

With the authors' compliments

Mason C. Hoadley

MASON C. HOADLEY AND INGVAR SVANBERG

Hunting Rhinoceros in Java

Johan Arnold Stützer and his Journal 1786–1787

Southeast Asia has long attracted Swedish interest.¹ A number of travellers have written on the region, among the first being Nils Mattsson Kiöping (1630–1667) who visited the Nicobar Islands, the Malay archipelago, and Formosa between 1647 and 1656.² Several of Carl Linnaeus' disciples and contemporaries made the trip to Southeast Asia in order to study its rich tropical flora and exotic fauna. They include Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), Olof Torén (1718–1753), Christopher Tärnström (1703–1746), Pehr Osbeck (1723–1805), and Carl Fredrik Adler (1720–1761). The tradition persisted well into the present century. Walter Kaudern (1881–1942) and Eric Mjöberg (1882–1938) combined interest in nature and local culture with a rare ability to write readable books.³

Of necessity many of these travellers were for shorter or longer periods employed by Dutch companies or the Dutch colonial establishment. According to estimates as many as fifteen- to twenty-thousand Swedes served in the Dutch East India Company during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ One of these was Johan Arnold Stützer (1763–1821) who despite his attenuated study at Uppsala can be counted among those who continued in the Linnaean tradition of travelogues and collections of plants and animals from Asia.

Yet Stützer's career⁵ departs from the usual pattern. He remained abroad. Stützer preferred "exile" to returning home in financial embarrassment.⁶ In addition, he never seems to have developed from the "promising student" category, at least judging by the contents of his *Journal*. Many of his observations on conditions in West Java are astute; his description of rice and coffee cultivation are important contributions to our knowledge of the island's agriculture. Yet the bulk of his writings are filled with inessentials as, for example, bewailing injustice done him, begging recommendations, or reacting to the lack of recognition. Even though Stützer lived through a period of monumental changes in Asia, little of this is reflected in his writings. Thus one of Stützer's charms lies in his very human preoccupation with himself. His career also serves to yet again remind students of the past that all who have

left descriptions are not necessarily heroes, leaders, or even professorial material, but just ordinary persons going about the business of providing for themselves and their families. This essay will be concerned primarily with the contents of Stützer's *Journal* describing his adventures in the West Javanese lands of the Priangan.

Dutch Influences in Sweden

During the seventeenth century few countries influenced Sweden as much as the Netherlands. Cultural impulses made themselves felt in a number of areas. Commerce and trade, shipbuilding, military techniques, fine arts, medicine, and higher education are but a few which continued long into the following century.⁷ Many of these impulses were transmitted by Dutchmen settled in Sweden. Perhaps the most striking example is the foundation of Gothenburg, which to a large extent was a Dutch affair.⁸ Many Dutchmen became well known in Swedish history. Not only did they maintain cultural and economical ties with the Netherlands but also there was a steady flow of individuals between the two countries. Many Swedish-born Dutch preferred to serve in Dutch companies, such as Frederik Coyet (1620–1689), who became Governor of Formosa between 1656 and 1662.⁹ That the reverse could also hold true is illustrated by Peder Hollender Ridder (c. 1607–1691), a Dutch-born officer who became the Swedish Governor of New Sweden.¹⁰

Study Tours

Immigration of Dutch to Sweden was not the entire story. Despite developments in the Swedish university system during the seventeenth century, students continued to study abroad. Peregrinations continued to be an important part of the curriculum of many nobilities and advanced students. During the era of Sweden as a Great Power more Swedes than ever went to universities on the continent. In this context the provinces liberated from the Spanish in the closing decades of the sixteenth century took a special place. Swedes flocked to Leiden during the seventeenth century and continued to do so in the following one. Groningen, Utrecht, and, despite Calvinistic leanings, even the Frisian university of Franeker attracted numbers of Swedish students. In the seventeenth century no less than eight hundred Swedes were educated in the Netherlands.¹¹ Even with the decline in popularity of such study trips towards the close of the seventeenth century, medical students continued to visit Dutch centres of learning. Among those who received indelible impressions in Holland were Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), Petrus Artedi (1705–1735), Abraham Bäck (1713–1795), and Nils Rosén von Rosenstein (1706–1773). Carl Linnaeus came to the Netherlands in 1735. After a

short sojourn at Harderwijk where he took a degree in medicine, he continued to Leiden and Amsterdam. There he became acquainted with scholars like Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738), Johann Fredrik Gronovius (1690–1762), Adriaan van Royen (1704–1779), Johannes Burman (1707–1779), and Georg Clifford (1685–1760).¹²

Through Linnaeus' contacts in the Netherlands, especially Johannes Burman and his son Nicolaas Laurens Burman (1733–1793), Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828) was appointed surgeon in the Dutch East India Company. In company service he sailed to the Cape in December 1772, where he carried out two years of field studies in South Africa, finally leaving in March 1775 on an eastbound ship for Java. Subsequently Thunberg made his famous tour to Japan which gave him an unequaled opportunity of studying the flora and customs of the secluded Island Empire. On his return to Java he was also able to make some field trips and gather plants of the island. Thunberg returned to Uppsala in 1779 after an absence of almost nine years. As Linnaeus had died a year earlier and was succeeded as professor by his son, Thunberg was appointed *botanices demonstrator* at Uppsala university.¹³ Almost immediately he began to teach and analyze the scientific material he had brought home. He became temporary professor in 1781 and over the half decade 1788–1793 published his travelogue and famous flora of Japan (Leipzig 1784).¹⁴ In 1783 he also succeeded Carl Linnaeus *filius* (1741–1783) as full professor.

At least two of Thunberg's pupils were stimulated to travel to Asia for research. One was Clas Fredrik Hornstedt (1758–1809) who in 1783 was appointed botanist at the newly-established *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Science). He resided in Java for one and a half years, during which time he made several journeys around Batavia and the surrounding islands. After his contract expired he returned to Europe and took a doctorate at Greifswald in 1786, becoming a member of the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm in 1788.¹⁵ The other pupil was Johan Arnold Stützer.

Johan Arnold Stützer

Germans had always been a part of the Stockholm's corps of merchants and burghers. Although considerably less than they had been earlier, German influences in the eighteenth century were significant. They had their own church and school and tended to monopolize the surgical profession.¹⁶

Stützer himself originated from a German immigrant family in Stockholm. His father was city barber surgeon Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer (1727–1806), who hailed from Oranienburg in Prussia. He had come to Sweden in the 1750s. Granted the position of assistant surgeon (*under-fältskär*) in 1753, he sailed to the West Indies in 1757. Later that year he

settled in Stockholm in order to continue his studies, finally taking an examination as surgeon in 1760. Two years later he married Anna Maria Soem (d. 1766). She was the daughter of Christian Soem (1694–1775), a barber surgeon of Swedish parentage born in Amsterdam, and Anna Brita Zervogel, daughter of a barber surgeon belonging to the German community of Stockholm.¹⁷ Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer worked at his father-in-law's practice in Stockholm for many years, living as many other Germans in Maria Magdalena parish.

Christian Soem earned for himself a name in Swedish medical history as a skilled surgeon. He had a family reputation to fall back upon, being the son of another famous surgeon of the early eighteenth century, namely Constantin Soem (1643–1727). The latter, who had spent many years in Amsterdam, returned to Sweden in 1704 where he was granted the rights to practice only after considerable struggle.¹⁸ At that time surgeons in Sweden were to a large extent still part of the guild system, thus dependent upon and controlled by the influential German community in Stockholm. Steps aimed at bettering the status of surgeons were hindered by just these vested interests. Surgeons belonged to the Society of Surgeons (*Chirurgiska Societeten*) which was disbanded in 1797. Yet not until 1812 were they fully integrated with the medical profession.¹⁹ Like his father-in-law, Martin Christian Wilhem Stützer contributed to the fight for recognition of the surgical profession.²⁰ He also contributed with the chapters "Inversio uteri" (p. 11), "Ruptura Funicului Umbiliealis" (p. 73), and "Variolæ" (p. 75) to *Chirurgiska händelser inlemnade af fältshärerne i riket till chirurgiska societeten*, a book published in 1769 to give scientific legitimation to the profession.²¹ He also wrote on rabies for the *Kongl. Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar* 1777. By way of bettering their situation many surgeons sought higher education, including studies in medicine, either in Sweden or through studies abroad.²² It was within this intellectual atmosphere that Johan Arnold Stützer began his education.

Johan Arnold was born 23 February 1763 in Stockholm. Two other children were born out of the marriage of Martin and Anna Stützer. His younger brother Carl Wilhelm Stützer (1764–1832) made extensive travels in Russia and Europe between 1790 and 1792 before becoming a city medical officer in Stockholm and physician-in-ordinary (*livmedicus*) to the King, ultimately marrying Maria Charlotta Bergsten in 1823.²³ A sister, Maria, Eleanora was born in 1766 but did not survive her first year.²⁴ Despite their integration into Swedish society, the Stützers remained in close contact with the minister of the German church in Stockholm, Wilhelm Lüdeke (1737–1805).

Johan Arnold Stützer went to school in Stockholm. He also received schooling in languages and sciences at home. Beginning in 1776 his father taught him elementary surgery. Three years later, in October 1779, he enrolled at Uppsala university.²⁵ There he studied for Carl Peter Thunberg.

He studied in Uppsala and Stockholm a few years, before he received a grant for surgeons, which enabled him to go abroad.²⁶

Stützer's Peregrination

It was not only the influences of Thunberg's lectures which led Stützer to give himself off to Europe. Swedish physicians had earlier been drawn southward. Yet during the eighteenth century, Germany had become of growing importance, one which seems to be reflected in Stützer's itinerary. On leaving Sweden in the early 1780s Stützer travelled to Berlin where he stayed for three years studying medicine and surgery. During this time he carried on correspondence with Thunberg who frequently asked him to undertake various pieces of research.²⁷ He also visited Vienna in February 1783, where he stayed for a couple of weeks studying with physician to the Royal House and General Inspector of the Universal Hospital, Joseph von Quarin (1733–1814).

