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CHAPTER 1

Roaring Tigers, Grunting Buffalo, and Slithering Snakes Along the Javanese Road

A Comparative Examination of Dutch and Indonesian Travel Writing

Judith E. Bosnak & Rick Honings

Abstract

Nineteenth-century Dutch scientists such as Reinwardt and Junghuhn carried out extensive explorations of Java's flora and fauna. In the name of western science, they justified the mistreatment of, and violence against, animals, whilst simultaneously condemning indigenous practices such as cock fights and *rampog macan* (tiger fights) as barbaric. Meanwhile, Javanese travellers such as Purwalelana and Sastradarma similarly studied animals – sometimes mythical or symbolic animals – however, they took a different approach, fuelled by an 'encyclopaedic drive'. This chapter focuses on nineteenth-century Dutch and Javanese colonial travel writing. How did Dutch and Indonesian travellers represent animals in their work? This chapter chooses a comparative approach and focuses on three different functions of animals: the animal as a scientific quest object; as a tourist 'curiosity' or pastime object; and as an object of spiritual devotion.

Keywords: Dutch East Indies, colonial travel writing, (function of) animals, comparative perspective, Othering, Javanese noblemen

Roaring tigers, grunting buffalo, and slithering snakes: travelling across the island of Java during the nineteenth century was an adventurous undertaking that frequently featured animals.[1] Journeying to their tropical destination, European travellers would spend more than three months at sea aboard sailing ships alongside animals such as chickens and pigs that would ultimately serve as their food. Additionally, during their extended voyage, travellers would encounter marine life, including dolphins, sharks, and whales, as well as seabirds such as albatrosses.

Following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, camels, donkeys, and goats added to the menagerie encountered on the now steam-powered voyage between Europe and the Dutch East Indies – a trip of around six weeks. Once the seafarers reached the Javanese shore, besides other insects and reptiles, mosquitos and geckos became their daily 'companions' whilst, in the evenings, the sound of crickets filled the air. Despite the nuisance, and in some cases danger, posed by such creatures,

intrepid explorers embarked on expeditions into the Javanese jungle where megafauna such as rhinoceros, tigers,[2] snakes, and crocodiles were of key interest.

Riding horseback and stagecoaches provided the most common modes of transport across Java in the nineteenth century, following the Great Post Road that traversed the island of Java from west to east. The road had been constructed by Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels between 1808 and 1810. Although most travellers spoke very positively of the 'fast and strong' horses on the Post Road,[3] occasionally the animals were so slow and stubborn that apparently only whipping could induce them to move.[4] Nonetheless, numerous Dutch travelogues comment on the strength of the small Javanese horses and the dangers of leaving the track during a flying gallop down the slopes. In mountainous areas teams of buffalo were hitched to the travellers' carriages to provide extra pulling power.

In a wider context, buffalo and horses play an important role as a means of transport in travel writing about the Indies. However, rather than focusing on draught animals in their instrumental role as 'beasts of burden', this chapter aims to analyse some of the other functions that animals fulfil in travel writing, from their use as objects of study to their serving as tourist attractions in their own right. Both Dutch and Javanese travelogues constitute starting points so as to gain a better understanding of 'the animal turn' from an intercultural perspective. This analysis roughly follows the typology proposed by Elizabeth Leane, but will also address other functions of animals in travel literature.[5]

Travel accounts by Dutch travellers Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt, Carl Ludwig Blume, Johannes Olivier, and Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn will be compared with the early nineteenth-century encyclopaedic Javanese travelogue *Serat Centhini* and travelogues by the Javanese noblemen Purwalelana and Sastradarma, which date from the 1860s. Within this corpus we distinguish three distinct roles played by animals that reveal different processes of 'Othering'. This term, originally introduced by the Indian postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak, refers to the social and/or psychological ways in which one group excludes or marginalises another; it is the process by which imperial discourse creates its 'others'.[6] Travellers journeyed in a colonial 'contact zone': a space in which people from different geographic areas came into contact with each other and established enduring relations, 'usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict'.[7] As a result, they felt compelled to write about the 'Other' and, inevitably, about themselves. In this sense, in the words of Carl Thompson, travel writing always involves a confrontation between 'alterity and identity', and between 'difference and similarity'.[8] As such, these contact zone encounters involved not only 'other' people, but certainly also 'other' animals.

In this chapter, we analyse three different functions of animals: the animal as a scientific quest object; the animal as a pastime object; and the animal as an object of

spiritual devotion. It is important to note, however, that these categories are never clearly defined and thus partly overlap. First, we examine the animal in its role as an object of scientific study and look at the ways in which travel writing classifies species. This 'quest' category highlights journeys that were motivated by the encounter with, and collection of, specific animals. Which animals were favoured by the travellers, and which were left out of their accounts? In the first half of the nineteenth century, Dutch travellers such as Reinwardt and Blume carried out extensive explorations of Java's flora and fauna. 'Exotic' animals such as tigers, rhinoceros, and crocodiles were often at the centre of their scientific narrative. Whilst Javanese travellers similarly made animals into a 'study object', theirs was a different approach. In their quest for knowledge the Javanese protagonists of the *Serat Centhini* came across several (mythical) animals with supernatural powers that enriched their understanding of the world. The later travel accounts by Sastradarma and Purwalelana are interspersed with animal stories that echo tales from the *Serat Centhini* and older Hindu epics such as the *Mahabharata* that contained important life lessons.

Second, we turn our focus to the animal as a pastime object. How did travellers view animals and animal rituals that represent an unknown realm? Both Dutch and Javanese travelogues pay a great deal of attention to contests, games, and rituals that feature animals, such as horse racing, bullfighting, and hunting.[9] The travellers' accounts abound with anecdotes that reveal their feelings either of admiration of, or repulsion for, the ('cruel') treatment of animals. Purwalelana enjoys the well-organised horse races, whilst Olivier and Junghuhn lament the cruelties of the Javanese *rampog macan* (tiger fight). We additionally consider animals in their role as a tourist 'curiosity', constituting another form of pastime object. This includes animals as collector's items found in museums, curiosity cabinets, and zoological gardens.[10] The Javanese traveller Sastradarma has a keen interest in the fossils and bones collected by the famous Javanese painter and palaeontologist Radèn Salèh Syarif Bustaman (1811-1880). Furthermore, he pays a visit to the first zoo of Batavia (1864), where for the first time in his life, he sees a kangaroo. Dutch travellers visited this zoo as well.

Our third and final category concerns the animal as a religious, spiritual being and an object of devotion, including its more 'instrumental' role as a 'guard' and 'protector'. Whilst Leane situates animals in their roles as 'guards and protectors' in the category of 'animal as instrument of travel', we propose a slightly different categorisation. Travel writers make frequent reference to mythical and symbolic animals that feature as powerful elements of Javanese daily life – those linked with creation, protection, and also (in marked contrast) with destruction. This latter role brings us to the animal in its role as a dangerous creature with the potential to suddenly change the plot of the travelogue. For example, Olivier witnesses a crocodile attack and Purwalelana mentions a giant snake that sets off an earthquake.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first examines the role and function of animals in texts written by nineteenth-century Dutch travellers. The second describes the different ways in which animals are represented in Javanese travel writing. Similarities and differences between the Dutch and the Javanese narratives are discussed in the conclusion.

Animals from the Dutch perspective

The study of animals in the Dutch East Indies received a stimulus in the early nineteenth century. Following Napoleon's definitive downfall and after the British Interregnum (1811-1816), Java returned to Dutch control in 1816. Subsequently, and in contrast to what had happened in previous centuries, the Indies saw an influx of Dutch travellers, with many setting off to explore Java's interior. Founded in 1602, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) had situated its offices primarily in coastal areas of Asia. Hence, the interior with its indigenous princedoms was much less known. With a few exceptions, journeys across Java were unusual in VOC times. In general, during this era, the Dutch were arguably more interested in what the colony could yield than in its indigenous nature and culture. Their key concern was to ship as many valuable spices and colonial wares in the form of salt, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, sugar, cotton, silk, tea, tobacco, and coffee to Europe as possible – something that did not require the Dutch to explore the archipelago in its entirety. Upon their return to power in 1816, the Dutch embarked on a project to turn the Indies into a fully-fledged colony, with a central administration that necessitated first mapping the area thoroughly. This period of development led both to an increase in the number of Dutch travellers *within* the archipelago, and consequently to an increase in the wildlife encounters of those travellers, a further consequence being a surge in the study of wildlife more generally.

Portrait of Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt. Reinier Vinkeles after a painting by Mattheus Ignatius van Bree. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Discoveries in a scientific paradise

That indigenous animals constituted an object of study for the Dutch in the nineteenth century is evidenced by the travel texts of Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854).[11] A German by birth, Reinwardt was a 'dilettante' with – at least by modern standards – scant education. Even so, in 1800 he was offered a professorship in chemistry, natural history, and botany in the Dutch city of Harderwijk. Seven years on, the French King Louis Napoleon, a brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, commissioned him to design a 'Jardin du Roi' – a garden following the example of the Paris Jardin de Plantes, which would also have a zoo. At the 1808 Utrecht funfair, the touring menagerie of the Italian Antonio Alpi caught the king's attention.[12] He decided to buy the collection, on condition that Alpi continued to look after the animals. The zoo was subsequently expanded following its transfer, first to Soestdijk and later to Haarlem.[13]

As part of Louis Napoleon's ambitious plans for the Amsterdam botanical gardens, the animals were transferred to the buildings of its orangery in the spring of 1809. Reinwardt managed the royal wildlife collection and the botanical garden for two years and strove to establish a natural history museum, first in Soestdijk and subsequently in Amsterdam. However, Napoleon's decision in 1810 to depose his brother and annex the Netherlands brought down the curtain on the zoological garden. The animals were auctioned off: a zebra, a lioness, a 'Royal Bengal tiger', an African panther, a black Canadian bear, a wolf, a porcupine, two raccoons, a white hare, some mandrills, two 'Barbary apes or magots', a Chinese 'bonnet macaque', a baboon, a 'capuchin monkey', a spider monkey, and a 'green monkey'.[14] Soon Amsterdam's royal menagerie was a thing of the past.

In 1810, Reinwardt was named professor by special appointment of chemistry and 'medicine preparation' (pharmacy), and ordinary professor of natural history at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre. Upon Napoleon's downfall at the Battle of Waterloo (1815), the new Dutch King William I put Reinwardt in charge of the organisation of education, the 'medical service', agriculture, industry, and scientific research in the Indies.[15] From a letter that he received from Anton Reinhard Falck, secretary to the king, we may infer what that function entailed. Reinwardt was to travel to the Indies to ensure, on the basis of close and careful observation, that the Netherlands became better acquainted with its colony. Falck attempted to kindle Reinwardt's enthusiasm for this task by conjuring up images of the Indies as a hitherto *terra incognita*: 'Java alone will yield the most important observations and discoveries in all the realms of nature.' To map this potential natural treasure trove, they sought someone 'who couples comprehensive skills and many years of practising the principal sciences with great acumen, whose diligence is not dulled and deterred by ordinary strains', and who was fully convinced of the need to increase knowledge.[16]

It was an offer Reinwardt could not refuse. His collegue in Utrecht Professor Adam Simons wrote the following verses: 'Travel, noble friend! with God; soon alight on Java's beach, / Come, more than Humboldt, back – uplifted, to the Netherlands!'[17] The comparison with Alexander von Humboldt indicates how high expectations of Reinwardt ran. This also found expression in the salary he was to receive. It was eight times what he earned as a professor: 24,000 guilders a year.[18] In October 1815 Reinwardt set out for 'the East'. He arrived in the Dutch East Indies in mid-April 1816 after sailing around the Cape, where he had sojourned a month. From that moment onwards, he was to explore and study Java and the outer provinces.

One of Reinwardt's greatest achievements was his founding, shortly after his arrival, of a scientific garden in Buitenzorg (now Bogor), in 1817: the National Botanical Garden (present-day Kebun Raya Bogor).[19] The gardens served as the centre of botanic research in the Indies. Reinwardt chose this location because of Buitenzorg's elevation, which not only made it cooler than Batavia, but also ensured it received more rainfall. The garden was so beautiful, Reinwardt claimed, that it could compete with the loveliest pleasure gardens in Europe.[20] However, the Botanical Garden also served a political function, the ambitious project reflecting the colonial supremacy of the Dutch. Plants were sent to Buitenzorg from the entire archipelago to be examined for their exploitative potential.[21]

During the British Interregnum, the study of Javanese wildlife had flourished thanks, in part, to Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), whose famous work *The History of Java* was published in 1817. It led to a growing interest in indigenous natural history curiosities: flowers and plants, as well as animals.[22] Reinwardt also evinced this scientific interest. On his travels throughout Java and the outer provinces, he amassed extensive collections of natural history objects, which he had shipped to the Netherlands to be housed in museums there. Reinwardt sent mounted birds and other animals, skeletons and skulls, animal skins, animals preserved in formaldehyde, prepared fish, butterflies, and insects. Amongst the most significant pieces he dispatched was the skeleton of a large crocodile, in the words of Reinwardt, a 'monstrosity', caught and dissected in his presence: 'The skeleton was especially important and noteworthy in the sense that, though the same was somewhat collapsed, it was wholly complete, undamaged and pure. Numerous bottles contained the soft internal parts, which had been prepared properly and preserved in ethyl alcohol.'[23] Unfortunately, as many as three substantial shipments were lost to shipwrecks, however, there were successes as well.[24] For example, the collection of the Amsterdam Trippenhuis was enriched in 1824 with 'a large adult crocodile, mounted extremely well', dispatched by Reinwardt. It was the first crocodile to be relocated from the Indies to Europe.[25]

On his travels Reinwardt made detailed notes, however, despite repeated requests, they remained unpublished.[26] What did appear, four years after his

