

JOURNAL
OF THE
MALAYSIAN
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Journey to the East
17th and 18th century German
travel books as sources of study
by E.U. Kratz

Volume LIV. Part 1
1981

KDN 0569/81 — MC(P) No. 91/5/81 — ISSN 0126-7353
Published in June 1981

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E.U. KRATZ

It is generally known that the many employees of the VOC came from various European countries, and that among them were a considerable number of people from the German-speaking states of Central Europe. It is less well-known, however, that a fairly large number of them, 37 to my knowledge, wrote about their service in the archipelago in the form of memoirs, diaries, letters and compendia of knowledge. In their own times these books were very popular, as can be seen from the many re-publications, especially during the 18th century, and the public, it seems, was so keen on books of this kind that most were enlarged and updated with every new edition. When, during the 19th century, German-language literature on the archipelago increased in size and scope the earlier travel books fell into oblivion and only in more recent times some of them, and particularly those of the 17th century, were re-edited by l'Honoré Naber. His *Reisebeschreibungen von deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederländischen West- und Ost- Indischen Kompagnien 1602-1797* (Travelogues of German officials and soldiers in the service of the Dutch West and East Indian Companies) contains 13 volumes but does not cover the whole period of the VOC as promised in the title of the series and his preface. It stops short in the year 1712 when the series appears to have been discontinued. As regards the editor's selection his main interest seems to have been in the history of the VOC more than anything else, even though he does not omit to judge the books selected by other criteria, as for instance the value of their information on the people and places visited. It would be correct, however, to say that some of the most interesting of these books did not find inclusion in his series. In general, travel books in German stand in the shadow of the well-known Dutch and British series, named after the eminent discoverers Linschoten and Hakluyt, as can be seen by Coolhaas' brief reference to this series stating that "their importance is not so great as that of the works published by the Linschoten Society".¹ The fact that no analysis of these books was ever attempted and that there exists no general register to their contents might also have contributed to the generally low opinion and the lack of knowledge which surrounds them.²

With the exception of one writer (H. Vogel 1797) who entered the Indies not as a company servant but in the employment of an English merchant, all the authors were

¹Coolhaas, C., A critical survey of studies on Dutch colonial history. The Hague 1960: 19.

²Elsewhere I have listed German studies of the late 18th century which have made use of these travel books to provide a comprehensive picture of the economy of the archipelago and which discuss some of the details. This study also contains a list of all 17th and 18th century publications on Indonesia in German. (Kratz, E.U., German language contribution to Indonesian studies, London 1978, to be published).

in the service of the VOC. Reports by those who travelled for pleasure or out of intellectual curiosity, if we exclude one semi-fictional account (S., H.M. 1704), did not appear until the 19th century when the territory of the now defunct VOC became more accessible to others than those in the company's employment. This is not to say, however, that the writers discussed here were not scientifically interested, on the contrary, quite a number endeavored to present a (at times pseudo-) scientific picture of the archipelago, its flora and fauna, its peoples and its economic situation.

Looking at the writers of these books it is interesting to note that, although some Germans achieved high positions within the hierarchy of the VOC, it was those in the lower ranks, the common soldier, the sailor, the cooper, the tanner, and the baker, who wrote down their experiences, their joys and their sufferings. In fact, quite a number of the books were written not so much to describe the exotic East but to show how a righteous Christian fares in the face of all adversities inflicted upon him by Nature, Devil and Man. Apart from these writers, who as skilled craftsmen cannot be said to be without education, we find as authors a clergyman (Hoffmann 1680), a botanist (Meister 1692), an architect and topographer (Heydt 1744), two mining experts (Hesse 1690, Vogel 1690), only one professional soldier who left Europe not as a private but as an officer (Wollzogen 1794), a few medical men³ (Merklein 1663, Frik 1692), and several merchants (Wurffbain 1686, Dieshorn 1759, Eschels-Kroon 1781, Wurmbb 1784).

Most ships arrived in the archipelago through the Sunda Straits, and it is surprising how little mention is made of this first encounter and the new sights it afforded. Merklein's remarks are typical of most: "On the 27th we entered the narrow Sunda Straits. On the 29th the first Javanese prau (a type of small, fast sailing boat) came to our ship, bringing coconuts, pisang, chicken, eggs and similar fresh food and fruits of the kind for sale. The last day of May we arrived at the Dutch company's roadstead and the General's residence Batavia, healthy in body and without the loss of men which is rare on such long journeys: for that we thanked God, welcomed each other, fired our guns, and enjoyed ourselves (as one might well imagine)." Merklein 1930: 10). It was to be expected that only the early travellers refer to Bantam whereas all others in one way or other describe Batavia, since all servants of the Company were processed through the castle at Batavia. At times even soldiers serving in Ceylon, Formosa and Japan had to return to Europe via Batavia. From these accounts we can see how Batavia, "a beautiful town" (Saar 1930: 31) developed into "the grave of the Germans" as it was called in 1791 (Wollzogen 1794: 405). Jointly the accounts create a fascinating image of the town and its beauty, its design and architecture, the different quarters and the daily activities of their inhabitants, the low work-morale of the average company servant and the transformation of an underpaid administration into a corrupt bureaucracy. Once a European society had established itself in Batavia, the reports dwelt especially on the grandeur of the life of the expatriate who was not so unfortunate to be enlisted—a life which was admired by many and scorned by those

³Schreyer (1681) is another medical man who wrote on Indonesia. But, whereas his information on south Africa is excellent and is gained from first hand knowledge he never set foot on Indonesian soil. (Schreyer, J., Johann Schreyers, Chirurugi. Neueste Ost-Indianische Reiss-Beschreibung, von Anno 1669 biss 1677, Leipzig 1681).

who did not have the means to keep up with it. When writing about the Asian population of the town most prominence is given to the Chinese and their customs, a feature which was already evident when Verken, the earliest author, mentioned the large and wealthy Chinese community of Bantam which twice yearly was visited by a large fleet of junks with trade goods from China (Verken 1930: 66). The Chinese costumes and their way of life, their wedding ceremonies and their funeral rites, their gambling houses and their temples, which, at times, offered a place of worship to European catholics (H. Vogel 1797 vol. 2: 138) were examined and described in close detail. Much attention is paid to Chinese theatre, called *mayang* or *wayang*. In contrast to this stands the less detailed description of the 'Indians' of Batavia and, by implication, of the rest of the known world of the archipelago. In Langhans' words: "Beyond the Utrecht gate live Javanese, Moors and Maccasarese. The Javanese hold here their own markets and 'passars' where they sell all kinds of fruits, and as they are great friends of cockfighting, they have separate places for it, where the fights are held; there they set up the cocks to fight each other and bet much money on the one or the other." (Langhans 1705: 212-213.) Another writer has this to say: "Their houses are built according to the country's fashion, like cottages, 10, 20 to thirty together, or just on their own, close to their lands, but very simple, mostly standing on pillars and posts for protection against wild animals at night. The walls of their huts and houses are simply interwoven or latticed, the roofs of leaves, and four people can carry the whole house away; they have only one room where they eat and sleep, another one where they cook; their diet is rice, which they pound first in a wooden trough, wash till it is clean, and then boil in water until it is dried. Their side-dishes are various kinds of healthy herbs, fruits and roots, also dried and undried fish, which they cook very hot with plenty of Spanish pepper; everyone takes his share of the rice on a piece of a green leaf from a fig (i.e. banana EUK) to which he adds from the side-dishes, mixes it and eats it with his hand. They have no tables, but crouch or sit on the floor when they eat" (Schwarz 1751: 68-69). Of all the detailed accounts about Batavia (a.o. Saar 1672, Behr 1668, Langhans 1705, Schwarz 1751, and Wurmbb 1794) perhaps the book by the architect Heydt deserves special mention for its series of outstanding engravings which are accompanied by a vast number of learned and detailed notes. Heydt was very much in the Company's favour and expresses clearly the Company's views, as for example in the following instance when he describes the quarters of the craftsmen and emphasizes that part of the building and repair work had to be subcontracted because the servants of the VOC had too much work to do. Compare this with what one of the craftsmen who had stayed in Batavia at the same time as Heydt has to say about his daily routine: "Early in the morning, exactly at six o'clock I had to be at the workshop; even though we did not work, we all had to be present; what we did there in one month we could have finished well within one day" (Schwarz 1751: 100).