Berlin also held a manuscript by a certain Christian Mentzel (1622–1702)²⁸ containing pictures of Japanese plants and birds, the former numbering some three thousands and the latter a few hundred. Stützer promised to copy relevant information from the manuscript and the Japanese name, if possible. He also made repeated requests for letters of recommendations to Amsterdam and Batavia.²⁹

In a following letter dated 14 October 1783, Stützer refers to another manuscript, an *Epistola*, with Japanese plants and birds. In the interim he had hired an artist to copy some of the illustrations. He also sent for copies of *Nova Genera Plantarum* and *Nova Insectorum Species* recently published by Thunberg.³⁰ Stützer's next letter from Berlin is dated 17 June 1784 and gives some details of his activities. Having earlier requested Thunberg's introductory speech on Japanese coins given before the Academy of Sciences which was published in 1789,³¹ Stützer can now inform his mentor that it had been translated into German by himself.³² However the thesis was published under the name of Stützer's current patron, Johann Theodor Pyl (1749–1794),³³ to whom Stützer repeatedly refers to with gratitude. In preparation for leaving Berlin Stützer then asks Thunberg to forward his letters either to the Swedish merchants Swart and Lunge or to Professor Burman in Amsterdam. Despite opposition from his father, who had ordered him back to Sweden, Stützer had decided for the Asian tour.³⁴ Next we find Stützer in Hamburg, from where he just before the boat leaves for Amsterdam writes a short letter to Thunberg on the 9th of August 1784.³⁵

After his arrival in Amsterdam in the summer of 1784 Stützer mentioned his visit to the merchants Swart, Lunge, and Johannes Fähreus (1745–1821). He again petitions Thunberg for recommendations as those to whom the

Dr. Carl Peter Thunberg
der Universität Docteur und Professor zu Uppsala,
mitglied der Akademie, Rektor des Gymnasiums, des
Skeggs, Schwedische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Stockholm,
und der schwedische Senator in Stockholm,
etc., etc.

Abhandlung
von den
Münzsorten,
welche
in ältern und neuern Zeiten
in
Kaisertum Japan
geschlagen worden
und geangbar gewesen sind.

Mit acht Kupfern.

Und dem Schwedischen überzeugt.

Göteborg,
Bei Graugen und Grossje. 1784.

The German translation of C. P. Thunberg's speech on Japanese coins published in 1784 was according to Stützer translated by himself.

earlier letters were addressed were all dead. Wimmercrantz, whom Thunberg had met in Java,³⁶ was in Stralsund. Stützer, therefore, asked his professor to write Wimmercrantz and request a recommendation for Stützer in Batavia.³⁷ Another letter, dated 24 October, informed Thunberg that Burman had helped Stützer get a position as a doctor on a ship bound for East India. He intended to finish his exam in November and thanked Thunberg for a recommendation to Iman Wilhelm Falck in Ceylon. The letter also provides some insight into the surgical studies Stützer continued in Amsterdam. He wrote that two operations for gall-stones had recently taken place, neither of which was successful. Stützer also requested that Thunberg correspond with Pyl in Berlin. The Swedish merchants Swart and Fähræus in Amsterdam had also informed him of Thunberg's marriage for which Stützer offered his congratulation.³⁸

Not all was as it should be. Stützer had heard unsettling rumours. Moreover, Thunberg had not responded to his letters which only increased his anxiety. It would seem that Stützer had left a large debt behind in Berlin, to whom we do not know. The news had reached Sweden and Stützer was worried that it was the reason for Thunberg's silence. "Oh, how unfortunate it would be to lose someone with whom one has so long been in favour and who has been a willing patron." Stützer attempted to explain the matter, insisting that he had been loyal but suffered from his own lack of caution. He begged Thunberg not to mention the affair to Burman as it would have been catastrophic for his career. In a letter dated 31 March 1785, Stützer complained: "If they get to know anything about this, it would be the stone to seal my grave." He concluded the letter with the news that if all went well he would be embarking as ship's doctor on the *d'Ijstroom*. He would also do his utmost to collect specimens in India to demonstrate his gratitude to his patron.³⁹

Dutch East India

Dutch entrance into Asia was from its very beginning a calculated mercantile venture. Simply put, merchants in the United Provinces wanted a share of the huge profits they observed being reaped by Portugal in providing the European market with exotic spices from the Indies. As early as 1594 a "Company of Far Lands" was established at Amsterdam by north Netherlands merchants with the sole purpose of fitting out two expeditions to the Indies for spices. The first returned rather the worse for wear after two years. Even so, the profits obtained from its modest cargo of pepper purchased on the open market at Banten more than covered expenses. The second, lead by Jacob van Neck, returned after fifteen months with a rich cargo of spices. Total returns for the cargo gave profits to the original investors in the neighbourhood of four-hundred percent, even after deductions for heavy losses sustained. These ventures whetted appetites in Dutch financial circles. The logical result was the formation in 1602 of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company, more commonly known as the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) or by its initials VOC, with a joint capital subscription of six and a half million florins.⁴⁰

What makes chartered companies historically significant is the tendency to transform themselves into vehicles of territorial aggrandizement. Attempts to account for this process have raised a number of thorny issues. These include whether territorial aggrandizement was built into the capitalist nature of what is euphemistically termed the "expansion of Europe overseas", if it was intentional or thrust upon the European powers, and the extent to which the activities of these ventures effected local socioeconomic institutions, if at all.

Whatever the case, the pattern of transformation from trader to tyrant provided by the Dutch East India Company is a classic one if for no other reasons than its longevity and accessibility.

Early in Dutch East India Company engagement in the Indies its board of directors, the *Heeren XVII*, recognized the need for a general rendezvous for fleets operating in Asian waters. Revictualling and re-fitting were obvious needs. More pressing was the need for collecting under one roof the multifarious wares from the entire Asian region. This would greatly assist in rationalizing the company's assessment of merchandise and its shipment to the United Provinces. Closeness to the centres of spice production in the Indies and its central location argued for locating this rendezvous on Java's north coast. As a result, in 1619 a Dutch fortress-city arose on the banks of the sluggish Ciliwung River opposite the original Javanese city of Jayakerta.⁴¹ Taken from the ancient tribe of the Batavians, the city destined to become "Queen City of the East" was dubbed "Batavia". The struggle of the Batavians to maintain their independence from the Roman Empire was a popular nationalistic theme at that time in the United Provinces. Perhaps the most concrete expression of this is Rembrandt van Rijn's "The Swearing of the Oath of the Batavians" now hanging in The National Museum, Stockholm. The new "Batavia" was to become a symbolic continuation of Dutch resistance to Roman Catholic Spain.

Symbolism aside, the actual fortress city's future was not automatically guaranteed. Its continued existence was put to severe tests within a decade. In 1628-29 it had to withstand two major assaults from the most powerful of the Javanese states, Mataram, then at its peak under Sultan Agung (r. 1613-1645).⁴² The defense of the city under the leadership of Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1585-1629), its founder who died of dysentery during the second siege, has been related elsewhere.⁴³

Batavia survived these early tests. It also surpassed all expectations as an west-east entrepôt. The city's substantial fortress effectively sheltered and supplied company military might in the form of the Dutch Asian fleet, its warehouses housed the treasures of the Asian trade subsequent to transshipment for lucrative sale on the European market, its board rooms and accounting centres received commercial and political intelligence, formed economic policy, shaped procurement practices, and monitored trade conditions throughout Asia. Some idea of the geographic spread of the company's activities can be obtained from a listing of the factories directly subordinated to Batavia. These include those of the Persian Gulf and Arab lands in the west (Isfahan), through those of India (Cochin, Pulicat, Nagapatam), and Ceylon (Jaffna, Trincomalee, Galle, and Colombo), and the East Indies (Malacca, Palembang, Banten, Cirebon, Makassar, Banda), to those of the Far East (Ayuthia, Pulau Condor, Formosa, Canton, and Deshima). The Batavia which

lured the Linnaeans was from its inception the centre of Dutch operations in Asian waters; the decisions and orders of its leaders, the Governor General and Council of the Indies, often in practice taking precedent over those of the *Heeren XVII* in distant Holland.

Batavia had to function as a clearing house for coordinating the east-west trade because Europe had few acceptable trade goods in Asia. Specie was virtually the only exception. Mercantilism economic policy, as well as the fact that specie was itself the end product of a long trade chain extending to Spanish America, prevented the financing Dutch Asian trade by export of precious metals. Silk goods and porcelain wares illustrate the problem. Chinese merchants would only accept cash. Hence the Dutch were forced into developing a series of trade networks in order to obtain means of acquiring Asian manufactures. They obtained spices from Eastern Indonesia, largely through force, which were traded to India for cotton goods. These were in turn traded in Japan for copper which was an acceptable medium to Chinese merchants. The goods so obtained were ultimately transported and sold profitably on the European market. A variant was to purchase at low prices Javanese sugar and start by trading it in Isfahan for goods exportable to India, in this manner coming to the same result.⁴⁴

This was applicable only for the trading activities *per se*. More complicated was the fact that early in the company's contact with Asia it embarked upon a course of action leading to *de facto* territorial aggrandizement. A forerunner of this was the forcible occupation of strategic points in the spice islands. Obtaining of local agricultural commodities through political control of centres of production led directly to attempts at regulation. In the case of spices its production was to be limited by periodically destroying a large part of the plants so that demand would maintain maximum prices.

Another mechanism leading territorial control was increased political engagement in the affairs of the region's potentates. This often took the form of one or another of the local rulers, or pretenders, requesting military assistance from the company. This was to be repaid by trade concessions or, failing that, cession of territory. In the latter case the only way to recoup outlay for military aid was to rationalize the extraction of saleable products, including the introduction of new crops. In both case, territorial acquisition by the mercantile company had a build-in tendency to involve Europeans in the local production process.

Continual growth of activities over an expanding part of the Asian world brought with it demands upon personnel. The line of factories subordinated to Batavia had to be staffed with competent personnel. They in turn were charged with supervising acquisition of the right amount of goods of acceptable quality for the home office in the Netherlands. Numerical expansion of employees was not the only problem faced by the company, especially in the

eighteenth century. A complementary trend originated in the company's propensity to ensure itself of merchandise by actively engaging in the process of agricultural production. As a means of improving its profitability, the company introduced technological improvements in production methods of both existing crops and those cultivated on demand. Thus to demands for more personnel came that for specialization. Moreover, demands were exacerbated by the high mortality rate of Europeans in the tropics.⁴⁵ Given the Netherlands' modest population, it is hardly surprising that so many non-Netherlanders were employed by the Dutch East India Company.