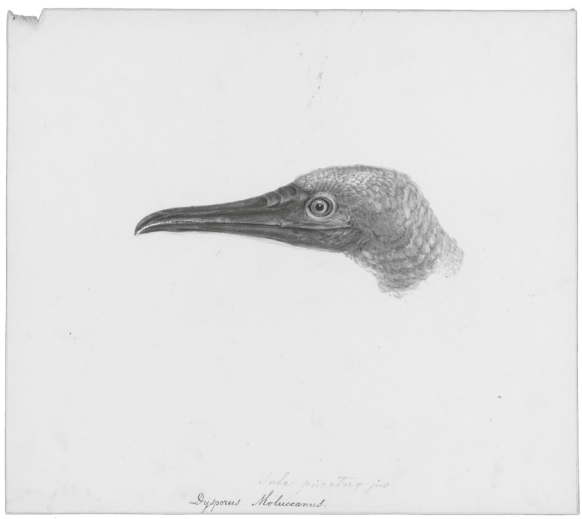
death, was his *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel in het jaar 1821* (1858, Journey to the eastern part of the Indies archipelago in the year 1821), about his peregrinations of the Indies' outer provinces, and which also testifies to Reinwardt's interest in animals. Whilst scientific travel literature such as Reinwardt's was considered a serious contribution to the academic debate in the nineteenth century, its covert imperial ambitions also imbued it with a strong ideological charge. In the words of Mary Louise Pratt, there was always a 'mutual agreement between natural history and European economic and political expansionism'. Yet the scientific traveller often acts as if he has nothing to do with any desire for conquest and is merely driven by pure, scientific interest – an innocence strategy that Pratt classifies under the umbrella term 'anti-conquest'.[27] This kind of travel was never innocent, and Pratt states that scientific travellers were also ambassadors of colonialism.[28]

Reading a few pages of Reinwardt's account suffice to establish that the above is true of him as well. His travels served a dual function.[29] On the one hand, they were meant to amass knowledge of the country, its flora and fauna. Yet, on the other, they served a politico-economic motive. There was good reason for King William I to explicitly task him with delving into soil types and locating 'extractable minerals'.[30] In Reinwardt's text, scientific interest and the imperial gaze went hand in hand – also when it came to the study of animals. The king commissioned him to make 'useful' observations about the animal world and to provide answers to eighteen specific questions, such as: 'Is the number of buffalo and other kinds of cattle of significance?', 'Which wild animals deserve to be considered, for their skins, their meat, or otherwise?', 'Are significantly great numbers of skins, tallow, horns, etc. produced there, and are these objects of good quality?' Also: 'Can the skins of certain monkeys and other animals be designated for furriery and sold profitably?'[31] It is little wonder then that, time and again in his travel account, Reinwardt recorded animal sightings and their locations. For example, on Timor he was struck by the great number of wild pigs ('some of exceptional size'), whilst off the coast of Lombok he noticed the many horses and buffalo, and he found numerous deer, *kidang* (muntjac, 'a small kind of deer'), wild pigs, and fowl in Bima on the island of Sumbawa.[32]

To Reinwardt, the Indies were a scientific paradise that plied him with endless opportunities for research. *En route*, he delighted in studying tropical birds, parrots, fish, monkeys, deer, and cuscus – which he, when given a chance, captured or shot. Here, hunting served the purpose of furthering scientific research, and constituted normal practice.[33] Not only did it allow for a better study and sketching of the animals; afterwards they could also be added to a natural history collection. Reinwardt stole the young of a black Makassar monkey on Sulawesi whilst regretted not being able to catch a *dugong* (sea cow, or manatee).[34]

Like so many others, Reinwardt represented the type of the 'herboriser' – the collector of indigenous curiosities.[35] With it came what has been analysed before as a typically Western rhetoric of discovery: to describe the travel destination as a place that had seen no other human prior to his arrival. The suggestion is that he climbed mountains never before climbed by a European and not listed in any classification system. He felled trees and discovered new species in various places.[36] However, there were also a great many real discoveries to be made in the animal world. For example, travelling to the Moluccas he sighted an unfamiliar seabird that looked like 'one variously called *Jan van Gent* [gannet] in Dutch, *fous* in French, and *boobies*, i.e. fools, in English'.[37] Disclosing the unknown through a comparison with something from the fatherland is a well-known procedure in colonial travel literature.[38] Reinwardt recorded: 'This evening they showed themselves again and we could clearly discern the validity of the name that is given to these animals, because when one of them had set itself down on the foremast, one of the sailors crept up and succeeded in catching the bird by hand and giving it to me. It is one of the, it seems, unrecorded species.' And so, Reinwardt thought up a new Latin name for the bird: *Dysporus moluccanus*.[39]

It was far from the only 'discovery'. On the island of Solor, for instance, Reinwardt came across an unknown sea snake, *Hydrophis*, 'beautifully black with blue bands, an apparently new species, since it has large scales at the underside of its body, on its belly'.[40] Similarly, off the island of Kisar he spotted some curious 'men o' war' (a kind of jellyfish) of the genus *Physalia*, only slightly different, a few of which he managed to catch and described thus: 'It is a translucent bladder, with under it, and to its sides, a great number of shorter, clear-blue and one, some yards



A bird head, *Dysporus moluccanus*, drawn for the Natuurkundige Commissie voor Nederlandsch-Indië (Natural Historical Commission of the Dutch East Indies), early nineteenth century. Collection Naturalis Biodiversity Centre, Leiden.

long, blue coil shooting out, which has the greatest sensitivity and mobility.'[41] Near Timor, Reinwardt was struck by some 'elongated lumps, which moved fast and propelled themselves forward with a twisting movement in the water and looking like so many glowing snakes, hurrying through the water'. In the morning, he decided that the phenomenon was caused by tiny, translucent worms, ostensibly colourless, like 'jelly, a little duller than the water', possibly of the species *Pyrosoma Peron*.[42]

Animals also play a role in Reinwardt's travel account in another context. Reinwardt attests to a keen interest in the archipelago's original inhabitants – a curiosity that can be attributed to the assignment of the king, who had instructed him to familiarise himself with the 'manners, language and mentality of the inhabitants, their religion and their form of government'.[43] Reinwardt notably focuses attention on the eating habits of the various indigenous groups and occasionally on the animals that they did or did not use for food. He was struck by the fact that there were large differences. Sago flour and 'a small amount of fish' were the staple diet of the residency of Amboina.[44] In the Manado residency, cuscuses were eaten as well, Reinwardt observed, stating: 'Amongst the dishes that I was served in Tonsawang was a roast cuscus, which I ate with great relish, although the large amount of *tjabé* (chilli pepper) made it difficult to judge the actual taste of the dish.' Reinwardt had heard that the residents of Tonsawang also ate snakes and all sorts of fish, mostly riverine species. In comparison with Java, fewer saltwater fish were consumed here, 'although the sea here will probably be no less rich in fish'.[45] Looking and tasting were all part of Reinwardt's study and, as such, cannot be seen separately from the imperial goal that his study trip served.

In 1822, Carl Ludwig Blume (1796-1862) was appointed to succeed Reinwardt, who returned to the Netherlands to become a professor in Leiden. Also German by birth, Blume had studied biology and medicine in Leiden from 1814 and had completed his doctorate there three years later. He travelled to the Indies in 1818. Like Reinwardt before him, Blume made a number of study trips across Java. He climbed mountains, studied the area's flora and fauna, and classified whatever he encountered via the attribution of new Latin names. As had Reinwardt before him, Blume set his mind to making wildlife 'discoveries'.

Occasionally Blume publicised his travels in the press, although he never published a separate travel account. Nonetheless, we get a good idea of his investigations thanks to the 'Dagverhaal eener Reis door Java' (Diary of a journey across Java) by Gerhardus Heinrich Nagel (1795-1861), a civil servant at that time. From February 1824 onwards he accompanied Blume during his ascent of the 'Thousand Mountains' (Gunung Sewu) in Central Java. Nagel wrote about whatever they encountered en route, including hitherto unknown species: 'Never have I seen so many different kinds of ants than here, – when it rained, our tents swarmed with these insects, which even invaded, in their thousands, the suitcases

and goods.'[46] In particular the travellers were beset by a certain type of large, green ant. Nagel also described some of the greater perils to the traveller. One such involved a large tiger that crept into the camp at night, was chased away by the shouts of the servants, and then disappeared with a tremendous roar into the forest. Later in his journey Nagel witnessed a fatal accident, when a Chinese person walking home at dusk was suddenly attacked by a tiger, dragged into the forest and devoured.[47]

A good impression of Blume's zoological studies can be garnered from the travel account kept by the Dutch linguist Philippus Pieter Roorda van Eysinga (1796-1856), who accompanied Blume on one of his journeys. He claims that Blume actively encouraged 'natives' to shoot or capture wild animals for him. Indeed, on one occasion, some Javanese folk brought Blume a 'spotted tiger' in a wooden cage.[48] They had caught the tiger by luring it with a goat, after which it was captured by means of a trap door. Excited, Blume wished to preserve it intact for research purposes by drowning it. In his account Roorda graphically describes what happened next:

> Once taken to the river, it began to roar terribly, which suggested its mortal terror. I feared that the cage would not be able to withstand the efforts of this furious animal in its death throes, but the water won out and soon silenced the tiger. The Javanese servants hauled the cage ashore, opened the door, and began to pull it out; suddenly it made itself heard, and the men fled. I was fortunate enough to close the trap door again and saw the escapees return, so that once again the spotted forest animal was lowered into the water, and now completely suffocated. The animal was then skinned, and its skeleton preserved intact.[49]

Another day, a group of Javanese men presented Blume, sojourning near Bandung, with a live *banteng*, a type of wild bull, whose 'hind-leg muscles' had been 'cut'. Unsurprisingly, the animal was in a frenzy. Blume knew that in the wild the animal was dangerous, especially when it was fired at. Blume and his fellow travellers did not dare look at the animal close up. Instead, they had a rope thrown around its horns, tied it to a tree and had its 'throat slit', 'so that its skeleton would remain undamaged'.[50]

Hardly had they begun to dissect the *banteng* when the message arrived that a rhinoceros had been caught not far from where they were. This delighted Blume so much that he dropped everything on the spot. As evening fell, he and his party arrived in a hamlet, where the local raja (the indigenous chief) welcomed them. As it had by now grown too late to investigate, it was decided to postpone matters until the next day. The raja treated them to chicken, 'roasted in dirty *katjang* oil'. Roorda remarked: 'Hunger made us eat, yet the disgust caused by the *katjang* oil soon ruined our appetite.'[51] This episode exposes a new way entirely of experiencing

animals as well as providing an excuse to dismiss the raja as rather 'uncivilised' and 'different'.

The following morning, Blume set out with some Javanese men: 'An unbearable smell soon led us to the rhinoceros, whose colossal size filled us with wonder.' Blume was told how rhinoceros were caught. The Javanese would dig a deep pit, across which they placed reeds: 'Not suspecting anything, the rhinoceros continues on its way, and plunges through the bamboo into the pit dug for it.'[52] Unable to escape, the animal would starve to death. The specimen that Blume found had been dead for some time. Yet despite its advanced state of decomposition, Blume was absolutely delighted to have an opportunity to study a rhinoceros up close. Initially he proposed that the animal be lifted out of the pit, but he soon found that this was an impossible task. He therefore had the pit dug away on one side so the animal could be stretched out flat. Its skin had become macerated and was swarming with black worms:

> Soon, we had cut off this animal's head and legs, meeting with a great deal of resistance due to the thickness of the flesh and tough muscles. The stink almost became unbearable, and when Mr Blume cut open its belly, we thought we were going to faint, and we removed ourselves, except Mr Blume, who eventually managed to persuade the Javanese servants, with good words and promises, to assist him in a job that is so deeply offensive to the Native because of its impurity. We consumed a good measure of Madeira, and now and then helped the industrious Blume, who was already entranced by having removed a *foetus* from the rhinoceros, which had as yet not decayed too much. […] The legs of this animal were so unwieldy that at the bottom they were the exact size of a normal table top. The skin was no longer recognizable because of the worms mentioned, but the horn, which is greatly sought after by the Chinese as a cure for a decline in strength, […] was still undamaged.[53]

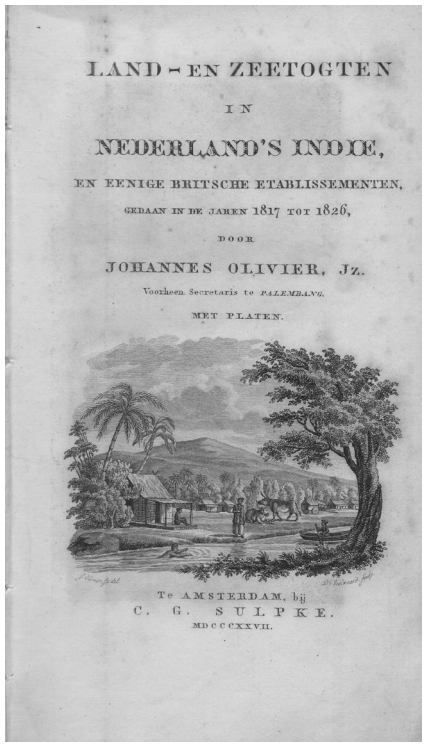
Whilst Blume evidently did not flinch from getting his hands dirty, he usually had his Javanese servants, 'who were most experienced in dissecting and mounting birds and various animals', do the work for him. After the rhinoceros had been dissected, he left a few servants behind with the raja, who was presented with two hunting rifles on condition that he shortly assembled a collection of animals (with the help of the aforementioned servants), 'which he faithfully did as we, upon our return, found a collection of tigers, rhinoceros, wild cows, deer, other animals and birds, which had been delightfully mounted and were well-preserved, stored in a shed built for the purpose'.[54] This was the common way for Dutch scientific travellers to map the fauna of the Indies.

Gruesome games and lurking peril

Non-scientific travellers would also come into contact with unfamiliar and 'exotic' animals during their stay in the colony. One such traveller was Johannes Olivier (1789-1858). In May 1817, driven by the 'irresistible urge' to get to know 'strange lands and peoples', he decided to go to the Indies.[55] In early September he arrived in the roadstead of Batavia. Olivier's curiosity about the 'unknown delightful East Indies' was immense: 'How eager we all were, to set foot on land, you can barely imagine.'[56] In the Indies Olivier built a career for himself: In 1821 he was appointed second scribe and, a year later, second clerk at the General Office, which assisted the Governor-General. Next, he became secretary to Herman Warner Muntinghe, a member of the Council of the Indies and, from July 1822, similarly to Jan Izaäk van Sevenhoven, the commissioner at Palembang on South Sumatra.

Olivier's career may have been taking off, but the combination of his ebullient temperament and an alcohol problem soon landed him in trouble. In 1823, he was appointed to the post of 'writer' with the Colonial Navy. In this capacity he accompanied Governor-General Godert van der Capellen on a tour of inspection across the Moluccas. However, events took an unfortunate turn on the island of Ternate and Olivier was charged with 'gross insubordination and insolence'. In 1826 Olivier had no choice but to leave the colony. Now 38 years of age and a certified translator by profession, Olivier settled in Amsterdam, where he married and raised a family. His career as a civil servant dashed, he applied himself to writing. In 1827 his *Aanteekeningen gehouden op eene reize in Oost-Indië* (Notes made during a journey in the East Indies) appeared, followed by *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië* (Journeys and voyages in the Dutch Indies, 3 volumes, 1827-1830) and *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië* (Scenes and peculiarities from the East Indies, 2 volumes, 1836-1838).

