



# Introduction

DORIS JEDAMSKI & RICK HONINGS

In 1789, Johann Anton Neubronner (1763-1815), the German grandfather of the renowned Indologist Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894), left Europe for a journey into the unknown. The letters he sent home from the various ports along the way (since 2020 kept in the Special Collections of Leiden University Libraries) vividly portray the adventurous and life-threatening nature of a journey to the Dutch East Indies at that time. Neubronner's writing affords the reader significant insight into life on board the ship. For example, he reports with a degree of sarcasm how the ship almost went up in smoke because a bottle of acid, clandestinely smuggled on board by the ship's doctor, got too close to 230 barrels of gunpowder that were kept in the storage room. Neubronner also notes, somewhat matter-of-factly, how a baby was born to a young mother whose father had taken his family sailing towards a colonial career in the Indies. The woman in question had managed to hide her pregnancy from everyone on board, including her own parents. Furthermore, Neubronner depicts the more profane aspects of the journey:

On board I got food that was almost better than what I had in Amsterdam. [...] On Sundays it is salted beef, which had been in salted water for 24 hours, no bouillon allowed, butter is added to the soup. On Mondays it's barley with raisins or prunes. On Tuesdays delicious smoked bacon with sauerkraut [...]. Wednesday barley with dried fish, Thursday again salted fish with peas, Friday rice or barley with peas, Saturday it's again barley with raisins or prunes [...] On 'meat days' there is also wine, and, by the way, every day 4x a small glass of Chinese brandy.<sup>1</sup>

In 1594, the first Dutch ships sailed to the East Indies, arriving on the coast of Java the following year. Less than a decade later, in 1602, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) was founded. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, almost five thousand ships were sent to Asia and the Dutch East Indies, attracting a growing number of travellers, with trade as one of the major incentives. In addition to Dutch missionary ambitions, progress and technological innovations not only fed the growing hunger for expansion, but also stirred an appetite for adventure. The hope for a life in welfare is mirrored in the growing numbers of passengers travelling 'East' in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>



Batavia, by Jacob Keyser 1730. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 36D285.

Many publications, whether stated explicitly or not, spring from conferences and conference panels – as is the case with this book. *Travelling the Dutch East Indies* covers diverse aspects of travels to and within the former colony in ‘the East’. The deciding spark in this case flew from the International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS), which was held in Leiden from 15 to 19 July 2019. Doris Jedamski, curator of South and Southeast Asian Manuscripts and Printed Works at Leiden University Libraries, organised the panel ‘Travel and Transport in the Dutch East Indies’. Whilst the papers were as diverse as one could possibly imagine, they nonetheless presented a patchwork-impression of the manifold side-shows of travel culture that are hardly ever discussed. Only a few months later, travelling suddenly became impossible as a result of the global COVID-19 pandemic, emphasising how much travel has become part of our daily lives.

Travel and travel records are not a novelty in scholarly research. Throughout almost all major disciplines within the Humanities, one can find contributions related to, or being significant for, the study of travel culture and history. Indeed, a search of the online catalogue of Leiden University Libraries using the keyword ‘travel’ returns more than four million hits: articles, edited volumes, and books, mostly in English, although encompassing many other languages, most of them published over the last two decades. Omitting publications that discuss how ideas or diseases travel,

there remains an impressive number of publications which, of course, raises the question: Why add yet another to them?

The aim of this volume is to bridge the gap between conventional travel studies and less conventional approaches and, in doing so, to take a fresh look at the Asian collection at Leiden University Libraries. However, this volume will not, as is so often the case, concentrate on one aspect of travel – a particular genre or material sort, a specific traveller or group of travellers, or on a certain period. There are two primary themes in this volume. The first is the basic structure of travel itself: All journeys start with some form of preparation, followed by the boarding of the vessel – the ship, plane, train, or carriage – and, most importantly, the time spent on board. This time spent between *here* and *there*, the line between *from* and *to*, is a space in which familiar rules and norms either change or seem temporarily suspended altogether. The second theme is the literary representation of travel. How did European and non-European travellers write about their trips to and in the Indies? This brings this book into the field of international travel writing studies.

