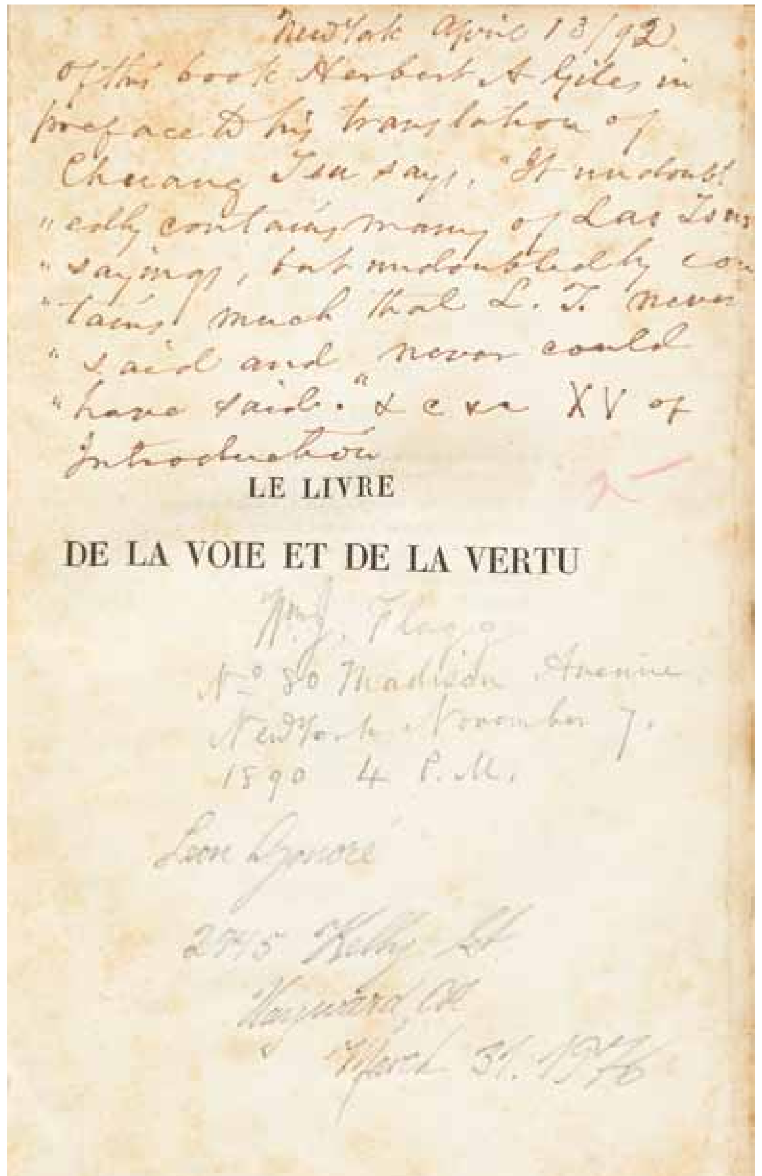


Figure 3: Quotation from Herbert Giles' introduction to his *Chuang Tzu* found on Stanislas Julien's *Le livre de la voie et de la vertu*.

Gumbert did not include in his bibliography all the books he had collected in relation to the *Dao de jing*. Translations of *Zhuangzi* (partial or complete), biographies of various translators of the *Dao de jing* (Willhem, Matgioi, etc.), publications on Taoism, parodies and adapted versions distantly connected to the Chinese text are among the books Gumbert collected but did not list. An entertaining example of these publications is surely the *Meow Te Ching*, The way to contentment, serenity, and getting what you want, an invitation to follow the feline wisdom of Meow Tzu, among whose famous sayings can be counted: 'The early cat catches the early bird' or 'You can't have your mouse and eat it too.'

THE METHODS OF COLLECTING

Through the years, in a 'slow and cheap way' as he wrote, Peter Gumbert managed to collect 662 of the 787 editions included in his bibliography. If we include the unlisted books, his collection actually boasts approximately 1400 titles published in more than 30 languages: next to translations in English, Dutch or French, editions in Esperanto, Basque, Lithuanian, Greek, Polish or even Hungarian can be encountered.

If the *Dao de jing* never was a reason for her husband to travel, as Marijke Gumbert recalled, he would surely turn to good account any trip to enrich his collection and his bibliography, visiting local bookstores, second-hand booksellers and libraries. The onset of Internet was doubtless of great help for Professor Gumbert, providing him with a considerable part of his acquisitions.

The documents donated by the family (correspondence with booksellers, invoices, etc.), once filed, should give valuable information about the forming of this collection. Many loose papers were also inserted in the books. Some feature a display of numbers that at first look enigmatic, but appear to be a cross-reference table. Professor Gumbert listed the chapters of the *Dao de jing* and indicated on which pages of the translation they could be found. He also used to mark directly the parts he found interesting on the pages, but apparently never wrote down any comment about the translations of the Chinese text.

SOME BOOKS FROM THE COLLECTION

This collection clearly shows how the *Dao de jing* inspired not only translators but also publishers, artists and writers.

In 1842, Stanislas Julien published *Le livre de la voie et de la vertu*. In many ways, this item is of great interest. Printed with the original text and based on a Chinese commentary, it is considered the first comprehensive translation of the *Dao de jing*. It is also one of the oldest books within this collection. Among the translations collected by Gumbert, this edition may very well have the largest number of ownership marks and also bears witness to the dissemination and the reception of the *Dao de jing* in the West. No fewer than one ex-dono, one comment, five ex-libris – including Gumbert's own stamp (an oblong composition of his initials in a peculiar medieval form) and his illegible spidery scrawl (he nearly systematically wrote down where and when each book was purchased), not to mention the various annotations on the pages.

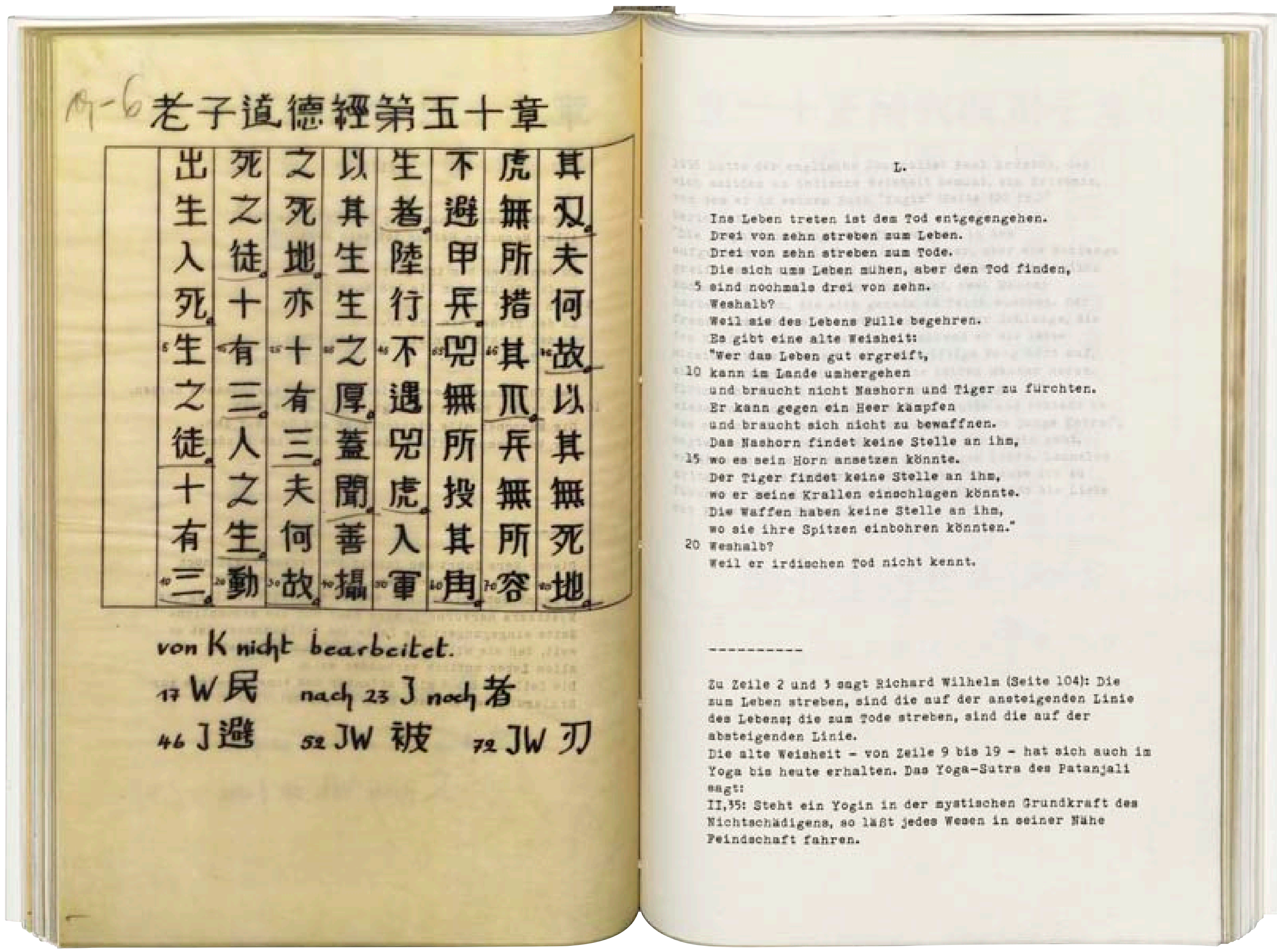
The comment written on the title page by an anonymous former owner is particularly interesting. It consists of a quote from Herbert Giles' introduction to his *Chuang Tzu*, mystic, moralist, and social reformer: 'It undoubtedly contains many of Lao Tsu's sayings but undoubtedly contains much that L.T. never said and never could have said.' As a matter of fact, in his introduction, Giles stated he was opposed to the inclusion of the *Dao de jing* in The Sacred Books of the East series: 'Apart from spuriousness, it can only by a severe stretch of courtesy be termed as a 'sacred book''. It is impossible to establish whether the person who wrote down this passage agreed with Giles on the content of the *Dao de jing*, or if this quote amounts to a critical approach to Julien's work.

Das Buch von Tao und Te is an intriguing item: the translation is printed on Chinese paper and bound in the traditional Chinese way with a facsimile of the original draft text. The German translation by the religious historian Eberhard Cold is based on Julien's edition and was mainly collated with Paul Carus' text. Cold found his predecessors' knowledge of comparative religion studies insufficient for a full understanding of the *Dao de jing*. In comparison, his approach is singular and marked by mysticism: he draws parallels with the Yoga Sutra by Patanjali and includes quotes from the Japanese Zen Buddhist Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. His manuscript was ready for print in 1949 but remained unpublished until 2011.

One of the most original, or shall we say creative, translations in this collection is probably by an anonymous Italian author. The *Dao, la Via: La Via dell'Immortalità*, published in 1997, claims to be an opera based on the book attributed to Laozi. The publisher took great pains with the layout: the text

Figure 4: Chapter L of Das Buch von *Tao und Te* by the German religious historian Eberhard Cold, including the facsimile page of the Chinese text.

Figure 5 (right page): 道 Dao (the way), a lithograph by Albert Ràfols Casamada from a Catalan limited edition.



M-6 老子道德經第五十章

出生入死生之徒十有三
死之徒十有三人之生動
之死地亦十有三夫何故
以其生生之厚蓋聞善攝
生者陸行不遇兕虎入軍
不避甲兵兕無所投其角
虎無所措其爪兵無所容
其刃夫何故以其無死地

von K nicht bearbeitet.

17 W 民 nach 23 J noch 若

46 J 避 52 JW 被 72 JW 刃

L.

Ins Leben treten ist dem Tod entgegengehen.
Drei von zehn streben zum Leben.
Drei von zehn streben zum Tode.
Die sich ums Leben mühen, aber den Tod finden,
sind nochmals drei von zehn.
Weshalb?
Weil sie des Lebens Fülle begehren.
Es gibt eine alte Weisheit:
"Wer das Leben gut ergreift,
kann im Lande umhergehen
und braucht nicht Nashorn und Tiger zu fürchten.
Er kann gegen ein Heer kämpfen
und braucht sich nicht zu bewaffnen.
Das Nashorn findet keine Stelle an ihm,
wo es sein Horn ansetzen könnte.
Der Tiger findet keine Stelle an ihm,
wo er seine Krallen einschlagen könnte.
Die Waffen haben keine Stelle an ihm,
wo sie ihre Spitzen einbohren könnten."
Weshalb?
Weil er irdischen Tod nicht kennt.

Zu Zeile 2 und 3 sagt Richard Wilhelm (Seite 104): Die zum Leben streben, sind die auf der ansteigenden Linie des Lebens; die zum Tode streben, sind die auf der absteigenden Linie.
Die alte Weisheit - von Zeile 9 bis 19 - hat sich auch im Yoga bis heute erhalten. Das Yoga-Sutra des Patanjali sagt:
II,35: Steht ein Yogin in der mystischen Grundkraft des Nichtschädigens, so läßt jedes Wesen in seiner Nähe Feindschaft fahren.