Olivier's travel texts contain detailed reflections on the Javanese population and other ethnic groups in the colony. Compared to other travel accounts by Dutch authors, Olivier's texts attest strongly to his profound interest in the indigenous animal world. To him, animals were part of the couleur locale that he closely observed and strove to record true to nature. Olivier, like so many others, saw animals such as the (post) horses first and foremost as a means of transport. Other animals were merely a nuisance, like the mosquitoes that constantly plagued him, alongside snakes, locusts, cockroaches, ants, flies, and assorted other 'vicious' insects.[57] However, like Reinwardt, Olivier also wrote about animals in order to underline the richness of the fauna of the Indies – the animals were natural resources that made the country valuable. On his travels he was astounded at the number of wild buffalo that proved their worth as draught animals and at the abundance of all manner of fish, tortoises, wild pigs, and deer, each of which could provide a tasty meal.


LAND- EN ZEETOGTEN
IN
NEDERLAND'S INDIE,
EN EENIGE BRITSCHE ETABLISSEMENTEN,
GEDAAN IN DE JAREN 1817 TOT 1826,
DOOR
JOHANNES OLIVIER, Jz.
Voorheen Secretaris te PALEMBANG.
MET PLATEN.
Te AMSTERDAM, bij
C. G. SULPKE.
MDCCCXXVII.

Title page of Johannes Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, with an image of two buffalo. Vol. 1 (1827). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

As we saw earlier in the cases of Reinwardt and Blume, animals were seen as an inexhaustible source of information and study to the Dutch. They hunted monkeys, parrots and other birds, geckos, wildcats, tigers, and crocodiles with this goal in mind. Animals sometimes served a dual purpose: as an object of study and as food. Olivier witnessed how a ship's crew caught a large shark off the coast of Java. As the animal was thrashing about, the crew hacked off its tail. A gruesome discovery was made inside its stomach: a half-digested shoe. The heart was cut out of the shark and examined carefully. Olivier claimed that twenty hours after its capture it was still beating! Curious what it would taste like, the Dutchmen had a part of the shark taken to the galley to be prepared, but the meat proved tough and 'train-oily'.[58] What is stressed here is not so much the gruesome discovery itself, but the desire to understand and the 'triumph of discovery'.

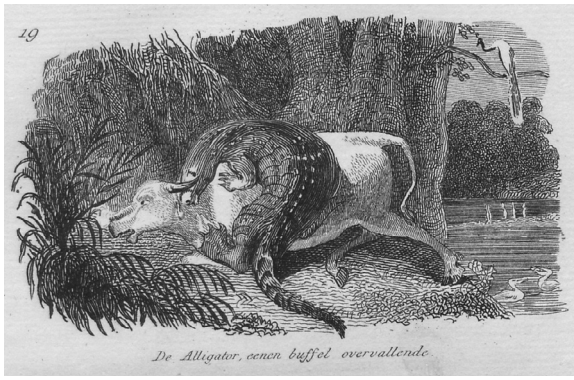
Animals also provided entertainment. From Batavia, Olivier travelled to Buitenzorg, where he visited the Botanical Garden and the modest zoo that the Dutch had founded. For Europeans, Olivier thought, there was something distinctly 'odd' about a visit to the latter. This was because, near the palace, one could 'without danger, and at ease' look at a beautiful tiger that – Olivier quipped – undergoes the punishment of Tantalus 'when he sees the deer and antelopes frolicking past the bars of his cage, or constantly hears the turkeys, peacocks and other birds incite his bloodthirsty but futile fury by cawing, quacking, gobbling and making all sorts of sounds as if to mock him'. In addition, two caimans were kept in a brick water tank, 'which here, with their close-set eyes on top of their head, grin horribly but uselessly at the safe observer'. A small distance away stood the monkey house, where its apes and monkeys amused the spectators with their 'comical leaps and bounds and clownish gestures'.[59] There were aviaries too, with colourful parrots, birds-of-paradise, and some black swans.

Buitenzorg boasted one of the first zoos in the colony, designed both to promote the study of animals and to entertain its visitors. It was not until 1864 that the colony's capital saw the opening of the Batavia Plant and Animal Garden, which remains in existence to the present day, albeit not at the original location (now Ragunan Zoo in South Jakarta). The zoo of Batavia had a very similar dual purpose. On the one hand, it sought to promote the study of wildlife, agriculture, horticulture, and livestock farming, whilst on the other, it hoped to encourage a 'pleasant to-and-fro'. The zoo was laid out on the estate of the painter Radèn Salèh mentioned earlier.[60]

From 1864 onwards, the Dutch would flock to the zoo in great numbers. Amongst them was Dirk Beets (1842-1916), the son of the well-known Dutch man of letters Nicolaas Beets (1814-1903). Dirk worked at the Weeskamer (Orphan Board) in Batavia and was a man of distinction. Under the pseudonym Si Anoe he published his impressions of life in the Dutch East Indies in *Het nieuws van den dag* (The news of the day).[61] In November 1882 he informed his home readership about Batavia's zoo. The mere idea of seeing it one day must surely be 'mouth-watering' to the visitor of the Amsterdam zoo, Artis:

> Certainly, being suddenly transported here, under the shade of the gigantic gutta-percha tree in the garden at Tjikini, ringed by river Krokot, would for many a resident of the Plantage be an original, and, provided it took place on a cool early morning, not unpleasant sensation. He would be struck by the trees; the sunlight would overwhelm him too soon; the deadly quiet would astonish him. But at closer inspection, the garden, as a zoo, would be an enormous disappointment to him, and he would be amazed that the capital of a colony, where snakes are everywhere, elephants are waiting to be lured, and tigers are there for the taking, is even in this respect surpassed so far by his unique Amsterdam.[62]

The above, somewhat disparaging review appeared despite the fact that the zoo had, over recent months, improved. It now boasted a tiger, some bears, cassowaries, various species of primates ('including three or four orangutangs, proboscis monkeys, etc.'), kangaroos, pigeons, pheasants, and cockatoos: 'But compared to Artis – no, our zoo is not in the same league at all.' This was hardly surprising, Dirk Beets thought: The number of Europeans in the colony who visited the zoo was necessarily limited, compared to the inhabitants of a European city. Moreover, the majority shunned the zoo because it 'was useless from half past seven in the morning to dusk due to the heat'. This was the cause that 'membership was small, and the zoo perforce poor'. The situation was so distressing that Beets wondered how long it would be before the garden itself became 'extinct': 'They must have difficulty keeping the wolf from the door, and the most peculiar animal in the collection, a monkey with a long, curved nose, has already passed away.'[63]



A buffalo is attacked by a crocodile, in: Johannes Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*. Vol. 2 (1838). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

In a bid to lure the public to the zoo, it also organised other activities. Thus, October 1882 saw the opening of a 'Garden, Hunting and Agriculture Exhibition' – an act of desperation, Dirk thought – with 'flowers, horses, dogs, and poultry'.[64] Even later, there continued to be travellers who commented unfavourably on the zoo. In *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* (Elsevier's illustrated monthly magazine) for 1900, a certain Mrs. Hanny gave a 'Kijkje in Batavia' (Glimpse of Batavia). In her opinion, the zoo was a 'nice place of relaxation', although the 'animal element' was impossible to find, 'unless they were to be titjakken [geckos] which are everywhere here!'[65]

Just like Nagel, Olivier learned that animals could be dangerous. During an outing to Banten he witnessed a crocodile attack. The water level being low, the sloop in which he was travelling could not moor. He was therefore rowed ashore in another small boat, but this ran aground a mud bank. Now, whilst he does not mention the animal anywhere else, it is clear from Olivier's narrative that he had a dog for companion. As a few sailors jumped into the water to pull the boat free, the dog, left behind in the sloop, jumped overboard, wanting to follow his master. Suddenly the Javanese sailors called out: 'Djaga baik baik, toewan! ada boewaja!' (Careful, sir, a crocodile!).[66] To his horror, Olivier saw a large crocodile, its mouth wide open, bearing down on his dog. Sensing danger, the dog swam towards the boat to reach safety, thus luring the crocodile towards them. His fellow passengers shouted to Olivier to sacrifice the dog in order to protect them, but Olivier did not hesitate for one moment:

> As if instinctively, I now pulled the dog out of the water and ordered him to lie still under my feet. Whereupon we immediately made such a splash and a din with two pieces of wood, which were fortunately lying in the little proa and which we had armed ourselves with, thinking to shove said planks into the crocodile's maw in an emergency, that the brute,

> apparently baffled, and searching left and right for the prey deprived him, gave us the time to reach a small Chinese wankan (any vessel at hand), which we hastily jumped into.[67]

Throughout his travels, Olivier noticed how indigenous people treated animals very differently from how Europeans approached them. For example, crocodiles did not seem to scare them, and, in turn, the crocodiles themselves seemed more 'set' on devouring Westerners than indigenous folk.[68] Tigers too posed less of a danger, Olivier claimed. He had heard stories about a tame tiger that ate out of people's hands. The Javanese felt no fear because it was their belief that tigers were reincarnated ancestors.[69] Indeed, Olivier discovered more animals that played a role in the spiritual life of the indigenous population. In Kupang on Timor it was customary to sacrifice a virgin to the crocodiles at every third accession because the ruler was believed to descend from them. Adorned with flowers and beautifully decked out, the girl was laid on the beach, trussed up, and eaten on the spot. The Dutch tried to forbid this tradition, which they considered barbaric, but the Timorese held on to their *adat* (tradition).[70]

In addition to crocodiles, Olivier wrote about buffalo to illustrate the lack of fear shown by the Javanese. Oliver noted that, as the animal was only accustomed to 'contacts with natives', it would often take flight at the sight of a European – especially one dressed in white: 'In such cases, the buffalo is not to be trusted, and could well fill the most intrepid person with fear with its forbiddingly heavy horns and gleaming eyes.' Yet the animals reacted very differently to the Javanese: 'Handled by a native, this animal is as gentle as a lamb, and allows small children, sitting on its neck, to lead him this way and that.' The Javanese were masters at catching and taming buffalo; they knew exactly how to drive the animals into an enclosure of bamboo palings, tie them up, and calm them. There was mutual affection between the Javanese and these typically Indies' animals, he said. Hitting a buffalo was absolutely forbidden; furthermore, buffalo were hardly ever eaten by the Javanese. It was only on special feast days, and then only very rarely, that they were slaughtered and eaten.[71]

The buffalo, for its part, protected the Javanese against tiger attacks. Olivier recounted an anecdote that underlined the special bond between the Javanese and their buffaloes. One day, a little boy took his father's buffalo to the field and was romping around, whilst his 'companion' was grazing unconcerned. Suddenly, a tiger appeared out of the forest and seized the 'poor mite' in its jaws. Then the incredible happened. Hardly had the buffalo heard the child's fearful wails when it shot free, and charging 'with lowered horns at the tiger, gouges it through the ribs, throws it high up into the air, so that it crashes down lifeless, and thus saves the life of its little handler, who he carries home on its neck in triumph'.[72] Representing them in this way, Olivier quite obviously highlights how the Javanese people lived more closely with animals.

The Javanese buffalo, by D.W. Schiff, in: *De Indische Archipel. Tafereelen uit de natuur en het volksleven in Indië (1865-1876)*. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Olivier was also confronted with the fact that the Javanese used animals for entertainment. He once attended a 'Moorish wedding' on Java. To add to the fun, some Bengal conjurors had been summoned who used live animals in their tricks. Olivier was surprised at a disappearing act with animals, which made use of a 'skinny, scrawny, hungry bitch' with pups.[73] Another magician even seemed to swallow a snake, a long 'Cobra-de-capello', as thick as a child's wrist:

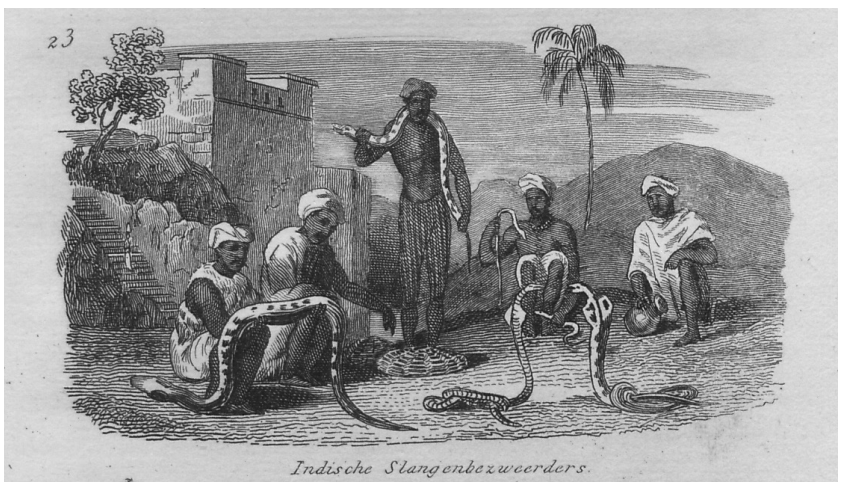
> He took, or so it appeared to us, the snake, put its tail into his mouth and gulped it down bit by bit, until nothing but the animal's head stuck out of his mouth. In one sudden gulp he now seemed to swallow the disgusting animal whole and bring it into his stomach. Some seconds later he opened his mouth again, pulled the snake slowly out again, locked it up in its box again, and gave a salâmat or bow to the spectators.[74]

At that same party Olivier saw snake charmers; they had rendered their animals harmless by extracting their poison fangs. Snake charmers were ubiquitous in the Indies, he recounted. According to some distinguished 'natives' who accompanied Olivier, they truly possessed the power to charm or tame snakes. The very fact that charming snakes was not without its dangers (everyone knew stories of people who

had died of a bite) made it such a popular pastime amongst the Javanese. However, according to Olivier, at its root lay a degree of superstition:

> It is generally believed in the Indies that, when a house is visited by this, or other snakes, one should summon some snake charmers, who, as they play their flageolet, can discover the hiding places of the snakes: as soon as they hear the music tones, the unsuspecting animals will appear from their secret hiding places and can easily be caught. As soon as the music stops, the snake falls to the ground, motionless, but then it has to be put into the basket without further ado, or the spectators will be in grave danger of being bitten by it.[75]