The travel route from the Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies was not a deliberately chosen focus of study, but rather grew from current research in the Netherlands. And whilst the period covered may be circumscribed with the term ‘colonial’, this is not a book on colonialism. Rather, it is a book on travel culture and travel literature, which has been shaped heavily by the colonial situation of the period – one that undoubtedly would have been entirely different if the world order and power constellation had been different. Hence, the perspective of this book is fundamentally Western in nature, thus inevitably carrying with it the cultural baggage that none of its contributors could possibly leave behind.

Acknowledging the above, it is crucial to also investigate the reverse perspective, to look at indigenous travel culture – within the Malay Archipelago itself, as well as that to the Netherlands and Europe. The latter form of travel writing was rare, but it did exist. Unfortunately, few indigenous travellers kept a diary or wrote home on a regular basis. If they did, and if their records even survived the profoundly paper-unfriendly climate and paper-eating creatures, such records have yet to surface in any great number. Notwithstanding their scarcity, some rare examples of indigenous travel records are discussed in this book – albeit by Western scholars with an inevitably Western perspective. There is nothing wrong with a Western perspective; indeed, there is no other perspective that Western scholars could possibly assume. It is merely to acknowledge that even if one might pretend to put oneself in the shoes of the other, that shoe will never truly fit. Rather, this volume provides a patchwork of Western glimpses and ideas that hopefully will stimulate others, also non-Western scholars. To date, travel culture studies have not attracted much attention in Indonesia, despite the fact that travel and transport play such a crucial role in everyday life as well as in many narrative



'Promenade sur la Place de Waterloo a Batavia', by A.J. Bik 1842. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 47B27.

traditions. The travel culture of the Malay Archipelago – whether real or imagined – differed profoundly from the Western one, and probably still does. Comparative studies in this field have the potential to fill this gap. This is why, in 2020 in Leiden, the Vidi project *Voicing the Colony: Travelers in the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1945* began. Funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO), the project analyses both Dutch and Indonesian travel perspectives. Three scholars involved with the project – Judith E. Bosnak, Rick Honings, and Nick Tomberge – each contributed a chapter to this book.

Just like the contributors to this volume, the authors of the letters, travel reports, diaries, and other sources under scrutiny here could not rid themselves from their cultural baggage. However, the 'Western perspective' is certainly not homogenous, and has been subject to profound change over the centuries. The source material used is manifold: travel journals give insight into the feelings and perception of travellers during their journeys; photographs and picture cards are prominent media via which to capture and share impressions gathered during a journey; archival documents convey a sphere of historical factuality; travel literature allows a broader public

to participate in the – real or fictitious – experience of a journey; and ephemeral items, such as illustrations to a story, can provide fleeting yet touching glimpses of the travel experience of an individual or a group.

Anticipation, expectation, retrospective interpretation – one must look at travel from all sides and will inevitably see something different every time. The missionary leaving to spread the word of God, the young woman leaving to marry a glove on board the ship, the young man leaving home to find adventure or wealth, work and sometimes even death in the colonial world – each travelled with different expectations, hopes, and anxieties. This journey towards an uncertain future was for some forced, whilst for others the journey was an end in itself. Some left their home forever to find a new one on the other side of the world, whilst others left with the firm intention to return to their European home at some point.

Initially, it was predominantly men who travelled to the Indies. For many male Dutch travellers, the journey marked the beginning (or indeed, the end) of their leave from colonial duty granted every so many years. When a change in colonial policy in the nineteenth century led to a strong disapproval of mixed marriages, there arose a growing demand for European Dutch women from the homeland, even though they remained somewhat scarce. Add this to this the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, making travel faster and less dangerous, and the growing emancipation of Western societies, and it is clear that the number of women travelling to the Indies – and not only as brides-to-be – increased. In the twentieth century, tourism started to blossom and became a major motivation for those wishing to travel to Asia.



Europeans in front of a car, presumably on Java, circa 1910. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 153118.