The earliest travellers naturally went to the Moluccas, but their descriptions of Banda, Ambon, Ceram, and other islands visited en route remain rather vague and general and are often restricted to the usual description of fruits and animals. Of those descriptions the one of the potent effects of the *durian* and of the wonderful nature of the bird of paradise are the most interesting to follow and very amusing to read.

Another area actually visited and described was West-Sumatra where the VOC tried to mine for gold. For this purpose the company relied especially on mining experts from Saxonia and two of them (Hesse 1690, Vogel 1690) described this futile enterprise in detail while en passant providing some information on land and people. Almost a century later the Danish citizen Eschels-Kroon compiled his own description of Sumatra, the role of the British and a survey of trading goods. Eschels-Kroon is also one of two writers who provide us with a detailed map (s.a. Barchewitz 1730: 144). Saar refers to a slave-raiding mission to Enggano where, he says, the Dutch had not been before. Those of the captive men who were not killed during the expedition, died on the way to Batavia and the women were given to the noble Dutch ladies where they showed great aptness at needle-work and learning Dutch. (Saar 1930: 43–44 s.a. Wurffbain 1931, vol 1: 51–52) Muche, who from 1686 till 1692 stayed in the Minahassa and Gorontalo, provides some information on that area and its peoples (Muche 1696). Andersen (1696: 14) refers in passing to the *orang laut*. Borneo is mentioned only by H. Vogel (1797) who was sailing on a British ship. As for Java, people did not venture very much outside the main establishments and the ‘blue mountains’ to the south of Jakarta remained to most nothing but a hazy line on the horizon. For this reason an expedition made by the Swiss Herport up the Bekasi river (Herport 1669: 89f.) is of particular interest as together with other early descriptions of the closer environs of Batavia it shows how much this region has changed not only between then and now but also during those two centuries since the first arrival of the Dutch. Dense jungles and swamps, deer, rhinoceros, elephants, crocodiles and monkeys seem to have been abundant. Central Java has been described by only one author, Wollzogen, and his description of Semarang also sheds some light on what went wrong in the development of Batavia: “Semarang used to have beautiful avenues, however, since the many trees made the place too wet they were extirpated and replaced by little canals past the houses. But because of that the town became even more unhealthy than before, since these canals produce a terrible smell in the midday heat. There are some nice walks, but alas, during the good season they are difficult because of the unbearable dust and during the rainy season because of the mud.” (Wollzogen 1794: 374). The same writer’s scenic portrayal of a ride from Semarang to Salatiga and Solo could not be bettered today and his description of the road has a familiar ring: “the road swarms with people and one continuously sees armed natives, besides plenty of Chinese, sitting at the roadside and selling all kinds of native dishes.” (Wollzogen 1794: 380). Wollzogen also went to South Sulawesi. If he is looking for detailed ethnographic information on the peoples of what is now Indonesia, the reader generally will be disappointed. The books do contain bits and pieces of information which go beyond the common stereotype of the half-naked and treacherous heathen and slave, however this information frequently has to be pieced together to form a comprehensive and coherent picture. It would be wrong, however, to conclude, that people were not interested, their interest in the Chinese of Batavia is proof to the contrary, they simply did not have sufficient opportunities for contact.

What then can we find in the books? I mentioned earlier that writers used to call Chinese theatre *wayang*. It comes as a surprise, therefore, that to my knowledge none of the authors ever refers to Javanese or Sundanese forms of *wayang*. Even the *gamelan*

and Javanese dance are mentioned and described only twice, at the beginning and the end of the 18th century. And whereas the earlier description is quite sympathetic to these art-forms, the second description was written in such a way as to discourage any further interest in these particular forms of cramped body-twisting and noise-production (Wurmbb 1794: 154, 163). Malay as a language is hardly mentioned, still less discussed, save for two writers who produce what appears to be original material. One of the two is the botanist Meister, who is otherwise known for his excellent engravings of Japanese and Indonesian plants, and whose Malay and German dialogues are written very much in the style of Houtman⁴ but seem of an appallingly low standard, as the following examples show: "*Diae aettae pachus samliet*"—*Dia ada bagus sama lihat*—They are nice to look at. Or, "*Beta mau pygi laegi peta punga ruma compally*"—*beta mau pergi lagi beta punya rumah kembali*—I want to return home again. (Meister 1692: 212). Finally he provides us with an "Indian-Portuguese and German conversation between two soldiers by name of Orlam and Orenpare", one Dutch and the other Swedish. (Meister 1692: 215 f). Orlam and Orenpare of course stand for *orang lama* (the old-timer) and *orang baru* (the new-comer) respectively. A word-list by Barchewitz (1730: 555–559) similarly betrays Portuguese influence in spelling. A reference to local ways of writing is found in the following passage which refers to the Javanese: "They write their characters on Chinese paper which is grey, fine, and transparent and made of bamboo pulp, or on palm leaves with an iron pencil, and as in many Indian places they use the Malay language" (Hoffmann 1680: 72). Andersen who attended an audience at the king of 'Matram's' court, reports how the ruler entered the audience hall followed by four *orangkaya* and his chancellor who "carried a book, the leaves of which were made of palm or cocos leaves, and a pen which was an iron pencil with which they write without ink or rather engrave the leaves" (Andersen 1696: 9). With regard to the religion of the indigenous peoples it is generally mentioned that they are Muslim and despise pork. Only Hoffman adds: "Their temples and priests, who generally are foreigners and hail from Mocha and other Arabian places, are held in high esteem by them" (Hoffman 1680: 71). Merklein, who visited Jambi in 1645, has this to say: "Although the inhabitants of this country are Mahometans and practise circumcision, they do not match with Turks and Persians, but they still have many peculiar superstitions, which appear more heathen than Turkish". (Merklein 1930: 20). Later writers of course also came into contact with native Christians, and although none of them seems to doubt the wisdom and need to convert the Indians to Christianity they express doubts about the sincerity of those Christians they encountered. (On the question of Christianity see Dieshorn 1759: 343–346).

One could go on endlessly to list and quote from the books, and I believe, the usefulness of a comprehensive register has become evident. Notes on armoury, indigenous trades and transport, local customs and habits, observations of scenes of daily life are to be found scattered in all the books and are impossible to list here in detail. A closer look at some individual titles perhaps might show what to expect.