Animals also served to provide the Javanese with entertainment in a different way, as Olivier records. In his view, the Javanese were possessed by an irresistible passion for gambling games, a 'cherished popular amusement of the Javanese'.[76] Enormous amounts were sometimes staked: 'No boxing match can generate more enthusiasm in England than the Cockfights in the Indies.' Each rooster had a razor blade tied to its leg. Then the birds were egged on until their feathers were standing up and their crops were swollen. Next, they were pitted against each other. A rooster sometimes managed to win several times in succession. It happened, however, that a 'champion' was brought down at the very first strike or that both cocks perished at the same time. The dead birds would then be plucked, roasted, and eaten.[77] Some Javanese men even had quail and crickets fight each other by way of 'cruel time-killing', whereby they worked these small animals into the 'greatest frenzy against each other'.[78]



Javanese snake charmers, in: Johannes Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*. Vol. 2 (1838). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

The most highly prized contest in Javanese culture was the fight between a tiger and a wild buffalo. The event usually took place at the estate of a Javanese dignitary and meant to add lustre to a celebration or to the visit of an important Dutch civil servant. A round area was fenced off for the occasion with bamboo palings into which the tiger was driven. Then, the buffalo was led in, and the fight was on: 'At the sight of his nemesis, the tiger is frightened, and steals along the walls of the pen, ready to pounce on his neck. The buffalo usually appears to await him calmly but watches him constantly with his flashing eyes and lowered horns.' It seemed, Olivier noted, as if the two animals were afraid of each other and reluctant to attack.[79]

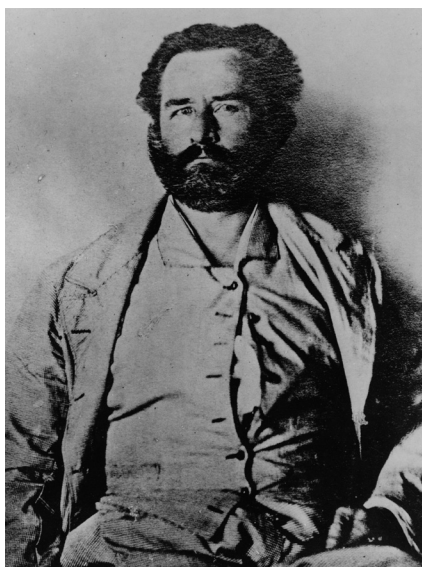
To goad the buffalo on, the Javanese attached sharply spiked branches to its back that stung at every movement: 'Enraged by such feelings of pain, the horrible snorting and roaring of the buffalo soon announces his provoked anger, and finally he comes tearing at the tiger with his dreadful horns.' The tiger in its turn was made aggressive too: boiling water or a mixture of chili peppers was poured onto its back or snout from above, and sharp sticks or burning straw goaded it on. Most Javanese gamblers staked their money on the buffalo, believed to be the stronger of the two: 'Sometimes he succeeds at the first lunge in lacerating with his horns the belly of his blood-greedy enemy, or crushing him against the ground.' Olivier was surprised at the speed with which every time the buffalo managed to put itself back into a defensive position after a failed thrust. It was only when his horns became stuck in the bamboo palings that he was lost, 'because then the tiger pounces on him from behind, thrusts his sharp claws deep into his neck, and soon inflicts with his bloodthirsty teeth more than one mortal wound on him'.[80] If, exceptionally, the tiger did overcome the buffalo, it was subsequently impaled during a special ceremony: a *rampog macan*. Executing the feared 'brute' would hopefully destroy evil, Olivier noted.[81] Armed with long lances, the Javanese would gather around the tiger in a circle: 'Enraged by the fight with the buffalo, the animal tears around, charging hither and thither, roaring dreadfully as if in a frenzy, trying to break out of the circle.' However, before long the tiger was 'well-nigh slain by the razor-sharp pikes'.[82]

Here, Olivier remarks appositely that for many on Java, the fight between tiger and buffalo symbolised the fight between West and East: The tiger, he said, was the 'symbol' of the Europeans whilst the buffalo stood for their own people. The Javanese 'not seldom attached a superstitious value to the outcome of the fight'.[83] Olivier, however, wanted no part of such 'superstition'. To him, such scenes attested to the limited state and development of the Javanese. The fight, he argued, was so unequal and the organisers resorted to such barbaric ways that every human being not devoid of feeling would be revolted by it.[84]

Years after Olivier, the German-Dutch explorer and biologist Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn (1809-1864) travelled across the Indies. In 1844 he attended a fight between a buffalo and a tiger in Surakarta. In the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* (1845,

Journal of the Dutch East Indies) he gave a description of the proceedings, and much like Olivier, did not disguise his aversion to the ritual.[85] It had been rumoured for days that a tiger fight was to take place. On the day itself the public, consisting of both Javanese and European spectators, flocked in from far and wide. Excitedly, they waited for the spectacle to begin, which – according to Junghuhn – 'can only be termed beautiful, when the bloodthirsty-cruelty deserves this name'. He accounted for the fact that the buffalo usually won by pointing out the small cage, which not only hampered the tiger in its efforts to jump, but also gave the buffalo an opportunity to 'crush' the tiger against the side. To add to this, the tiger had often been held in captivity for fourteen days and was fed all this time on 'meagre fare (dead dogs)', 'without being given fresh blood to drink', so that he was weakened.[86] In Junghuhn's opinion, in no sense could this be termed a fair fight.

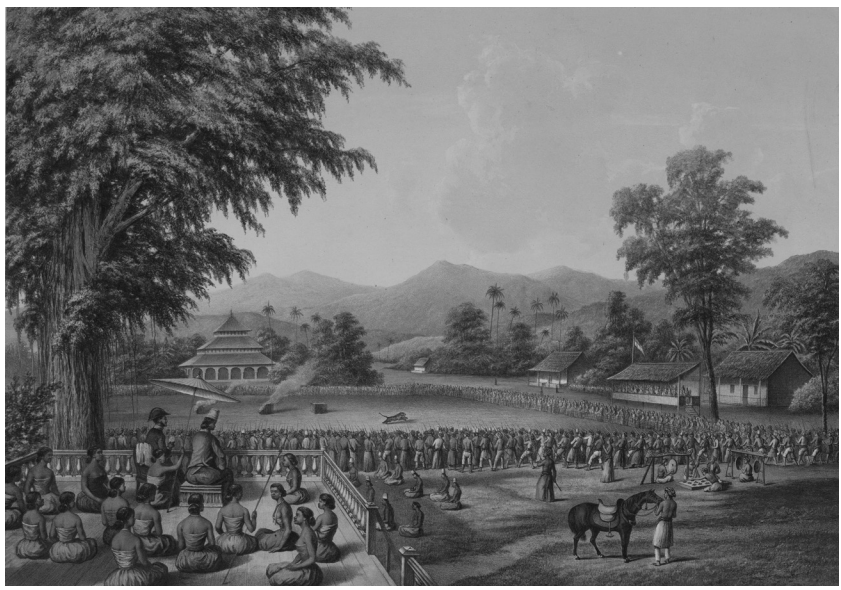
Junghuhn also witnessed a *rampog macan* where not just one but several tigers were killed in succession. The bamboo traps in which the tigers were kept were one by one set on fire, driving out the animals. Junghuhn characterises the proceedings as a 'gruesome' game. That 'thousands of brown and white people, even children and ladies' enjoyed watching how tigers were stabbed to death was beyond his comprehension. It was unnatural to watch the 'dreaded lord of the jungle vanquished by human cunning' perish here. Junghuhn concluded that the 'horrible tiger' encircled by sharp spikes was as frightened as a house cat and 'will never, except perforce, and not out of blood lust, start a fight with other animals'. Yet Junghuhn had to concede that similar kinds of cruelty and mercilessness were found everywhere in nature. How then could one blame the Javanese, who merely belong with the 'half-cultivated peoples', for being 'prone to cruelty and loving of all sports the cruel animal fights the most?' It was only the civilised person who hated cruelty, Junghuhn stated, 'even whilst he feeds himself with the meat of slaughtered animals'.[87] In Junghuhn's book *Licht- en schaduwbeelden* (1854-1855, Images of light and shadow), his alter ego Brother Day notes: 'We must not torment any animal but, on the contrary, be kind to all living creatures and allow each one the pleasure of its life.'[88]



Photograph of Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn, circa 1860. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Olivier and Junghuhn presented themselves as animal lovers in their travel stories. Olivier protected his dog against a crocodile and watched the tiger fight with horror. The same was true of Junghuhn, who apparently even questions (albeit 'between the lines') the consumption of meat by 'civilised' Europeans. Both were children of their time. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, eighteenth-century Europe had awakened to the notion that man, who was viewed as superior on account of his ratio, had a duty to treat animals of a lower order with respect.[89] Torturing animals gratuitously was considered barbaric. This would eventually lead to the establishment of various animal welfare organisations, including the Hague Society for the Protection of Animals (the precursor of the Dutch Society for the Protection of Animals) in 1864.

Describing such acts of violence against animals in detail was a strategy to dismiss the 'Other' as barbaric or, at best, 'undeveloped'. The 'Javanese cruel ways of passing the time' with animals were, Olivier said, expressions of their unenlightened state.[90] The conviction was that, once the Dutch had brought civilisation to the colony, such pastimes would automatically disappear, just as other rituals had ceased to exist under the influence of the West. Olivier mentions Javanese rituals where a criminal was forced to fight a bloodthirsty tiger with a *kris* (a type of Indonesian dagger), 'whose point had been broken off, so one can imagine that



A *rampog macan* (tiger fight) tournament, organised by the Sultan of Surakarta, in: D.W. Schiff, *De Indische Archipel. Tafereelen uit de natuur en het volksleven in Indië (1865-1876)*. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Photograph of Radèn Mas Arya Candranegara (Purwalelana). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

he could not but become the victim in such an unequal fight'. This punishment had been prevalent up to 1812, but was now no longer imposed.[91] It is implied that this was thanks to the Dutch, as the bringers of 'humanity' and 'civilisation'.

Now that we have analysed the role of animals in Dutch travel texts, it is time to look at what meaning is attributed to animals in Javanese travel texts.

Animals from a Javanese perspective

Traversing Kedu Plain in Central Java in the 1860s, the traveller Purwalelana, spellbound by the beauty of nature, sang the following stanza:

> Animals and birds
> Feed in the forest,
> Their voices like the song of a virgin
> In her fine bedchamber.
> Enchantingly beautiful
> This magnificence of the mountain, a feast for my ears and eyes.[92]

These lines are from a longer song that highlights Java's flora and fauna and makes ample use of alliteration and onomatopoeia for its descriptions.[93] The song itself is part of a literary work that can be said to be unusual in many ways: *The Travels of Purwalelana* (first edition 1865-1866, henceforth *The Travels*). Although travels and quests had always been important elements of Javanese literature, this eyewitness account – written in the first person – was a novelty. It was mainly composed in prose, whereas traditionally, such works were usually written in verse. Moreover, it was distributed in print rather than in manuscript form, as would have been

customary at that time. *The Travels* broke with existing literary traditions in that the story focused on present-day society rather than on (mythical) events from the past.

Purwalelana was the nom de plume of the nobleman Radèn Mas Arya Candranegara (1837-1885), who held a key position within the colonial government. As *bupati* (regent) of the city of Kudus on Java's northeast coast, he functioned as an intermediary between the Dutch and indigenous administrative structures. He dedicated himself to educational matters and wrote utilitarian textbooks on topography and geography.[94]

The Travels is structured around four journeys that cover the length and breadth of the island of Java. The book inspired other Javanese authors to undertake similar journeys – across Java and beyond – and to write about their experiences in the new travelogue format. One such work, entitled *Cariyos Nagari Batavia* (The story of Batavia, 1867), was written by Radèn Mas Arya Sastradarma, a nobleman from Surakarta.

The birth of the travelogue in the 1860s coincides with the Javanese elite's growing interest in the wider world and Java's ancient past.[95] This found expression, for instance, in the Javanese-language newspaper *Bramartani* and its reports on ceremonial occasions such as the governor general's travels through the archipelago and in its features on other (overseas) cultures. Local animals also received coverage, particularly when they were involved in unsettling or bizarre events such as 'attacks by [...] tigers and snakes' or 'the birth of quadruplets to a human mother or [the birth] of mutant animals'.[96] The bones of megafauna animals now also attracted the interest of the elite. Additionally, inspired by the Dutch philological and archaeological fascination with Java's pre-Islamic past, the Javanese aristocracy turned their attention to Hindu-Buddhist antiquities.[97] Visits to ancient temples and excavation sites – often linked to age-old pilgrimage routes – became part of new travel itineraries and travelogues.

Travellers Purwalelana and Sastradarma were clearly driven to inform their readers about the wider world and to seek out contemporary stories at the same time that they frequently recounted legends from the past. In this way, they followed in the footsteps of their travelling ancestors. Whilst shaping their travel stories they organised the world in a new way. As they incorporated – in the words of Southeast Asian studies scholar T.E. Behrend – 'certain European ways of thinking, within the larger world of Javanese thought', they were able to challenge and revise existing ways of gaining and spreading knowledge.[98] Both travelogues borrow from European as well as Javanese literary traditions.[99]

However, the noblemen's journeys were not motivated by encounters with specific animals as the Dutch explorers' trips had been. Whereas Javanese wildlife was highly 'exotic' to Dutch imperial eyes, tropical animals must have been an everyday phenomenon of the indigenous travellers' world. At times, as in Purwalelana's

song, the traveller sang nature's praise in ways that are similar to those of his literary ancestors, who drew on their immeasurable reservoir of onomatopoeic words and alliterations in order to convey the sounds of chattering birds.[100] The *kakawin* poems of Old Javanese literature (written between approximately 800 and 1500) generally focused on the elephants and horses that carried out essential tasks in battle scenes.[101] With the exception of the enchanting kidang, a small deer, forest wildlife received less attention. Birds and insects, however, which produced the sounds of the 'sylvan orchestra', were prominent.[102]

Many animals that feature in the travelogues seem to inhabit an 'ancient' world. A link can be discerned here with earlier presentations of fauna in travel stories that date back to the seventeenth century. This, in turn, ties in with the phenomenon of 'mystic synthesis' – a religious amalgam of Islamic-mystical elements particularly prevalent in Java up to around the 1830s. The Javanese – aristocrats as well as commoners – had a strong commitment to this unifying and identity-shaping form of Islam. They observed the five pillars of faith and accepted the existence of local spiritual forces, including supernatural animals.[103] In the course of the nineteenth century this unifying identity became fragmented due to Islamic reform and colonial rule. Many members of the elite, however, remained faithful to the traditions of 'mystic synthesis' at the same time that they, as mentioned earlier, embraced European knowledge.[104] In this sense, it is perhaps unsurprising that (animal) spirits appear in the innovative travelogues written by noblemen.