Figure 6: A 3 meters long illustrated roll published by Libros de Autor.

was printed in blue, the end of the verses form waves, sometimes assuming the shape of a full moon. No scores are included in the publication but the rhyme, the length of the verses, the use of punctuation (which, by the way, was absent in the original Chinese text; all classical Chinese texts are unpunctuated) and the alliterations provide a sense of rhythm.

Publishers also sought for ways of calling attention to their translation of the *Dao de jing*, so as not to be ignored in a competitive market with many different versions of the text. Printed in Peru in 1997, *El Tao Te Ching* has a very unappealing blue plastic cover but is definitely distinctive on account of its format: it measures 3.5 cm in length 2.5 cm in width. It may very well be the smallest *Dao de jing* in translation ever printed. In contrast, the version published by Libros de Autor in 1993, consists of a c. 3 meters long roll mounted on two wooden rollers. The editor of this illustrated edition explained the rationale behind this approach, insisting on the importance of the relation between content and format: illustrations were added to invite the user to meditate.

Some of these translations were illustrated by artists. The Catalan limited edition published in Barcelona in 1965 includes lithographs by Albert Ràfols Casamada, a figure of lyrical abstraction. The twenty double leaves are printed on the outer sides and are held in a black portfolio case. The translator was the Catalan poet and writer Josep Palau i Fabre, who was also a leading expert on the work of Picasso. One leaf of this book bears the signatures of the translator and of the artist. Only 112 copies were made; Gumbert owned number 24.

These are only a few striking examples demonstrating the value and the diversity of the materials collected by Gumbert throughout the years. Books from this fascinating collection have already been presented to the public in the past. Thus in 2002 Gumbert organized an exhibition of Dutch translations of the *Dao de jing* in Leiden. Five years later, a different selection of his books was shown in Hong Kong. This ensemble of translations illustrates the position held by the *Dao de jing* in world culture and is now available for research and education at the Asian Library. Which is undoubtedly a way of sharing his secret passion which Professor Gumbert would have liked.

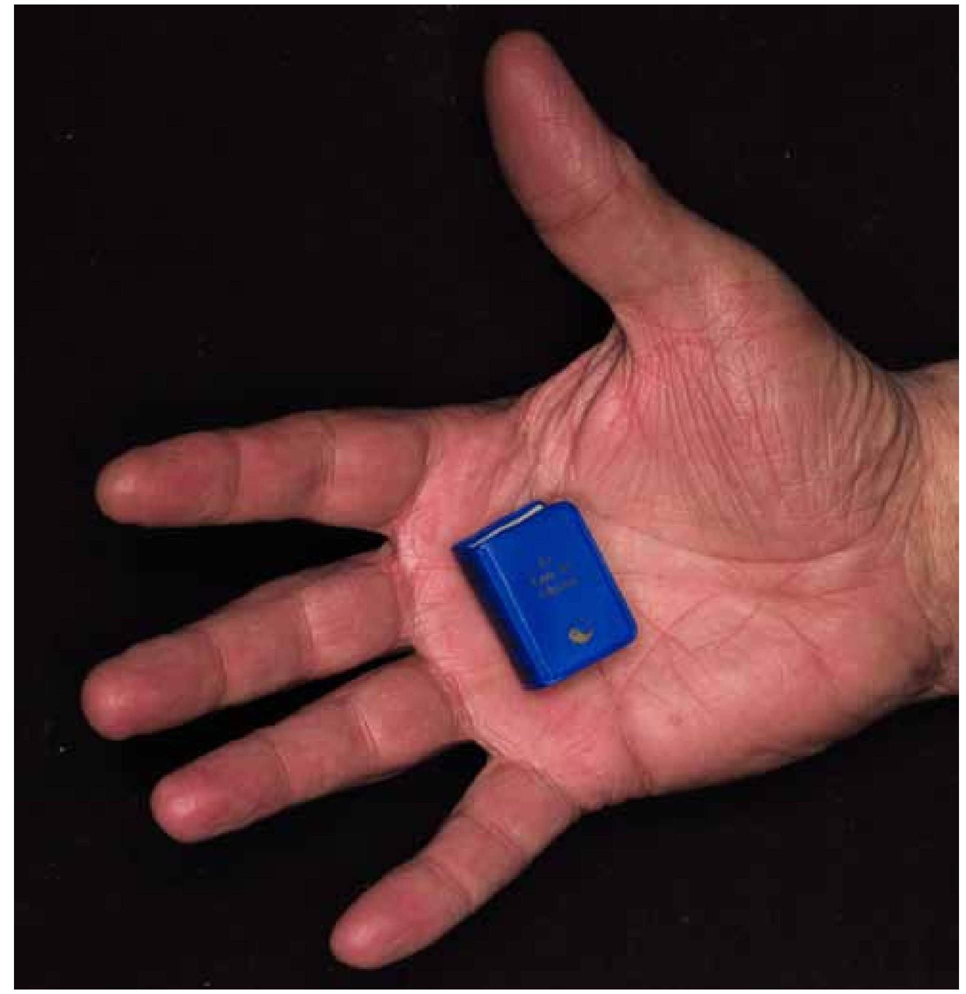


Figure 7: A Peruvian tiny pocket edition of the *Dao de jing*: 3.5 x 2.5 cm.

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THE DIAMOND SUTRA

The *Diamond Sutra* is an integral part of the Korean Zen (Son) school, which flourished in the Koryŏ period. This edition of the *Diamond Sutra* printed in the 16th century appeared during a period of suppression of Buddhism following the end of the Koryŏ period (1392), when Neo-Confucianism supplanted Buddhism as state ideology, and the government began to use metal type printing for important government documents or books.

The reason temples continued to exist as places of publication after their decline in the Chosŏn period, however, was due to the rising demand for Confucian classics and historical books. Woodblock printing proved to be more effective for mass production. Temples had the advantage of having skilled engravers, paper manufacturers and access to wood. While monks were forced to print government-controlled publications, the position of temples as sites of publication ensured that the printing of Buddhist sutras was also continued. (KK)

The Diamond Sutra
Object number: SINOL Gulik E Chin KPL
Geographic region: Korea
Material: woodcut on paper
Date: 16th century
Dimensions: 32 x 23 cm

'He ate a lot and loved to eat': Robert van Gulik, Asian Food, and the Leiden Collections

BY ALICE DE JONG AND ANNE GERRITSEN

'He ate a lot and loved to eat, especially Chinese food, and loved to discover new dishes.' This description comes from the 1993 biography of Robert van Gulik (1910-1967), the famous Sinologist whose world-renowned collections now form part of the Asian Library at Leiden University. Van Gulik was a diplomat, a musician, a writer, a scholar of Asia, but, as we learn here, also a lover of food. An anecdote in the same biography describes van Gulik's discovery of a very special cookery book in 1938. Van Gulik was based at the Embassy of the Netherlands in Tokyo from 1935 to 1942. At the barracks opposite the embassy grounds, Japanese soldiers, who frequently went looting in China, sometimes sold pieces of art and other such objects. 'He took the book to a befriended cook at a Chinese restaurant, and instructed him to make a couple of special and rare dishes. Then he invited friends over to enjoy the meal. They later declared it had been delicious.' Van Gulik's life and works have received a great deal of attention over the years, but his culinary interests have so far escaped notice.

VAN GULIK, THE BOOK COLLECTOR

What might this 'very special cookery book' have been? Van Gulik was extremely knowledgeable about Chinese culture, so it is not surprising he was able to identify a cookery book as 'special'. His own justification for the purchase, according to his biographers, was that 'It was no use to the Chinese anymore, and it would be a pity to have the Japanese keep it.' Perhaps the cookery book he bought was an antique block print, bound in the typical butterfly binding. It probably was not illustrated – historical collections of recipes rarely are – but if van Gulik was able to ask a cook to make some of the dishes, it must have had lists of ingredients and descriptions of methods. Unfortunately, all the items that were in van Gulik's collection in 1938 were lost; he began a new collection in 1942, entitled *Yucunzhai*, 'Studio of that which remains'. The Van Gulik Collection of the Asian Library contains several collectanea known as 'Herbals' (*Bencao*), or 'Materia Medica'. Such herbals often contain long lists of plants, trees, roots, mushrooms, animals and fish, with descriptions of their warming or cooling properties and their medical application. They tell us a lot about ingredients, but do not really qualify as recipe books.

Figure 1: Title page and introduction of the 飲膳摘要 Inzen Tekiyo, 'Proper Essentials of Food and Drink', 1817.

Perhaps it was a copy of 'Recipes from the Garden of Ease' (*Suiyuan shidan*) by the famous man of letters Yuan Mei (1716-1797), dated 1790, or of 'The Harmonious Cauldron' (*Tiao ding ji*), a large recipe collection from around 1800. Both are famous texts, and van Gulik would undoubtedly have been aware of their existence. However, unless the book had a fine outward appearance, it is unlikely that the Japanese soldiers would have bothered carrying the book back to Japan and offer it for sale. If it was an attractive-looking cookery book, it may have been one of the little booklets printed in a format perfect for being used in the kitchen, like this one in the Asian Library collection.

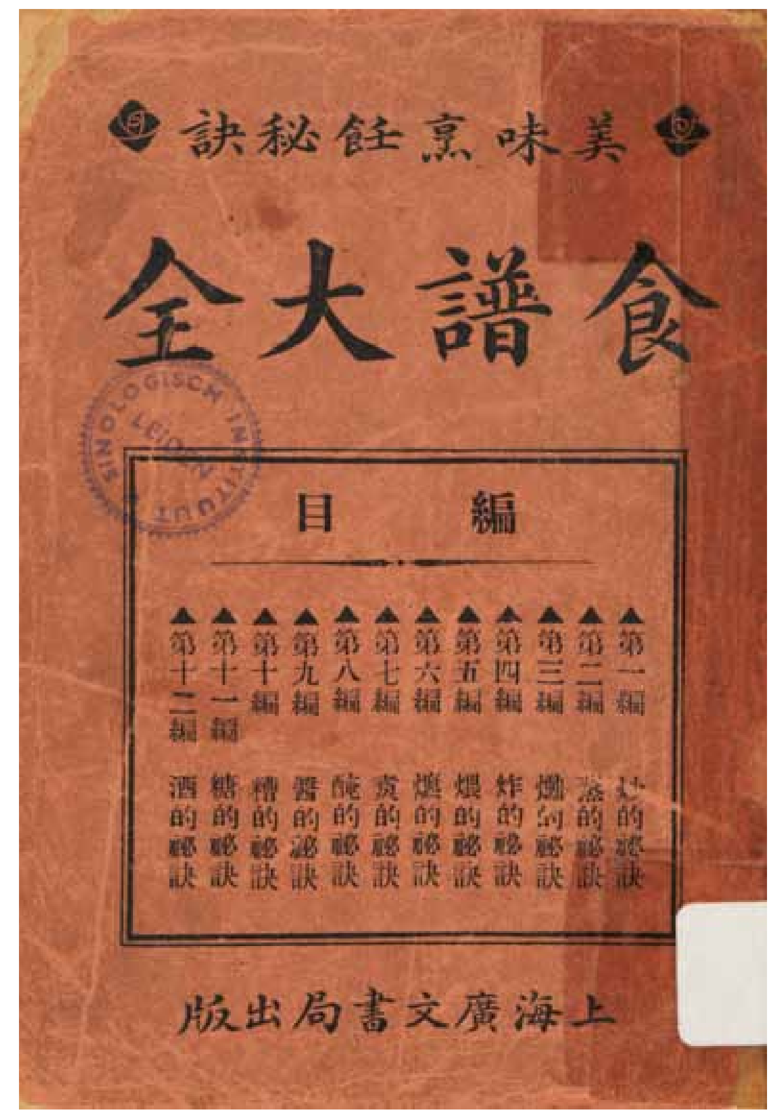
This little book, with its marbled paper cover and green ribbon, is in fact a Japanese herbal, written by the late 18th century herbalist Ono Ranzan (1729-1810), who was one of the scholars who helped translate Rembert Dodoens' (Dodonaeus) 16th century *Herbarius* or *Cruydt-boeck* into Japanese. In China and Japan, as in the Dutch Republic, herbs and spices were valued as much for their culinary qualities as for their medicinal attributes. Ono gave his herbal the same title as an intriguing collection of recipes in the Chinese language: the *Yinshan zhengyao*, famously translated as 'A Soup for the Qan'. *Yinshan zhengyao* was written in 1320 by Hu Sixie, the court physician and chef to the Mongol Khan who had established the Yuan dynasty in 1279. This little book with its red title page and descriptions of ingredients in small print is certainly very special, but we know it was never in van Gulik's possession. It came to the Asian Library through the Serrurier collection and was almost certainly obtained by Philipp Franz von Siebold, the German physician in Dutch service who lived for many years in Japan and became famous for his large ethnographical and botanical collections, as well for his books and woodblock prints collected in Japan.

VAN GULIK, THE COOK

The Van Gulik Collection does contain one specific volume of cookery. It is a rather inconspicuous little book, with pencil markings in the index and enough splatters on the pages to suspect it has been used in a kitchen.