⁴Houtman, Fred. de. Le "Spreck ende Woord-Boek". Première méthode de Malais parlé (fin du XVIIe siècle), présenté par D. Lombard, Paris 1970 (Publication de l'EFEO no. 74).

Before, however, turning to the very first German eyewitness account which was published in 1612 it should be mentioned that the Dutch reports of their first voyage had already been translated into German and not only that, more than a century previously news of the archipelago had been put into print. Springer, the agent of a German banking house which was involved in financing some of the Portuguese expeditions, had joined a Portuguese fleet to Goa in 1505–1506. Springer's short account of his voyage, which was published two years before the fall of Malacca in 1509, ends with a brief note about what Springer had heard about the lands beyond: "Malacca is a kingdom some hundred miles from Kollon. From this country come cloves and nutmeg, as these spices do not grow in India... Malacca is firm land, with two islands where clove and nut do come from. One of the islands is called Bandam. There the clove grows but no other spice. The other is Naguarij and nothing else but red and white sandal wood grows there." (Springer 1509: final page).⁵ Verken, the first German who wrote about regions he had actually seen, deals at length with his voyage and his life in Banda. Unlike most travellers he did not enter the archipelago through the Sunda Straits but through the Malacca Straits. After some skirmishes with the Portuguese off Malacca (his was the seventh voyage) his fleet visited Johor and he describes its ruler, Sultan Alauddin, thus: "As regards the reigning king of Johor, called Ratispontus, he is still a young gentleman, approximately thirty years old. When he came to the ship, he wore a white cotton shirt reaching to his knees, and around his body he had wrapped a beautifully coloured striped cloth of cotton reaching half way down his legs, otherwise he was bare on body and legs, but on his feet he wore a pair of black velvet slippers, round his head he had wrapped a black silk scarf, round his neck hung three golden chains studded with jewels, round his left arm were two thick golden bracelets and one around his right arm. In addition he wore six exquisite rings on his fingers, and he also wore a dagger at his side, made in a peculiar way and called *kris*. Its hilt and sheath were made of pure hammered gold studded with many diamonds, rubies and sapphires which led the Dutch to estimate this dagger at some fifty thousand guilders. In his stature and colour he was well proportioned, rather tall, well-spoken, fair of body and face. He had with him thirty of his wives, who were of varying stature, adorned with fine and colourful clothes, furthermore the ship in which he sailed was prepared exquisitely with four stout and tall pillars or columns, topped by a canopy or baldaquin under which he sat". (Verken 1930: 58–59). Verken mentions also that while part of his fleet sailed straight from Bantam to the Moluccas, passing several other identifiable islands on its way, some ships called first at Jacatra and Gresik to obtain arrack and rice for the men. Saar's is the first description of Batavia following a longish account on Bantam. Saar also describes flora and fauna in detail.

More could be said about these 17th century accounts but since most of them are accessible as reprints I shall proceed to the 18th century and the book by Langhanss, a sailor, which was published in 1705. After explaining at length why he wrote down his recollections he sets out to give a thorough description of the VOC and its activities,

⁵On Springers's account see u.o. Schulze, F., Die wissenschaftliche Bedeutung der Reiseberichte Balthasar Springers. Strassburg 1902. (Diss.) and Hümmerich, F., Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/06, München 1922.

which, he believes, he was in a good position to observe, since he had the chance to travel widely and was not just stationed at one particular place. In some detail we learn about the recruitment of the company servants, the role and fate of women who want to make the journey, the provisions and cargo of the fleet on its outward and return journeys. Chapter two recounts his voyage to the Cape during which we learn much about the living conditions aboard. Chapter three describes the Cape. Chapter four details his voyage from the Cape to Batavia in the course of which they touch upon 'Südland' or terra australis. It also contains his arrival in Batavia and gives a description of castle and town. Some of his subtitles will show the diligence of his observations: "Arrival in Batavia, the castle, its name, how it is built, its construction, its location, two squares, the General's house, the church, the arsenal, the place of execution, provisions of the garrison, the cook, bad provisions, strong liquors prohibited but drunk secretly, the General's state, his walk-about, his ride-about, the Grand Parade, General is usually replaced every 3 years, his royal authority", etc. Then follows a description of Batavia with "Its gates, churches, hospital, the prison, the markets, the streets, inhabitants and their trade, the Chinese, their customs, their women, their crafts, their fireworks etc. etc." Another section of this chapter is dedicated to the inhabitants of Batavia who were of Portuguese stock. Following that he describes the private gardens outside the town and continues with some comments on the (European) women of Batavia and their inability (i.e. unwillingness) to work. Chapter five deals with flora and fauna. Langhanss' descriptions of the bird of paradise perhaps shows best some of the myths which surrounded that bird for a long time, due to the fact that the bird, which has its habitat in some of the less accessible parts of the Moluccas (Aru) and Irian, generally reached Batavia, let alone Europe, as a stuffed skin without feet. "At no other place but here can one see the so-called bird of paradise which is obtainable in no other form but dead. For as soon as it touches the ground or comes close to it, it dies; most people being of the opinion that this bird lives solely on air; however with its bent and sharp beak it plucks the trees, as can be seen when it is caught, and one can extract such food from its intestines. The bird as such is small of stature, has very long soft, and multi-coloured plumage; on either side one wing-feather which is slightly curved and with the help of which it moves in flight. It also has very short legs which, however, are of little use, for, as said above, when it touches the ground it cannot take off again as its wing-feathers are too long. And although many claim that the male bird has a hollow in its back in which the female lays its eggs, in truth it is not so. For firstly the male has no such hollow, and secondly this much is known, that they lay their eggs which in three to four days are warmed or hatched by the sun in tree tops wherever they find a level and suitable place." (Langhanss 1705: 250-251) This chapter also gives a survey of the organizations of the VOC within the archipelago as well as a list of imports and exports. The remainder of Langhanss' book is devoted to his journey to Ceylon and India together with the story of his return voyage. In a longish poem Langhanss expresses his satisfaction for being able to leave the archipelago for Europe (Langhanss 1705: 618-621).

One year before Langhanss' a peculiar book was published in Cologne which has to be mentioned here if for no other reason than that it is hardly mentioned anywhere else. The identity of its author is unknown and we only have his initials H.M.S. The

book's title reads 'Die erlauchte Sklavin' — (The noble slave-girl). The book is devoted entirely to the subject of the immorality of women in general and those living in tropical Batavia in particular, thus confirming the view of those who thought that every maid and prostitute could improve her fortunes if ever she reached Batavia. The book's message is presented in the form of adventures experienced and suffered by an idealistic and innocent young man who travels to Batavia and who is counselled and guarded by an old man who has seen it all and lived to tell the tale. Some of the stories seem highly fictitious just as some of his descriptive passages appear rather inexact and resemble very much the stories of the sailors which Langhanss was to scorn. In fact the whole set-up of the author's voyage appears improbable as he claims to have travelled on his own. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the author has been to Batavia at least and that he has lived there for some time, else his knowledge of Malay and his use of Malay phrases are difficult to explain. And even though his description of the palace in Cirebon which he seems to locate West of Batavia fits better some Indian palace, it can be said that the book deals with an aspect of European life in Batavia which before the 19th century others hardly allude to. Unfortunately the fictitious character of his story and some inaccuracies disguise the reliability of some of his other pieces of information, for example his description of a Javanese dancer and her costume and the band of musicians which accompanied her. (S. 1704: 358–364).