A number of aspects of Java's 'mystic synthesis' are reflected in the famous nineteenth-century literary work *Serat Centhini*, which encompasses a range of mystical teachings set at various locations in the countryside.[105] *The Travels* in particular borrows heavily from this source, which accounts for its focus on (animal) spirits. In the next three sections the roles of animals as they occur in Javanese travel writing will be examined in the same order as they were for the Dutch narratives: animals as scientific quest objects; as pastime objects; and as 'dangerous' objects (of spiritual devotion).

Encyclopaedic knowledge and legends from the past

Popular stories circulating throughout Java in the nineteenth century centred around travel. A widespread narrative was that known as *Serat Centhini* (henceforth *Centhini*) – one rooted in seventeenth-century literary traditions that spoke of wanderers in search of (mystical) knowledge. Its main characters travel the island, visiting numerous learned persons who teach them about many different aspects of life, including animals. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the 'major' *Centhini* was composed at the court of Surakarta in Central Java.

This extensive text, set in verse[106] and based on a wide range of earlier scholarly treatises and oral traditions, can be considered a truly encyclopaedic endeavour to make sense of the world.[107]

Throughout the *Centhini*, much attention is devoted to flora and fauna. The wandering protagonists do not actively search for any specific species, but rather stumble upon animals as they travel. As they call on specialists, for example, they are often treated to long lists of birds or insects that bring out the melodic sound of the general narrative and may serve as a metaphor for (religious) love and passion. Accompanied by his servants Gathak and Gathuk, the traveller Radèn Jayengresmi has an encounter with Queen Trengganawulan, Guardian of the Spirits of Bagor forest. Her lecture on divinatory lore explains how one can predict the future through (listening to and interpreting) the sound of birds. Furthermore, she shares recipes for medicinal potions made from the body parts of various bird species – for example, from the limbs of the woodpecker.[108]

In the hilly area of Kedu (the setting for Purwalelana's song) the traveller Mas Cebolang and his *santri*[109] followers meet Ki Lurah Lebdaswaninda, the village head of Margawati. As a servant of the Sultan of Mataram he takes care of the 'Margawati horses' – the sultan's favourite horses. Although small in stature, the horses are extraordinarily strong because they are given holy water to drink from a *kentheng* (a type of earthenware pitcher). Lebdaswaninda invites the travellers for dinner, during which they are given a very long disquisition on equine science that stresses the superiority of the Margawati horse. The physiognomy of the horse, for instance, is described in detail (in 4 different cantos subdivided into approximately 123 stanzas). The marks in a horse's coat – especially hair whorls – and hair colours indicate its character, behaviour, and temperament, and can thus determine the horse's qualities and value.[110] This turns out to be a revelation to Mas Cebolang, who had never imagined that a horse's 'marks' could be linked to the respective good luck or misfortune of its owner. When the *lurah* has finished lecturing, Cebolang thanks him for having taken his knowledge to a higher level and he then continues on his journey.[111]

During the nineteenth century, the 'Margawati' or 'Kedu horse', held in the excellent care of the Javanese ruling elite, became known as the best horse to be found on Java. This noble breed stood out because of its 'size, broad chest, upright neck, strong hindquarters and good temperament'. A stud farm had been situated on the hills of Margawati from the early eighteenth century onwards.[112] Following in the footsteps of Mas Cebolang, Purwalelana climbs the hills of Margawati and comes upon the *kentheng* when he reaches the top:

> It is half buried and contains some water. Horses that drink [from] it are reputed to become beautiful and strong. I believe, however, that this is just rainwater. The horses here are

> indeed robust and have good hooves. This should, however, not be attributed to this water, but to the fact that since time immemorial they must climb and descend day and night because there is not a single piece of flat land here. This daily walking on the rocky ground makes their hooves very strong. The grass that grows on this stony ground is mountain grass, and this makes the bodies of the horses powerful and their hooves tough. These horses do not, however, grow tall. So, although the Margawati horse remains small, it is very strong.[113]

Unlike his *Centhini* predecessors, Purwalelana casts doubt on the 'sacredness' of the water in the earthen pitcher and, instead, looks for a more rational reason why the Margawati horses are remarkable. As an educated nobleman – well-versed in European knowledge – he wants to share his informed opinion. By questioning 'non-scientific' explanations he adds authority to his own narrative. This in turn serves as a way to distinguish himself as a traveller in 'modern' times.

In another episode of the *Centhini* the traveller Jayengresmi and his servants are confronted with the remains of giant beasts. They learn about ancient ogres as they cross the crystal-clear water of a river as they are heading south and notice a number of enormous bones scattered throughout the stream. The head of the nearby village of Kedaton explains that this place used to be the *kedhaton* (palace) of the giant demon Arimba. The hero Arya Sena killed Arimba in battle and threw his entrails into the river. The giant's bones also ended up in the water. The river was subsequently called Jerohan – Javanese for 'entrails'.[114] This battle scene has its origins in the famous Mahabharata epic or Pandawa cycle in which Arya Sena, the second of the five Pandawa brothers, defeats King Arimba and his demon followers. This story is often used as narrative material for *wayang* performances and provided the inspiration for Purwalelana's travels.[115] As he is shown around the district of the Wedana[116] of Padangan, the latter takes him to the village of Kedaton at the foot of Mount Pandan. Purwalelana reports: 'There we are shown some gigantic animal bones. […] The enormous bones belonged to demons who died in the battle with the Pandawa. Kedaton is situated on a small river which flows south. It is called Jerohan because the demons' entrails were thrown into this river during this war.'[117]

So far Purwalelana has followed the storyline of his literary predecessors (who composed the *Serat Centhini),* however, he then proceeds to raise a few questions: 'The reader of this book must not be mistaken. If I speak, as I did, about bones of demons of ancient times, I am merely reporting old people's legends.' The nobleman comes up with an alternative explanation for the origins of the huge bones: 'They belong to none other than Wabru mentioned in the *Serat Ménak* and killed by Amir Hamzah. Today no such animals, or indeed any animals of this size, exist.'[118] The *Serat Ménak* is a collection of Javanese stories from the sixteenth and seventeenth century about the historical figure Amir Hamzah – an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad.[119] His travel adventures had been circulating in Java for many several centuries, often as

part of wayang performances.[120] Purwalelana links the bones to an episode from the Ménak story cycle rather than with the Mahabharata epic. He concludes that it was not King Arimba who was killed here, but a wild forest animal, the Wabru. During one of his expeditions Amir Hamzah was asked for help by the King of Medayin because the man-eating Wabru had caused great destruction in the kingdom.

It is not clear why Purwalelana seems to favour one cycle of stories over another, although this may be due to the fact that he considered the Islamic origin of the Ménak tales more appropriate than the Pandawa cycle (of Indian origin). Furthermore, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the Menak cycle was very popular on the north coast of Java, which encompassed the residency of Demak, where Purwalelana's alter ego Candranegara came from.[121]

When we compare the Dutch and Javanese travel narratives discussed so far, the quest for knowledge stands out as a unifying theme. What is different, however, is the manner in which the travellers approach the animals they encounter along the way. Whereas Dutch travellers focus on animals purely as scientific objects in the context of their mission of 'discovery', the Javanese observe them in the light of mythological tales that could be either 'updated' or queried.

It is interesting here to note that Purwalelana's references to the bones of 'legendary' animals became part of a scientific debate in the *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Natural historical journal of the Dutch East Indies) shortly after *The Travels* was published. During the annual meeting of the Royal Society on 23 March 1867, the then president, P.J. Maier, remarked on the importance of indigenous stories in tracing the fossils of pre-historic mammals. He referred to palaeontological finds by Radèn Salèh in the region of Yogyakarta that might be connected to the descriptions of bones in Purwalelana's work.[122] Meanwhile, the traveller Sastradarma had heard about an important collection of curiosities and antiquities that were on display at the house of Radèn Salèh and he included it forthwith in his itinerary. This brings us to our second category of animal functions: their role as objects of pastime.

Pastimes in the zoo and in the ring

In July 1865, the Javanese painter and collector Radèn Salèh was appointed a member of the Natural Historical Society. The board expressed its gratitude for Salèh's contributions to the field. Salèh frequently reported in its journal on his findings during excavations in several regions of Java and donated fossil bones to the society.[123] In his travel account, Sastradarma described a visit he made in June 1866, together with a Dutch friend to Radèn Salèh, whose fame had reached the Netherlands. They were interested in seeing his antiquities and objects of *buda*

Pond with a fountain in the zoological garden of Batavia, circa 1880. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

people, which he had collected during his travels across Java as part of his government assignment.[124] Salèh reportedly turned his collection into an exhibition that invited Dutch visitors 'to come and have a look'.[125]

Sastradarma was astonished by the number of objects and the way in which these had been organised one by one, type by type, on and under a large table. Salèh had also provided chairs and small tables around the collection so as to make space for the gentlemen who liked to take notes. Amongst the objects were old manuscripts, weapons, and bones 'of animals from former times'. Upon Sastradarma's inquiry how Radèn Salèh had managed to collect these, he was told that Salèh carried out excavations in Temanggung and in the Sentolo area of Yogyakarta with the help of several indigenous officials.[126]

On another occasion Sastradarma also visited the grounds surrounding the estate of Radèn Salèh. Friends had told him that some Dutchmen had purchased a piece of land in Kampung Cikini to build a 'pleasure garden'. On this site, next to Radèn Salèh's house, these men had brought together 'in big buildings' all types of different forest animals besides a great variety of 'overseas birds as well as Javanese birds'.[127] Sastradarma decided to reconnoitre the garden himself and subsequently reported in detail on the layout of the zoological garden. In contrast to the negative account of Dirk Beets (mentioned previously), Sastradarma spoke favourably about

what he encountered in the zoo. An abundance of neatly arranged flowers and buildings awaited him near the entrance. About the infrastructure of the park he remarked the following: 'As for the roads within the garden, there were an extraordinary number of them, winding in all directions and adding to the beauty of the garden.'[128] He also made it clear to his readers that the Dutch were in charge here: 'If anyone wanted to enter to have a look', he explained, 'one was asked to pay a contribution, one silver guilder per person'. One had to pay a Dutchman 'who looked after the [entrance] gate'.[129]

Sastradarma gives a systematic description of the zoological garden, mentioning, each in their turn, all the buildings, pens, and cages, and their respective points of interest. Generally speaking, his observations are quite sober, to the point (reminiscent of a modern guidebook), and devoid of (emotional) meta-comments. He mentions a great number of animals with which he seems familiar, including deer, tigers, monkeys, and cassowaries. A few 'exotic' animals garner special attention. By means of simile, he attempts to enlighten the reader about these foreign species:

> East of the deer pen is another pen. That is where the so-called 'kangaroos' stay. There are two of them, a big one and a small one. I am amazed that such animals exist! They are similar in size to a goat, have a big, long, hairy tail like a rat, a head or the facial features of a small deer (*kidang*), and four legs. But the two back legs are very long, while the two front legs are very short. As a result, they move forward while jumping, like a frog.[130]

By comparing the unknown (the kangaroo) with the known (the goat, the rat, the *kidang*, and the frog) Sastradarma helped his readers make sense of an otherwise alien species. His presumably elite and well-educated audience must have been familiar with many types of animals, but had most likely never encountered a kangaroo. The use of simile is a common strategy applied in travel literature, and also features in the Dutch travel accounts mentioned in this chapter.[131] Sastradarma described the tapir as follows: '[It] is as big as a buffalo's calf, looks like a pig, but with spots. It has the legs of an elephant.'[132] It remains unclear if this odd creature appeals to him or not.

Apart from the animals that represented another world, Sastradarma was delighted with the indigenous birds. Out of the hundreds of birds, 'some even more beautiful than others', he was happy to be able to recognise about ten, including the peacock, the rhinoceros hornbill, the crow, and the wild duck. 'The rest I did not know the name of, but there was not just one of each type of bird, there were several ones of each.' The bird cages were 'designed as a large number of chambers, in a row to the east, each chamber fenced off with a network of iron wire'.[133] Upon finishing his round through the zoo Sastradarma briefly visited Radèn Salèh,

whose house, equally admired by young and old, had become a tourist destination in its own right.

Meanwhile, Purwalelana wrote about exciting races in which animals clearly fulfil an entertaining role. He not only gives vivid descriptions of the horse races he witnessed in Bogor (Buitenzorg), West Java, but also of some bull races he attended in Bondowoso, East Java. Apart from providing details about the events itself, he focuses on the special treatment these race animals require. In Bogor he presents himself as an outsider who observes the 'stately' rituals from a distance, whereas in Bondowoso he appears to be mingling with the crowd.