This is the 'Complete book of delicious secret culinary recipes' (*Meiwei pengren mijue shipu daquan*), published in 1921. It is unlikely that this cookery book is the book that van Gulik's biographer referred to as 'very special', but we do know that this particular cookery book was in van Gulik's personal possession. Perhaps the markings were made by van Gulik himself, thus reflect his own interest in discovering new recipes? Van Gulik's biographers certainly point in that direction: 'Van Gulik's interest in cooking made him develop a great skill in that respect. He regularly cooked Chinese, Japanese or Indonesian dinners for his friends and sometimes he prepared something exceptional.' One of the items that was marked with a tick in the Table of Contents of the 'Complete book of delicious secret culinary recipes' is a dish with lotus root. The recipe for fried lotus in syrup may well have been one of these exceptional dishes he cooked; in this recipe, the lotus root is sliced, fried in hot oil and coated with sugar syrup and sprinkled with hibiscus flowers. Many other recipes with lotus root are ticked in pencil: fried lotus root with pork slices, steamed lotus root and candied lotus rootlets. Clearly, the user of this recipe book had a special preference for lotus root.

Figure 2: The heavily used 'Complete Cookbook of Delicious Culinary Secrets', 1921, Van Gulik collection.



On the same basis, we can infer that dishes with bean curd (tofu) were popular. Ticks mark recipes for stir-fried dried tofu strips, soft tofu curds in soup, and a similar soup with fresh soya beans (edamame) or bamboo shoots. All these dishes are based on the soya bean, a plant very important in Chinese cuisine.

We can be sure that van Gulik and/or his cook will have used the trio commonly found in every Chinese kitchen, in the past as much as today: ginger, garlic and spring onions, with perhaps some freshly sliced chilli peppers for flavour.

We will never know exactly whose hands held this cookery book, and whose preferences these ticks reveal, but it seems fair to assume that the many dishes van Gulik loved to eat will have included lotus roots and tofu, and spices like ginger, garlic and chillies.

VAN GULIK, THE ENTERTAINER

Van Gulik's biographers add a further detail; apparently, he loved to entertain guests:

> 'Professor Boxer remembers having wild boar's head, Kublai Khan style, which Van Gulik prepared [...]. Of course he served it with Mongolian wine – that is to say arak. He could serve a dinner in the style of the Tokugawa era, or make a meal for his Rangakusha (Japanese scholars of Dutch Studies) friends, as the Nagasaki painter Shiba Kokan would have had at the end of the 18th century.'

Unfortunately, the cookery book from van Gulik's collection does not include a recipe for wild boar's head. However, the *Yinshan zhengyao* that was written by the chef and physician of the Mongol Khan does include the following recipe for the preparation of a hog's head:

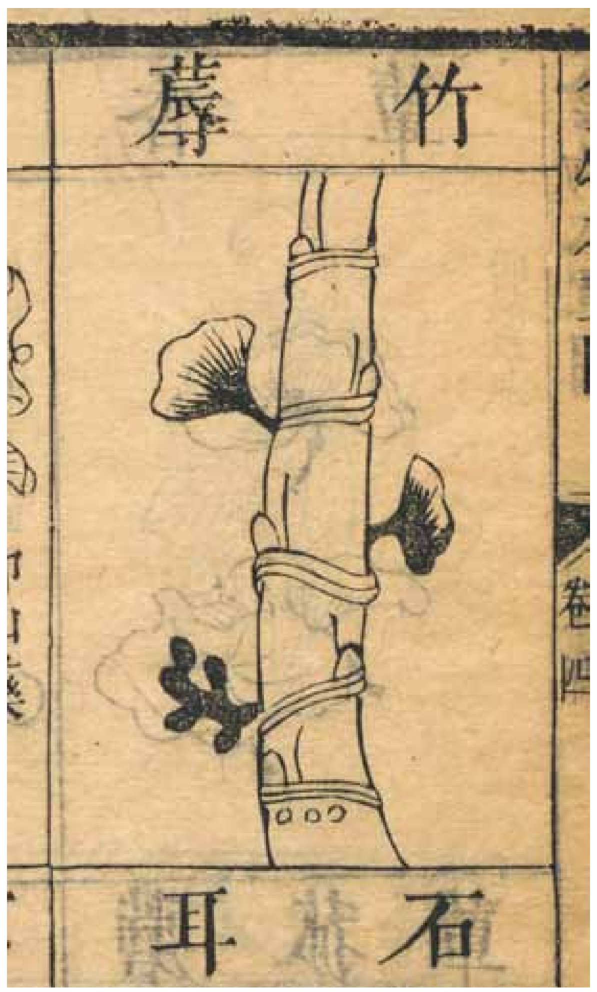


Figure 3: Lotus pod and lotus roots from *Seikei Zusetsu*, 1804.

Figure 4: Another special cooking ingredient: a 'bamboo ear' mushroom from the Chinese herbal *Shiwu bencao huizuan*, 1691.

Figure 5a, b, c, d: Basic flavourings in Chinese cuisine: garlic, ginger, spring onions and chili peppers, as depicted in *Seikei Zusetsu*, 1804.

Figure 6: Wild boar running. Japanese hand-coloured manuscript, 1825.

Figure 7: Washing fermented rice in a mountain stream. 1930s reprint of Tiangong Kaiwu, 17th century.

Hog's head with galangal and black beans
Ingredients: two hog's heads (washed and cleaned, cut into chunks). Dried orange peel (two *qian*, white pith removed). Lesser galangal (two *qian*). Sichuan pepper (two *qian*). Cinnamon (two *qian*) Caoguo (black cardamom: 5);1 *jin* of vegetable oil; half a *jin* of honey. Take all of the above ingredients and boil until done, then add finely ground mustard seeds. Adjust seasonings using fried spring onions, vinegar and salt.

While a hog's head was probably readily available in Japan in the 1930s, the description of the dish van Gulik served specifically mentions wild boar's head, surely a much more exclusive delicacy.

The illustration in Figure 6 shows a wild boar from a unique Japanese manuscript of 1825 featuring all kinds of vividly coloured animals. Van Gulik's position at the Embassy clearly gave him access to rare and expensive meat, especially when he entertained a guest like Charles Ralph Boxer (1904-2000). Boxer is now mostly known for his erudite scholarship on the Dutch and Portuguese maritime empires, but in the years before World War II, he served as chief spy for the British Intelligence Service, and would go on to gain great notoriety for his very public love affair with the New Yorker's China correspondent, Emily Hahn. The two men undoubtedly got on well, and enjoyed not only the meat but also the wine.

Boxer refers to *arak*, a distilled alcoholic drink introduced to the Chinese by the Mongols. Arak is typically made from grapes, but depending on the region, it can also be made from dates, plums, and figs, and van Gulik may well have had access to such a beverage. More likely, however, the men were drinking what is known in Chinese as *baijiu*, a strong, clear spirit made from a fermented grain.

The illustration in Figure 7 is taken from the 'Works of heaven and the inception of things' (*Tiangong kaiwu*), a well-known late 17th century compilation containing descriptions and illustrations of a vast variety of technological processes that played a significant role in Chinese culture. The weaving of complex silk patterns, the throwing of porcelain pots, the planting and harvesting of tea bushes — all of these receive ample attention in this book, including the preparation of *koji* ferment for making alcoholic beverages. In this illustration, we see two men taking baskets of fermented rice to wash in a mountain stream. The washed rice mixture was exposed to the open air for a week to produce the ferment for making wine. Undoubtedly, the two men found some very fine alcohol to accompany their wild boar's head in the manner of Khublai Khan.

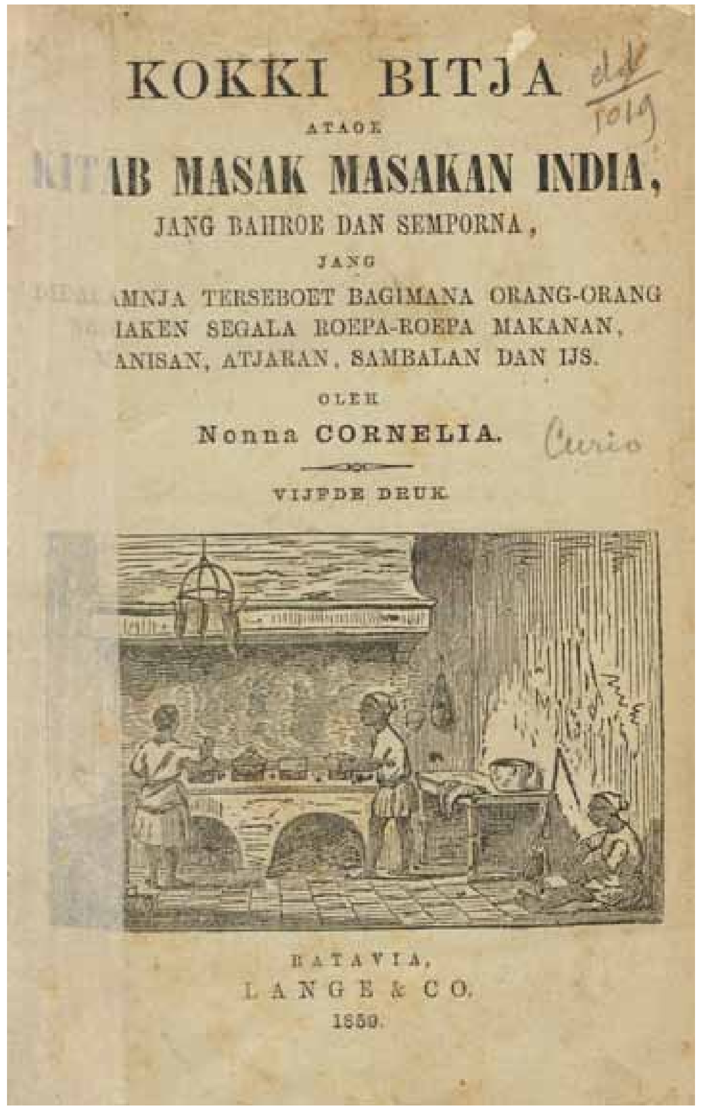
Perhaps it should not surprise us that van Gulik enjoyed hosting his dinner parties with a certain style. The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (The Dutch East India Company) had sailed between various ports in Asia and the Netherlands since the early 17th century. The establishment of a colonial regime not long after meant that a significant segment of the Dutch elite had experience of Asia in one way or another. This undoubtedly had an impact on the kind of foods, flavours and drinks that were available in the Netherlands. We know that already in the early 18th century, soy sauce was widely available throughout the Netherlands, and Dutch cookery maids knew of instructions on how to imitate soy sauce from Asia by distilling a kind of beef extract. Van Gulik had spent a significant part of his youth (from 1915 to 1923) in Batavia on Java, and would have had ample opportunity to familiarise himself with Indonesian cuisine.

One cookery book in the collections of the Asian Library gives us some insight into the type of cookery Dutch housewives demanded from their Indonesian cooks.

Kokki Bitja or the 'sensible cook', is Indonesia's oldest printed cookbook. Published for the first time in Batavia in 1854, *Kokki Bitja* is a collection of Indonesian, Chinese and even Dutch recipes, written in hybrid Malay mixed with Dutch words – as can be seen from recipe names like Kwe Tulband, Pastij Oedang, or Stoof Ayam. Another popular cookbook was the Dutch *Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch kookboek'* or 'New complete cookbook of the East Indies' by

J.M.J. Catenius van der Meijden, first published in 1902. It was an important reference work which featured over 1,000 recipes, which in later editions was expanded to cover almost 1,400 recipes.

But van Gulik was more adventurous, and was not content to cook contemporary recipes only: he also produced historical meals! Again, we can only guess what such meals would have looked like in pre-war Asia. Certainly, images of Tokugawa-style dinners circulated in van Gulik's time.


KOKKI BITJA

ATAOE

AB MASAK MASAKAN INDIA,

JANG BAHROE DAN SEMPORNA,

JANG

AMNJA TERSEBOET BAGIMANA ORANG-ORANG

IAKEN SEGALA ROEPA-ROEPA MAKANAN,

ANISAN, ATJARAN, SAMBALAN DAN IJS.

OLEH

Nonna CORNELIA.

VIJFDE DRUK.

BATAVIA,

LANGE & CO.

1859.

Figure 8: Indonesia's earliest printed cookbook, *Kokki Bitja*, 5th ed., 1859.

This scene, from a woodblock print, is one that immediately comes to mind. Entitled 'Five Dutchmen having a Meal' by Rin Shihei (1790), the print shows a table inside the home of the *capitan* on the small island of Dejima. From the early 17th century onwards, the Japanese had imposed severe limitations on all interactions with the outside world, allowing only the Dutch to trade via a small man-made island in the bay of the southern city of Nagasaki. It was through the Dutch, and the goods they brought to Japan to trade with and to present as gifts for the imperial court, that the Japanese learnt about the outside world in this period; hence the use of the term *rangakusha*, scholars of Dutch Studies, for those Japanese who studied topics like botany, anatomy and mechanical engineering. Dodonaeus' translator Ono Ranzan was a *rangakusha*, and van Gulik was lucky to count some of these eminent scholars among the friends he entertained.