While the specifically Swedish contribution to the company is not known precisely, it seems to have been relative prominent. In addition to the many Swedes serving as seamen mentioned above, many served as masters, commanders, mercenaries, etc. in the Indies. A few Swedes served as *kaartmeesters*, cartographers, and played an important role in the mapping of Java. Paulus Paulusz/Paulson, Hans Kuyl, Jan Runström, Jonas Colin and Pietersz Wijdeling, were all Swedes serving the company in during the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁶ Yet the Linnaean tradition was strongest among the company's medical corps. In addition to Thunberg himself, a number of Swedish doctors are known to have worked for the Dutch company. These include Herman Nicolaus Grim (1641-1711), doctor and mining engineer on Sumatra 1671-1681 as well as author of a flora of Ceylon, Erik Schepperus on Java 1729-1731, as well as Stützer as ships doctor 1786-1791. Nineteen others served as barber-surgeons, four of them in the seventeenth and fifteen in the eighteenth centuries.⁴⁷

Java in the 1780s

Early territorial acquisitions in eastern Indonesia notwithstanding, the Dutch empire in the tropics consisted primarily of Java. This would remain the case for over a century.⁴⁸ A final spurt of Imperialist territorial expansion during the last decades of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth led to the creation of a geo-political unit which after 1949 would in its entirety become the present Republic of Indonesia.

Despite its moderate size, Java at the time of the visits of Thunberg, Hornstedi, and Stützer was far from unified. Politically a number of types of government were to be seen. Each had varying degrees of autonomy from the Dutch centre of power at Batavia. None was, or for that matter had been, powerful enough to oust the Dutch single handed. Moreover, any sort of co-ordination or even consistent opposition to the forces of the Dutch company was conspicuous by its absence during the nearly two centuries of active Dutch engagement on the island. Even in weakened military and economic position in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the company

remained formidable enough to prolong Dutch hegemony. In addition to the area of direct company control around Batavia itself, the most important Javanese states of the time were those of Banten on the west and the remains of the Mataram empire of Central Java. To these can be added semi-autonomous territories ceded by Mataram, including the Priangan region between Batavian lands and Central Java, the northern coastal areas known under the collective name of the *pasisir*, and the "east hook" or east Java extending, but not including the independent island of Bali.

Banten

The sultanate of Banten on the island's western tip had long been one of the most important centres of the pepper trade. The first voyage fitted out by the "Company of Far Lands" under Cornelius de Houtman in 1595–97, in fact, purchased pepper by haggling on the open *basar* at Banten amid the other petty traders, merchants, and peddlers from throughout Asia.⁴⁹ At the outset the Dutch had established a lodge at Banten, along with the English, but after 1619 consolidated their activities at Batavia. Throughout the seventeenth century Banten constituted a military threat to Batavia which broke into open warfare on a number of occasions, the 1680's being especially crucial in this regard.⁵⁰ As late as 1750–1751 rebels against the company-manipulated Banten ruler plundered and burned Dutch holdings west of the city. They even approached the gates of Batavia, a threat unknown since the sieges of Mataram over a century earlier.⁵¹

Mataram

By the 1780's the empire of Mataram which had threatened the continued existence of Batavia in the early 1600's was but a shadow of its former self. A series of successional disputes dating from the reign of Sultan Agung's successor and continuing the better part of a century had by the middle of the eighteenth century reduced the empire to two small rump states in south-central Java.⁵² Thus in 1677 in return for help in crushing the revolt led by Truna Jaya of Madura the newly-crowned Mangkurat II ceded to the company the area between Central Java and Batavia known as the Priangan. This was formally recognized only after a subsequent secession dispute which ended in 1705. In the 1740's further territorial concessions were made to the Dutch. For assistance in crushing rebels and pretenders following the so-called "Chinese War" the entire north coast between Losari in West Java and Pasuruan in East Java passed under company control. Yet by far the most important change in the political situation was ushered in by the treaty of Giyanti in 1755. Through the terms of the treaty Mataram was divided into

two principalities, one under a sultan at Yogyakarta and the other under a Susuhunan at Surakarta.⁵³ Their territories extended from Banyumas on the west, which bordered the Cirebon-Priangan lands visited by Stützer, to Kediri in the east. And finally only a few years before Stützer's visit, the "east hook" comprising the territory of Balambangan on the island's eastern-most tip was ceded to the Dutch East India Company.

Priangan

Last and certainly not least is the region located between Batavia on the west and the lands of Yogyakarta and Surakarta on the east. Colloquially if inaccurately dubbed the "Priangan", by the end of the eighteenth century the region consisted of a number of local units or "regencies". What can be considered the "Batavian Priangan" consisted of those regions bordering Batavia which early in the company's history were directly administered by Dutch officials. Krawang, Tanjung Pura, and Cianjur, originally founded by colonists from Central Java,⁵⁴ provide notable examples. This section of the Priangan was exploited directly by vested economic interests at Batavia. In last decades of the century its lands were even sold off to private persons who in turn utilized them for commercial agriculture, such as sugar and coffee, for building up landed estates, creating country homes, etc.

In contrast stood the Cirebon Priangan. As the name implies the region was governed from the north coastal principality of Cirebon, itself under the *de facto* control of a Dutch Resident residing at the company fortress. Exploitation of the Cirebon-Priangan came about at a later date, beginning only after the assumption of company control in the 1680's. The region was further divided into a number of regencies, each under a regent but all subordinate to the Resident at Cirebon who was under the orders of the Governor General-in-council at Batavia. In principle, the regencies consisted of Cirebon proper, Gabang to east, followed by Utama, Sukapura which extended to the south coast, Limbangan, all east of the Cimanuk river, and Bandung, Parakan Muncang, and Sumedang on the west bank. The latter three had been transferred to direct administration of Batavia in the 1730's, hence Stützer's comments that this is "Batavian territory" in his *Journal*.

Despite its poverty, the Priangan was quite peaceful. Stützer himself travelled freely throughout the region with a relatively small retinue, at times amounting to only his immediate helpers as on his mission to Sukapura in early 1787.⁵⁵ Travelling on Dutch East India Company business, he was shown every courtesy by local officials. This included the almost obligatory reception by dancers and singers at every village where he was to spend the night. The other noticeable aspect of the region's administration was the very high profile shown by a small number of European supervisors, such as von

Fiedler, Schwegler, etc. These were charged with supervision of local agriculture in order to see to it that the right quantity and quality of trade goods were available for purchase at fixed prices. At this time the emphasis was on coffee. Stützer also mentions indigo and cotton production. All three constituted important staples in the merchandise acquired by the company for shipment and sale in Europe. Outside this system stood the relative free crop of sugar. As attested to by Stützer, here Chinese entrepreneurship often worked hand in glove with European political connections to the benefit of both.⁵⁶

Stützer in Java

As mentioned earlier, through his Uppsala contacts Stützer obtained a position as a medical doctor in the Dutch East India Company. In 1785 he was appointed *oppermeester* with some thirty-six guilders in salary. He sailed for Batavia on the *d'Ijstroom* in June of that year. The captain was Dirk Room. Stützer was not the only Swede on board. According to Arne, there were at least another fifteen Swedes from Stockholm, Carlshamn, Carlsrona, Åbo, Gothenburg, and Malmö. Among these we know only the names of Lt. Jan Dirk Wijk, Second Lt. Peter Gustav Silverberg, and ships carpenter Peter Segering.⁵⁷

Stützer's first letter from Batavia of 4 May 1786 provides a few details on the voyage. Leaving Texel on 13 June 1785 with a crew of three hundred twenty-one men they landed at the Cape on 29 October, en route having had only three days of storm and loosing only nine of the crew. They remained at the Cape for three weeks where Stützer found accommodation with Christian Ludolph Neethling (1717–1790), secretary of the Court of Justice and an old acquaintance of Thunberg. The voyage to Batavia was more severe, characterized by the usual cases of fever and dysentery, including Stützer himself. It took another twenty souls with almost a hundred in sick-bay. They finally arrived in Batavia at 4 p.m. on 21 February 1786. Two days later Stützer could disembark at Batavia.⁵⁸

Batavia was a bitter disappointment for Stützer. In a very passionate letter to Thunberg he complained that he was unable to work as a medical doctor because his letters of recommendation described him as a mere surgeon. Moreover, he had no diploma to show as it was going to be conferred *in absentia*, although he does not specify by whom.⁵⁹ The dissertation which he had submitted did not convince Dutch authorities of his medical *bona fide*. He went so far as to complain that Thunberg himself had contributed to the misery by failing to write a proper recommendation. Even the promising contacts he had made in Amsterdam were of little use. All this was, in

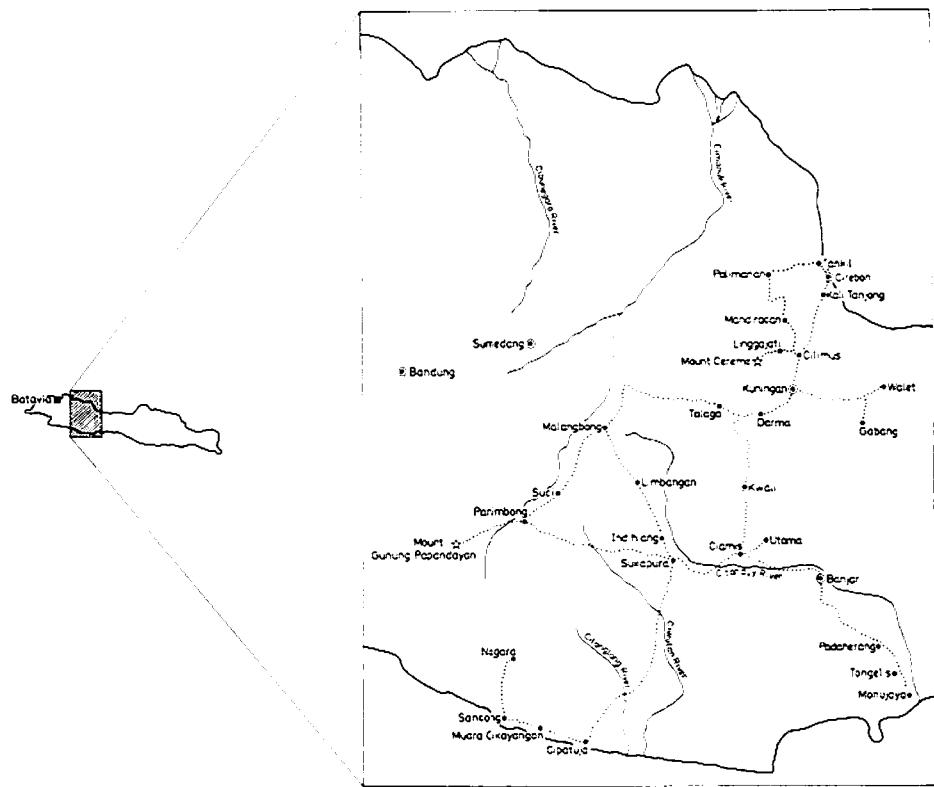
Stützer's own view, a direct contrast to the fine position enjoyed by Hornstedt a few years earlier. Stützer had furthermore helped Hornstedt in Amsterdam, for example, by introducing him to Burman before his own departure to Java. Stützer felt that he should receive something in return. In any event, Stützer vowed to show what he could do, even if he had to rely on himself alone. If only he had the means, he complained, he could show Sweden that he "was not unworthy of being a Swede and a disciple of Thunberg". Stützer felt unjustly persecuted if the old debt in Berlin lay behind Thunberg's parsimony, especially as his father had long since repaid the two-hundred thirty *plåtar*. The debt was not the result of money "dissolutely squandered, but had for the kindness of my heart been cheated by others."