Purwalelana seems familiar with horse races himself, but always ensures that the reader fully understands all the procedures involved. First, he explains that the races take place at a special 'course': 'a flat field of approximately a quarter of a *pal* wide and half a pal long.[134] In the middle is an oval ring, bordered by a bamboo fence, which is reportedly one pal long.'[135] Accompanied by the sound of '*gamelan* and other music', the spectators take their seats. Purwalelana observes a huge crowd, seated according to race and rank:

> The Dutch ladies and gentlemen watch the games from a long, wide grandstand erected on the east side of the course. On each side of it there are several bamboo platforms each with a thatched roof, destined for other spectators, including those Dutchmen who did not take a place in the grandstand. There are so many people watching that they surround almost the entire ring.[136]

The 'distinguished' Governor-General and his wife are the last audience members to make their entrance. Soon after 'six thoroughbreds' are lined up, 'all mounted by servants of the horse owners wearing long trousers, [and] a jacket resembling a *sikepan*,[137] and a European cap'. Again, as in the case of the kangaroo, Purwalelana helps the reader imagine what kind of jacket the horse grooms are wearing. Then, he quickly sets out how the race actually works. Once all the animals stand next to each other, their handlers let them loose: 'They dash forward, make their round over the fenced-off terrain and return to the starting point. The horse returning first is the winner. But in order to get a prize, it must win twice.'[138] A total of forty horses compete between ten o'clock in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon. Two days later, Purwalelana attends some more races, which are followed by an evening ball in the grandstand. During this closing ceremony the owners of the winning horses receive their awards. Although Purwalelana seems to enjoy the races, his deeper feelings towards the event remain obscure. Nonetheless, he appears very keen on racehorses, and explains the special way one should take care of this type of animal:

> It must be fed dry grass so as to develop a taut body. But at the same time, it may not be allowed to grow fat and it must also not sweat too much during the race. That is why it gets a fixed quantity of water per day. […] Racehorses are not meant to be used for riding or for drawing a carriage because of their tendency to overtake another horse running in front of them. Such an instinctive move could lead to dangerous situations.[139]

Here, as in the account of the Margawati horses, Purwalelana shows himself a connoisseur and admirer of horses. This fits well with the general interest Javanese noblemen express in excellent horse breeds and equestrian competitions during the nineteenth century.[140]

In Bondowoso, Purwalelana witnessed some bullfights for the first time in his life and these filled him with great excitement. He does not explicitly draw a comparison with the well-organised horse races he watched in Bogor, but makes it clear that bullfights may involve disorder and even violence: 'Whenever these fights take place, they are closely monitored by the police. If this were not the case, they would frequently lead to trouble. The participants quarrel and often resort to weapons, which sometimes results in the death of someone.' This does not mean, however, that one should not attend or avoid the event. Unrest, according to Purwalelana, is simply bound up with the people from Madura, who are known for running amok: 'The quarrellers are time and again people from Madura, who

Horse races in Batavia, in: *Vues de Java dessinées d'après natures et lithographiées sous la direction de monsieur J.J. van Braam* (1842). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Kerap (bull races) in Besuki 1910-1921. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen.

live here.'[141] Purwalelana's remarks are in line with the stereotypical notions the Javanese held about their neighbours. The Madurese 'Other' is often ascribed the characteristics of his bulls: 'competitive, proud, excitable, violent, aggressive, and even crude and uncultured'.[142] Purwalelana is taken aback by the close relationship of the Madurese with their cattle: 'They love their animals so much that their home simultaneously serves as a stable for their livestock.'[143]

Notwithstanding the persistent prejudices Purwalelana expresses, he is 'very eager to go and see' for himself. The competition takes place in a big arena on the *alun-alun*.[144] Purwalelana observes two big bulls in the arena, ready for the contest. Their necks are garlanded with flowers, and a yellow ointment has been applied to their horns. A cow is briefly led before the bulls and subsequently taken away again. Then the real fight starts in which the animals 'lock horns, butting, pushing from behind and trying to shove one another away'. The noise of the gambling crowd is so intense that Purwalelana can only describe it by resorting to hyperbole:

> The tumultuous shouts of thousands of spectators betting their money drown out the roars of the fighting bulls. The sounds are like thunder, making the earth shudder. This horn fight may last up to a quarter of an hour. Then one of the bulls gives way and runs off.

> Even louder now are the shouts of those who see their bet on the winning bull rewarded. Next, the animals are replaced and a new duel begins. And on it goes, until four fights have taken place.[145]

The bullfights are followed by cattle races, 'called *kerap* by the local people'. Purwalelana provides a comprehensive ethnographic description, which again highlights the sounds of the spectacle:

> A team of two bulls is hitched on to a crossbeam, which resembles a harrow without teeth. An upright pole with a small cross-piece, which serves as handle, is fixed in the middle of it. A man gets on the long crossbeam and leans against the vertical pole. In one hand he holds the reins of the bulls, in the other one he has a whip. Once the man has taken up his position, the crowd starts shouting, upon which the bulls dash forward. The man urges them with the whip to run as fast as they can. The bull that lags behind or begins to zigzag is the loser. The cacophony of the shouting owners, betters, and spectators emulates the noise heard during the bullfight.[146]

This passage has a passionate overtone that the – unadorned – description of the horse races lacks. Purwalelana explicitly states why he finds bullfights 'so intensely pleasing': 'because they are so lively and attractive and because the spectators can take pleasure in the strength of the two bulls and see how they push and butt until one of them collapses'.[147] Purwalelana ends his accounts of the exciting spectacle in Bondowoso by stating that the 'cattle for these fights and races are specially selected and their treatment is exceptionally good. They are never used to work the rice fields.' This explains, he argues, why these bulls look so gorgeous and excite envy amongst the spectators.[148]

The excitement the Javanese felt for animal contests (which may or may not involve gambling) also occurs in the Dutch narratives examined above. To the foreign travellers' indignation, the animals were made to undergo suffering for the sake of folkloric entertainment. Dutch travellers stress the 'unequal fights' of, for instance, a tiger against lancers armed with pikes during a *rampog macan.* This popular ritual pastime of the Javanese courts was not included in the Javanese travellers' itineraries and merely received a passing mention. Sastradarma devoted several pages to the zoological garden in Batavia, which proved to be a place for pleasure and learning alike. However, according to some disappointed Dutch visitors, said zoo did not qualify as a place in which to spend leisure time.

Between protection and destruction

Lurking perils are a recurring theme in Dutch travel writing. Wild animals symbolised the 'Other': they were dangerous, unpredictable and – at times – invincible. In the Javanese travel narratives several species were associated with danger, yet simultaneously, these (sometimes supernatural) creatures were accepted as important and respected co-inhabitants of the island of Java. As we learn from Purwalelana's account, Javanese tigers still thrived in the second part of the nineteenth century, especially in the sparsely populated area of Puger. Indeed, at the time, Puger was an area with extensive forests in which tigers roamed freely:

> There are so many tigers that people do not dare to go out in the evening, and do not risk walking alone during the daytime. Instead, they go out in twos or more while carrying a spear or a gun. In the evening the tigers very often even enter the alun-alun in front of the *pasanggrahan*[149] and the district-building.[150]

Whilst Purwalelana highlights the animal as a dangerous creature, only once in his entire account does he become scared himself. This is in stark contrast to the Dutch travellers, who seem obsessed with the risk of tiger attacks. At a post house on his way to Banyuwangi, Purwalelana alights from his carriage to take a look at the beach:

> After a while I come across a tiger track in the sand. Only a short time has passed between the arrival of the tiger and my own since the waves sweeping over the beach have not yet wiped away its imprint. As soon as I see the impression of the tiger paw in the sand, I hurry back to my coach and resume my journey. I am actually really terrified by the idea that this animal is still hiding near where I strolled.[151]

A short yet unsettling moment it seems, and admittedly dangerous. Nonetheless, even areas with substantial tiger populations such as Blitar should not scare the traveller: 'Notwithstanding the presence of so many tigers, as in the Lodoyo district, it only occasionally happens that they devour people', Purwalelana remarks reassuringly.[152] After all, tigers have always been an intrinsic part of the Javanese landscape. Travellers often encounter them in their role as 'protector' of the village. Village heads – the quintessential source of information to the protagonists of *The Travels* and the *Centhini* – often recount stories involving local tutelary spirits, which are essential to the well-being of the place.

The mystical function of the tiger is a vital ingredient in Javanese travel stories – a role that is often absent from Dutch accounts. According to Javanese traditions,

Drawing of two crouching tigers, 1824-1880, by Radèn Salèh. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

tigers are believed to occupy a place between the village and the surrounding forest where they have their hunting grounds:

> Tigers, because of their preferred forest edge and brush habitat and their habit of hunting pigs, deer, and monkeys that feed on a village's gardens, often came to be seen as incarnations of ancestors guarding the community's boundaries and keeping the village safe from the intrusions of pests, [both] natural and spiritual.[153]

In the forest of Lodoyo, Jayengresmi and his servants take shelter in a small prayer house for the night. Suddenly, Gathak and Gathuk hear human voices and decide to investigate. On venturing outside they discover several tigers have surrounded the building – the animals are snoring loudly, fast asleep. There are no humans anywhere to be seen. Terrified, the servants run back inside to warn their master that they are trapped and will probably soon be devoured by the wild beasts. Jayengresmi laughs. He tells them to keep calm, to have faith in Allah Almighty, and he promises to stand guard during the night. When glancing outside in the morning Gathak and Gathuk are very surprised to see three men waking up instead of three tigers. The men, in their turn, are surprised to see the overnight visitors and run to the village head, Ki Carita, to announce the mysterious guests. Ki Carita invites them over for a meal. He explains that the house of worship where they

spent the night harbours the precious clothes of the Queen of the South Sea. Three *sima gadhungan* (weretigers) guard the place. Once a year he takes the clothes to his house to check on and air them, whereby he is escorted by the tigers at a distance.[154]

The guardian weretigers aside, the story of Ki Carita adds another supernatural creature to the setting. The Queen of the South Sea, also known as Nyai Rara Kidul, is regarded as the tutelary spirit of the courts of Java. She has the characteristics of a *naga* or *nagini* – a serpent-deity who dwells in the waters of the underworld and can shift her (human) shape.[155] Javanese chronicles recount how the first ruler of the Mataram Kingdom, Panembahan Sénopati (who supposedly reigned from 1584 to 1601), stayed three days with Nyai Rara Kidul in her underwater palace. In this way he forged an alliance with (the precious spirit of) the underworld, which is believed to be essential for the building of a state.[156] In order to maintain prosperity all subsequent leaders had to sexually unite with the spirit on a frequent basis. In other words, the *naga* Nyai Rara Kidul embodies the fertility of the realm.[157]

Following in the footsteps of Jayengresmi and his companions, Purwalelana mentions the prayer house, the tiger-guardians, and the clothes of the Queen of the South Sea in the village of Pakel in the district of Lodoyo. He explains that the place of worship is surrounded by wild mango trees[158] and tall durian trees, planted by 'the Distinguished Panembahan Sénopati'.[159] He provides details about two big chests that contain, 'according to tradition', objects that belong to Nyai Rara Kidul:

> Some *kain*[160] embroidered with gold leaf, a variety of *lurik*,[161] and two head cloths, one with gold leaf and the other one with a lace edging and, furthermore, a *kampuh*[162] decorated with a light green jasmine motif and gold leaf. […] Every night tigers, sometimes as many as three sleep around it, watching over the prayer house. Once a year the chests with their contents are taken to the district office, where the wedana inspects them. Once he has ascertained that everything is still complete, the chests and the garments are returned. People say that during the trip the tigers accompany and guard the chests from a distance. Every Friday night the older villagers burn incense for these chests in the *sanggar*.[163]

In this episode of the *Serat Centhini* – as recounted by Purwalelana – we see a clear reference to the ruling myth of the Mataram Dynasty, symbolised by the precious garments that the Goddess is said to wear during her meetings with the ruler.[164] The shrine itself is adorned with trees, planted by the founding father himself. Nyai Rara Kidul, symbolised by her earthly possessions, appears in her role as a *naga* tutelary spirit that ensures the state's protection.[165] The tiger appears in its role as protector of the village and guardian of the monarch's belongings – fruit and clothes, which closely resemble offerings that are made on a frequent basis. 'The naga and the tiger […] can be seen as the spiritual and the physical owners of the area […] representing the ruler and the queen.'[166]

Like the weretiger, the so-called *naga* also features in the travels of Jayengresmi and Purwalelana: a mythical dragon or large snake with the ability to adopt a human shape. One particular story about Naga Linglung, concerning the origin of the topography of Grobogan, features in the adventures of both Jayengresmi and Purwalelana.[167] The story takes place in and around the volcanic plain upon which sits the village of Kasanga. The caretaker of this place accompanies the visitors and recounts the elaborate legend of the giant snake. The area can only be reached by walking through a 'very dense growth of […] long and coarse grasses' and by crossing five rivers. The centre of the plain consists of very dry clay soil, which looks like ash and is completely barren. During the dry season there are often huge snakes to be found, whilst 'the area also harbours many tigers'.[168] With an almost literal allusion to the *Centhini,* Purwalelana reports:

> In the centre I notice holes as wide as a rice steamer. The inner part of the holes, when seen from above, shines like oil and emits bubbling noises. When I get closer, I am asked to go forward in a squatting position. I do as I am told because this is apparently the custom. When I have finally reached my destination, I am asked to sit cross-legged. Seated like this, I observe the big holes. Then I ask why on earth people behave like this. The caretaker tells me that the shining holes are the eyes of the Distinguished Gusti Jaka Linglung.[169]

As it turns out, the Kasanga heartland is the burial ground of the snake Jaka Linglung. The area frequently erupts, which is interpreted by the local people as the 'fury' of the giant snake: 'The soil rises high in the air and produces the noise of heavy thunder.' The caretaker explains to Purwalelana that he always needs to make an inspection right after each outburst of fury:

> Because tradition has it that this is an omen for Java. If the noise coming from beneath the ground of the Kasanga heartland resembles a cannon, it means that there will be war. This is what happened at the time of the Dipanegara War,[170] which was preceded by the fury of Kasanga and the resemblance to a cannon. When many died due to the famine in Demak,[171] the fury had also manifested itself, and that was a foreboding of the death of many people.[172]

Apparently, the giant snake with its supernatural powers could predict impending danger. The animal itself had been condemned to its particular burial place for all eternity. His father, King Jaka of Medang Kemolan (or Medhang Kamulan), had punished him for swallowing nine children. Kasanga refers to 'the place – of nine' (Ka-sanga), hence the name of the heartland and the neighbouring village. So how did the snake end up here? Purwalelana both partly followed, and partly reshaped the Naga Linglung story of the *Centhini*. It can be summarised as follows.

On a journey in the countryside King Jaka met a beautiful girl who was pounding rice with her widowed mother. He became so aroused that he ejaculated on the spot. A gamecock picked up what the king had left behind and sometime later laid an egg. The widow put the egg under the paddy in the rice barn. Two weeks later she discovered that the barn was filled to the roof with rice. Suddenly a big snake appeared from the middle of the pile. He claimed to be Jaka Linglung, the son of King Jaka, and subsequently slithered off to pay his respects to his father. Speaking like a human being, he explained how he had obtained this physical appearance. The king was embarrassed and decided to give his son an impossible task. He told him to destroy his enemy, a white crocodile living in the deepest parts of the South Sea. If the serpent succeeded, he would recognise him as his son.