Depending on the distance to be covered and of course period, modes of transport ranged from mule, horse, carriage, and ship to, more recently, train, car, bus, (motor)cycle, and aircraft. The historical and technical development of the various modes of transport and the infrastructure needed to cover large distances had a significant impact on travel culture in all regions of the world. The speed of travel not only determines the actual travel experience, but also makes destinations that used to be out of reach accessible, not only to the privileged few, but ultimately to large numbers of travellers. However, compared to the mass tourism of the post-World War II era, twentieth-century pre-war travel often still carried with it an air of exclusivity and extravagance. This, of course, does not extend to the fourth-class steerage passengers of the large ocean liners – those fleeing poverty or prosecution. Generally speaking, throughout all the developments in the various forms of transport, travel safety remained unquestioned. Indeed, a pervasive, almost unconditional trust was placed in modern technology, notwithstanding the fact that planes did crash, and ships occasionally sank.

### **Historical Perspectives**

The contributions to this volume are divided into two thematic parts. In the first part, ‘Historical Perspectives’, three historians analyse different aspects of travelling to the Dutch East Indies. Erik Odegard, who focuses on the ‘First Voyage’ from the Netherlands to ‘the East’ (1592-1595), emphasises the financial aspects of the preparations of the journey, but also highlights the relevance of ‘intelligence’. Looking with envy at the Portuguese who had successfully built their shipping route to Asia and watching them returning rich from their voyages over the oceans, the Dutch were determined to grab a ‘piece of the pie’. Yet their aim was not (yet) to conquer or to colonise, but rather to profit from trade. Hence, they made plans to travel to Asia with Sunda as their primary destination. There were, however, two major problems: they had no ships that could make the journey, and they had no clue how to get there. Odegard describes how Amsterdam merchants organised themselves into the ‘Compagnie van Verre’ (Company of Distant Lands) – the first of four predecessors to the VOC – to tackle these problems, amongst others by way of intensive fund raising and espionage. In 1595, following at least three years of preparation, four ships with 249 men on board left Texel bound to Asia. Despite being firmly convinced that they were well prepared, only 89 men were to return alive. On the basis of historic documents, Odegard reveals that the commercial, political, and military information gathered by the Dutch was, to a large degree, based on badly outdated sources. Nonetheless, those disastrous first Dutch voyages to the Indies inspired others to embark on the same journey.

The second chapter, ‘Floating Cuisine’, authored by Geke Burger, explores the food culture on board the ship by taking a close look into the



Dinner, presumably on board of the MS *Constantijn Huygens* in the Dutch East Indies, circa 1925. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 60126.

galley and restaurants of the Dutch ships commuting between Europe and the Dutch East Indies. Whether by sailing vessels, steamers, or, eventually, by ocean liners, travellers shared one thing in common: they spent weeks on board and they all needed food and drink. Burger sheds light on the supply of food – its storage, preparation, presentation, and actual serving. She investigates the food-related infrastructure on the ship, but also the challenges and changes that passengers and their eating habits underwent throughout the centuries. Twentieth-century shipping companies realised that meals on board meant much more than the simple response to hunger. Burger consults a vast variety of printed material, ephemeral materials such as menu cards, price lists, programmes, and deck plans, as well as rare contemporary publications on this aspect of travel. The latter were intended to prepare the passengers for the journey, but they also served to shape expectations before leaving harbour. Burger paints a fascinating picture of the de-

velopment of onboard food culture in the broadest sense, revealing the magnitude of food preparation and consumption on board.

In the 1920s and 1930s, technical progress leapt forwards and civil aviation gained greater and greater importance. In Europe, it became a matter of national prestige, but also a question of economic gain to be amongst the first to have the technology to cover long distances by plane. The competition, however, was intense, and as Marc Dierikx reconstructs in his chapter on civil air transport in the Netherlands East Indies between 1928 and 1942, the Dutch, again, tried to stay in the race. Technically speaking, long-distance international flights, for instance from Amsterdam to Batavia, were still a challenge. However, as they not only shortened the delivery time for mail and cargo, but also sped up the transport of people to and from the Indies enormously, they were the ultimate goal. For similar reasons, national flights were just as relevant, although they were easier to establish and maintain, not least as landing rights presented much less of an obstacle. Dierikx also touches upon the impact of civil aviation on the colonial society in the Indies. Whilst providing an outline of the history of aviation in the Indies, Dierikx also draws a detailed picture of what flying really meant



Aircraft of the Royal Dutch Indies Airways (KNILM), presumably at Surakarta, circa 1927. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 157892.

in those days. Flights and unexpected stops were often far from pleasant. Crews of course did everything they could to pamper the few passengers on board, but they could not mitigate for turbulence when flying low or the freezing cold when flying high, neither were they able to take away the rather high risk that the itinerary would be subject to unforeseen changes due to technical problems. However, the national services, set up in the 1930s by the Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Luchtvaart Maatschappij (KNILM, the Royal Dutch Indies Airways, predecessor of the Dutch airline KLM), received a warm welcome from the colonial elite, and soon after, the blossoming tourist industry also greatly benefitted from this new means of transport.