Quite different from the literature discussed so far is the book by Barchewitz, who spent twelve years in the archipelago from 1709 till 1721 and who lived half of this time as the company's agent on the island of Leti off Timor. Barchewitz was a tanner by trade, came to Batavia as a common soldier and was posted against his wishes to Banda, which was "regarded the worst comptoir in the whole of India, and the soldiers there have nothing to eat but dry rice, and not even for money can they obtain food; in addition to that it is said to be unhealthy because of the burning mountain." (Barchewitz 1730: 114). Once he arrives at Banda however his fears turn into joy: "I cannot describe the pleasure one can have on this island. One bathes in the sea, promenades under the dense foliage of trees under which it is as cool as in a cellar, buys from the slaves (i.e. the local population EUK) soursoup, toddy and all kinds of fruit". (Barchewitz 1730: 128) While in Banda, Barchewitz learns Dutch and Malay and makes friends with the son of the gouverneur, who is a half-caste but "otherwise a gentleman" and eventually he is promoted to corporal on the island of Leti which means, that all on his own he has to ensure that the Letinese keep their contracts with the VOC. In his description of Batavia, Barchewitz is indebted to Langhanss but when he leaves Batavia he comes into his own. For six years he observes the Letinese, their daily life, their trade, their social structure, their customs and religion. Clearly their religion is proof of the devil's doings, as Barchewitz emphasizes; however, this does not prevent him from describing it in great detail and, one is inclined to say, with some hidden admiration. Barchewitz, who claims that unlike his predecessors he was on very good terms with the Letinese, regards it as his greatest achievement to have had six heathen converted to Christianity, yet, he also makes the following remarks: "Otherwise these heathen lead a rather good and civil life, and I have to tell the Christians to their shame, that those Letinese who still were heathen acted with more honesty, than those who were converted to Christianity." (Barchewitz

Ernst Christoph Barchewitz, Thur.

Der Edlen Ost-Indianischen Compagnie der vereinigten Nieder-Lande ge-
wesenen commandirenden Officiers auf der Insel Lethy,

Allerneueste und wahrhafte

**Ost-Indianische
Reise-Beschreibung,**

Darinnen

**I. Seine durch Teutsch- und Holland nach Indien
gethane Reise;**

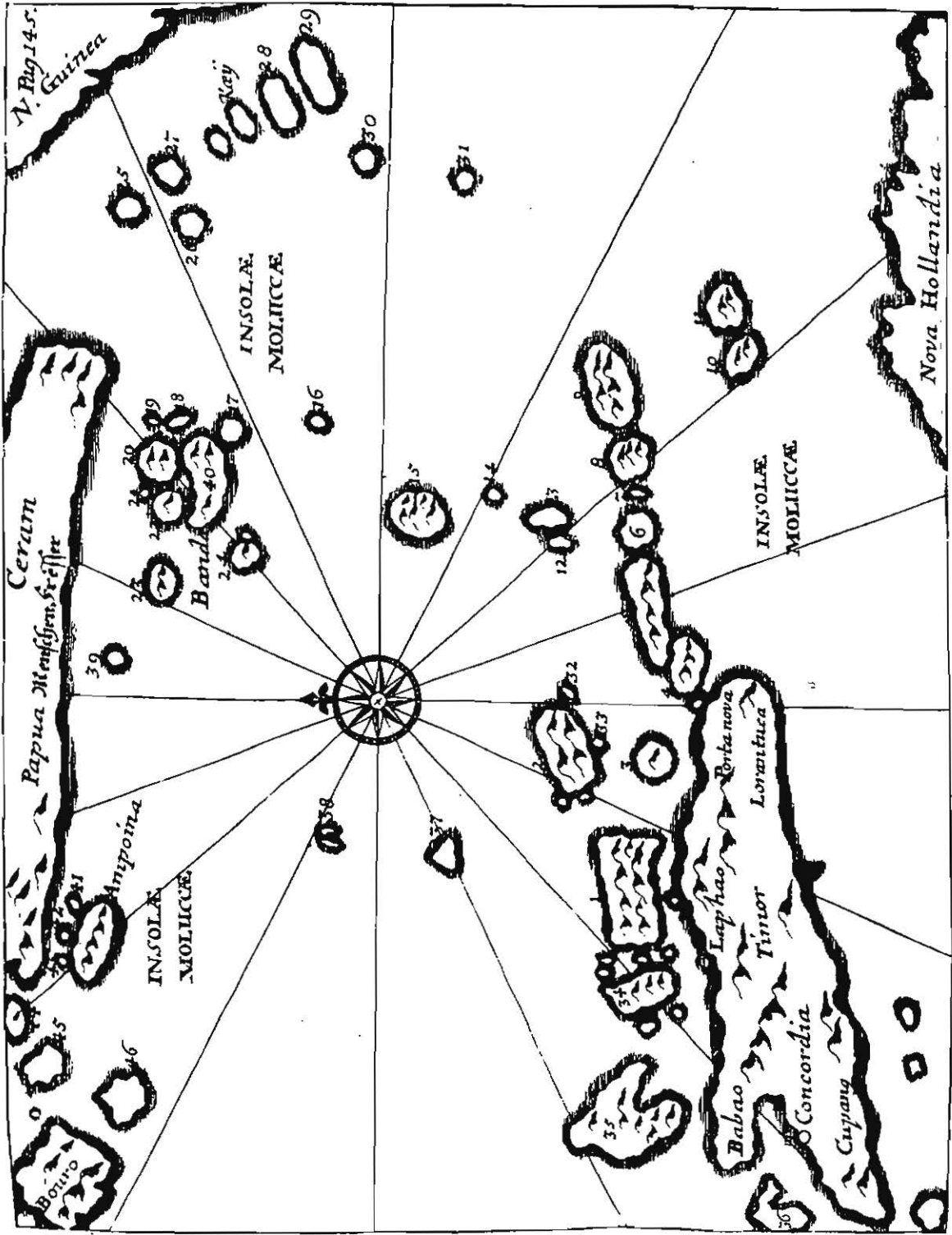
**II. Sein Fünf-jähriger Aufenthalt auf Java, Banda
und den Sudwester-Inseln, Glücks- und Unglücks-Fälle und seltsa-
me Begebenheiten, auch remarquirt rare Gewächse, Bäume, Früchte, Thiere,
Fische, Insekten, Berge, Festungen, Nationen, Gewohnheiten, Aberglauben der Wilden, und
viele andere Denkwürdigkeiten mehr;**

**III. Seine Rück-Reise, der dabey erlittene grausame
Sturm, und endlich glücklich erfolgte Ankunfft in sein Vater-
land umständlich beschrieben wird;**

**Benebst einer ausführlichen Land-Charte der Sudwester- und Bandanesischen
Inseln, welche in anderen Land-Charten nicht gefunden, noch in denen Geogra-
phien beschrieben werden; und einem vollständigen
Register.**

Chemnitz, 1739.

Ben Johann Christoph und Johann David Stöfelin.



MAP reproduced in the Travel Book by E. Barchewitz.