The serpent managed to defeat the crocodile. After the battle he chose a route underneath the surface of the earth, straight from the South Sea to the king's palace. However, before he reached his destination, he emerged a few times, sticking out his giant head above the ground. In this way several features of the Grobogan landscape such as mud wells and salt lakes came into being. The king was shocked to see his son back and ordered that the snake be transferred to a place southeast of Medang Kemolan: a vast, open, and uncultivated grassland with fertile soil. There he instructed his chiefs to fit 'a royal dress' of iron bands over the entire body of his son. When this task had been accomplished, the snake was no longer able to move. He could only open his mouth. The king addressed him as follows: 'All that enters through your mouth will become your food.'[173]

On a rainy day a group of boys decided to take shelter in the open mouth of the snake, mistaking it for a cave. Some moments later the snake closed its jaws, swallowed, and ate the nine boys. When the king was informed of this by his servants, he was furious and ordered the snake's mouth to be nailed up. The snake resisted with all its might, stirring up the soil and causing an earthquake followed by a tempest. When the rain and the storm had abated, the snake was buried under all the soil that had been stirred up. Thus, the snake vanished, covered by a thick layer of dust. Hence, this place is now called Kasanga because of the nine boys that were swallowed by the snake.[174] Naga Linglung – who shaped the topographical features of the landscape during his mission for his father the king – shows a 'benevolent or threatening face, depending on the circumstances'.[175] With its fortuitous outbursts of fury, the serpent acts as an omen for Java: Danger is always close, it seems.

Conclusion

The travel accounts of early nineteenth-century Dutch travellers clearly reveal the quintessential role of Javanese animals within the process of colonial expansion. Tasked with the mapping of an 'unknown land and its species', explorers Reinwardt, Blume, and (a few decades later) Junghuhn set out on a quest to explore Java's flora and fauna. Through their search for, and collection of animals, an ever-expanding area could be incorporated into the natural history domain of the Dutch East Indies. Despite questionable methods of collecting – which included (the exploitation of) indigenous people along the way – their narratives, time and again, testify to ongoing 'triumphs of discovery'. For the sake of science, Dutch travellers justified the mistreatment of, and violence against, animals, whilst simultaneously condemning indigenous practices such as cock fights and *rampog macan* as barbaric and cruel.

In the travel stories from the *Centhini* analysed above, animals can be associated with a quest for knowledge and what we may call an encyclopaedic 'drive'. They are listed in lengthy expositions, in which they are often related to divinatory lore and supernatural forces. Purwalelana's travelogue often focuses on these passages from the *Centhini* in which animals are sometimes ascribed new, less esoteric roles. In this way, Purwalelana distinguishes himself as a learned writer with a knowledge of European science. His references to scattered animal bones – derived from the *Centhini* – are picked up by Dutch scientists in search of Java's pre-Islamic past. Sastradarma, in turn, takes an interest in these bones on his visit to Radèn Salèh, who stood at the dawn of palaeontological research with his ground-breaking excavations throughout Java.

In both the Dutch and Javanese accounts, we find clear examples of animals in their role as pastime objects. Olivier and Junghuhn focus attention on the 'unequal' fight between the tiger and the pikemen in the *rampog macan*. This gruesome 'game' is, according to the two baffled onlookers, proof of the uncivilised state of the Javanese people who are in need of guidance from the 'civilised' coloniser. In contrast, the Javanese travellers do not pay heed to the tiger fight. Maybe this was an event that could be 'overlooked' because the implied reader was already familiar with it. For Purwalelana, the awe-inspiring bullfights seem to confirm prevailing prejudices about the rather unsophisticated and crude Madurese 'Other'. This does not prevent him, however, from being pleasantly excited and entertained by the whole event. Gambling and violence are, after all, 'part and parcel' of the games, the nobleman concedes. This clearly ties in with Olivier's bitter remarks about cock and cricket fights that involve endless betting and senseless killing.

According to Olivier, the Javanese have their own particular ways of coping with dangerous animals, which are part of their spiritual life. Indeed, animals as objects of spiritual devotion frequently feature in Javanese travelogues whilst playing only

a minor role in those of the Dutch. Here we can discern a link with the notion of 'mystic synthesis': the accepted 'reality' of spiritual forces in the Javanese – overtly Muslim – perception of the world. Tigers and *nagas* are presented as guardian spirits associated with the creation and maintenance of the state.

In sum, this chapter highlights the importance of a 'dialogue' between two literary traditions as a way to gain new insights into the colonial past. By examining the role of animals in Dutch and Javanese travelogues, shared or opposing narratives and memories of nineteenth-century Java can be traced and discussed. With this, we answer the recent call for a 'decolonisation' of (the historiography of) travel writing, as we propose an alternative comparative approach to the study of travel and the animal 'Other'.

On the basis of the material studied in this chapter, it becomes clear that theories concerning travel writing are strongly Western-oriented. Choosing other perspectives and including indigenous (in this case Javanese) sources in the research will lead to a necessary readjustment of the theory. Only in this way is it possible to contribute to the decolonisation of the field of Dutch travel writing studies.

Notes

1 This chapter was written in the context of the NWO Vidi research project *Voicing the Colony: Travelers in the Dutch East Indies 1800-1945* (2020-2025), which is being carried out at the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society by Rick Honings (PI), Judith E. Bosnak (postdoc), and Nick Tomberge (PhD).

2 Cf. Peter Boomgaard, *Frontiers of Fear.*

3 Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 142: 'vlug en sterk'.

4 The cruel treatment of horses, however, is not usually a central theme in travel writing according to Elizabeth Leane, 'Animals', 312. Ida Pfeiffer, a scientific collector from Austria who travelled extensively through Java around the 1850s, laments the cruel treatment of post horses, notably remarking: 'Here, an association against cruelty to animals would be appropriate'. Habinger, *Ida Pfeiffer*, 114. Regarding the (European representation of the) Java horse or pony, see Mikko Toivanen's chapter in this book.

5 Leane, 'Animals', 306-307. Leane similarly proposes a tripartite classification: the animal as quest object; as instrument of travel; and as companion. However, as will become clear, we propose a slightly different approach.

6 Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Studies*, 188.

7 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

8 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 9.

9 According to Leane, hunting falls within the category of animals as quest objects, but we propose to add it to what we term the pastime object category.

10 This partly overlaps with our first category.

11 Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions.*

12 Cf. Van den Berg, *De leeuw van Alpi.*

13 'De menagerie van koning Lodewijk te Amsterdam', 316.

[14] 'De menagerie van koning Lodewijk te Amsterdam', 316: een 'koningstijger', twee 'Barbarijsche apen of magotten', een Chinese 'kroonaap', een 'capucijner aap' en een 'groene aap'. See also De Vriese in Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 19-20.

[15] Sirks, *Indisch natuuronderzoek*, 89: 'geneeskundigen dienst'.

[16] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 26-27: 'Java alleen zal in alle de rijken der natuur tot de belangrijkste waarnemingen en ontdekkingen aanleiding geven'; 'die aan groote scherpzinnigheid veel omvattende kundigheden paart en eene veeljarige beoefening der voornaamste wetenschappen, wiens ijver niet door gewone zwarigheden verdoofd en afgeschrikt worde'. Cf. Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 1-2.

[17] Album amicorum Reinwardt. Manuscript. Collection Leiden University Libraries, BPL 614, 49: 'Reis, edel vriend! met God; zie spoedig Java's strand, / Keer, meêr dan Hümboldt, weêr, – verhoogd, in Nederland!'

[18] Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 122.

[19] Cf. Weber, 'A Garden as a Niche'.

[20] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 282-283.

[21] Cf. Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 135; Weber, 'A Garden as a Niche'.

[22] Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 142.

[23] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 223-230: een 'gedrocht'; 'Het geraamte was in dit opzigt in het bijzonder belangrijk en bezienswaardig, daar hetzelve allezins wel was uitgevallen, en geheel volledig, onbeschadigd en zuiver was. Een groot aantal flesschen bevatte de zachte inwendige deelen, die behoorlijk toebereid en in wijngeest [alcohol] bewaard waren.'

[24] Cf. Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 140-142.

[25] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 232: 'een groote volwassen crocodil, uitnemend wel opgezet'.

[26] Cf. C.G.C. Reinwardt, *Journaal van de reis naar Indië en excursies op Java, Oct. 1815 – Oct. 1818.* Manuscript. Collection Leiden University Libraries, BPL 2425:5.

[27] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 23, 37.

[28] Cf. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 26.

[29] Cf. Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 4-5.

[30] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 34: 'delfstoffen'.

[31] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 41-42: 'Is het getal der buffels en andere soorten van rundvee van aanbelang?', 'Welke wilde dieren verdienen in aanmerking genomen te worden, zoo wegens hunne vellen, hun vleesch als anderszins?', 'Worden er aanmerkelijk veel huiden, talk, hoorns, enz. gewonnen, en zijn deze voorwerpen van goede kwaliteit'?; 'Kunnen er vellen van eenige soorten van apen en andere dieren als bontwerk worden aangemerkt en met voordeel verkocht?'

[32] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 312, 318, 359: 'eenige daaronder van buitengewone grootte'; 'eene kleine soort van herten'.

[33] Cf. Beekman, *Paradijzen van weleer*, 170.

[34] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 515, 607.

[35] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 26.

[36] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 501, 526-527.

[37] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 312: 'welke men in Europa *Jan van Gent*, in het Frans *fous*, en in het Engelsch *boobies*, dat is gekken, noemt'.

[38] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 200.

[39] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 312: 'Heden avond vertoonden zij zich weder en wij zagen duidelijk de gegrondheid van den naam, dien men aan deze dieren geeft, want toen een zich op den fokkemast nedergezet had, kroop een der matrozen omhoog en het gelukte hem het dier met de hand te grijpen en mij te bezorgen'; 'Het is eene der, zoo het schijnt, onbeschreven soorten.'

[40] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel,* 335: 'fraai zwart met blaauwe banden, eene, naar het schijnt, nieuwe soort, daar zij van onderen, aan den buik, groote schilden heeft'.

[41] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel,* 368: 'Het is eene kristalheldere blaas, van onderen en ter zijde een groot aantal kortere, helder blaauwe en éénen eenige ellen langen, blaauwen spiraaldraad uitschietende, die de grootste gevoeligheid en beweeglijkheid bezit.'

[42] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 331-332: 'langwerpige klompen, die zich snel en in eene kronkelende beweging in het water voortschietende bewogen en zich als zoo vele gloeijenende slangen, door het water snellende, voordeden'; 'gelei, een weinig doffer dan het water'.

[43] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 34: 'zeden, taal en denkwijze der inwoonderen, hunne godsdienst en hunnen regeringsvorm'.

[44] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 433: 'een weinig visch'.

[45] Reinwardt, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 590: 'Onder de spijzen, die mij te Tonsawang voorgezet werden, was ook een gebraden koeskoes, waarvan ik met smaak gegeten heb, hoewel de groote hoeveelheid *tjabé* (spaansche peper) het moeijelijk maakte over den eigenlijken smaak van het geregt te oordeelen'; 'Tonsawangers'; 'hoewel de zee hier denkelijk niet minder rijk aan visch zal zijn'.

[46] Nagel, *Schetsen uit mijne Javaansche portefeuille*, 5: 'Nimmer zag ik zoo vele mieren van allerlei soort dan hier, – wanneer het regende waren onze tenten vol van deze insekten, die zelfs in de koffers en goederen, bij duizenden, indrongen.'

[47] Nagel, *Schetsen uit mijne Javaansche portefeuille*, 11, 18.

[48] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 78: 'gevlekten tijger'.

[49] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 78: 'Aan de rivier gebragt, begon het reeds ontzettend te brullen, hetwelk zijnen doodsangst deed vermoeden. Onder water sloeg en spartelde het verschrikkelijk; ik vreesde, dat het hok niet bestand zou zijn tegen de inspanningen van dit woedend, met den dood worstelend dier; het water nam echter de overhand, en deed dezen tijger weldra zwijgen. Men haalde het hok op den wal, opende de deur, en begon hem er uit te trekken; eensklaps doet hij zich hooren, en de Javanen vloden. Ik was gelukkig genoeg, de valdeur weder toe te maken, en zag de vlugtelingen terugkeeren, zoodat andermaal het gevlekte wouddier in het water gebragt, en geheel door hetzelve gestikt werd. De huid werd nu gevild en uitgespannen, en het geraamte ongeschonden bewaard.'

[50] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 46: 'wiens achterhoefspieren gekapt waren'; 'waarna hij gekeeld werd, ten einde zijn squelet ongeschonden te houden'.

[51] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 47: 'kip, in vuile katjangolie gebraden'; 'De honger deed ons eten, doch de walging, die de katjangolie verwekte, benam spoedig den eetlust'.

[52] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 49-50: 'Een ondragelijke geur deed ons weldra den renoceros vinden, die door deszelfs kolossale grootte onze verwondering wekte'; 'De renoceros, geen argwaan hebbende, vervolgt zijnen weg, en zinkt door de bamboes in den hem gegravenen kuil weg'.

[53] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 51-52: 'Weldra hadden wij kop en pooten van dit dier afgesneden, hetwelk door de dikte van het vleesch en de taaije spieren zeer veel tegenstand ondervond. De stank werd bijna onverdragelijk, en toen de heer BLUME den buik opensneed, dachten wij flaauw te vallen, en verwijderden ons, behalve de heer BLUME, die de Javanen, door goede woorden en beloften eindelijk bewoog, hem behulpzaam te zijn in een werk, dat door het onreine, den inlander zoo zeer tegen de borst stuit. Wij gebruikten eene goede hoeveelheid Madera, en hielpen nu en dan den ijverigen BLUME, die reeds in verrukking was, door uit den renoceros een *foetus* te hebben gehaald, die nog weinig bedorven was. […] De pooten van dit dier waren zoo lomp, dat zij van onder juist den omvang hadden van een gewoon tafelbord. De huid was niet meer kenbaar door de gemelde wormen, doch de hoorn, die door de Chinezen, als geneesmiddel in verzwakking, zeer gezocht, en tot twintig en meer guldens opgekocht wordt, was nog onbeschadigd.'

[54] Roorda van Eysinga, *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen*, vol. 3, 52: 'die zeer ervaren waren in het ontleden en opzetten van vogels en allerlei gedierte'; 'hetwelk hij ook getrouw gedaan heeft, daar wij, bij onze terugkomst, eene verzameling van geraamten en tijgers, renocerossen, wilde koeien, herten, andere dieren en vogels vonden, die, in eene daartoe opgeslagene loods, heerlijk waren opgezet, en wel bewaard gebleven'.

[55] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 6: 'eene onweêrstaanbare zucht […] om vreemde landen en volken te leeren kennen'.

[56] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 38, 45-46: 'het onbekende heerlijke Oostindië'; 'Hoe begeerig wij allen waren, om voet aan land te zetten, kunt gij u naauwelijks verbeelden'.

[57] Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 2, 272: 'venijnige'.

[58] Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 2, 23-24: 'taai en tranig'.