Fortunately, not all was black. Stützer had managed to make helpful friends in Batavia. On 7 March he was able to move into rooms at the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences under the patronage of Director Moens. He had also become acquainted with Major van Ardenne and Jan Hooyman, Lutheran minister and a scientist of his own right. The latter had, in fact, arranged for Stützer to travel in the hinterland by virtue of a commission from Governor General Willem Arnold Alting. Aware of the general tone of the letter, he ended by mentioning a Spanish botanist Fernando Noroñha (d. 1805) who had recently returned from the Philippines with plants.⁶⁰ Fernando Noroñha had promised to provide Stützer with "objects and rarities" which the latter intended to pass along to Thunberg.⁶¹

Manuscript

The manuscript of Stützer's "Journal von die Reise nach Cheribon und den da umliegende Gegenden" is currently held by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Royal Institute of Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology) in the Hague as ms 277.⁶² Written in German with a moderate amount of changes and several missing pages, the manuscript consists of some sixty folios. The *Journal* covers Stützer's journey from the time he left Batavia on 21 June 1786 for Cirebon by *De Schelde* until 15 January 1787 where the manuscript breaks off in the midst of the narrative of his third trip to the Priangan region. This trip was to investigate earth-slides in the Regency of Sukapura at behest of the Cirebon Resident Willem van der Beke.⁶³ Appended to the manuscript at the end is an "Insatze" describing the three types of rice-growing systems, as well as coffee cultivation in West Java at the close of the eighteenth century. According to a note in the margin, the *Journal* was completed at the house of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences where he was staying at 11 p.m. on the eve of his departure to Japan in June 1787.

How the manuscript came to be transported from Batavia to the Nether-



Stützer's itinerary 1786-87. Map by Margaretha Eriksson.

lands is far from clear. In a second annotation Stützer pleaded that "whoever reads this and if my worthy old father still lives would he have the kindness to see to it that via the offices of Council Balguerie⁶⁴ it or a copy is sent on to him in Stockholm". The request does not seem to have been fulfilled.

Only a century later does more concrete information become available. A report from the meeting of the Board of the Royal Institute of 1890 notes that via L. Serrurier, Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Leiden, the manuscript was offered to the Institute. The Board assumed that it had come from Thunberg as the writer had been in Japan. After considerable investigation, a Board meeting in March 1891 reported that the journal was written by "a certain Stützer, who in 1787 seems to have been commissioned to make a scientific expedition to Cirebon and environs". Despite investigations in the Dutch National Archives it proved impossible to establish more precisely the author's identity. "The manuscript itself contains in general not unimportant

data, especially in the area of natural history." After consideration it was decided to purchase it for twenty-five guilders.⁶⁵

Travelogue

Close reading of the *Journal* shows that the Board of the Royal Institute was only partially correct. Stützer, in fact, made three trips from Cirebon to the Priangan highlands. Only the final one in early 1787 ordered by Resident van der Beke to investigate a major landslide in the Regency of Sukapura was a commission in the literal sense. Unfortunately the manuscript is incomplete here. It ends in the middle of a description of the landslide, including an estimate of its causes and consequences. Stützer's second trip, at the end of November 1786, in order to accompany Hartsing, the new Resident at Pekalongan, to good hunting grounds is of minor importance.

Thus we must turn to his first and longest trip to the Priangan between 22 June and 22 November. Its very length separates it from the majority of travellers both among Linnaeus' disciples and Dutch officials. Although a Linnaean by education, Stützer does not provide the expected descriptions of animals and plants collected. Most likely these were to be done later on basis of actual specimens collected. Hence it is often difficult to determine the species mentioned. In general Stützer seems to have been less interested in natural history than in socioeconomic matters.

From Batavia to Cirebon

20 June 1786. Stützer unexpectedly received the news that he was to report to the *De Schelde* bound for Cirebon. Hurriedly packing his effects, he visited Captain Harmsen, sailing for *kamer* Zeeland who was to return presently to Japan. Stützer was informed that he had to leave Batavia the following day.

21 June. The next morning Stützer arranged for the storage of his belongings and went on board in the afternoon. About 8 p.m. the captain arrived together with a Mr Sissing, the chief-doctor. Officers included Captain Harmsen, Norwegian from Fredrikshall, Lieutenant-Captain Aimar Dirks (d. 1787), Dane from Copenhagen, Lieutenant Feisse, Dutchman from Amsterdam, vice-lieutenant Smith and midshipman Evra, both from Middleburg, in addition to Sissing and Stützer.

22 June. *De Schelde* departed at 4 a.m. They sailed only by day, casting anchor as soon as it was dark. The crew consisted of thirty-two Europeans and twenty-five each Chinese and Javanese. A balance was always maintained between the latter because of the animosity between the two.

1 July. Nearing Cirebon they ran aground. It took three days to re-float the

ship, reaching Cirebon about 4 p.m. The next morning Stützer was ordered ashore where he was met by a Mr Paschen who took him to Tankil, Resident Willem van der Beke's county house north of the town. There he first met the Resident, his predecessor van Heemskerk, *pakhuismeester* van Leeuwendaal, and others. Most of them spoke only Dutch or French.

8 July. Stützer witnessed the instalment celebrations of the new *Kapitan Cina* Tan Cu Kong,⁶⁶ complete with processions, musicians, and fireworks. Stützer describes a Chinese puppet play which lasted for three hours. Every part had its special meaning, each showing something of Chinese arts and sciences. On such an occasion one is exposed to all kinds of musical instruments, according to Stützer, not at all un-agreeable to a European ear. European music was also performed and twice the musicians paraded to the Resident's house and thereafter around the town. After this the new *Kapitan Cina* was accompanied back along the way he had arrived. Stützer describes him as a very polite man about thirty years of age. Other Chinese officials presented themselves as deputies of the sultan.

Here follows a short description of Cirebon, a small town with a fortress in the middle. Though small in size, the fortress served its purpose of keeping Javanese and Chinese in check. In the middle of Cirebon ran an alley where most of the inhabitants lived. Along the road to Tankil was a grave wherein the constructor was buried on his own request.

When they came back from the festivities a dinner was served. Stützer had a bad toothache, which he tried to cure with French brandy. This, however, did not work. Instead he used *oleum caryophylli*⁶⁷ generously poured over a piece of cotton which quickly killed the pain.

13 July. Stützer listed in his *Journal* the people he had written from Cirebon, including Major van Ardenne, Hooymann, Gebhard, Sperling, Schiffel, Nite, Fischerström, and Riemsdijk.

20 July. In the early morning Stützer went on an excursion to the *Nieuw Tuijn* (New Garden) together with Captain Cumbin. They also paid a visit to Captain Harmsen who was ill with dysentery.

22 July. Stützer, accompanied by Cumbin and Resident van den Beke, paid a visit to Kali Tanjung where the latter had an estate. It was a very well laid-out garden with herbs and spices planted close to the river. Further in the estate was situated the farm, or "Bouwereij", as the Resident called it. In addition to many fields, there were also cattle, cows, and even deer. The deer were kept enclosed in a garden where they were fed. Stützer admired white-dotted brown-coloured pelts.⁶⁸

Much grain was grown on the estate, as well as sugar-cane. The Resident had assured Stützer that to produce sugar-cane one just takes a piece of the cane and sticks it in the earth. Shortly thereafter several new plants begin to grow. He also told Stützer that the so-called *jati* tree (teak) produced the most

timber. Its trunk grew so thick that it produced a hundred cubic feet of timber.

They returned to Tankil. Nowhere had Stützer seen so much money spent for a household as here. The Resident always had a purse with plenty of silver coins in it and this was often not enough. According to his own estimate, he spent more than thirty thousand *rijksdaalder* yearly, his income being some sixty-five thousand. The Resident did not elaborate upon what happened to the remainder. This was necessary because scarcely a day passed without his having to give somebody a gift.

In the afternoon the old man went together with his family to the New Garden. Stützer together with van Heemskerk took a walk through a small *negerij*, as the local villages were called.

29 July. Before visiting the town and the town hospital, Stützer set out with Captain Cumbin by barge, the latter being the small transport ships in the region. The largest one belonged the Resident, the other to van Leeuwendael. They continued on a boat belonging to Hartman, merchant and administrator at Batavia. This was a small craft with three masts and a considerable cabin. Stützer and Cumbin returned by horseback.

In the afternoon they visited the hospital. This consisted of three rooms with Paschen as the *oppermeester* (surgeon) and a Mr Schubert as *ondermeester* (under-surgeon). At the time of the visit there were only five patients in the hospital. Among them was the Norwegian-born Captain Harmsen who was not at all well. In his delirium he took "winged steps to meet the Great Giant called Eternity".

As a result of Harmsen's unexpected death Cumbin had to take over as captain of *De Schelde*. He was thus unable to accompany Stützer to Raja Wacana. Stützer's effects were put in order. The Resident supplied Stützer with all the necessary provisions, including red and white wine, a servant, a stable-boy, and a coat.

30 July. At half past twelve in the night Stützer set out on horse-back for the expedition to the Priangan. He rode first via Kali Tanjong to Raja Wacana where he met Claes von Fiedler, born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, as well as an European farmer named Schwegler. Accompanied by some forty servants of the old Sultan Anom and the young Sultan Sepuh,⁶⁹ they proceeded to the first post station Cilimus where they were welcomed with rustic music,⁷⁰ dancers, and food. The *Journal* here includes a short description of greetings and dress. From Cilimus he preceded to Manis, the next post station. From there one has a beautiful view of Mount Cereme. Stützer was received hospitably by the Sultan at his "palace."

31 July. Stützer arrived at the Resident's estate Gunung Kling nestled in the mountains. As in most places they were welcomed by music and dancing. The plantation was as large as the one at Tankil. Grain (rice) was abundant, as were

vegetables. Coffee was also grown. Stützer gathered some plants in the area. Orders had apparently been given in advance to supply Stützer with specimens of birds and animals.

The Javanese chiefs of the retinue provided by Sultan Sepuh included *Ingabehi* Karta Siana, *demang* (headman) of Cigugur, *Ingabehi* Seji Wewalla and Argis Mira, Wangsa Prana, and chiefs from Cilebe, namely Maidin, Sale, Arsa, Krama Laksana. Those provided by Sultan Anom included *Ingabehi* Arsa Muka, accompanied by three lower chiefs, Seca Kria, Seca Taruna, and Marta Laksana.