The food that appeared on the table of the Dutchmen in Nagasaki, the eating utensils of the Dutch, the clothes they wore and the furniture in their rooms were all subject of great curiosity on the part of the Japanese. Several Japanese illustrations feature the Dutch and their habits, and of course the meals they ate frequently feature. The food item that perhaps roused the greatest curiosity was something the Dutch clearly enjoyed eating: a hog's or wild boar's head! Perhaps van Gulik had perfected the art of cooking a wild boar's head, as it could serve both as a Khubilai-khan-style centrepiece and as the pièce de resistance in his Dejima-style Dutch cookery. Either way, the Asian Library has a great deal to offer scholars who are interested in the culinary arts, past and present, imagined and real.

Figure 9: Dutchmen enjoying a meal in Japan: the centrepiece is a wild boar's head.

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ILLUSTRATED RULES AND RITES

The art of book printing with the help of wooden blocks was invented in China around the 8th century CE. A double page of text was cut out of a wooden block and then printed on paper. From the 11th century onwards, the art of book printing in China rose to great heights. The two oldest printed double pages in Leiden date from the Yuan dynasty, and were produced in Northern Fujian. These loose pages belong to the seventh volume (of 17) of the Yilitu儀禮圖 'Illustrated Rules and Rites', one of the Chinese classics. This work contains ritual rules and guidelines for behaviour for such occasions as birth, marriage and death among the elite of Ancient China.

The stamps in red ink show that in 1798 the book was part of the Imperial Tianlu linlang天祿琳琅 ('The Clang of Heavenly Favours') library of the Qianlong Emperor, who reigned from 1735 to 1795. The stamps in question read *Qianlong yulan zhi bao* 乾隆御覽之寶 'Seal of Imperial Perusal by Qianlong' and *Tianlu jijian* 天祿繼鑑 'Continued Mirror of Heavenly Favours'. Remarkably, the short title *Yili* 仪礼in the margin (here in the centre) is written in the simplified characters which would later become the official writing of the People's Republic of China. In Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan the traditional characters are used.

After the demise of the Empire in 1912, but even more so after the former Imperial family had to leave the palace in 1924, parts of the library were lost. Four volumes of this work have disappeared, thirteen have been preserved in the Palace Museum in Taipei, Taiwan. These loose pages are pasted into a harmonica book with mostly 19th century Chinese letters, which is now part of the Robert van Gulik Collection. (KK)

Illustrated Rules and Rites
Object number: SINOL Gulik E 350
Geographic region: China
Material: printed paper
Date: Yuan dynasty (1279-1368)
Dimensions: 31 x 18 cm

An Unexpected Acquisition: Siebold's Legacy

BY HARM BEUKERS

In 1881 Leiden University Library acquired a collection of Japanese books, manuscripts and maps. Compared to the other Japan collections in Leiden institutions, it was a rather late acquisition. Both the National Museum for Natural History and the National Herbarium possessed collections dating from the latter part of the 1820s. The Dutch government bought three ethnological Japan collections in the 1830s. Two were accommodated in The Hague in the collection of the 'Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden' (the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities), the other in the private house of the famous Japan explorer Philipp Franz von Siebold in Leiden. The acquisition by the University Library in 1881 was in fact a transfer of books belonging to the Japan collection of the 'Rijks Ethnographisch Museum' (National Ethnographic Museum).

A UNIQUE COLLECTION OF JAPANESE BOOKS

As a result of the Japanese government's policy to forbid foreigners from entering the country, there were almost no collections of Japanese books in European libraries until the 1830s. An exception was probably the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which obtained part of the collection of Isaac Titsingh. This collection, however, could not compete with the one owned by the Dutch government. The catalogue of this collection, published by von Siebold and Johann Joseph Hoffmann in 1845, contains almost 600 entries and covers a wide spectrum of subjects ranging from poetry to natural history and from history and geography to artisanal handicraft and commerce. Until the 1860s such a large and varied Japanese library was unique in the Western world.

The collection is often referred to as the 'Siebold collection', probably because the title of the above mentioned-catalogue primarily referred to books collected by Von Siebold. However, the title also referred to books kept in the Royal Cabinet in The Hague, i.e. books from two other Japan collections, built by Cock Blomhoff and van Overmeer Fisscher respectively. Although the Siebold collection was the largest, the two other collections should not be underestimated.

Von Siebold's collections were organized in a systematic way. The importance of the book collection is evident in this respect. The first category of Von

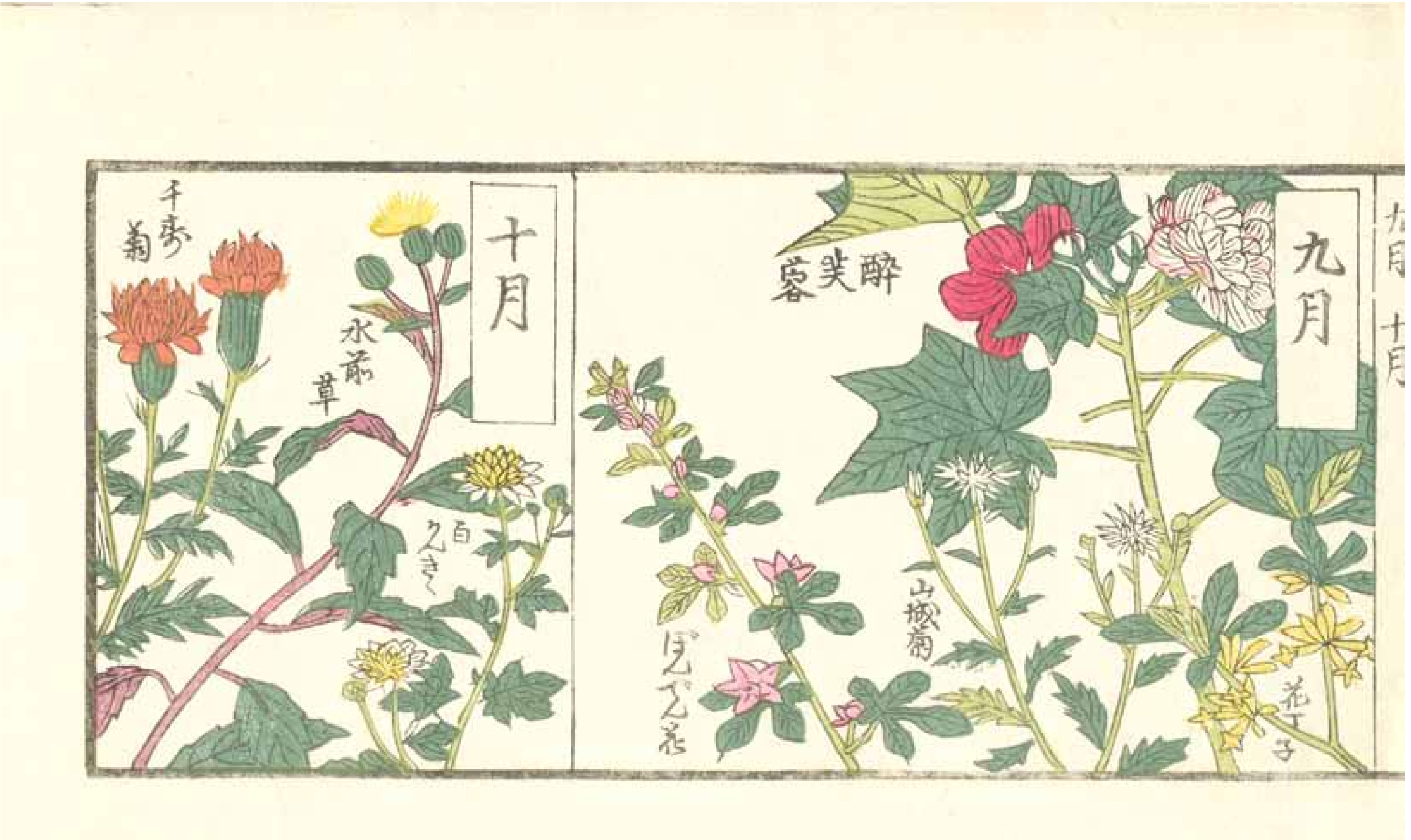


Figure 1: *The Sōka shū (1824) is a small illustrated volume describing which flowers can be used in flower arrangements for each month. This picture shows the selection for the months September and October.*

Siebold's collection covers scientific objects and is subdivided first in books, manuscripts and maps, followed by a section of drawings and a section of coins and archaeological objects. In Von Siebold's idea of an ethnographic collection, books were obviously an essential element. Unfortunately, the national collection of Japanese books was divided over two locations: Leiden and The Hague, but this situation changed in 1860.

A UNITED JAPAN LIBRARY

Von Siebold began his second visit to Japan in 1859. In his absence, the Siebold collection was managed by Conradus Leemans, then Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. He found the collection housed under appallingly bad conditions. The government allowed him to move the collection to an appropriate location on Breestraat and accepted Leemans' proposal to name the new museum after its founder: 'Rijks Japansch Museum Von Siebold'. The Museum was open to the general public under almost the same conditions as the Museum of Antiquities. A room on the second floor was arranged as a library where books and maps could be consulted.

Leemans published a museum guide (1860) which paid much attention to the collection of books. Since it was only possible to keep a few items on permanent display, the guide was to demonstrate the wealth of the book collection. Following Von Siebold's classification he pointed to special items. For instance, under the heading 'encyclopedias' he referred to 'a Chinese-Japanese encyclopedia in 80 volumes. Only 3 copies of this famous work were known to exist in Europe in 1847' and under the heading 'ethical texts and stories' he referred to 'two precious manuscripts with miniatures in colour and gold ... one about a woman of ill fame at the Imperial court ... and the other a historical novel.'

When Leemans became responsible for the Siebold collection, he found out that the collection also contained books which Von Siebold had borrowed from the collection of the Royal Cabinet but had not returned. This was an unacceptable situation for a meticulous museum administrator as Leemans. He convinced the government that it was better to transfer the Japanese books from the Royal Cabinet to the Japan Museum. Thus, the three collections of books were already combined in 1860, while the other parts of these collections were only combined in 1883 following the closure of the Royal Cabinet. Two years later, in 1862, the Ministry of Colonies donated the 142 books collected by Jan Hendrik Donker Curtius, the last chief of the trading post in Nagasaki, at the time of the court journey in 1858.

With the acquisition of ethnographical collections from other cultures the character of the Museum changed, and was accordingly renamed 'Rijks Ethnographisch Museum' on Leemans' suggestion.

Lindor Serrurier, keeper of the Japan collection, succeeded Leemans as director of the Museum in 1881. Together with university librarian Willem Nicolaas Du Rieu he decided that books of scientific interest should be transferred to the University Library, while the Museum would retain books and drawings with a specific bearing on the ethnographic collection. The major part of the new acquisition of the University library consisted of the books collected by Von Siebold, a collection that reflected the scientific ambitions of a young scholar.

Figure 2: *Yamamoto honzō (1708) written by the famous herbalist Kaibara Ekken gives an original and highly representative description of the flora of Japan.*

A SURPRISING CAREER

Philipp Franz von Siebold studied medicine in his birthplace Würzburg, but his real interest was in botany. When he asked Coenraad Jacob Temminck, director of the National Museum of Natural History to support his zoological investigations in 1824, Von Siebold confessed that botany was his 'Lieblingsstudium'. This predilection was not surprising. As a student he had lived in the house of the professor of anatomy and physiology Ignaz Döllinger. Here the young student became involved in the study of anatomy and botany under his host's supervision. Döllinger's house was also a meeting place for prominent scientists, such as the botanist Nees von Esenbeck. Von Siebold joined these men when they made field trips in the surroundings of Würzburg.