1730: 247) On the same subject he writes elsewhere: "The religion of Amboina is mainly Mahometan, and those Christians there are, to speak the truth, are Christians more in name than in deed, as generally their whole Christianity is based on the main stronghold of self interest and whenever this comes to an end, Christianity comes to an end as well". (Barchewitz 1730: 539) Much could be said about Barchewitz and his character and attitudes and even more should be quoted from this book which, in many ways, is unique. Yet, some quotations from his very extensive and detailed index must suffice: Amboina, an island, its description, its inhabitants' description; *atjar*, what it is; author learns Malay; ball game of the Indians; bamboo tube, the Indians use it for cooking; Ceram, an island, its description; cockfighting, its description; heathen priest can solve a case of theft; heathen priest can ward off rain; Leti an island, Letinese, their description, their way of fishing, are very superstitious, their drums, their time-reckoning, how they slaughter buffalos and prepare the meat, where they go after death, build a *luly*-house, how they sacrifice, how they bury their dead, their festive meals, how they make their *luly*'s, where they obtain their salt, play with the skulls of their enemies, eat their flesh, have wars with each other, prepare to exorcise the devil, make peace, sweep their *negeri*'s; Moanese, how they plant Turkish corn, nutmeg, its description, is burnt, is dipped into lime; *orangbucki*'s, who they are, *orangkay*'s, what they are, Popous, man-eaters; slave-hunting, Timor, an island etc. etc. (Barchewitz 1730: Register). It has been mentioned already that Barchewitz also provides a map of the islands off Timor and a Malay word-list.

I have mentioned Schwarz, the cooper, earlier. Schwarz never left Batavia and had leisure to observe what was going on in the city. Here his description of how the VOC kept the prices of the most important commodities up: "In that year I also witnessed how the spices were burned by thousands of hundredweights, which happens almost annually after the ships have returned to Holland; what they do not carry, and what is left in the godowns is usually burnt completely. Outside the town a big hole is dug which is filled with wood and set alight and with this the spices, like nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon, pepper and many other goods are carried in sacks from the godowns and burnt completely with their bags, which often lasts fourteen days. Sentries are posted and it is prohibited on pain of death to take anything away from there, and even if someone were to take only five or six pounds, he would be hanged without mercy, which happens quite often and is nothing new." (Schwarz 1751: 85-86) Barchewitz adds, that the Chinese who wanted to buy the earth on which the spices had been burnt in order to extract the oil were not allowed to do so (Barchewitz 1730: 169). But it is not this which makes the book by Schwarz outstanding. His, together with Schröder's, are the only eyewitness' accounts in German of the infamous Chinese massacre in 1749. Schwarz, who was even sent to prison for want of spirit in murdering the Chinese describes those days in gruesome detail.

In the aftermath of the killings, which did not even stop before the sick in the Chinese hospital, Batavia was completely devoid of Chinese. Schwarz writes: "While I was still in prison, the Chinese were granted pardon, because our masters had seen that commerce had completely broken down, as had food supplies. What one usually bought for one shilling one now had to pay ten shillings for. Those Chinese who came back were given houses in the suburb and they were free to trade and do whatever they

wanted. However they did not even stay for eight days and returned to their people. Thereupon a gallows was erected near the town hall and whenever a Chinese was found in the open, he was led to the gallows in town, where on some days ten, twenty or thirty people were hanged." (Schwarz 1751: 123).

Some books refer to the fact that among the lower ranks of the VOC were quite a number of members of the European aristocracy who for one reason or other had joined the Company. Those who did not mind if their real name and whereabouts were known included Herr von Wurmbb and Baron von Wollzogen whose letters to Europe show the sophistication of the educated man and were clearly written with publication in mind. Von Wurmbb was especially interested in natural science as is clear from his articles in the *Verhandeligen* of the KBGKW, whose first secretary he was. His European education, however, proved to be a burden to him as his approach to Javanese dance and music showed and, at any rate, his main desire seems to have been to achieve rank and prestige within the Batavian society. After Wurmbb's death his brother compiled a compendium on the archipelago based on letters and articles (Wurmbb 1797).

Baron von Wollzogen was mentioned earlier. After arriving in Batavia he was immediately transferred to South Sulawesi. There, in Bantaeng and Bulukamba, he spent several months which gave him an opportunity to observe the friends and enemies of the Dutch, i.e. the Maccasarese and the Buginese. Wollzogen does not have much to say about the country but he describes native dances and a traditional deer-hunt, arranged by the Maccasarese, the allies of the Dutch. Later he was transferred to Semarang, from where he went to Solo to attend an audience at the *susuhunan's* (the Kaiser of Java's) palace. I have referred to his romantic description of the Central Javanese countryside. Wollzogen describes in great detail the audience and the displays which the ruler had arranged to honour his guests. Watching all this Wollzogen was very much taken aback by the servility of the Javanese towards their ruler. His feelings are slightly puzzling however if we consider that he and his men had been sold to the VOC by their own sovereign, Duke Karl August of Württemberg. Wollzogen writes: "Asian despotism, of which I have been an eyewitness here, naturally, could not fail to strike me very much and to evoke unpleasant feelings within me. I thanked Heaven that I was a European and a German." (Wollzogen 1794: 390)

A few words in conclusion. Presumably what Coolhaas had in mind when he dismissed these books was the fact that they have little to contribute to our knowledge of colonial and Indonesian history. There are odd remarks and accounts, for example how Eschel-Kroon 'helped' to install a new ruler in Airbangis in 1766 by supporting the young Muslim faction against those who were on the side of traditional custom (Eschels-Kroon 1781: XXVI-XXXII). But these historical remarks are coincidental and serve only to support what is known from other sources. Admittedly some writers attempted to write their own histories but these attempts were mostly unsuccessful. In the words of Langhanss the matters of the Company "are only known to a few as those who have made the journey will have to admit. For those who travel in the service of the Company have little opportunity to concern themselves with these matters, as most of our German nation who get there achieve no other position than that of a soldier: a position in which they are kept like slaves who, having spent some time in Batavia,

might be sent to some comptoir or castle owned by the Company on one or the other island, where they have to serve out the time of their contract." (Langhans 1705: Vorrede 2).