In the afternoon Stützer and his companions gathered in front of the house in order to visit the bamboo palace of the old Sultan Anom. The "palace" which Stützer compares with a farm house in Mecklenburg, was called *yalaxana*.⁷¹

The garden, however, was pleasant, being laid out without design. Through it flowed a small canal in which carp were farmed. These were fed with pressed *kacang*, a kind of bean much like peas but not half so hairy.⁷² Stützer also met the *demang* of Cikaso, Niti Mauan. Several kinds of flowers were gathered which were later given to Stützer. He was also promised seeds. The Javanese were very helpful in trying to anticipate Stützer's requests. He returned to Raja Wacana by moonlight. There he was met by an assembly of Javanese female dancers who entertained him the whole night. Stützer also mentions a thick tree called *cajupollet*.⁷³

1 August. Stützer visited hot springs in Cikaso territory. The springs were situated in the middle of some paddy fields. A bamboo house had been built over the springs. The water was little more than lukewarm and tasted saline and sulphurous. A small stream of cold water passed by just outside.

Time did not allow Stützer to tarry because he wanted to pay a visit to the neighboring "palace" of the old Sultan Anom. The road there was bad but Stützer was compensated by being welcomed on his arrival with dances and songs. Surrounding the palace there was a bamboo wall (*pagar*). The entrance looked like a prison gate.

In the afternoon the sultan sent several birds to Stützer, including turtle doves and some other species.⁷⁴ Stützer also received a box of live scorpions. An owl was shot by Fiedler's hunter.

2 August. About 6 o'clock in the morning Stützer returned to the hot springs. This time he mixed the hot water with some cold and stayed in the bath for ten minutes.

He described the coffee tree and its white blossoms which were particularly strong-scented in the mornings. From the *demang* of Cikaso he received a small squirrel,⁷⁵ a porcupine,⁷⁶ and a civet cat,⁷⁷ all of which were to be stuffed.

3 August. Stützer visited more "palaces" in the area of Cigugur belonging

to Sultan Sepuh. Subsequently, he rode to Kuningan where a palace of Sultan Anom was located. There he met *Demang* Warga Sujatama and *Tumenggung* Warga Subratta. Stützer was welcomed by the "high-priest" Sari Mahomet Tahir Sidun followed by the *parulo* (?), or second priest, Ranga Jaga Diga, and *Ingabehi* Kadang Ati. "Nowhere have I been welcomed with such status", wrote Stützer. After a splendid meal Stützer returned to Raja Wacana.

5 August. Early in the morning they started off on an excursion to Mount Cereme. This was one of Stützer's most spectacular experiences. He climbed to the edge of the crater while his Javanese companion held him by the feet as if he were afraid that Stützer would fall into the abyss or be carried away by some devil. In order to avoid this a priest had gone with them from Linggajati who before leaving wanted to say his prayers, or *slamat*. Evening was approaching and the light fading as they prepared themselves for the descent. Stützer noted the contents of a placard left in memory of the kindness shown by Resident van der Beke to Stützer during his stay.

In order to perpetuate the eternal memory of
the noble knight Willem van der Beke
Resident of the Republic in Cirebon
which we have living memory and gratitude
J.A. Stützer, Medical Doctor from Stockholm, Sweden
C. Fiedler, now inspector in Raja Wacana
C.J. Schwegler, W.S.R.
5 August 1786

Hereafter, Stützer described the preparation of arrack from sugar palm juice. The juice of the sugar palm or *sachaweer*⁷⁸ is boiled until it thickens. Thereafter it is left to cool by pouring into a bamboo tube.

Journey to Galu: The First Encounters with Rhinoceros

12 August. Stützer rode with Fiedler and Schwegler accompanied by some fifty mounted men to Darma. There they were received by the *demang* and his subordinates. They left behind forty live birds, three tiger cats,⁷⁹ and three small monkeys. Coming down from the mountains they saw paddy fields along the road. Just outside Darma some of the chiefs, accompanied by local music, had turned out to welcome Stützer. A guest house had been prepared and everything was quite satisfactory. The villagers, first from among the Javanese and later from the Chinese living there, came with a flood of dishes. There was plenty of music and Stützer was entertained by the dancing of the "black daughters of Eve" who received a ducat-worth of *pice*.⁸⁰ Stützer explained to the villagers the types of animals he wanted collected. They had already brought in some birds, mostly turtle doves, and a few small monkeys. He was

also shown a black monkey which, however, had died.⁸¹ It could not survive in the cage but had wept and starved to death.

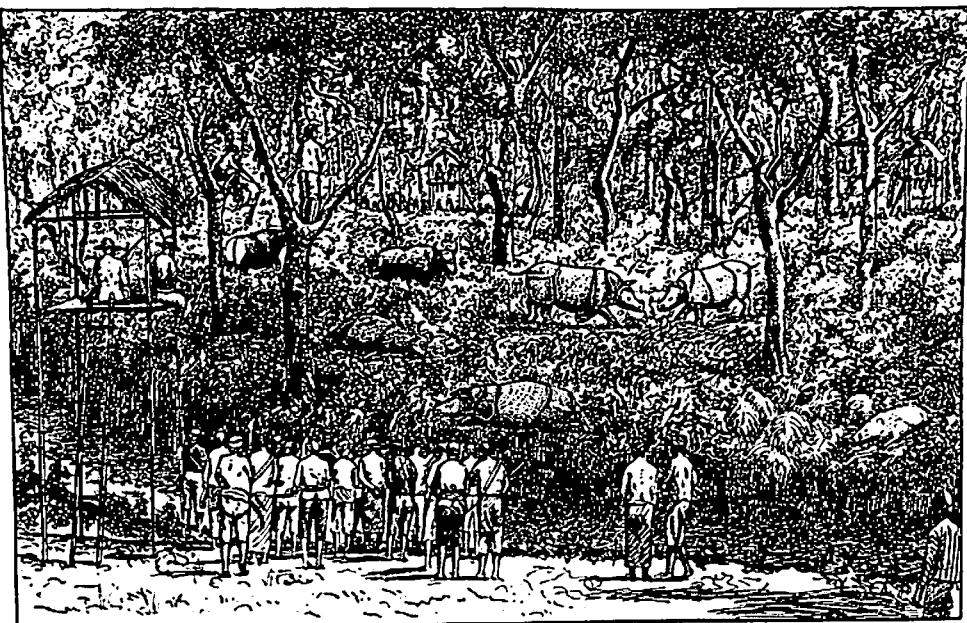
13 August. Early in the morning they set off to Kwali via Cilolokan. Here Stützer mentions the indigo plant.⁸² The retinue from Kwali to Ciamis consisted of some eighty persons, including the three Regents. Near Kwali the road divided, one going to Imbanagara, the other to Utama. On arrival at Ciamis the company was welcomed by the Regent of Ciamis, Tumenggung Yang Patih; the Regent of Imbanagara, Patih Natadikusuma; and the Regent of Utama, Tumenggung Wira Mandri. Stützer related that these rulers are almost entirely bound under the power of the Dutch East India Company. They could even be punished on orders of its agents, e.g. the sultans of Cirebon. They were furthermore, forced to deliver set quantities of coffee, indigo, and cotton yarn at fixed prices for which they receive half at the time of contract and half when the full allotment was delivered. They were all listed in a "black register", i.e. list of debtors, and are in practice never freed of their debts to the company. On the contrary, they are trapped into signing further contracts. They live on the verge of poverty, having no more than their meals and the cloths on their back. Even if they do manage to obtain any cash they spend it upon inessentials.

14 August. Stützer received some birds and a small *stenbok*⁸³ from the *patih*. In the afternoon Stützer was accompanied by Fiedler and Himler to the old *patih* of Ciamis. The old man bid them a warm welcome in the forecourt and followed Stützer into his house through a large garden. In a garden pavilion the guests were honoured by a table with all the best dishes. Most of them were prepared of *confiture* "which only a Javanese stomach could stand". After they were seated the ruler's wives entered. His single legal wife took a chair while the two concubines sat on the floor.

Stützer and his retinue did not eat anything but drank tea and wine, red and white, which they had brought themselves and which they offered the *patih* and his wives. According to his own account, the *patih* had seven children, one of which, a seven-year-old son, danced for the guests. The *patih* gave Stützer two bamboo pipes.

15 August. Tumenggung Yang Patih's residence on the border was visited the following day. There they were met by a mounted troop. Stützer was invited to a pavilion in the garden. The *tumenggung* told them he had twenty-five children of which eleven were still living. He also mentioned that only legitimate sons could be accepted as heirs. Himler departed with the *tumenggung* to inspect the production of indigo and cotton yarn.

In every province, or Regency, a special house was prepared for the Cirebon Resident in case he came on an inspection tour. These were quite modest, containing only a guest bed and cotton wall hangings. It happened very seldom that a Resident came as far as Ciamis. If he should, he could not possibly get a better reception than that received by Stützer.



A rhinoceros hunt 1829 in Pekolangan, Java. Three rhinoceros, eight bantengs, and several wild hogs were driven together in order to be shot by hunters sitting on platforms. (From H.J.V. Sody in Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde 1959).

After Himler had finished his business with the *tumenggung* they returned to Ciamis accompanied by the young *patih* who stayed to dinner. Stützer received some birds as a gift which, together with the meal had been sent to their hostel. In the afternoon they rode to Utama under Tumenggung Wira Mandri. There they were received similarly.

16 August. More birds were brought to Stützer. Some green pigeons⁸⁴ were shot which were very beautiful and had good meat. He also received some snakes for preservation in arrack. News was brought of rhinoceros tracks in the area.

18 August. By 6 o'clock in the morning the *patih* had gathered at the hostel in order to accompany Stützer on a rhinoceros hunt.⁸⁵ The animal had been located hiding in a field covered with high grass about a quarter of an hour from the center of Utama. Stützer was supposed to observe the hunt from a stakeout. About four hundred men formed what the Dutch called *pagar* or *picket*, led by the old *patih* of Ciamis. Dances began and loud musical instruments were sounded. The drive came very near several times. Due to poor shooting two rhinoceros escaped, one injuring two of the beaters.