### **Literary Representations**

The second part of this volume examines literary representations of travelling, both to the Indies more generally, and within the archipelago itself. The main sources for these chapters are travel texts. The travel writing genre has received a great deal of attention in recent decades, with the subject area of travel writing studies now thriving internationally. However, this international scholarly interest is not limited to historical travel literature. Modern texts (and travel blogs) have equally become research objects. Yet the genre has not always been taken seriously. Whilst travel literature was a popular genre in previous centuries, it was not considered 'high' culture. As in the English context, Dutch travel texts mainly served as a source of information, telling the 'home country' about foreign regions and people, or allowing 'armchair travellers' to 'visit' exotic places.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst everybody may have an idea of what travel literature is, it is not so easy to provide a precise definition. We have travel journals based on ship logbooks, travel diaries, memoirs, notes, reports of research expeditions, reports, ships' journals, travel poetry, travel guides, travel letters, journalistic articles, and serials. However, such sources stand apart from the imaginary travel story – a separate genre, the existence of which questions whether works with a fictional component should be counted amongst travel literature at all. Furthermore, travel texts come in as great a variety as the places that are visited and the themes that are addressed. So, is there anything that unites all these genres? There is this famous definition by English writer Jonathan Raban, who describes travel writing as 'a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed'.<sup>4</sup>

Research into colonial travel texts occupies a separate place within travel writing studies. The hidden ideologies in travel texts have garnered great interest. Whilst many travel texts may, at first glance, seem to be objective, this is definitely not the case. As Tim Youngs put it: 'The biggest fiction is travel writing's own claim to being an objective genre.'<sup>5</sup> This is true of all



The Great Post Road in Buitenzorg (now Bogor), circa 1900. Leiden University Libraries, KITLV 502920.

travel literature, but particularly so of colonial travel literature. For travel writing is always bound up with the acquisition of knowledge and power: 'The desire to map is never innocent.'<sup>6</sup> The genre was greatly influenced by notions about gender, class, and race.

Since these travel texts were read avidly, they are more than just reflections and representations of (a historical) reality: they have also co-shaped that reality. Since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) – a foundational text for travel writing studies<sup>7</sup> – it has been acknowledged that texts consist of representations of reality and that those representations do not so much reflect reality as offer a view on it. According to Said, an 'Orientalistic' image has been created of the Orient, which has defined how people understand reality. Ever since, travel texts have substantially contributed to the legitimization of the imperial project as presented to domestic audiences.<sup>8</sup>

Yet the genre has received much less scholarly attention in the Netherlands than elsewhere; something equally true of colonial travel writing.<sup>9</sup> This is a missed opportunity, since travel writing represents a crucial source of information on how travellers defined themselves and others. As Europeans entered a colonial 'contact zone'<sup>10</sup> and were confronted with foreign cultures, they were forced to write about the 'Other' and, therefore, about themselves. In this sense, travelling is always a confrontation between 'alterity and identity' and between 'difference and similarity'.<sup>11</sup> The process in which differences are stressed and frequently magnified is commonly known as 'othering'. By focussing on what was strange, travellers implicitly presented an image of themselves as well: depicting another as inferior, they simultaneously argued their own superiority. The process of 'othering' is therefore closely related to 'self-fashioning'. Travel writing is perfectly suited for gaining a nuanced image of ideologies and power structures. It is also for this reason that Tim Youngs calls it 'the most socially important of all literary genres'.<sup>12</sup>

The first chapter in this section features Coen van 't Veer's 'Thrilling Fiction, Travel Guides and Spaces of Identity'. In a close textual analysis of selected Dutch novels from 1850 to 1940, Van 't Veer demonstrates how travellers – passengers and staff alike – formed a micro-version of the colonial society that they were approaching or leaving behind. This micro-cosmos, however, was challenged by the circumstances: in everyday life, there is hardly any space where all social classes and various 'races' share such a confined space over such a relatively long period of time. In such a pressured environment, the gravity and impact of differences and conflicts were easily multiplied and had the potential to grow into serious, sometimes critical situations. It is remarkable that most of the novels primarily focus on the sphere and inter-action on board. Yet notably, authors seemed more concerned about giving a 'realistic' description of the passage than creating an attractive story. In fact, most such novels could easily function as literary travel guides in prose and were often received as such.