But while the books have little to contribute to our knowledge of history, their contribution to our understanding of the history of the times is all the larger. We learn about the people who made the journeys, where they came from, their education, their attitudes and their misapprehensions. After all, these journeys had considerable influence on European thinking. The East crept into fictional literature and not just into the popular tale of D. Faust, who was claimed to have visited the infamous fire-mountain on Banda (Parthey 1687: 133). For instance, Grimmelshausen, author of one of the most famous German novels of the modern age, the baroque 'Simplicius Simplicissimus' has his hero spend some time stranded on a tropical island somewhere between the Cape and Batavia. The late Arno Schmidt, a contemporary writer, quotes Vogel and Hesse, who had witnessed an earlier eruption, in his short radio-play on the 1883 eruption of Krakatau, "The largest historically known catastrophe". From these books we gain an insight into the daily life and activities of the VOC and into the enormous suffering of the common man at whose expense the VOC established its riches. We learn about the perils of the voyages and about the severe regimen to which the Company servant was subjected from the moment he signed his contract to the day he arrived back in Holland. We learn how the VOC with the help of the so-called soul-traders recruited its staff and in what ways applicants, who always seemed to outnumber the available vacancies were made financially dependent. Wurffbain (1663) even prepared a special book of instructions on how to prepare for this adventure and Schwarz describes how poorly the common soldier was furnished for the journey even as late as the 1740's (Schwarz 1751: 13-14). He is supported by Wurmbb who made the voyage as an under-merchant: "As comfortable as is the lifestyle of an officer on boat, so pitiful is the fate of the common people, and I do not understand why they do not prefer to drown themselves rather than lead such a life." (Wurmbb 1794: 33). Not only because of these conditions opinion was divided about the value, merit and necessity of the voyages. The frequently quoted Langhass spoke for many when he wrote in 1705: "Furthermore, let those who desire to travel follow my advise and beware of East Indian voyages, as there is at present little to gain; and those who undertake them may be assured that they exchange freedom for slavery and eventually, having escaped all dangers, will be very fortunate if their health has not suffered. (Langhans 1705: Vorrede 5). In contrast, Barchewitz is exuberant about the riches, rarities and curiosities of a region which outshines others as the sun outshines the stars, and he asks: "Which young man would not have the desire to see the places where all these things grow?" (Barchewitz 1730: Vorrede). And while Wurmbb expressed clearly one of the main motives for going East: "Profit, only profit is always the big slogan of all those who endeavour the journey to the Indies," (Wurmbb 1794: 19), others were more doubtful. Dieshorn, who is the only writer besides Eschels-Kroon who presents his knowledge in the form of a handbook, lists a number of arguments which have been brought forward against the travels and against the consumption of the exotic goods. He himself refuses to take a position in this moral and theological argument, but he continues: "yet it is true and certain that the Indians regard the

Europeans as very poor, even as beggars; as people who have come to them from far and who desire to enrich themselves with the products of their lands; indeed, I know, as they frequently made clear in discussions with me, that they regard the Europeans as conceited, arrogant, voluptuous, and niggardly." (Dieshorn 1759: 344). Curiously this sentiment is echoed by a brother of the Wurmbb quoted earlier who, surely influenced by the philosophy of enlightenment, attacks the ignorance and arrogance of colonialists who see nothing but treachery and inferior qualities in the indigenous populations (Wurmbb 1797: 8–13). While these are aspects which are of interest to those who look at the books not just from an European point of view but who look more generally at the European side of the encounter with the East Indies, there is also an Indonesian aspect to the books which is of relevance to those who want to know more about the Indonesia of the 17th and 18th century. It is obvious that none of the writers is a Valentijn but when we divide the books roughly into three categories we find that in their own way some have to offer just as much. Into the first category I would group most of the early diaries which give casual information about the foreign things encountered, and which by the late 18th century were belittled for their want of sophistication. At the same time as the early books were criticised, the letters of Wurmbb and Wollzogen were published, letters which due to their sophistication lack much of the freshness and naturalness which distinguish the early books. A third type of book emerged in the second half of the 17th century and produced its best examples during the 18th century. These books combine the personal stories of their author with a reflective and open approach to the things witnessed and encountered. Some of the books relating to Batavia belong to this category, but its most outstanding example is without doubt the book by Barchewitz. Having said that, one should not forget however, that not many employees of the VOC were as privileged as Barchewitz, and that others who might have had the same interests and gifts as this author were confined to a very limited space, which even if they had wished to do so, did not allow them to make closer contact with the indigenous population outside the walls of their castle beyond gunshot range. One further point to consider is that those able and in a position to observe may have exhausted their desire to communicate their knowledge in official documents written in Dutch for the benefit of the Company. Junghuhn, for example, created some indignation when in 1847 he published his book on the Batak countries in German⁶ whereas his research had been done in an official capacity and at the expense of the Dutch colonial authorities. And indeed, looking at the literature of the 19th and 20th centuries we find also that only a few of those working for the colonial authorities published anything of importance in German.

Not all the books make inspiring reading, the same topics are often repeated again, some writers also interpret the term copy-right in a very narrow sense, yet all the books provide the reader with glimpses of various aspects of the daily life and customs of some of the peoples of Indonesia which strike even the modern reader who has been to these regions by their topicality and actuality, thus showing the continuity of certain patterns and traditions of culture and society over the last four hundred years.

⁶Junghuhn, F., *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*. Berlin 1847 (2 vols.).

Bibliography

(For the title of books re-edited by l'Honoré Naber the reader is referred to the original editions.)

Andersen, J. 1696. Orientalische Reisebeschreibung: Jürgen Andersen aus Schlesswig, der Anno Christi 1644 ausgezogen und 1650 wieder kommen. Und Volguard Iversen aus Hollstein so Anno 1655 aussgezogen und 1668 wieder angelanget. Sind beyde respective durch Ost-Indien, Sina, Tartarien, Persien, Türkeyen, Arabien und Palestinam gezogen: und haben zu Wasser und Land viel merckliche Dinge gesehen und erfahren; Aus deren Bericht mit Lust und auch Verwunderung zu vernehmen die Beschaffenheit und heutiger Zustand der Insulen, festen Länder und Städte; Item, der Einwohner Leben, Sitten, Lehre, Gottes-Dienst und Gewohnheiten. Wie auch von ihren erlittenen erbärmlichen Schiffbrüchen, und vielfältig aussgestandener Gefahr. Herausgegeben durch Adam Olearium... Mit dessen Notis, und etlicher Oerter Erklärungen, Hamburg

Barchewitz, E. Ch. 1730. Ernst Christoph Barchewitz, Thür. Der Edlen Ost-Indianischen Compagnie der vereinigten Nieder-Lande gewesenen commandirenden Officirs auf der Insul Lethy, Allerneueste und wahrhaffte Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung. Darinnen I. Seine durch Teutsch- und Holland nach Indien gethane Reise; II. Sein Eilff-Jähriger Auffenthalt auf Java, Banda und den Südwest-Insulen, Glücks- und Unglücks-Fälle und seltsame Begeben-Heiten, auch remarquirte rare Gewächse, Bäume, Früchte, Thiere, Fische, Insecten, Berge, Vestungen, Nationen, Gewohnheiten, Aberglauben der Wilden, und viele andere Denckwürdigkeiten mehr; III. Seine Rück-Reise, der dabey erlittene grausame Sturm, und endlich glücklich erfolgte Ankunfft in sein Vater-Land umständlich beschrieben wird; Benebst einer ausführlichen Land-Charte der Süwester- und Bandanesischen Insulen, welche in anderen Land-Charten nicht gefunden, noch in denen Geographien beschrieben werden; und einem vollständigen Register, Chemnitz

Behr, J. von der 1668. Diarium oder Tage-Buch über dasjenige so sich Zeit einer neunjährigen Reise zu Wasser und Lande, meistentheils in Dienst der vereinigten geocroyrten Niederländischen Ost-Indianischen Compagnie, besonders in denselbigen Ländern täglich begeben und zugetragen. Worbey der Inwohner Glauben, Leben, Sitten und Kleidung, so mit Augen gesehen, fleissig aufgeschrieben, abgerissen und mit Kupffern gezieret, zu besserer Nachricht verzeichnet worden von Johann von der Behr, Jena

Dieshorn, L. von 1759. Ludwig von Dieshorns gegründete Nachrichten von Ostindiens Beschaffenheit und Seltenheiten itziger Zeiten, auf seinen Reisen sorgfältig gesammelt, und zum gemeinen Besten herausgegeben von C.F. Meyer, Frankfurt a.M.