Later a rhinoceros was shot by Himler. The shot hit the animal which

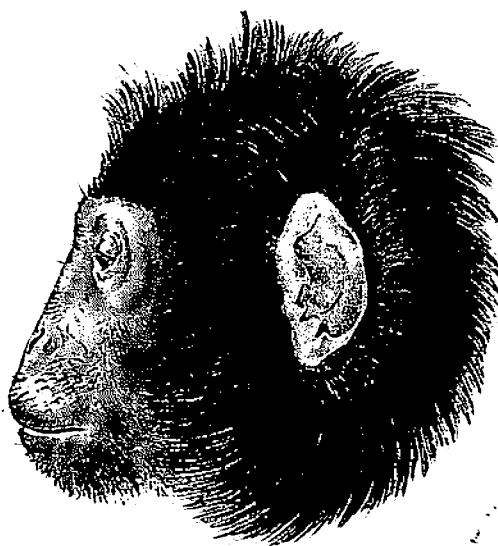
screamed loudly and fled into the field where it attacked an old man, seriously injuring his left arm. The rhinoceros was bleeding freely, its jaws spraying blood like two fountains. Maddened by pain, it ran around for a while. The Javanese were very much afraid and opened-up the picket which had been made to enclose the animal. Had it not been for the mortal wounds it would have escaped. Later Stützer and his company were informed that the rhinoceros was dead.

The next day they received further particulars on the rhinoceros hunt. After the hunting party had left, the beaters fired the grass in order to drive the rhinoceros from its hiding place. When shot it screamed loudly and fell down. It was shot again which caused the animal to jump up again only to collapse almost instantly. The beaters rushed in and chopped through its knee joint, whereafter it died of its wounds. It was to be transported to Ciamis by being tied in a *kerbau* (water buffalo) hide. A hundred Javanese drew the dead rhinoceros all the way down to Ciamis in the heat of the afternoon.

The rhinoceros was female, grey-black in colour. Its head was small in proportion to the large body. Stützer commented that the horns of the male were high and thick while those of the female were very small, referring to Buffon for further details.⁸⁶ The rhinoceros was skinned, revealing a thick hide. They cut the head off. Since he did not want a foul odour around the settlement, Stützer ordered the carcass to be dragged into the fields to be buried. Before that he cut open the stomach because the animal was very thick and a Javanese had told him that it might have a young one inside. When the stomach was opened up the intestines spilled out, along with the uterus which contained its treasure. Stützer's happiness was beyond measure: a complete male foetus. He cut off the umbilical cord. The foetus was about the size of a small calf but thicker and stronger. It was still quite warm and had it been taken out the day before it should certainly have still been alive. Stützer put it into a bottle filled with arrack. The mother's heart was too large to be preserved. The carcass of the rhinoceros was buried in order to allow the flesh to rot away. Afterwards the bones would be dug up and assembled.

20 August. Stützer received some snakes, turtle doves, and porcupines. The *patih* of Imbanagara arrived early in the morning with gifts of a young horse, ten pieces of woven cloth, ten mats, and ten roosters. Stützer also received several *kris*⁸⁷ from the *patih*. He wrote some letters, among others reporting the results of the rhinoceros hunt to his benefactor, Resident van der Beke. The following morning the ruler of Ciamis brought him a nice horse, the best of Stützer's four, as well as lengths of cloth and mats.

22 August. The next two days Stützer received birds, monkeys, and snakes, this time from the ruler of Utama, as well as another horse, ten lengths of cloth, and twenty mats. He had several of the birds stuffed. The snakes were put in spiritus and the plants he had collected were likewise prepared.



A head of a lutong or black leaf-monkey. Litograph by Herman Schlegel. (From Verhandelingen over de natuurlijke geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeesche bezittingen, Leiden 1839-1844).

Trip to the South Coast

24 August. At 8 o'clock in the morning Stützer and Himler set off on the road to the south coast. They journied through Utama accompanied by Raden Warkadira from the second family of Ciamis. The first post station was Banjar but before they arrived there they had crossed two branches of the Citanduy River by *prauw* at Gunar. The next station was Tangler followed by Quarsing where they arrived about 3 p.m.

They decided to rest here until the following morning. The cook arrived at about 5 p.m. and began preparing their meal. Stützer received several birds and a black monkey, called *lutong*⁸⁸ by the Javanese. He also obtained a *kris* and indigo dye.

25 August. The next day Stützer received a letter from the secretary in the office at Cirebon, a Mr van Waard, informing him that two bottles of arrack had been sent him on orders of the Resident. The letter included a message from Hooyman in Batavia answering Stützer's letter from Tankil.

They rode first to Padaherang. The *ingabehi* there had only eight people in his service. Stützer and company continued with new horses to Tongelis where they collected several birds and monkeys. Again he was presented with gifts such as indigo dye, seeds, and a *kris*.

They crossed the river above Cipulo. There they received some birds, a monkey, and two tortoises. After eating they sailed down the river in *prauws*. A crocodile or caiman (*buaya*) had been caught on the outskirts of Tongelis.⁸⁹ According to the locals, one should never dangle one's hand in the water because of the danger of having it seized by a crocodile, often taking the owner with it. The *prauw* in which they travelled was the largest of a convoy of thirty, all covered. They all arrived safely at Cipulo just before noon, continuing to the isle of Monujaya where they arrived about 5 p.m. On the way they passed a pearl bank that had earlier supplied pearls for the company. This was no longer the case because pirates had destroyed it and the surrounding villages. At Monujaya they saw a natural rock formation called "Frufliet Sela" or "Jacob's Church". Monujaya was surrounded by high cliffs.

Going ashore they could see the wooden steps leading down to a mine. Two entrances had been carved into the living rock, both quite steep but passable. This led between boulders too big to transport. The interior filled them with awe; everything glittered with crystallized sulphur. An inner room was at least two hundred *ells* long and through it they could see the end of the mine, a walk of about five minutes. This formed a high vault some five *ells* in height. Hanging down from the ceiling was a forest of stalactites, each different from the other and all sparkling with crystallized nitrate. According to Stützer, it looked as if they would fall down at any moment.

To the right of the mine lay a large stone which was quite white with crystallization. Here one could hear the roaring of the southern sea. It had broken through the other side of the mountain and was smashing against the cliffs with an un-describable force. One could also proceed to the left. Cut into the mine were two galleries. Here was a large kettle-shaped block with three flat openings. According to the Javanese "priests", it had been a holy kettle and the "lost tribes of Israel" had come here to worship. Whatever the case, one could not stand there without being moved to admiration. It was also obvious that this was not the work of any mortal building contractor but that of the Almighty.

On the right-hand corner about ten steps from the entrance was a grave. It was situated a little more than half a hand above the floor of the mine, surrounded by stones, and about twelve feet in length. Here, they say, Jacob was buried. One may believe about this what one will. But according to Stützer, if he had been buried here, then he would have been buried extraordinarily beautifully. It was a mausoleum possessing a dignity surpassable by that of few European princes.

Not too far from there was a rocky outcrop called "Lima Sikit Sela" or "Slipkit Sela". After visiting it the party continued to the village of Monujaya while it was still daylight. They traveled by dug-outs made from a single tree sharpened in bow and stern which moved quickly on the rivers. In Stützer's

there were twelve persons making the trip to Monujaya. They saw a crocodile sunning himself on the bank. As soon as the crocodile saw them it waddled into the water and swam toward the boat. Himler had a musket with him, as well as a pistol. Stützer and the others had only pistols. They all fired. Someone must have hit the crocodile because it sprayed water and dived into the depths of the river. Every year a number of humans were caught by the monsters. The Javanese did not bother about it and went into such waters without fear. It was nearly 5 p.m. when they arrived at the village where they had tea.

26 August. Stützer's party departed on an excursion to the surrounding cliffs quite early. At noon they left their boats at Banjar. The peak they visited was called Solok Bogong and was known for its birds nests.⁹⁰ To the east was Si Bandan. From the Monujaya peak one could see the land of Solo (Surakarta) and Jokja (Yogyakarta) which was under the Sultan. They spent the night in Banjar where they witnessed by torch-light the river full of crocodiles.

27 August. At 6 o'clock the next morning Stützer and Himler were carried by *tandu*⁹¹ to a high point named Smott also known for its birds nests. They arrived at the top about seven-thirty, the way being too steep for horses. Afterwards they hurried down in order to continue by *prauw* to Pamotan, arriving about 4 p.m.

Nearby is an area called Panajong, topped by a height called Rarang Bandan which produces birds nests. Another height to the south called Nankarang was also a producer of bird nests. Here Stützer received some birds, monkeys, and turtles. From there they went down a tributary to Tongelis, subsequently sailing up-river by night to where the horses awaited them.

28 August. The party visited some hot springs called Panjoloan near the Ciwulan River.

10 September. The party rode back to Ciamis. The birds they had gathered were stuffed by Stützer's *kaffer*.⁹² In the afternoon Stützer received more birds and monkeys, as well as snakes, some of which were put into arrack. That evening the Regent dined with Stützer. He related that they had shot a female rhinoceros in a place not far from here called Bumi Rongsok. It had a calf which, however, had run away but they were now looking for it. Because of the mountainous terrain rhinoceros could not be hunted by beaters. Three to four persons went in groups by different paths, about a hundred or more all told. They had to avoid approaching up-wind since the rhinoceros could smell them. When they came into shooting distance they fired at it and retreated as quickly as possible. If they missed, their fate was sealed.

A Second Trip to the South Coast: The Capture of a Young Rhinoceros

11 September. Early in the morning Stützer went to the place where the rhinoceros had been killed in order to arrange for the hide. Thereafter he set off on his second trip to the south coast accompanied by Gerlach, the Regent, and two *raden* from Sukapura. The first stay overnight was at Sindang Hijla.

12 September. Small rivers could usually be crossed on horseback. But now they had become small lakes. The horses had to swim across themselves and their riders were transported by bamboo rafts. The river in question was a branch of the Cilanglang. There were, however, many crocodiles and it was said that people were often caught by them. The *patih* had, therefore, summoned a crocodile-shaman to ensure a safe crossing.

The Javanese regard the crocodile as a holy animal and sacrifice to it. When a crocodile took a human being, it was explained away by saying that such a crocodile was bad because a good one would not behave that way. As soon as there is a shaman present one need not be afraid of being eaten by crocodiles, Stützer noted.

Stützer, Gerlach, Raden Patih, and Raden Yuda Nagara continued down the Cipatuja river in two *prauws*. The river was the home of many caimans or crocodiles. The party finally came to a place called Cipangeran where they turned back. They had come as far as Sukapura territory which was full of rhinoceros and tigers. There they even witnessed a tiger hunt using as a stake-out a wild pig.⁹³

13 September. Early in the morning Stützer left with his companions by dug-out canoe. Two canoes had been lashed together and thereon sat a bamboo roof. The floor was covered with mats on which they made themselves comfortable for the trip down the Cipatuja. Their goal was the place where iron ore was mined. Continuing down the river via Dora Wati, they finally came to the mouth of the Cipatuja.