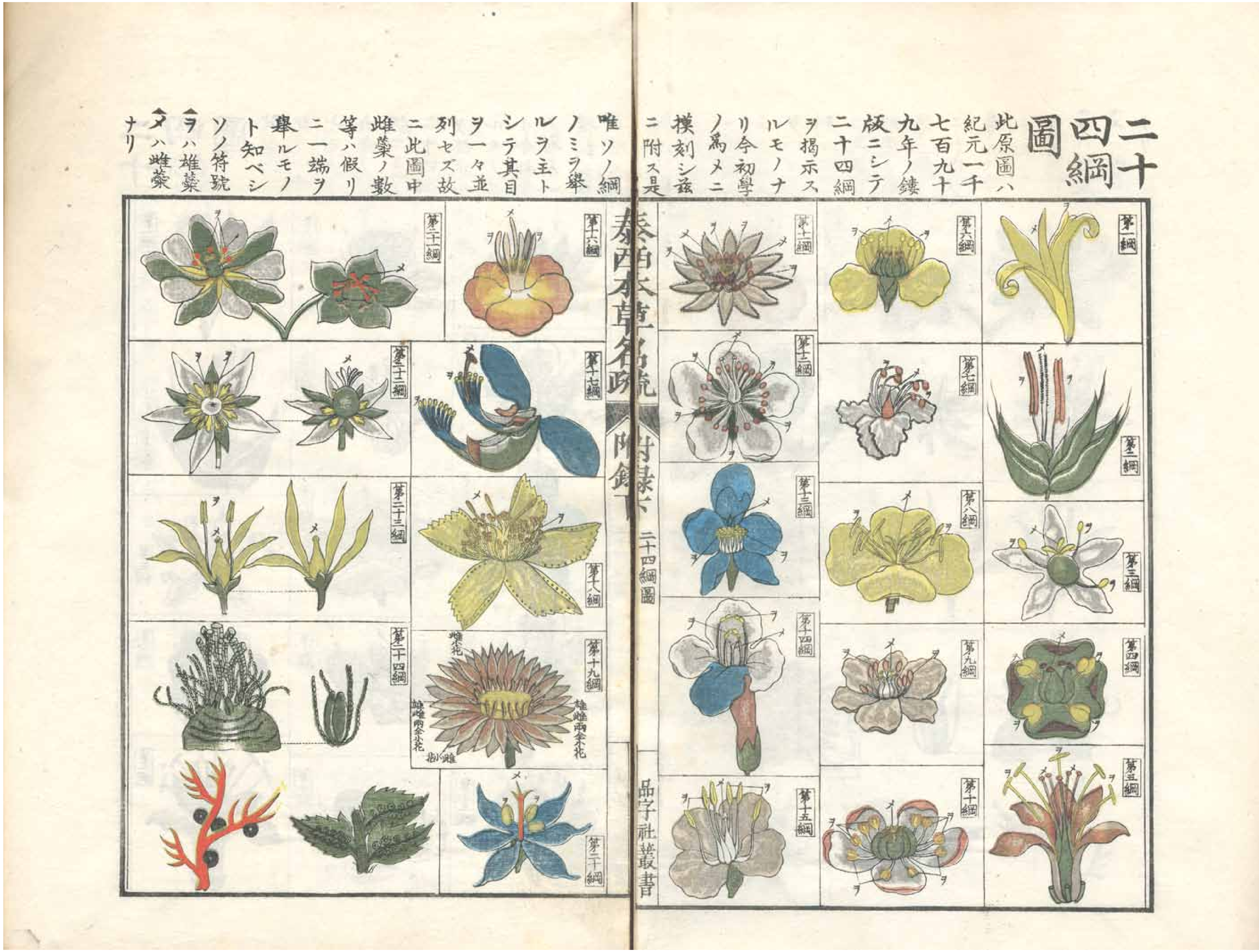


Figure 3: Itō Keisuke introduced Linnaeus' classification system for plants through the *Taisei honzō meiso* (1829), a book based on a copy of Thunberg's *Flora Japonica*, a present of Von Siebold to his student Itō. The illustration with different flower specimens is used to clarify the Linnean system.

In his student days Von Siebold was inspired by the publications of the naturalist Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Von Siebold wanted to follow the example of this scientific traveller, and decided in 1822, after two years of practising medicine, to join the Dutch colonial army so as to participate in the scientific exploration of the Dutch East Indies. It was rather exceptional that he was not appointed to the ordinary rank of army surgeon third class, but was immediately promoted to the higher rank of surgeon major, though he had no prior experience in military medicine and only a limited experience as a medical practitioner.

A second exceptional event was his appointment as resident physician to the Dutch trading post Dejima in the harbour of Nagasaki. When the Dutch East India Company was dissolved in 1799, relations with Japan were continued by the Dutch colonial government in Batavia on the same basis, though the visits to the court in Edo now only took place once every four years and the staff of the trading post was reduced. With Von Siebold's appointment, the colonial government diverged from its policy to send lower-ranking physicians to Japan. Moreover, Von Siebold was officially charged with conducting natural investigations in Japan. The government probably wanted to create a situation comparable to that in the Dutch East Indies were, under the supervision of the Natural History Commission, officials were appointed to investigate the natural history and geology of the area.

Von Siebold began his stay at Dejima under favourable circumstances. The Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Godert Alexander Gerard Philip Baron van der Cappelen, had a lively interest in natural history and encouraged Von Siebold's activities in this field by giving him extra financial support. When Von Siebold arrived at Dejima in 1823 he was immediately introduced to the scholarly network of the former chief trader Jan Cock Blomhoff. This network was not confined to prominent physicians and scholars in Nagasaki like the botanist Kō Ryōsai. It also included scholars from Edo, such as the imperial physician Katsuragawa Hōken and the expert on Western studies Udagawa Yōan. Katsuragwa Hōken, who was versed in botany and Dutch, became one of Von Siebold's important contacts in Edo. A former chief trader gave him the name Willem Botanicus. Katsuragwa Hōken signed his letter with the Dutch translation of his name 'Kaneelrivier junior.'

RESEARCH MANAGER

The Dutch at Dejima remained subject to strict restrictions. They were only allowed to leave their artificial island with permission of the Japanese authorities; they had no free access to Nagasaki. The contacts with the Japanese were limited to the Japanese interpreters and officials. Only the Dejima doctor was able to obtain permission to leave Dejima to collect plants in the surroundings of Nagasaki. This, however, was an expensive trip, as on such occasions the doctor had to be accompanied by a large group of Japanese interpreters, servants and guards who had to be fed. The East Indian Company had already decided only to allow such trips under special conditions. Opportunities to collect plants in other parts of Japan were also limited. In fact, the only possibility presented itself was during the court journey to Edo, but here, too, it was forbidden to move around freely. All in all, it was not an ideal situation for a naturalist charged with the study of the natural history of the entire country.

Figure 4: The *Ezo sōmoku no zu* is a precious manuscript with beautiful botanical illustrations on silk. The drawings of plants from Ezo (Hokaido) as well as the explanations in Dutch were made by Katsuragawa Hōken.

Von Siebold was not the man to give up easily. To acquire dried or living natural history specimens, he set up his own 'research organisation'. First of all, he collected information about the current state of affairs in the field of natural history. Already in 1824 he published a report *De Historia Naturalis in Japonica statu*, which prompted the Government to award Von Siebold extra funds. With this financial support Von Siebold was able to establish a botanical garden at Dejima and to organize field trips. In addition, the government gave him two assistants, the apothecary Heinrich Bürger and the artist Carl Hubert de Villeneuve. Together, De Villeneuve and the Japanese artist Kawahara Keiga made hundreds of drawings of Japanese plant species then still unknown in the West.

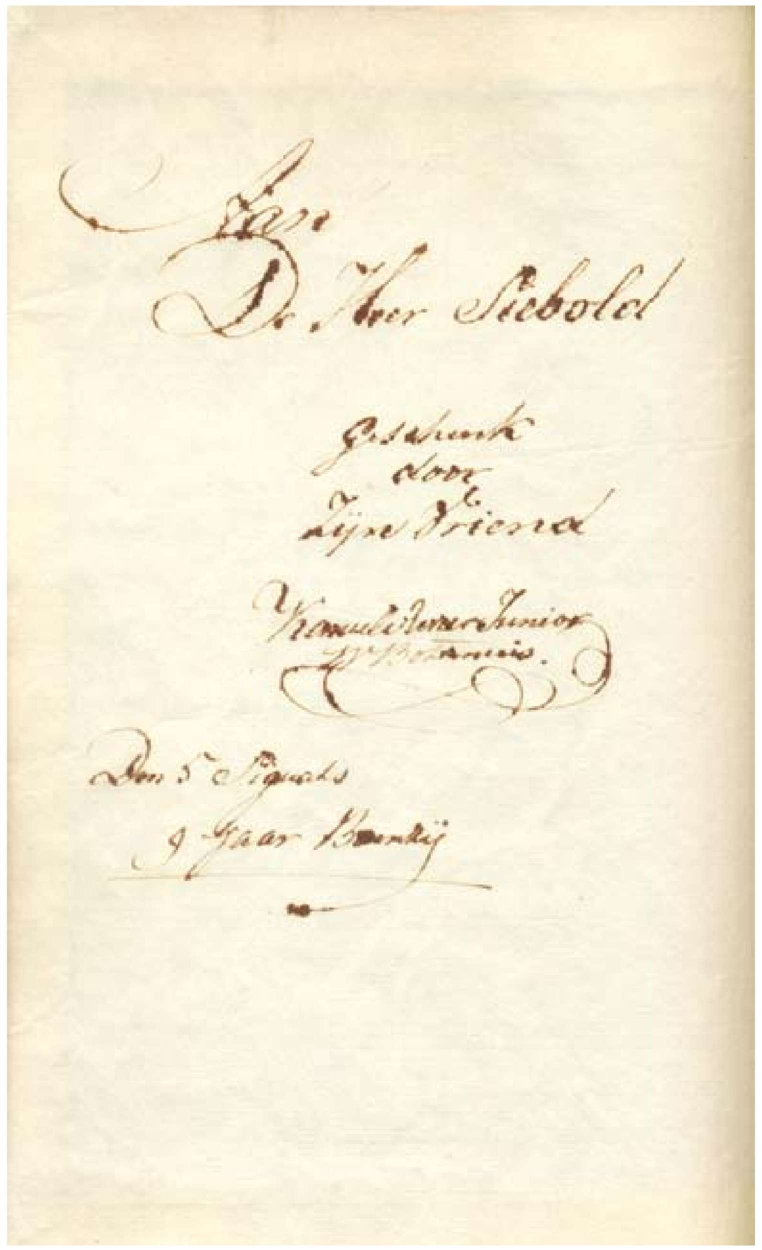
Von Siebold's medical skills and teachings made him famous throughout Japan. Students and patients from all over the country came to visit him, bringing natural history objects with them. In this way he managed to build an extensive collection, which included specimens from areas that had never been accessed by foreigners, such as the northern island of Hokkaido.

In *De Historia Naturalis in Japonica statu*, Von Siebold defined his research objectives. With the additional financial support he had been awarded, his well-structured methodological approach, his strict research assignments to his students, and the many volunteers, Von Siebold was able to achieve most of his objectives during the four years of his official appointment as leader of the natural history investigations.

THE COURT JOURNEY TO EDO

The court journey in 1826 was also part of Von Siebold's rigorous planning. The Dutch delegation usually consisted of the chief trader, his secretary and the resident physician in Dejima. This time, however, the chief trader had to accept that the secretary was replaced by Von Siebold's assistant Bürger. Von Siebold also managed to have the official Japanese escort arranged according to his wishes. First among those who were added were his closest Japanese co-worker Kō Ryōsai and the artist Kawahara Keiga. He furthermore managed to have his two Japanese assistants included on the trip, as well as his gardener and three Japanese students. The journey to and from Edo did not proceed in the usual way; Von Siebold made extensive use of the relative freedom he was given or simply took by departing from the main road to collect natural history material. Through his personal contacts with garden owners and botanists he was able to expand the Dejima botanical garden substantially with unknown species and varieties.

Figure 5: The powerful lord of Satsuma commissioned the compilation of a work on agricultural products. The result was the 30-volume *Seikei zusetsu* (1804). The copy which Katsuragawa Hōken, alias 'Cinnamon River junior' or 'W. Botanicus', donated to his friend Von Siebold (below) was coloured by the donor himself. Here shown is the drawing of a Japanese plant identified by Katasuragawa as 'Capsicum annuum' or chili pepper (right).



One of the most important encounters was probably his meeting with three physicians in Miya, students of Ono Ranzan, the 'Japanese Linnaeus.' They seemed to be well acquainted with European systematics. One of them, Itō Keisuke, later visited Von Siebold in Nagasaki and helped him to identify plants. The highlight of the trip was of course the stay in Edo. Here Von Siebold met his correspondents Katasugawa and Udagawa in person and was able to exchange knowledge with them. Unfortunately, an envisaged longer stay in Edo fell through.

A COLLECTION OF BOOKS ON BOTANY

Von Siebold believed it was not sufficient only to collect plants. He also wanted to learn about the state of botany in Japan and China in the previous centuries. In addition, he was interested in the use of plants. It was thus inevitable to start collecting literature on Japanese and Chinese botany, on gardening and on agriculture. He received suggestions for books from Kō Ryōsai and Katsuragawa Hoken. These suggestions enabled him to publish abstracts of a dozen Japanese botanical treatises in a renowned German journal already in 1826, thus introducing them to the European scientific world. These books are still part of the Siebold collection in The Asian Library of Leiden University. They include a

Figure 6: Siebold received a series of 13 drawings of varieties of ginseng-plants, *Ninjin shashin*, by 'W. Botanicus'. Here shown is a beautiful botanical drawing of one of the varieties of 'Panax quinquefolium'.

book on seasonable ornamental plants, *Sōka shū* (1829) and the first original Flora of Japan, *Yamato Honzō* (1709/15). The latter had been recommended by Katsuragwa Hōken.

It is evident that the court journey offered enough opportunities to obtain books. Von Siebold later received through his contacts with the physicians in Miya, a Japanese interpretation by Itō Keisuke of the Linnaean system of plant systematics, *Taisei honzō meiso* (1829). In Edo he was also given books by his correspondent Udagawa Yōan, such as a book on citrus fruits, *Kitsuhin* (1797).

One of the aims of Von Siebold's investigations was to search for plants that were useful for medicine, technology or sericulture, in modern terminology economic botany. As such he was also interested in agriculture. Here again Katsuragawa Hōken helped him. In his notes Von Siebold referred to a book, *Seikei zusetsu* (1804), which had been commissioned by the Lord of Satsuma and contained images and descriptions of agricultural products. Von Siebold obtained a copy 'durch meinen Freund W. Botanicus zu Jedo mit vielen Sorgfallt illuminirt' (illuminated with great care by my friend W. Botanicus in Edo Hōken also donated a set of drawings (*Ninjin shashin*) of the famous Asian drug ginseng to this purpose.