[59] Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 1, 257-258: 'zonder gevaar, en op zijn gemak'; 'wanneer hij de herten en antilopen voorbij zijne traliën ziet huppelen, of de kalkoenen, paauwen en ander gevogelte, als om hem te bespotten, door krassen, klokken en allerlei geluid, zijne bloeddorstige, maar ijdele woede, gedurig hoort aanhitsen'; 'die hier den veiligen aanschouwer met hunne kort bij elkander boven op het hoofd staande oogen vergeefs aangrimmen'.

[60] Koenders, *Bataviasche Planten- en Dierentuin, 1864-1939*, 25: 'gezellig verkeer'.

[61] On Dirk Beets, see Honings, *Het land van 'Oosterzonnegloed'*.

[62] *Het nieuws van den dag. Kleine courant*, 13 November 1882: 'watertandde'; 'Zeker, hier plotseling onder de schaduw van den reusachtigen getahpertjahboom in den door de Krokot-rivier bespoelden tuin te Tjikeni verplaatst te worden, zou voor menig Plantage-bewoner eene orgineele, en, mits 't op een koelen vroegen ochtend gebeurde, niet onaangename sensatie zijn. Het geboomte zou hem treffen; het zonlicht zou hem al te gauw te machtig worden; de doodsche rust zou hem verbazen. Maar bij eene nauwkeurige bezichtiging zou de tuin, als dierentuin hem ontzettend tegenvallen, en hij zou zich verbazen, dat de hoofdstad eener kolonie, waar men de slangen maar voor 't grijpen, de olifanten maar voor 't lokken, en de tijgers maar voor 't vangen heeft, door zijn eenig Amsterdam ook in dit opzicht zoo ver overtroffen wordt.'

[63] *Het nieuws van den dag. Kleine courant*, 13 November 1882: 'waaronder drie of vier orang-oetangs, neusapen enz.'; 'Maar bij Artis – neen, daarbij haalt onze dierentuin geen hand water'; 'van 's morgens half acht tot donker toe om de warme onbruikbaar was'; 'ledental klein, en dus de tuin arm'; 'Schraalhans moet er keukenmeester zijn, en het merkwaardigst dier der verzameling, een aap met langen, krommen neus, heeft het reeds afgelegd'.

[64] *Het nieuws van den dag. Kleine courant, 13 November 1882:* 'Tuin-, Jacht- en Landbouw Tentoonstelling' geopend, met 'bloemen, paarden, honden en pluimgedierte'.

65 Hanny, 'Kijkje in Batavia', 259: 'aardig uitspanningsoord'; al was het 'dierlijk element' er tevergeefs te zoeken, 'of het moesten titjakken [sic] wezen die hier overal zijn!'.

66 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 395*:* '"Djaga baik baik, toewan! ada boewaja!"' (pas op, meneer, een krokodil!)'.

67 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 396*:* 'Als onwillekeurig rukte ik nu den hond uit het water en gelastte hem stil onder mijn' voet te liggen. Waarop wij terstond met twee stukken hout, die gelukkig in het praauwtje lagen, en waarmede wij ons gewapend hadden, om dezelve in geval van nood den krokodil in den muil te duwen zulk en geplas en geraas maakten, dat het ondier, zoo het scheen verbijsterd, en links en regts naar zijne hem ontrukte prooi zoekende, ons den tijd gaf eene kleine Chinesche wankan (het eerste vaartuig het beste) te bereiken, aan boord van hetwelke wij haastig oversprongen.'

68 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 16: 'gezet'.

69 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 162-163.

70 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 2, 278-279.

71 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 54-55: 'omgang met inlanders'; 'In zulke gevallen is de karbouw niet te vertrouwen, en zoude met zijne onguur zware horens en fonkelende oogen den stoutmoedigsten wel schrik kunnen aanjagen'; 'Onder de leiding van eenen inlander is dit dier zoo mak als een lam, en laat zich door kleine kinderen, die op zijn nek gaan zitten, ginds en herwaarts voeren'.

72 *Olivier, Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 56: 'metgezel'; 'arme wicht'; 'met gevelde horens op den tijger los, doorboort hem de ribben, werpt hem hoog in de lucht, zoodat hij levenloos nedersmakt, en redt aldus het leven van zijnen kleinen leidsman, dien hij in zegepraal op zijnen nek huiswaarts brengt'.

73 Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 2, 228: 'Moorsche bruiloft'; 'magere, schrale, hongerige teef'.

74 Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 2, 231: 'Hij nam, zoo 't ons toescheen, de slang, stak den staart in zijn' mond en slokte haar allengs naar binnen, totdat niets dan de kop van het dier uit zijnen mond stak. Met een plotselingen slok scheen hij nu het walgelijke dier geheel in te zwelgen en het in zijne maag te brengen. Eenige sekunden daarna opende hij zijnen mond op nieuw, trok er langzaam de slang weder uit, sloot haar weder in de kist, en maakte een salâmat of buiging voor de aanschouwers.'

75 Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 2, 237-238: 'Men gelooft in Indië vrij algemeen, dat, wanneer een huis door deze of andere slangen bezocht wordt, men slangenbezweerders ontbieden moet, die door het bespelen hunner flageolet, de schuilplaats der slangen ontdekken; want zoodra deze dieren de muziektoonen hooren, komen zij gerust uit hunne sluiphoeken tevoorschijn en laten zich gemakkelijk vangen. Zoodra de muziek ophoudt, valt de slang bewegingloos op den grond neder, doch alsdan moet zij terstond in den mand gestoken worden, anders zouden de omstanders groot gevaar loopen van door haar gebeten te worden.'

76 Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 1, 114: 'geliefkoosd volksvermaak der Javanen'.

77 Olivier, *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indië*, vol. 1, 146-147: 'Geene box-partij kan in Engeland meer geestdrift verwekken, dan de Hanengevechten in Indië'; 'kampioen'.

78 Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 1, 114.

79 Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 134-135: 'De tijger is op het eerste gezigt van zijnen dood-vijand verschrikt, en sluipt langs de wanden van het perk, om hem op den nek te springen. De buffel schijnt hem gewoonlijk bedaard af te wachten, maar slaat hem onophoudelijk met fonkelende oogen en gevelde hoorns gade.'

[80] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 135-136: 'Getergd door zulk een pijnlijk gevoel, kondigt het vreesselijke snuiven en brullen van den buffel weldra zijne opgewekte woede aan, en eindelijk schiet hij met zijne verschrikkelijke hoorns pijlsnel op den tijger los'; 'Somtijds gelukt het hem, bij den eersten uitval zijn' bloedgierigen vijand met de hoorns den buik op te rijten, of hem tegen den grond te verpletteren'; 'want alsdan bespringt de tijger hem van achter, zet hem de scherpe klaauwen diep in den nek, en brengt hem met zijne bloeddorstige tanden weldra meer dan ééne doodelijke wonde toe.'

[81] Junghuhn, *Java's onuitputtelijke natuur*, 89.

[82] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 136-137*:* 'Door het gevecht met den buffel in woede geraakt, vliegt het dier met een verschrikkelijk gehuil, als razend, ginds en herwaarts, om door den kring heen te breken'; 'vlijmscherpe pieken welhaast afgemaakt'.

[83] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 136: 'niet zelden eene bijgeloovige waarde aan den uitslag van den strijd'; 'bijgeloof'.

[84] Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 1, 199.

[85] Cf. Nieuwenhuys & Jaquet in Junghuhn, *Java's onuitputtelijke natuur*, 87-93.

[86] Junghuhn, 'Schetsen eener reis over Java, in 1844', 210-211: 'dan alleen schoon kan noemen, wanneer het bloeddorstig-wreede dezen naam verdient'; 'vermorzelen'; 'schrale kost (doode honden)'; 'zonder versch bloed te kunnen drinken'.

[87] Junghuhn, 'Schetsen eener reis over Java, in 1844', 218-219: 'gruwzaam'; 'duizenden bruinen en blanken, zelfs kinderen en dames'; 'gevreesden heer der wildernissen, die, door de list der menschen overwonnen'; 'verschrikkelijke tijger'; 'nooit anders dan uit nood, en niet uit moordlust, in den strijd tegen andere dieren begeeft'; 'half gekultiveerde volkeren behooren'; 'tot wreedheid geneigd zijn en onder alle spelen het meest de gruzame dierengevechten beminnen?'; 'ofschoon hij zich echter met het vleesch van geslagte dieren voedt'.

[88] Junghuhn, *Licht- en schaduwbeelden*, 147: 'Wij moeten geen dier kwellen, maar in tegendeel goedaardig zijn jegens alle levende wezens en elk diertje het genot zijn levens gunnen.'

[89] Cf. Lippincott & Blühm, *Fierce Friends.*

[90] Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië*, vol. 1, 114: 'wreede tijdkortingen'.

[91] Olivier, *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos*, 137: 'kris, waarvan de punt was afgebroken, zoodat men wel kan denken, dat hij moest altijd het slagtoffer van zulk een' ongelijken strijd werd'.

[92] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 203.

[93] Purwalelana's song was composed in metrico-melodic verse forms known as *tembang macapat*. This type of traditional poetry consists of one or more cantos, each one subdivided into stanzas that are written to the same metrical formula. The verses are meant to be intoned, hence Purwalelana's sung rendition of the poem.

[94] On the life and work of Candranegara, see Bosnak & Koot, *The Travels,* 'Introduction', 1-32.

[95] Cf. Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society,* 'The Elite's New Horizons', 126-175.

[96] Ricklefs *Polarizing Javanese Society,* 133.

[97] Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society*, 172-173, 176-177.

[98] Behrend 'The Writings of K.P.H. Suryanagara,' 404-405. As Tony Day and Will Derks put it: 'Following often in the actual footsteps of his fictional forbears […] Candranegara reiterates the *Centhini*'s depictions of local knowledge'. Day & Derks, 'Narrating Knowledge', 328.

[99] Cf. Pratt's notion of 'autoethnographic expression' in *Imperial Eyes*, 9.

[100] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan,* 199.

[101] *Kakawin* is a long narrative poem written in Old Javanese that is meant to be recited or sung.

[102] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 198-199.

[103] Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society,* 5-7.

[104] Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society.*
[105] Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society,* 7-8.
[106] This poetry was meant to be sung according to the Javanese *tembang macapat* tradition. See also footnote 92.
[107] Arps, 'How a Javanese Gentleman Put his Library in Order', 420-421. The text was published in the early twentieth century. See also Day & Derks, 'Narrating Knowledge'; Ann Kumar, 'Encyclopedia-Izing', on the encyclopaedic character of the *Centhini*.
[108] Kamajaya, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, canto 22, stanzas 14-40; canto 23, stanzas 01-27; Wirodono, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, 106-115.
[109] Students of religion who travel to places of knowledge.
[110] In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, equine science flourished on Java. This can be linked to the increasing use of horses for war purposes and stately rituals. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 275.
[111] Kamajaya, *Serat Centhini* 2, cantos 93-97; Wirodono, *Serat Centhini* 2, 35-62.
[112] Barwegen, *Gouden hoorns*, 47.
[113] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 206-207.
[114] Kamajaya, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, canto 24. Wirodono, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, 116-119.
[115] Hazeu, 'De Lakon Arimba', 338-339.
[116] The highest-ranking indigenous civil servant under the regent.
[117] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 179.
[118] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 179.
[119] See Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 212-217 for an overview of the manuscripts concerned.
[120] From the sixteenth century onwards, Javanese versions of the *Serat Ménak* were written based on earlier Malay and Persian texts. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 213.
[121] Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 214.
[122] From a report of the board meeting on 18 May 1866 (and the annual meeting described above) we learn that A.B. Stuart Cohen, a conservator of manuscripts from the collection of the Batavian Society, suggested making use of Javanese historical descriptions of fossil bones. He quotes from *The Travels* – in a Dutch translation, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1868, 18, 468-469.
[123] *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1865, 485.
[124] In this context, *buda* refers to the pre-Islamic era of Java's history.
[125] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 2, 54.
[126] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 2, 55-60.
[127] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari* Batawi, vol. 1, 47-48.
[128] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 1, 58.
[129] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 1, 51-52.
[130] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 1, 52-53.
[131] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 67-68.
[132] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 1, 55.
[133] Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi*, vol. 1, 54.
[134] From the Dutch '*paal*', which constitutes 1,508 metres (approximately 0.947 mile).
[135] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 62.
[136] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 62.
[137] A formal, single-breasted jacket with two tails.
[138] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 62.
[139] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 62.

[140] Barwegen, *Gouden hoorns*, 167.
[141] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 109.
[142] Jonge, 'Of Bulls and Men', 427.
[143] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 109.
[144] The square in front of a palace.
[145] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 108.
[146] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 109.
[147] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 109.
[148] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 109.
[149] A lodging for travelling civil servants and high-ranking people.
[150] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 108.
[151] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 112.
[152] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 124.
[153] Wessing, 'Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters', 217.
[154] Kamajaya, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, canto 21; Wirodono, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, 98-102.
[155] Wessing, 'Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters', 208-211.
[156] Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, 45. This mythical marriage is still celebrated and re-enacted annually in the kraton of Surakarta and Yogyakarta.
[157] Wessing, 'A Princess from Sunda', 132-333.
[158] Its botanical name is *mangifera odorata,* and in Javanese it is called *pakèl*, hence the name of the village.
[159] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 123.
[160] A cloth wrapped around the legs and lower part of the body.
[161] A striped, woven cotton fabric.
[162] A ceremonial batik garment.
[163] A prayer house. Cf. Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 124.
[164] Kumar, 'Encycledia-Izing', 482.
[165] Wessing, 'Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters', 211.
[166] Wessing, 'A Princess from Sunda', 343, footnote 46.
[167] Also called Tunggulwulung or Taksaka in the *Serat Centhini.*
[168] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 183.
[169] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 183.
[170] This war, also known as the Java War, lasted from 1825 to 1830. It was led by the mystically inspired Javanese Prince Dipanegara, who presented himself as the messianic *Ratu Adil* (Just King).
[171] In 1849-1850 approximately 80,000 people died of famine in the Regencies of Demak and Grobogan in the Residency of Semarang. Ricklefs, *Polarizing Javanese Society,* 22. The caretaker's references to these specific catastrophes of war and famine most likely show the attempt of Purwalelana to 'update' the original early nineteenth-century version of the *Centhini* story.
[172] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 184.
[173] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 188.
[174] Bosnak & Koot, *The Javanese Travels*, 186-189. Kamajaya, *Serat Centhini*, vol. 1, cantos 25-27; Wirodono, *Serat Centhini,* vol. 1, 127-138.
[175] Wessing, 'Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters', 208.

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