Eschels-Kroon, A. 1781. Beschreibung der Insel Sumatra, besonders in Ansehung des Handels, und der dahingehörigen Merkwürdigkeiten. Nebst einer neuen Original-Charte von Adolph Eschels-Kroon, vormaligen Residenten der Holländischen Ostindischen Compagnie, zu Ayerbangis auf Sumatra. Herausgegeben mit einer Vorrede von Gottlob Benedict von Schirach, Hamburg

Frik, C. 1692. Christoff Frikens Ost-Indianische Reyssen und Krieges-Dienste oder eine ausführliche Beschreibung was sich Zeit solcher nemlich von A. 1680 bis A.

1685 so zur See als zu Land in öffentlichen Treffen und Scharmuzeln in Belagerungen, Stürmen und Eroberungen der Heydnischen Plätze und Städte, in Marchiren und Quartieren mit ihme und seinen beigefügten Cameraden hin und wieder begeben, da dann insonderheit der Bantamische Krieg auf Gross-Java von Anfang bis Ende warhaftig vorgestellt und entworfen, wie nicht weniger verschiedene Ausländischen Völcker, Thiere und Gewächse dem geneigten Leser zu annehmlichen Belustigung vorgestellt und beschrieben worden, Ulm

Herport, A. 1669. Eine kurtze Ost-Indianische Reiss-Beschreibung, darinnen vieler Ost-Indianischen Insulen und Landtschafften Gelegenheit, der Einwohneren Sitten und Gottes-Dienst, allerley Früchten und wilden Thieren Beschaffenheit, sampt etlichen nachdencklichen Belagerungen und Schlachten, zwischen der Holländischen Ost-Indianischen Compagney einer seits, und etlicher Ost-Indianischen Königen und Portugesischen Kriegs-Völckeren ander seits besehehen, sonderlich der Chinesischen Belägerung und Eroberung der Insul Formosa, angemerket und in etlichen Kupferstücken verzeichnet zu finden. Beschrieben und in einer Neun-Jährigen Reiss verrichtet, von Albrecht Herport, Burgern der Statt Bern, und der Mahlerey-Kunst Liebhaberen, Bern

Hesse, E. 1690. Ost-Indinische Reise-Beschreibung oder Diarium, was bey der Reise des Churfürstl. Sächs. Raths und Berg Commisarii D. Benjamin Olitzschens im Jahr 1680 von Dresden aus biss in Asiam auff die Insul Sumatra Denckwürdiges vorgegangen, aufgezeichnet von Elias Hessen, zum andern Mahl gedruckt, und mit sonderbahren Fleiss übersehen, in vielen verbessert und vermehret, Leipzig

Heydt, J.W. 1744. Allerneuester Geographisch- und Topographischer Schau-Platz von Afrika und Ost-Indien, oder Ausführliche und Wahrhafte Vorstellung und Beschreibung von den Wichtigsten der Holländisch-Ost-Indischen Compagnie in Africa und Asia zugehörigen Länder, Küsten und Insulen, in accuraten See- und Land-Karten, nicht weniger der darin befindlichen Städte, Häfen, Castellen, Factoreyen, Schlösser und Schiffs-Werffe, Packhäuser, Kirchen, Lust- und Wohnhäuser, und anderer publiquen Gebäuden, und Gärten nebst den damit verknüpften Geographischen Merckwürdigkeiten, wie auch einem Anhang oder Historischer Beschreibung der Reise des Verfassers von Holland nach Ost-Indien, und von dar widerum zu rück in sein Vaterland, samt einem vollständigen Register des gantzen Wercks. In CVX sauber und nach dem Leben gezeichneten Prospecten getreulich und aus eigener Erfahrung entworfen, aufgemessen und mitgetheilet von Johann Wolfgang Heydt, Hochgräffl. Hohenloh-Schillingsfurstl. Bau-Director und Geometer, Willhermsdorff

Hoffmann, J.C. 1680. Ost-Indianische Voyage, oder Eigentliches Verzeichnus worin nicht nur einige merckwürdige Vorfälle die sich theils auff einer Indischen See-Reise theils in India selbst begeben und zugetragen; sondern auch unterschiedliche Länder, frembde Völcker, seltzame Thiere und arthige Gewächse & der Oerther kurtz und deutlich angewiesen werden; durch Johann-Christian Hoffmann, vormahls D.G.W. auf der Insul Mauritius; Itziger Zeit Predigern zu Heckershausen, Cassel

l'Honoré Naber, S.P. Reisebeschreibungen von deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederländischen West- und Ost-Indischen Kompagnien. Den Haag, 13 v.

- 1930 vol. 1 travels to Brasil
 vol. 2 Verken, J.
 vol. 3 Merklein, J.
 vol. 4 Behr, J. von der
 vol. 5 Herport, A.
 vol. 6 Saar, J.J.
- 1931 vol. 7 Hoffmann, J.C., Schreyer, J.
 vol. 8 & 9 Wurffbain, J.S.
 vol. 10 Hesse, E.
 vol. 11 Schweitzer, Ch.
 vol. 12 & 13 Wintergerst, M.

Langhanss, C. 1705. Neue Ost-Indische Reise, worinnen umständlich beschrieben werden unterschiedene Küsten und Inseln in Ost-Indien, auf welche die Holländische Geocroyrte Compagnie zu handeln pfeget; insonderheit die Inseln Java Major, Sumatra und Ceilon, die feste Küste Malabar, Canara und Decam, ingleichen die Stadt Gamaron am Golfo in Persien. Dabey gehandelt wird von eines jedweden Landes Beschaffenheit, jährlicher Witterung, von ihrer Einwohner Leben, Religion und Sitten, ingleichen von zahmen und wilden Thieren, Früchten und Erdgewächsen. Nebst dem was sich merckwürdiges auf der Reise des Herrn Paulus de Roy nach Suratte zugestragen, welcher als Commisarius der Edlen Compagnie dero Comptoiren um die Nordische Länder in Indien zu untersuchen, dahin abgeschicket worden. Heraus gegeben von Christoph Langhanss, Leipzig .

Meister, G. 1692. Der orientalisich-indianische Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner, das ist: Eine aufrichtige Beschreibung derer meisten indianischen als auf Java major, Malacca und Jappon wachsenden Gewürtz-, Frucht- und Blumen-Bäume, wie auch anderer, rarer Blumen, Kräuter und Stauden-Gewächse, sampt ihren Saamen nebst umbständigen Bericht deroselben indianischen Nahmen, so wol ihrer in der Medicin als Oeconomie und gemeinem Leben mit sich führenden Gebrauch und Nutzen... fürgestellt durch George Meistern, dieser Zeit Churfl. Sächs. bestallten indianischen Kunst- und Lust-Gärtner, Dresden

Merklein, J.J. 1663. Journal oder Beschreibung alles dessjenigen, was sich auf währender unserer neuenjähriigen Reise im Dienst der Vereinigten, geocroyrten, Niederländischen, Ost-Indianischen Compagnie, besonders in denselbigen Ländern täglich begeben, und zugetragen: Dabey die Situation und Gelegenheit der Länder und Sitten unterschiedlicher Völker, zu besserer Nachricht, in etwas berühret worden, durch Johann Jakob Mercklein, vorbemeldeter Compagn. dazumal Chirugum und Barbirern, Nürnberg