The most difficult problem was how to acquire specimens from obscure regions such as Hokkaido that were relatively unknown even to the Japanese. As said before, Von Siebold was able to acquire dried plants and wood specimens from that island thanks to his acquaintances. Von Siebold must have been overwhelmed when Katsuragawa presented him with a book containing beautiful, coloured images of plants from Hokkaido. This *Ezo sōmoku* is still one of the treasures of the Siebold collection.

The 48 books on natural history in the Siebold collection are perhaps small in number to modern standards, but they represent the literary resources that supported his lifelong ambition to complete the *Flora Japonica*. In addition they form, with their numeorus annotations and unique series of original drawings, an important source for current research.

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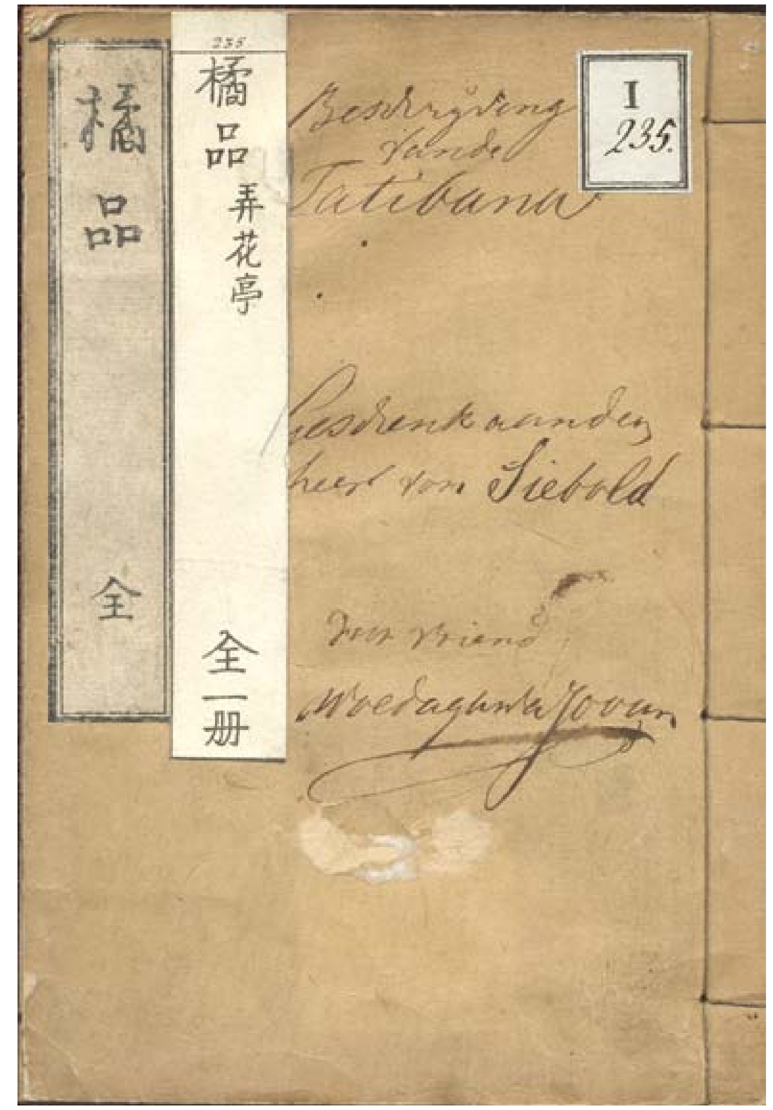


Figure 7: The Hollandologist Udagawa Yoan ('Woedagawa Jooan') donated a small volume entitled *Kitsu hin* (1797) to the 'heer von Siebold' (above). Udagawa translated the title as '*Beschrijving vande Tachibana*'. It is an illustrated description of varieties of mandarin orange-like plants, in Japanese *kitsu* or *tachibana* (left).

MAP AND DESCRIPTION OF CHONGJIA WAN BAY (...)

The emperors of China made regular inspection tours to South China. They travelled by boat along the Imperial Canal from the capital Beijing to various cities in the south. The Qianlong Emperor (reigned 1735-1796) made no fewer than six of these journeys. This map was most likely made for him in preparation of his fifth tour in 1784.

On the map he travelled from right to left: right is north and left is south. There is also an appendix with a description of previous tours, the last part of which can be seen on the map. The description meticulously indicates where and when he and his predecessors donated a poem, a calligraphy sample, a stele or a panel with inscription.

The imperial colour yellow marks the places where the Qianlong Emperor previously went ashore in 1745. From the Xiangfusi Temple in the mountains, at the bottom of the map, he crossed the canal on a pontoon bridge and proceeded along the High Bridge to a tributary canal. There he boarded a second boat which took him to the Travel Palace (Xinggong) in the Tianningsi Temple, situated to the right of the city of Yangzhou. This temple, which closely resembles the Imperial Palace in Beijing, is where he spent the night during all his inspection tours to the south. Finally, he passed through the city to the Imperial Landing Stage on the canal. No second copy of this map is known to exist. (KK)

Route Map for an Imperial Inspection Tour to South China
Object number: SINOL.VGK 3039.7.6
Geographic region: China
Material: paper map
Date: 1784
Dimensions: 12 x 208 cm

Charting One's Own World: Early Modern Japanese Maps

BY IVO SMITS

Leiden University's Asian Library collection contains some two hundred early modern Japanese maps, both printed and manuscript. Additional printed material that one may consider forms of mapping make up related and relevant rare material in the collection. These were practically all collected in the early 19th century, when the only Europeans to have access to Japan were the Dutch, or those employed by the Dutch. As such, the maps give a uniquely early insight not only into available cartographic information at the time, they also illustrate different notions of mapping that informed representations of space in early modern Japan. In that way Leiden's Japanese map collection charts both the physical and the conceptual worlds inhabited by the Japanese at the time.

PROVENANCE OF THE ASIAN LIBRARY'S EARLY MODERN JAPANESE MAPS

Among the 1,176 items in the Serrurier catalogue that provided the basis for the 1896 inventory of what are now the Asian Library's Japanese books and manuscripts, lies hidden a large number of maps dating from Japan's early modern period (1600-1868). The vast majority of these maps was collected, along with many other books, manuscripts and artefacts, between 1809 and 1829. Their acquisition, as holds true for most items in the Serrurier catalogue, is intimately connected to the exceptional presence of the Dutch in early modern Japan.

In 1639, the Dutch found themselves, for various reasons, the sole European traders with access to Japan. From 1641 onwards the Dutch were confined to their small trading post of Dejima (pronounced 'Deshima' at the time), an artificial island in the harbour of Nagasaki. They had the occasional opportunity to visit Japan's de facto capital Edo (now Tokyo) on their sparse, orchestrated 'court journeys' to pay tribute to the military ruler (*shōgun*) of the country. This situation lasted until 1854, when under American pressure Japan slowly created more and more possibilities for western nations to engage in trade with Japan and to visit it. Much has been written on the history of Japanese-Dutch relations in these two centuries, but with respect to Japan's intellectual and cultural heritage it is fair to say the subject was rather slow to pique Dutch interest. In fact, it could be said

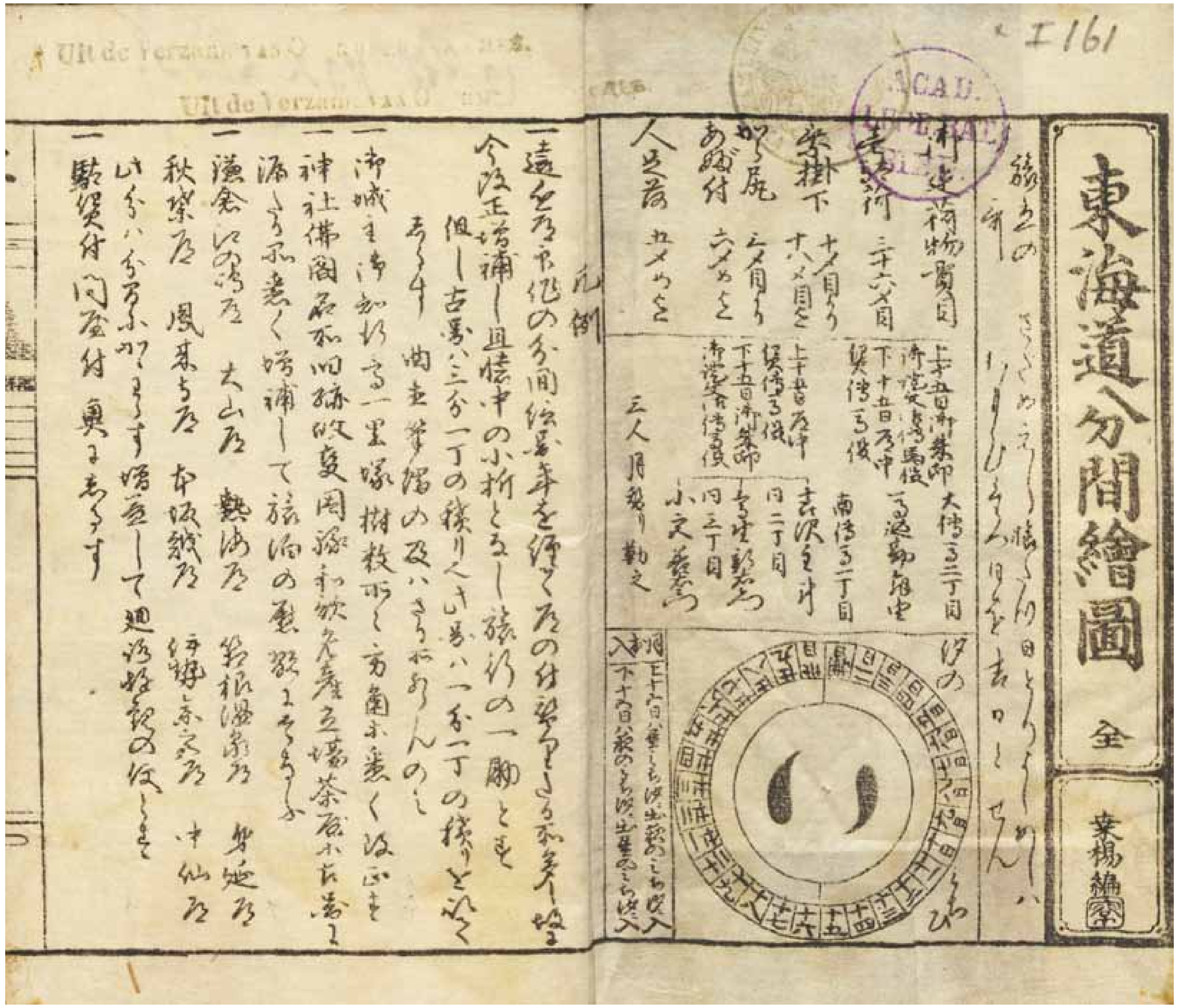


Figure 1: A collector's envy? Siebold's collection stamp obscuring that of Overmeer Fisscher's.

that sustained Dutch attempts to describe and understand early modern Japan were in part a reaction to British endeavours to take hold over the Dutch East Indies. When Napoleon's armies occupied the Netherlands, the British occupied Dutch colonial territories in South East Asia. One result to have come out of this occupation was the *History of Java* (1811-1816) by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), the first sustained effort to come up with what one might think of as a 'total description' of that island and as such effectuating a second, symbolic possession of Java. The Dutch had never really attempted such a symbolical governmental inventory of their colonies, and the success of Raffles' effort very likely served as a wake-up call to the Dutch authorities. Thus when the German physician Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) was dispatched to Japan, he arrived there in 1823 on the understanding that he was to create a collection of Japanese items that would find a place among Dutch displays and descriptions of that rather inaccessible country. After his return to Europe in 1830, Siebold settled in Leiden and began working on his massive description of the ethnography and geography of Japan: *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (*Nippon: Archive for the Description of Japan*), which was published between 1832 and 1852.

Siebold was certainly not the first to attempt a more comprehensive repository of objects that somehow captured the physical and cultural realities of Japan. Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853) arrived in Japan in 1809 as warehouse master and became the trading post's director in 1817. Jan Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848) served at Dejima in the years 1820-1829. Both men created substantial collections of Japanese objects which Siebold would later build on, and partially appropriate as his own, for the purpose of his own scholarly work. This appropriation is obvious from Siebold's habit to simply stamp his seal over those of the original owners. Many of the objects that made up this huge early 19th century Dutch effort to chart 'Japan' were maps. Given that estimates of extant Japanese maps from the pre-modern period run into the tens of thousands, this is perhaps no surprise. Ironically, as will become clear, maps were also the reason why Siebold was banished from Japan. He was unable to return until 1859, after the country had 'opened up' to western powers and Dutch no longer had unique access to Japan.

There are, of course, many ways to categorize the maps that were collected by these three men and ended up in Leiden University's Asian Library collection. Here I will make a simple distinction between maps that are either unique specimens (manuscript) or mechanically reproduced items (print).