Towards noon they rested. Here in this district were many rhinoceros tracks. The beasts are abundant in the province and often leave tracks on the river banks where they come to drink the salty waters to which they are attracted.

Stützer stressed that all of the shamans mentioned earlier are also priests. There are even those who can conjure up tigers.⁹⁴ Gerlach recalled his experiences while stationed at Gabang. In that Regency were many tigers, so many that one always made sure that one's cattle were safely enclosed by 6 p.m. because of these unwelcome guests. Here also lived a Javanese priest who, although he no longer performed in a temple, was said to be capable of casing a spell on tigers. Gerlach himself was once out hunting in the bush and saw a peacock sitting in a tree. He shot it but hardly the shot had fallen when a tiger sprang up with a terrible roar. It had been sleeping under the tree and had

been startled by the shot. The Javanese priest who was close at hand came immediately and the tiger went away peaceably.

Stützer gives us another story. One morning when Gerlach was returning from some business he had to cross a high pass. At the top he saw a tiger sitting on the road waiting for him, his eyes glowing with ravenous hunger. Terrified he asked the man behind him if he saw the tiger. The man answered him coldly, "Don't be afraid it will do nothing." Sure enough, a few moments later the tiger disappeared growling into the bush and the Javanese laughed at his fears. They rode on. About a hundred paces from home they saw another tiger who was playing with a wild boar like a cat with a mouse. So intense was it on the game that they were able to come within a dozen or so paces of the tiger without disturbing it. This continued for more than five minutes. At last the tiger dragged its prey into the bush. Gerlach assured Stützer that this was a true story.

The beard of the tiger is particularly poisonous. It is dried and pulverized for use. Whether this was true or not Stützer cannot say. As attested to by truthful persons, there are some villages which tigers visit every day to get a piece of flesh and, hence, do not harm the villagers.

14 September. Before dawn Stützer rode away with his companions in order to continue along the south coast. Riding along the beach, they observed waves rising as high as mountains. It was a nice ride along the shore and they all went in full gallop. About 7:30 a.m. they arrived at a small village, Muara Cikayangan, where they had breakfast. Stützer and Gerlach went to have a look at the river and the surroundings. High mountains continued out to sea so that one could not follow the shore. Since the last time Gerlach was here, some six months previously, rocks had fallen down and covered the entrance to a small cave under the mountain. Breakers crashed against the shore in great force. The whole mountain was overgrown with bushes and a few years ago two rhinoceros had fallen from the top. They say that a male had followed a female here. Due to the bush neither could see the edge of the abyss so they both perished.

When Stützer and his companion returned to the village they continued along terrible roads over high mountains and down again through rivers full of mud, finally coming to Sancong about 11 o'clock. No one was living there so they stayed in a *pondok*, or hut. Shortly after their arrival the sea rose even higher and they went inland better to see the unfolding panorama. At Sancong they saw many sea turtles which the Regent killed with his *golok*, or machete used for hunting. To capture the turtles one had but to turn them over and they loose their power of movement. The hunters then put a pole around their neck and drew them up the beach. Within half an hour Stützer received seven turtles which he dissected, saving only the shell.⁹⁵

At low tide Stützer went with Gerlach and the others into the sea to look for

sea-shells and corals. Of the former there was not much to be found but of the latter there were a considerable number of nice pieces.

In the water there was a kind of animal which was equipped with thorns on all sides. Above in the middle there was a blow hole with a little white dot in the middle. By the Dutch it was called "sea-devil" (*zeeduivel*).⁹⁶ It was quite black. The Javanese were very afraid of it and warned Stützer who was, however, stung by one which was quite painful. The *patih* tried to take out the thorn with Stützer's knife but to no avail. The more Stützer moved his finger the deeper the thorn went. Another Javanese quickly took the knife and beat with the side of the blade on the injured finger, all the while mumbling some phrases under his breath. A little blood came out but both pain and thorn were gone.

15 September. Stützer collected more corals and turtles. He had the corals packed as well as possible and put his things in order so that they could leave early the following morning. Here he also received eight specimens of the well-known fish *ikan tajor*(?) and three other unidentified kinds of fish which he preserved.

16 September. Stützer rode from Sancong to Nagara where they stayed overnight. The *patih* had sent about three-hundred men to search for rhinoceroses. They had hardly rested an hour before bullets and gunpowder were distributed and so off they went. In the afternoon news came that a female rhinoceros had been shot and several others had been shot at. Some birds were brought to Stützer. In the evening they were entertained by *ronggeng* dancers. These are female dancers belonging to the ruler. The same evening Stützer received letters from his friend Paschen and from Gebhard.

17 September. Early in the morning they made the hour's ride to the village where the rhinoceros had been killed the day before. The dead rhinoceros was female, not as large as that from Ciamis but very thick. Stützer judged it was pregnant and left orders that if this was so he wanted the young one brought to him. On the road to the village they spooked some white deer and the Javanese gave chase on horse-back.⁹⁷ Instead of shooting them the Javanese galloped beside the deer and struck them with their *golok* in the back or any place they could reach. After felling the animal in this manner, they cut its throat. That morning they had bagged four, among them a buck. They were skinned and the hides stretched on bamboo frames. In the afternoon Stützer was brought the rhinoceros foetus. It was male but far from as large as the Ciamis one. Unfortunately the specimen had been ruined by careless handling and skin was pierced in several places. It was still enclosed in its sack, i.e. the skin of the uterus.

In the afternoon there was news of another rhinoceros. They brought him a skin of a young male having only a small horn. Rhinoceros in the entire south coast region are said to be small, while those in the more mountainous

areas, especially in Banten, are larger. Horns of the rhinoceros from this area are usually very small as well.

18 September. In the morning the party went hunting rhinoceros or *badak*.⁹⁸ At 11 a.m. they learned that a quite large female had been shot. In the afternoon Stützer was also informed that seven deer had been killed and skinned, including two bucks. Some twelve deer in all were killed. Stützer also received some birds and plants.

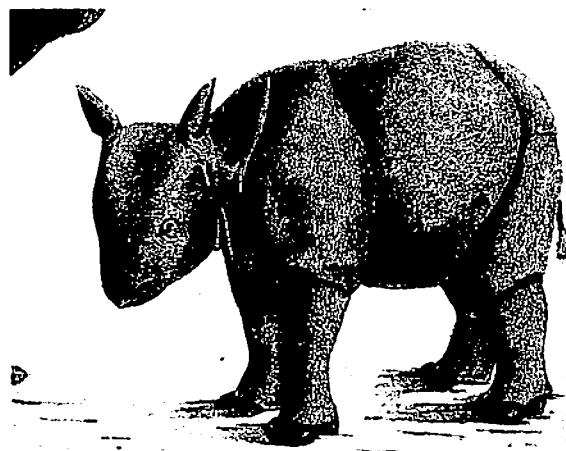
19 September. Stützer rode to Tagal Panjang known for its deer hunting. The hunt continued until dark. In the afternoon Stützer received a letter from van Leeuwendaal at Cirebon. While the hunt still was going on a messenger brought the news that a female rhinoceros had been shot seven times in the morning but had escaped. It had a young calf running beside her. Before evening another messenger informed him that both had been captured. Even though mother and calf had run very fast, the hunters were so near that they were able to capture the young one alive by throwing ropes around its legs. Because of her wounds—being shot some eleven times—the mother had not been able to keep up, falling not far from where they had caught the calf. The small rhinoceros was taken to the village led by two people. They had tied it around the neck and both men needed all their strength to hold it, being as large as a very big hog and continually screaming for its mother. They made a stable for it. Stützer intended to bring the young rhinoceros alive to Cirebon and from there to Batavia. Three rhinoceros were killed this day and one the following afternoon.

The Return to Sukapura

21 September. Just before their departure Gerlach brought in a report of sea pirates in *prauws* at Sancong. The *patih* was ordered to send thirty men armed with *goloks*, *kris*, and two types of spears (*tumbak* and *asagai*). They returned via Muara Cikayangan and Cipatuja to Dora Wati.

22 September. The party came first to Sindang Hijla where Stützer received some monkeys and birds. They hurried on to Sukapura. Stützer had received some live crocodiles. The rhinoceros calf was carried in a cage constructed of bamboo.

25 September. The young rhinoceros arrived, having been carried in shifts by some forty men. The rope around its neck had cut into the skin, producing not only a deep wound but also one quite rotten and filled with maggots. Gerlach had some tar put upon it. Nevertheless the rhinoceros ate a lot and seemed to like coconut milk. The Regent of Sukapura arrived in the morning and Stützer received gifts of a bundle of golden cloth, silken underwear, and a golden and silver *kris*. Stützer was felled by a fever that kept him in bed for four days.



A baby rhinoceros. Litograph by Herman Schlegel. (From Verhandlungen over de natuurlijke geschiedenis der Nederlandsche overzeesche bezittingen, Leiden 1839-1844.)

1 October. They rode from Sukapura over the Cinawati River, coming to Pamojana. It had rained the whole night and continued the next day.

2 October. Stützer rode from Pamojana to Panimbong. Not far from the over-night place was Batavian territory belonging under the *tumenggung* of Bandung. The mountains were high and the way slippery, giving rise to the Javanese saying that the Devil lays buried on the way to Panimbong. Panimbong itself had many fields and was surrounded by high mountains. Quite near the village itself was first Sukapura and then Bandung territory separated only by bends in the river.⁹⁹ Here they were met by Dreijman and the Regent of Limbangan.

3 October. Ascent of the "fire-breathing" mountains of which Gunung Papandayan was the highest and most active. They returned after a very hard day's climb only to continue on to Suci in Sukapura territory for the night.

4 October. The company returned to Sukapura where Stützer was welcomed by small canon salute and presents, with the ever-present dances in which even the *radens* joined. After dinner was a sort of theatrical. The Regent informed Stützer of how poor the region was, how few its rice fields, how small its population but how large debts to the Dutch East India Company.

5 October. The Regent of Limbangan paid his compliments. He and Gerlach further described the volcanic eruption of 1772 near Panimbong in which many lost their lives. Stützer notes the specifics of the eruption which took place on an unknown date in January of that year. According to eyewit-

ness reports, at 2 o'clock in the morning the drama opened with a heavy rain shower. When it was over the heavens suddenly were lighted up by fire from the mountain followed by a dreadful bang. Twenty-four villages and a whole area of coffee plantations were destroyed by the explosion. The number of casualties was estimated at four thousand four-hundred. Because the eruption occurred during the coffee harvest many were spared, having been away delivering coffee to the company warehouses. Even so, the surviving number of animals was small, numbering only some fifty horses and five hundred oxen.