Muche, H. 1696. Tag-Register drey-sehen jähriger Ost-Indischer Reise, worinnen allerhand Merckwürdigkeiten, unserer Lande noch unbekend, auch di Ursach, Anfang v: Ende dess Chiauischen Manadisch: Goronthalischen v: Tarnatischen Krieges. Wie auch gefangen-nehmung der letzteren zwey Könige, enthalten. Von Heinrich Muchen gewesen Sergiant, in Diensten der EE: Ost Indischen Comp: anietzo Gefreyten im Ziegelthor zu Bresslau, ed. by H. Nevermann, Baessler-Archiv, Neue Folge vol. IV, 1956

Parthey, D. 1687. Daniel Parthey, Burgers in Franckenberg, Ost-Indianische und persianische neunjährige Kriegsdienst, und wahrhaftige Beschreibung was sich Zeit solcher 9 Jahre als nemlich vom Jahr Christi 1677 bis 1686 so wol zur See als zu Lande mit ihme und andern seinen Reissgefährten begeben. Nebenst beygefügeter Beschreibung dere Ost-Indianisch und Persianische Völker, Glaube, Sitte, Kleidungen und allerhand verwunderlichen Gewächsen und Früchten, Nürnberg

S.. H.M. 1704. Die erlauchte Sclavin, Köln

Saar, J.J. 1672. Johann Jacob Saars, Ost-Indianische funfzehnjährige Kriegsdienste, und wahrhaftige Beschreibung, was sich Zeit solcher fünfzehnjährigen Jahr, von Anno Christi 1644 biss Anno Christi 1659 zur See, und zu Land, in öffentlichen Treffen, in Belagerungen, in Stürmen, in Eroberungen, Portugäsen, und Heydnischer, Plätze und Städte, in Marchirn, in Quartirn, mit ihm, und andern seinen Camerades begeben habe, am allermeisten auf der grossen, und herrlichen, Insul, CEILUN. Zum andern Mahl herausgegeben, und mit vielen denckwürdigen Notis oder Anmerckungen, wie auch Kupfferstücken, vermehret, und gezieret, Nürnberg

Schröder, J.H. 1749. Der Seefahrer oder: Joh. Heinrich Schröders Fürstl. Sächsis. Gothais. Hauptmanns zu Natza, Merkwürdige Reisen nach Ost-Indien und verschiedenen Orientalis. Inseln darinnen nicht allein die wahrhaftigste Erzählung des a 1740 auf der Insel Java von den Chinesern erregten Aufstandes und Verwüstung der Stadt Batavia, sondern auch andere curiose Merckwürdigkeiten aus dessen eigenhändigem Journal auf das Treulichste erzehlet und zum Druck befördert von J.G.R., Leipzig

Schwarz, G.B. 1751. Georg Bernhard Schwarzens, von Beutelspach aus dem Herzogthum Württemberg, Hochfürstl. Herren-Kieffers zu Münster bey Canstadt, Reise in Ost-Indien, worinnen mancherley Merkwürdigkeiten, besonders aber die anno 1740 in seiner Anwesenheit zu Batavia fürgefallene Rebellion der Chinesen, und deroselben darauf erfolgte grosse Massacre umständlich und aufrichtig beschrieben worden, Heilbronn

Sprenger, B. 1509. Die Merfart un erfahrung nuwer Schiffung und Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln und Künigreichen, von dem grossmechtigen Portugalischen Kunig Emanuel erforscht, funden, bestritten und ingenommen, auch wunderbarliche Streyt ordnung leben wesen handlung und wunderwercke des volcks und thyrer dar in wonende, findestu in diesem buchlyn wahrhaftiglich beschryben un abkunterfeyt wie ich Balthasar Sprenger sollich selbs in kurtzverschynen zeiten gesehen un erfahren habe, n.p.

Verken, J. 1612. Eylffte Schiffart, oder kurtze Beschreibung einer Reyse, so von den Holländern und Seeländern, in die Ost Indien, mit neun grossen und vier kleinen Jagschiffen, under der Admiralschafft Peter Wilhelm Verhuffen, in Jahren 1606, 1608. und 1609 verrichtet worden, neben Vermeldung, was ihnen sonderlich begegnet sey. Auss kurtzer Verzeichnuss Johann Verkens von Leiptzig zusammengebracht, und an Tag gegeben, Frankfurt a.M.

Vogel, H. 1797. Beschreibung seiner dreysigjährigen zum Theil glücklichen, zum Theil unglücklichen Seereisen, nebst der Geschichte seines Lebens, Leipzig, 3 vols.

Vogel, J.W. 1690. Johann Wilhelm Vogels, gewesenens Fähndrichs und Bergmeisters im Dienst der E. Niederl. Ost-Indischen Compagnie, anjetzo aber F.S.

Cammer-schreibers und Berg-Inspectoris zu Altenburg zehen-jährige Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung. In drey Theile abgetheilet, deren der erste des Autoris Abreise nach Holland und Ost-Indien, nebst einem Bericht von unterschiedl. Oertern und deren merckwürdigen Sachen in sich begreiffet. Der andere des Autoris in Indien verrichtete Dienste und die meisten Gewächse, Thiere, Früchte, Bergwercken etc. beschreibet. Der dritte und letzte aber die Rück-Reise aus Indien nach Holl- und Teutschland, mit einem Anhang den Zustand und Gewonheiten der vornehmsten Königreiche und Länder in Indien betreffend, vorstellet. Alles sowohl aus eigener Erfahrung, als vielen in Indien geführten Discursen von demselben aufrichtig beschrieben und nebst einem Register zum Druck befördert, Altenburg

Wollzogen, Baron von s. Wurmbb 1794

Wurffbain, J.S. 1663. Johann Sigmund Wurffbains Instruction oder Kurtzer Bericht, wie eine Reise, sowol zu Wasser, als zu Land, nach Indien anzustellen sei, in: Merklein, J.J.

1686. Joh. Sigmund Wurffbains vierzehn jährige Ost-Indianische Krieg-und Ober-Kauffmanns-Dienste, in einem richtig geführten Journal-und Tage-Buch. In welchem viel denckwürdige Begebenheiten, wohlbeglaubte Erzehlungen, fern entlegener Länder und dero Einwohner annehmliche Beschreibung, ausländischer Gewächse und Thiere deutliche Erklärungen, sambt vielen in Handlungs-Sachen dienlichen Wichtigkeiten vorgestellt werden. Auf vielfältig und oft wiederholtes Begehren mit unterschiedlichen Kupffern gezieret, endlich an den Tag gelegt von J.P.W.D., Sultzbach

Wurmbb, F. & Wollzogen, B. von 1794. Briefe des Herrn von Wurmb und des Herrn Baron von Wollzogen auf ihren Reisen nach Afrika und Ostindien in den Jahren 1774 bis 1792, Gotha

Wurmbb, Major von (ed.) 1797. Merkwürdigkeiten aus Ostindien. Die Länder-, Völker-Kunde und Naturgeschichte betreffend. Aus den Papieren des in Diensten der Holländischen Compagnie gestandenen Herrn von Wurmbb und anderen sicheren Quellen herausgegeben von, Gotha