PRINTED MAPS

Although the Japanese knew and employed printing techniques as early as the late 8th century, it was in early modern Japan that print culture was introduced on a truly massive scale. This led, among other things, to what has been called an information revolution from especially the later 18th century onwards. Maps represent one manifestation of that revolution. Maps were very much an early modern phenomenon, as in Japan they only began to be produced in any significant numbers from 1600. It appears that few maps were created before that date, and practically none of those were made for purposes of travel, trade, or governance. However, once Japan entered a new age of centralized government at the start of the 17th century, map production soared and proliferated. Here I would like to single out two examples from the Asian Library collection that highlight different yet comparable forms of public and semi-public information that maps offered the Japanese in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The first is a set of three editions of *'The new edition of the illustrated survey map of the Eastern Sea Circuit'* (*Shinpan Tōkaidō bunken ezu*) of 1752 (two different copies) and 1772 (Ser. 410, 410b, 410c). The first such illustrated survey map was published in 1690, and was explicitly intended as a guide for those travelling the main artery in early modern Japan's infrastructure, the Tōkaidō or Eastern Sea Circuit, which led from the city of Edo to Kyoto. A good eleven meters long, this concertina book (*orihon*) displayed the entire route of some five hundred kilometres. In other words, this traveller's map operates on a scale of roughly 1:45,000, except that, properly speaking, it is not to scale; longer stretches

Figure 2 (top): Detail from 'The new edition of the illustrated survey map of the Eastern Sea Circuit'. Note the handwritten notes on distances and dates.

are condensed, and the focus is on points for stopovers and other halting places. Nonetheless, the map presents the entire route as one uninterrupted circuit. It gives information on distances between stops along the route, and occasionally provides cultural as well as logistical information, for example on Mount Fuji. Incidentally, Mount Fuji is shown from different angles at different stages along the route, thereby also suggesting the passing of time as the user proceeded on her or his journey.

One of the uncoloured editions of 1752 was acquired by Overmeer Fisscher and in all likelihood actually used by him on his court journey from Nagasaki to Edo in 1822 (Ser. 410b). It contains handwritten notes on the names of

Figure 3 (bottom): Detail from a colour edition of 'The new edition of the illustrated survey map of the Eastern Sea Circuit'. Note the double depiction of Mount Fuji, the general information on this mountain, and the curious lack of 'north' in the compass roses.

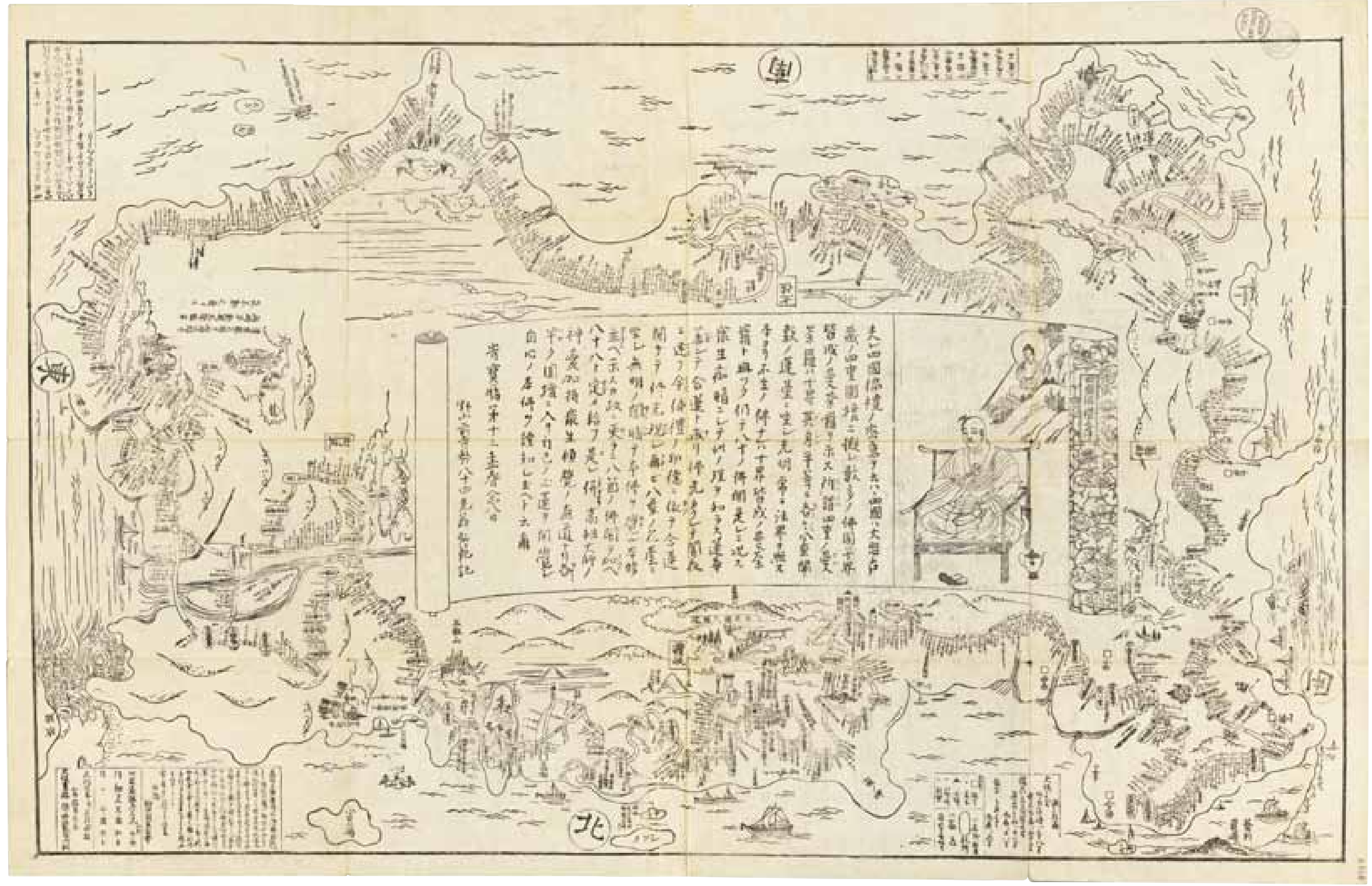


Figure 4: Detail from a pilgrimage map. The map provides practical and well as religious information.

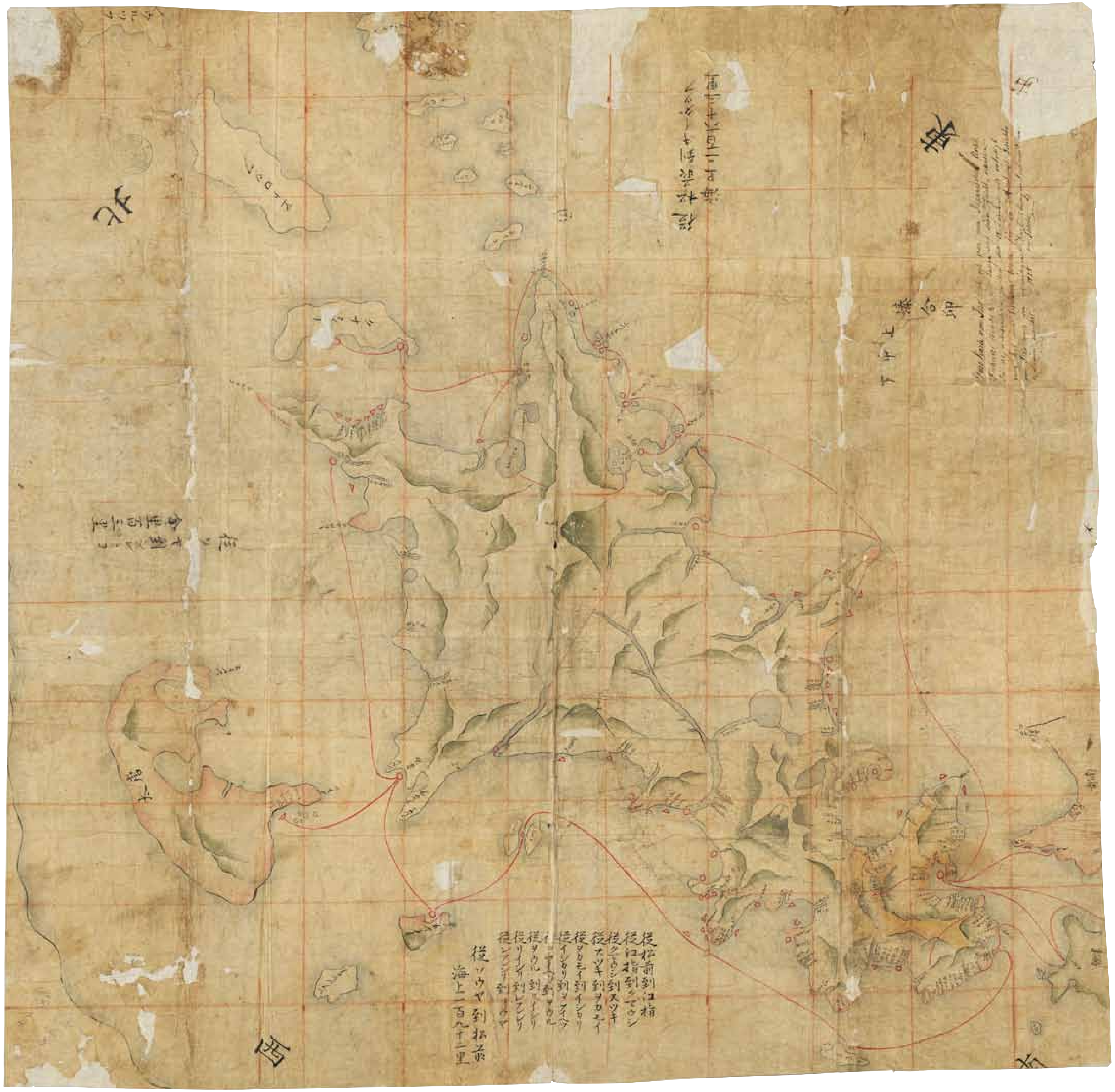
towns and other markers along the route and the distances between them, as well as dates of arrival. Incidentally, this map illustrates Siebold's appropriation of other collections, as he stamped his own ex libris over the already existent ownership stamp of Overmeer Fisscher's. Siebold himself also acquired a copy of the same 1752 edition, which he presumably used on his own court journey in 1826 and which he inscribed with his own annotations, marking the daily stops, and transcribing the different place names in red in the simple katakana Japanese syllabary. The use of a practical travellers' map by a European which was by then seventy years old points to another aspect of information transmission in early modern Japan: that it did not need to be up-to-date in order to be relevant. The basic knowledge imparted through the travel map remained reliable enough, and when a new edition of the 'new edition' was published in 1772, the only thing that was changed was the later edition was printed in colour (Ser. 410).

A second example of printed maps present in the Asian Library collection are pilgrimage maps. Two versions of the *'Illustrated map of the Shikoku pilgrimage'* (*Shikoku henrei ezu*; Ser. 417, 417a) give a good sense of how religious and more tourist-like needs were catered to. Both date from 1807 and build on an earlier edition of 1763. They specifically catered to people travelling a route along eighty-eight temples on the island Shikoku, a route of pilgrimage still very popular today. Different in physical presentation but in some ways quite similar to the maps described above, these are not concertina books but fold-out maps. Like the Tōkaidō survey map, the pilgrimage maps provide practical information on distances, routes and travel facilities. More specifically, they inform their users about the trajectory of the pilgrimage and explain its spiritual background, information which was primarily meant to motivate the pilgrims, though we should also understand it in more practical terms: the island of Shikoku is to be understood as a projection of a mandala, a representation of the order of the universe. Tracing one's steps on the map as one circles the island, one engages in meditation practices that ultimately will lead to enlightenment.

MANUSCRIPT MAPS

The Asian Library collection includes a fair number of manuscript maps; as a rule, these contain information deemed sensitive at the time of their acquisition.

Figure 5: Portrait of the explorer and mapmaker Mogami Tokunai (1755-1836), from Siebold's *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*.



It was a number of these maps that triggered Siebold's banishment from Japan in 1829. Many of the manuscript maps are of the islands of Ezo (present-day Hokkaidō) in the north of Japan, and Karafuto (Sakhalin) (e.g. Ser. 204, 205, 212, 213, 214). Although the Japanese had established a fief in the southern part of Hokkaidō early in the 17th century, it was not until two centuries later that the Japanese government took an active interest in the island. One reason for this change in attitude was the fear of Russian invasions. It is in this context that we must see the activities of Japanese explorers of the northern islands and the many maps they created of the environment. Siebold was able to acquire copies of such maps through the contacts he had built, partly on his journey to Edo for which he had used the printed travel map described above. One of these explorers was Mogami Tokunai (1755-1836), a farmer's son who would rise to samurai status and travelled around Hokkaidō and Sakhalin as shogunal explorer. The manuscript maps acquired by Siebold, but also by others employed at the Dutch trading factory, provide us with a glimpse of informal and even secret knowledge networks in early modern Japan. Studies of contemporary book culture show us that not all transmission of knowledge in Japan was effected through print; there was also still a vibrant manuscript culture. These maps were not only hand-drawn because they conveyed sensitive information, but also because copying by hand had simply remained a standard practice of dissemination.