In his chapter 'Indigenous Eyes: Javanese Colonial Travel Texts as Autoethnographic Expressions: The Case of Purwalelana and Suparta', Rick Honings shines a critical spotlight on two Javanese noblemen. In terms of its theoretical framework, Honings opts for a postcolonial approach, based on the work of Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (1992). Pratt examines how European colonial travel literature created an imperial order for readers. She shows how the white supremacist – the 'seeing man' – not only looked at the land, but also took possession of it. Even when it had a scientific purpose, travel always served commercial and colonial agendas that ultimately supported European imperialism.

Honings analyses two Javanese accounts as 'autoethnographic' expressions – texts (in the words of Pratt) 'the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan [European] representations'.<sup>13</sup> In his article, Honings analyses the accounts of Raden Mas Adipati Arjo Candranegara and Suparta – short for Raden Mas Arya Suryasuparta. The former travelled thousands of kilometres through Java by horse and carriage. The latter started his journey in 1913, which took him first from Semarang to Batavia, then to Padang, where he boarded a ship to Europe for his studies. As a son of the Sultan Mangkunegara V, he had received a Western education and spoke Dutch fluently. Encouraged by the Dutch colonial government, he recorded his travel experience in writing, but restricted himself to the ship passage from Semarang to Marseille. His account was published in 1916.

Raden Mas Adipati Arjo Candranegara travelled between 1860 and 1875. His two-volume travel account appeared under the pen name Purwalelana. Not only was he the first Javanese writer to break with traditional writing culture, but also in terms of content, he opened up new avenues. In his travel accounts he depicts a rapidly changing Javanese society, notices all kinds of signs of modernisation and Westernisation, and documents the social interface between the Javanese elite and the Dutch from the Javanese perspective. Unusual for his time, and as Judith E. Bosnak points out in her contribution to this volume, Purwalelana not only put his impressions on paper, but did so in a Western prose style, using a first-person perspective. His travel account is recognised as the first Javanese language publication to use a Western-style narrative.

Bosnak dedicates her chapter to the so-called 'Java Posting', a term that translates into travelling from post to post on Java's Great Post Road. She approaches the topic from various perspectives, all linked to three major historical figures of nineteenth-century Java: Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels ('The Iron Marshal'), the Javanese painter Raden Saleh, and the Javanese nobleman Purwalelana (mentioned above). Bosnak opens her chapter with a short overview of the historic background of this early nineteenth-century infrastructure project, which connected West and East Java. As with the first aeroplanes decades later, this service had come into existence primarily as a means to transport mail. In the second part of her chap-

ter, Bosnak takes the reader on a journey along the Javanese coast, sharing the horse carriage with the abovementioned three men and with the Calcutta-based British barrister J.W.B. Money and his wife, Austrian world traveler Ida Pfeiffer, and Governor-General Godert Alexander Gerard Philip, Baron Van der Capellen. The passengers not only passed through an inspiringly beautiful landscape crossing Mount Megamendung; they also encountered twelve post relay stations and country inns run by the sons of local rulers, where they were obliged to stop overnight for food and rest. These stations and inns, although under Dutch supervision, guaranteed not only extra income, but also a strong network for the indigenous elite.