A final example of truly sensitive information is an undated manuscript map of the castle residence of the Tokugawa Shogun of ca. 1825, entitled *'Map of the castle residence'* (*Edo gojōnai osumai no zu*; Ser. 337). This map is allegedly one the 'secret' maps that led to Siebold's banishment from Japan. Printed maps of Edo would symbolically mark Tokugawa residences as literally a blank spot on the map, supplied with the Tokugawa family crest. The underlying message was that the layout of such residences was not for public scrutiny. The manuscript map in question provides very detailed information on the different rooms in one of the main buildings. The symbolism of such intimate knowledge resonated many years later when, on the occasion of Queen Beatrix' state visit to Japan in 1991, it was briefly considered to make the map a gift to Japan. The map never left Leiden University's Asian Library collection, but it explains why it is the only item in the map collection to be kept in a modern gift box.

Figure 7 (left page): Manuscript map of the island of Ezo (Hokkaidō) acquired by Siebold in 1825. Information such as this was deemed sensitive.

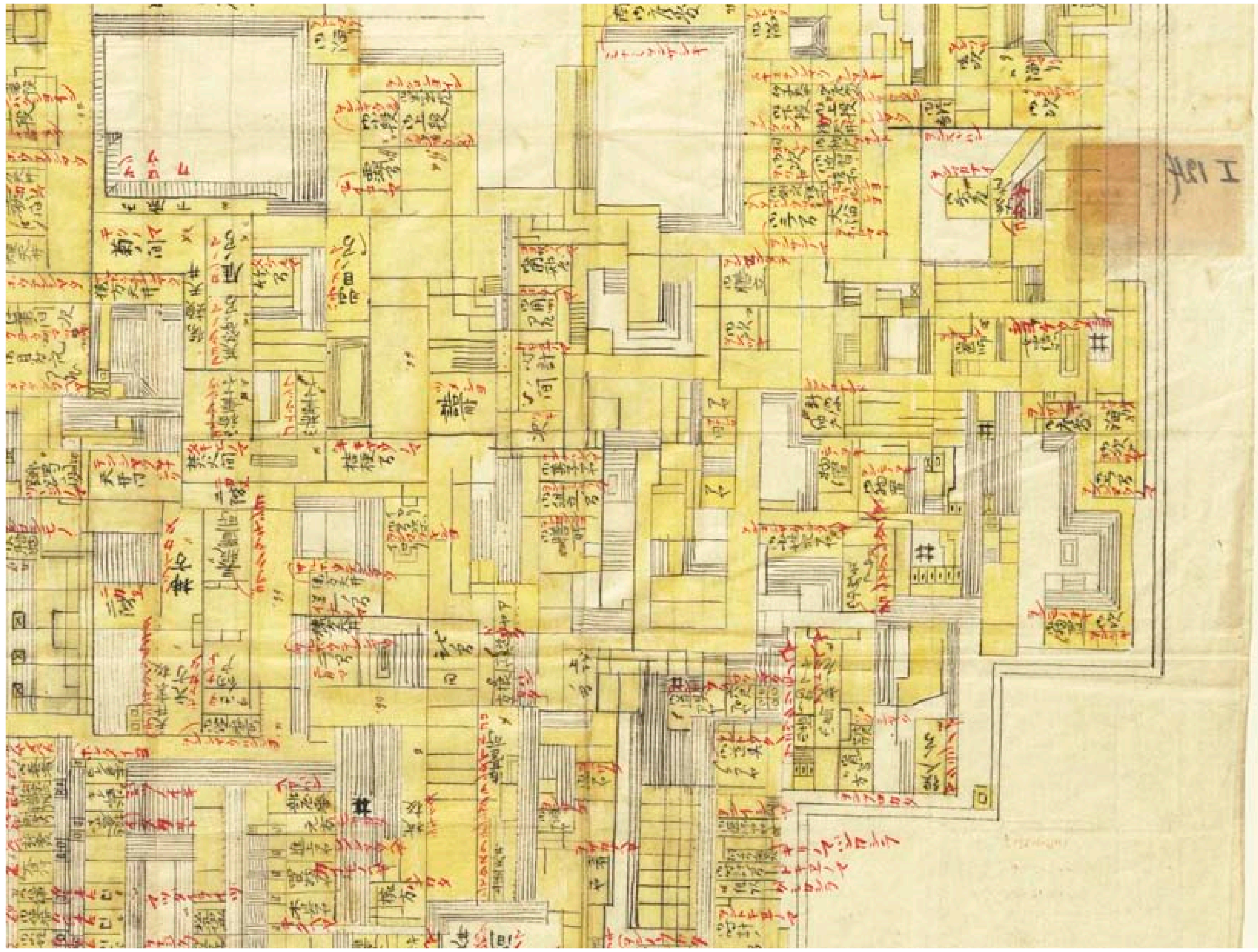


Figure 7: Detail from 'Map of the castle residence', i.e. the shogunal palace. Markings in red by Siebold.

AN ENDING

In the autumn of 1829, the head of the Dutch trading post in Dejima was informed by the Japanese authorities that Siebold was banished from Japan, never to return. Earlier, his apartment had been raided and his maps and books confiscated. These were deemed a security issue and became the pretext to expel Siebold and punish his Japanese contacts. Siebold's maps now in the Asian Library collection had already been sent on to Europe earlier. This moment marks an important ending for the early modern Japanese maps collected in the early 19th century: the door was more or less shut on the main body of this collection, helping to create the time capsule that in a way it is now. A small part of the maps was included in Siebold's magnum opus, and the rest has been patiently awaiting further perusal since.

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FAREWELL AT THE RIVER BA

Bajiang lubie shi shu hua ce 巴江錄別詩書畫冊, 'Album of poetry, paintings and calligraphy recording the farewell at the River Ba' is the Album amicorum presented to Robert van Gulik (1910-1967) when he left Chongqing (Chungking) in 1946. The sinologist, diplomat and detective story writer Robert van Gulik was posted to the Dutch Embassy in Chongqing in 1943-46. There he became friends with Chinese politicians and high-placed officials, as well as with scholars, artists and musicians who had fled from the Japanese invaders to Chongqing, the temporary capital in the interior of China.

This is a painting by the well-known lute (*qin*) player, calligrapher and painter Xu Yuanbai 徐元白 (1892-1957), depicting Van Gulik's farewell in a traditional manner. (KK)

Farewell at the River Ba
Creator: Xu Yuanbai
Object number: SINOL Gulik E PA CL (2)
Geographic region: China
Material: painting on paper
Date: 1946
Dimensions: 28 x 18 cm


Bit.

Illustration details and credits

All depicted objects are held by Leiden University Libraries, unless stated otherwise. Shelfmarks are given between square brackets

WIM VAN DEN DOEL, *'A MORE ACCURATE VIEW OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE EAST': LEIDEN UNIVERSITY AND ASIAN STUDIES*

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Fig. 2: Portrait of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, professor of Cultural Anthropology at Leiden University. Photograph, 1933. [KITLV 5792]
Fig. 3: Portrait of Cornelis van Vollenhoven, professor of Adat Law of the Dutch East Indies at Leiden University. Photograph Bestuursbureau Universiteit Leiden.
Fig. 4: J. Josseaud, Portrait of Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern, professor of Sanskrit at Leiden University. Painting. Leiden University. [Icones 275]
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ANDRÉ BOUWMAN, *THE ASIAN COLLECTIONS IN RETROSPECTIVE*

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The photographs of the Asian Library are made by Monique Kooijmans

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TIKA RAMADHINI AND DAVID KLOOS, *VISUALISING FEMALE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIA: SUARA AISYIYAH AND AMANAH*

Fig. 1: Oki Setiana Dewi, a photo from her Instagram account @okisetianadewi, June 2016, reproduced with permission.
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Fig. 4: Screendump of the Georeferencer-application. Source: http://leiden.georeferencer.com
Fig. 5: H.P.N. Halbertsma, *Watervoorziening der stad Soerabaja (...)*. 1898. [D E 56,6]

Fig. 6: Survey Production Centre South East Asia, *Soerabaja*. Map, 1943. [D E 57,8]

Fig. 7: Dot map of Indonesia with inset map of Java. Source: http://blogs.library.leiden.edu/mapsinthecrowd/

RICK HONINGS, *TRAVELLING THROUGH THE EMERALD BELT: A PLEA FOR A POST-COLONIAL DOUBLE PERSPECTIVE*

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Fig. 5: J.C. Greive, Moonlit sky in the Sumedan region. Lithograph after A. Salm. From: J.C. Greive, Java. Amsterdam 1872. [47D19]

Fig. 6: F.W. Junghuhn in the Parahyangan in West Java. Photograph, c. 1860. [KITLV 15366]

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FRANK OKKER, *THE MAECENAS AND THE MISANTHROPE: GERRET P. ROUFFAER AND HERMAN NEUBRONNER VAN DER TUUK*

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Fig. 7: Rouffaer at the age of thirty. Photograph, c. 1890 [KITLV 5786]

Fig. 8: G.P. Rouffaer & W.C. Muller, Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek, 's-Gravenhage 1908 [M 4C 110 N] — Frontispiece

Fig. 9: G.P. Rouffaer & H.H. Juynboll, *De batik-kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar geschiedenis*. 2 vols. Haarlem 1899-1914. [M 3h 95] — Colourplate with a fragment of a wayang pattern of a kain (cloth) from Semarang, c. 1850.

NORBERT PEETERS, *PLINY OF THE INDIES: REDISCOVERING GEORG RUMPHIUS' AMBONESE HERBAL*

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LEONARD BLUSSÉ, *IT ALL BEGAN WITH A CLEVERINGA LECTURE: THE KONG KOAN ARCHIVE OF BATAVIA*

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Fig. 2: The office of the Kong Koan in Pre-war Batavia. Photograph, Kong Koan Archive

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Fig. 4: Major Tan Eng Goan, 1858. Lithograph, Kong Koan Archive

Fig. 5: Marriage certificate, 1914. Photograph, Kong Koan Archive

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LIESBETH OUWEHAND, *A PROPER SEND-OFF: FAREWELL ALBUMS FROM THE NETHERLANDS INDIES*

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PETER CAREY, *SECRET TREASURES: PRINCE DIPANEGARA IN THE JAVANESE MANUSCRIPTS*

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Fig. 2: Pangeran Diponegoro, *Hikayat Tanah Jawa*. Manuscript. Pemda, Makassar, 1837. — Page 22 from the second book. Photograph by courtesy of the late Raden Mas Yusuf Diponegoro (also reproduced in Carey 2007, p. 112)

Fig. 3: *Buku Kedung Kebo*. Manuscript. Semarang, 1866. [D Or. 13] — Folio 81v.

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KOEN DE CEUSTER, *A DIGITAL DATABASE OF NORTH KOREAN PRINTED POSTERS*

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Maps: The hand coloured maps of the geographical regions in this book are from the famous atlases of Joan Blaeu (*Asia noviter delineata* and *India quae Orientalis et Insulae adiacentes*; COLLBN Atlas 1:9, map 1 + 2) and Johannis Janssonius (*Magni Mogolis Imperium* and *China Veteribus Sinarum Regio nunc Incolis Tame dicta*; COLLBN Atlas 2:7, map 12 + 21). These Amsterdam based cartographers ran the most important publishing houses of the seventeenth century and were each others competitors, and literally neighbours. Their maps give an impression of the geographical knowledge of the time, or a representation of what the cartographers were allowed to publish. The maps were not only informative, but also decorated with cartouches, putti and men and women in their traditional costumes

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The Asian Library is made up of many sub-collections, and includes dozens of kilometres of books, hundreds of manuscripts, thousands of photographs and just as many prints and maps. To make a discriminate selection of highlights and essays for this volume I have had many conversations with curators, subject librarians, professors and others involved in the project. Their willingness to share their knowledge and insights on the several sub-collections has enabled me to put together an attractive mosaic. Naturally this book might easily have been twice as voluminous, or another choice of subjects and highlights might have been argued. Nevertheless I think this volume offers a good overview of the geographical regions covered by the library and the range of materials it preserves, which will hopefully inspire you to visit the Asian Library yourself and conduct research there.

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Colophon

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This book is published on the occasion of the Grand Opening of the Asian Library on 14 September 2017, as part of the Leiden University Libraries.

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Cover Image: *The Forest Fire* (KITLV 47A65) is a chromolithograph after a painting by Raden Saleh (1811-1880). Saleh was the first Javanese artist to arrive in the Netherlands in 1829. He studied portrait painting under Cornelius Kruseman and landscape art under Andreas Schelfhout. This chromolithograph shows terrified tigers and bantengs on the run at the moment before they plunge over the cliff. Even though this dramatic scene is set in the Indies, Raden Saleh made the painting during his stay in Europe in 1850, a year before he returned to Java. He had achieved success in Europe and the Indies, and built up an impressive circle of clients, among them European monarchs and Dutch colonial officials. His success is also acknowledged with the publication of this chromolithography on large format together with two other paintings by him and a selection of work by Dutch artists.

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