The volume concludes with a chapter by Nick Tomberge, in which he offers a critical portrayal of the Dutch writer Louis Couperus and his journeys through Java. Couperus spent part of his childhood in the Indies, returning to Java later in life together with his wife, where they lived for about a year. In 1900, inspired by his stay, Couperus published his famous Dutch-Indies novel *De stille kracht* (The Hidden Force). However, it was on his third and final visit that he embarked on some extensive in-country travelling, mainly by car – a means of transport then newly introduced to the Indies. Couperus had enthusiastically accepted the offer to portray Asia and Africa in a series of feuilletons for the *Haagsche Post* (The Hague Post). At the time, his personal life was in turmoil, and he was glad to escape the stiff cultural climate



Idealized depiction of different sections of the colonial society in the Indies together in a horse tram, from: M.T.H. Perelaer, *Het kamerlid Van Berkenstein in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1888-1890). Atlas van Stolk Collection, 46101.

and the bad weather of the Netherlands. In 1921, he and his wife left for the Indies. Tomberge applies the theoretical concept of the 'gaze' to Couperus' journeys to and through Java. Couperus loved travelling, but always in splendour and with nothing less than tens of kilos of luggage, comfortable means of transport, a lot of public attention, and not too much contact with the indigenous peoples. Couperus seemed to be acting like an indifferent accidental tourist, unprepared, not at all curious, and not asking any relevant questions. He was fascinated, first and foremost, by the beauty of the landscape and hardly, if at all, by the people and their culture. Poetic portrayals of Java's rich nature were often to be found in travel writing and hence also to be expected. That might provide one possible explanation for the degradation of the indigenous people to mere extras in Couperus' travel feuilletons. In fact, he saw himself more as a tourist than as a journalist. In his chapter, Tomberge demonstrates how Couperus may be seen as the personification of the 'aestheticising' and 'imperialising gaze'. He reveals how this

### **The Asian Library at Leiden University Libraries**

The Asian Library was opened by H.M. Queen Máxima on 14 September 2017 and brings together outstanding collections on South and Southeast Asia, North and South Korea, China, and Japan. The South and Southeast Asian collection comprise textual, visual, and audio-visual materials concerning the history, languages, philosophy, religion, literature, art, and material culture of the region. The main focus is the Malay Archipelago and especially the former Dutch East Indies. Besides books and journals printed before 1950, the collections include manuscripts, 'abklatschen' and rubbings of inscriptions, archival materials and scientific papers, correspondence and a large collection of drawings, posters, postcards, prints, maps, and atlases.

The Indonesian collection is the largest outside Indonesia. The development of this Asian Library is a result of the merger in 2013 and 2014 of the collections of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT, Royal Tropical Institute), the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) and the Asian collections of the Leiden University Libraries. The merger led to a doubling of the existing collection of maps and atlases in the University Libraries and added a large photographic collection on South and Southeast Asia. The collection as a whole now comprises an estimated 220.000 historical photographs and diapositives.

The Asian Library, situated on top of the University Library, is a wonderful space for fellows, students, and visitors to meet, study, and conduct research. Not only does it offer a 150-seat reading room; it also features a cinema, an indoor garden, a centre for scholars, and seminar rooms. In addition, an open stacks area with four kilometres of Asian materials was created, and a 38-kilometre storage facility built nearby. The Asian Library is indeed one of the major international centres for the study of Asia.

seemingly innocent and aloof gaze, so central to Couperus' Indies feuilletons, formed a very effective tool of colonialism.

*Travelling the Dutch East Indies* not only offers a diverse picture of travel and the colonial ideology with which it is associated, but also shows how the abundant collections in Leiden University Libraries can serve as a rich source for all kinds of historical and literary research.

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## Notes

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|---|--|----|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Translated from German into English by Doris Jedamski. A set of letters and documents written by or pertaining to Anton Neubronner and H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, depicting the sea voyage and stay in Malakka, Dutch East Indies. Donated to the library by Claus Neubronner, Leiden/Paris, 3 August 2020. Leiden University Libraries, Or. 27.941. See Jedamski 2020. | 4  | Youngs 2013, 1.               |
| 2 | Honings & Van Zonneveld 2015.  | 5  | Youngs 2013, 10.              |
| 3 | Thompson 2011, 62; Huigen 2007.  | 6  | Youngs 2013, 12.              |
|   |  | 7  | Thompson 2011, 135            |
|   |  | 8  | Thompson 2011, 53.            |
|   |  | 9  | Honings & Van Zonneveld 2015. |
|   |  | 10 | Pratt 2008, 8.                |
|   |  | 11 | Thompson 2011, 9.             |
|   |  | 12 | Youngs 2013, 1.               |
|   |  | 13 | Pratt 2008, 8-9.              |