6 October. Stützer spent the day with the Regent of Sukapura hearing traditional folk tales, among others one about the quest for a ring set in the time of Siliwangi of Pajajaran, i.e. the fourteenth century.

7 October. Stützer received some snakes and other animals which he had stuffed. In the afternoon he went out to explore the neighboring mountains. Among the rocks there was a cavern where snakes are said to nest. Dreijman fired some shots into the cavern but nothing came out. Stützer and his companions returned and were entertained by the *tumenggung*'s *tandak* or *ronggeng* dancers. Stützer received birds and animals almost daily.

11 October. The day was spent the *tumenggung* of Sukapura discussing various affairs, among others the intensive hate between Chinese and Javanese. Although Chinese were industrious and tireless they were also proud and obstinate. This was especially so towards a Javanese, something they would not dare show toward a European. Stützer himself had witnessed cases in which a single Chinese had resisted ten or more Javanese and not shown the slightest hesitation or lack of courage.

To illustrate this antagonism Stützer related the following anecdote about a certain Pangeran Adi Kusuma who was insulted by a Chinese. One day the *pangeran* was out riding in the heat of the afternoon. Becoming thirsty, he turned in at the house of a Chinese and civilly asked for a cup of tea. The Chinese, however, without the least provocation began to belabour him verbally in the most violent and insulting language. In reaction the *pangeran* without further ado drew his *kris* and stabbed the Chinese. He then calmly rode away. The cries of pain, however, were heard by many other Chinese who set after the *pangeran* who was shortly captured. The latter was brought back to the house of the dead Chinese where after consultation it was decided that the widow herself should exact revenge. The *pangeran* was then bound fast in order to be executed with the handiest *kris*. Attempts with both *kris* and spear were, however, in vain as neither could pierce the skin. In the end the *pangeran* advised them saying, "Take my spear. Only with it can you kill me but with no other." His advice was followed with the expected results. Subsequently all the Chinese of that place were caught and given their well-deserved punishment.¹⁰⁰

12 October. Stützer was brought several animals, as well as insects and birds. In the afternoon he received word that the mother of the young rhinoceros had died. Since it was far away he gave orders to skin the animal which turned out to be as perfect as the one from Ciamis. During three days it had been shot twenty times before being killed.

17 October. The young rhinoceros died.

21 October. Stützer visited the Limbangan coffee plantations at Papandak, Manok, and Sumangen. He noted that the local soils were quite suitable for coffee, being black as coal. He also mentions the very disciplined work needed for coffee planting and harvesting.

22 October. Stützer made several excursions in the neighborhood, mostly to coffee plantations. He also investigated the neighbouring mountainous formations and geological finds. Limbangan delivers 1600 *pikol* coffee per year for 2 *rijksdaalder* per *pikol*. The Resident in turn receives 3 1/2 *rijksdaalder* per *pikol* from the company.

23 October. The fire mountain of Papandak was called Talaga Bodres.

25 October. Even though it was still raining, they rode on to Panimbong. Not far from the place where they spent the night was Batavian territory belonging under the *tumenggung* of Bandung. Here the road deteriorated. Not only was it narrow but also on the other side was an abyss, needing only a small misstep to send horse and rider over the edge. The road led over the mountains and had become quite slippery due to continual rain. In several places the mud was up to the horses' shanks. Of all the roads in his journey this one was undoubtedly the worst. The road would have been even worse had it not been for the efforts of Gerlach and the *tumenggung* who had tried to improve it because a foreign gentleman had to pass by this road. This was a nice gesture on the part of a ruler.

When the travellers finally came into the region they were greeted by the sight a wide valley flanked on both sides with grassy meadows filled with grazing cattle. The closer one comes the nicer the view, with broad valleys surrounded by mountains. Quite close to the settlement was first Sukapura territory separated from that of Bandung by a small river. As usual the travellers were greeted by musicians and a large assembly armed with *tombak* gathered in the forecourt. Among them was the ruler of Sukapura. Dreijman had come from Limbangan since Stützer would be subsequently visiting that regency.

27 October. In the early morning Stützer set off for Telaga, a trip of some ten hours. He traveled from Limbangan to Panjalu en route passing Malambong in Limbangan territory, Slambitan in Batavian territory, and Pagaragung in Cirebon territory. At Telaga he met Fiedler again, Telaga being the crossroads of four principalities, each under a *pangeran*. One of them, Secanata, had died eight days earlier. The remaining three, namely Sacadilaga,

Kartanagara, and Natadilaga, were still rather young. The next day Stützer continued from Telaga to Raja Wacana and Cigugur.

29 October. Demang Kuningan visited Stützer bringing with him some fruits.

2 November. Accompanied by Fiedler and Schwegler, Stützer rode to the hot springs Sang Kanorit and Panoan, both in Sultan Sepuh's realm and under the supervision of the *demang* of Cigugur. The latter had visited Stützer the day before having received orders to accompany Stützer. Timbang lies in the neighborhood. Stützer visited the indigo factory there which was somewhat different from others.

6 November. Stützer visited Kuningan where they had collected some insects, *bambung*, all of the same species. At Kuningan were post connections with Batavia so he could write friends there, among others van Ardenne, Gebhard, Sperling, Riemsdijk, and van Dijk.

10 November. Stützer visited sugar mills, travelling via Cikaso and Cimandi to Gabang territory and Ciboran, Susirkan, Cawi, and finally to the sugar mill Walet. Stützer remarks that most of the work of sugar cane planting was carried out by Chinese under the direction of the Kapitan Cina at Cirebon. The sugar mill near Walet was called "Cigabang" and belonged to a Meester Hasselaer, at that time of mayor of Amsterdam. It was administered by van Leeuwendaal, Second Merchant (*onderkoopman*) and Supervisor of Warehouses (*pakhuismeester*) at Cirebon. A third mill, Lowang Gaja, was also owned by Hasselaer. Afterwards Stützer rode to the regency capital of Gabang. Here were two sugar magazines containing sugar awaiting transport by *prauw* to Cirebon.

14 November. Stützer visited Bongas en route to Raja Wacana. From Raja Wacana the first station he came to was Manis, followed by Cilimus, Rambahaya, Mandiracan, Matanaji, Cisahat, Sindangjawa, Weru, and Palimanan. At the latter there was a moderately large sugar mill supervised by a Chinese but owned by the Cirebon Resident, Willem van der Beke. Stützer spent the night at Bongas whose overseer was a Mr Siege from Lipstadt.

19 November. Stützer visited a hot springs near Bongas which was said to be called Pananongan and/or Lantung Lanan (?).

22 November. The party left Bongas at 3 o'clock in the morning and arrived at Tankil at 7:00 a.m. There he met Hartsing, Resident at Pekalongan, son of Vice-admiral of Amsterdam and brother of a member of the Dutch East India Company Board of Directors. Hartsing wanted to visit the Priangan lands to do some hunting and Stützer agreed to accompany him.

23 November. Early in the morning they went by cart to Kali Tanjung. From there they rode to Cilimus accompanied by several Javanese.

24 November. They continued Ciamis where they arrived in the evening. Arrangements had been made for a rhinoceros hunt. They rested another day, since preparations for the hunt were not entirely completed.

26 November. Hartsing and Stützer made a quick visit to Sukapura, returning almost immediately to Ciamis where a rhinoceros was said to have been seen.

30 November. Empty-handed they returned to Raja Wacana, the following day riding to Yalaxana and Cikaso to see the gardens and the fish ponds of the Sultan.

1 December. They arrived back at Tankil.

5 December. Stützer accompanied a large party to Sunyaragi, the famous "summer-house" of the Cirebon princes.¹⁰¹ A successful hunt for Hartsing was organized.

23 December. Stützer noted the Javanese Regents who arrived at Tankil to honour the Resident. Representatives from the Chinese community called at Tankil to present their gifts. The delegation included the old *Kapitan Cina*. They brought silk clothes, linens, white wax candles, hams, and small fire-crackers of the type used on the New Year. Some of them brought money or golden items. In all the presents represented a sum of some two-hundred ducats.

25 December. The Regents of Sukapura and Limbangan brought news of landslides between Suci and Panimbong caused by the Cijangla River. Some eight rice fields and coffee plantations were destroyed. Stützer was commissioned to look into the matter.

10 January 1787. Stützer left for Sukapura and Limbangan accompanied by a detachment of Javanese and Chinese troops, stopping over at Raja Wacana.

12 January. They travelled the route Raja Wacana—Limbangan via Derma, Talaga, Panjalu, and Pagarageng on the border between Cirebon and Batavian territory.

13 January. They continued from Pagarageng via Slambitan and Malambong and finally to Limbangan.

14 January. Stützer traveled to Suci under Marga Dria.

15 January. In the morning accompanied by Dreijman Stützer returned to Sukapura. Post stations where they kept horses included Malambong, Slambitan, Rajapolah, Indihiang, and Cilokan. The surroundings in this district were magnificent and very much coffee could be planted. Stützer arrived at Sukapura around 6 p.m.

(Here the travel narrative breaks off abruptly)

Stützer's Observation on Rice Cultivation

According to Stützer there were several types of rice. First, there was *ketan* which, like wheat in Europe, was a field crop. It was also used in a similar manner, namely in baking and to a certain extent preparing a drink called *prum*. Second was "prass" or rice proper including black, white, and red, in

addition to polished and unpolished, varieties. The polished ones are fine-corned as wheat kernels without husks or hair. In this respect they are completely comparable with our barley corn. The only difference between them lies in their use, being used as horse fodder as we would use oats.

As regards cultivation, rice can be divided into three sorts, namely *sawah*, *tipar*, and *gaga*. The first type consists of open fields whose beds are laid out from higher to lower levels with a noticeable slope between them to allow plants prepared in advance to be grown under water. The fields themselves are, in fact, termed *sawah* or *sawah*-fields. Each field is surrounded by an embankment to retain the water coming down from the mountains or labouriously scooped out of wells or springs allowing it to flow over the fields. The construction of these embankments was one of the most arduous tasks, one which was carried out by the Javanese by means of a hoe.

Planting takes place in the following manner. One floods the fields to soften the soil. While it is still soft a small part of the field is ploughed which is then sown with rice grains which have sprouted. While these seeds are growing the fields proper are flooded, ploughed repeatedly by buffalo teams and to as great extent as possible leveled by a Javanese wielding a hoe. By the time this work has been completed it is planting time. The rice seedlings are carefully pulled up one by one, tied together in small bundles, and brought to the rice fields bundle by bundle. Subsequently all the neighbours are invited to help in the planting. The seedlings are then replanted by hand in the soft ground. *Padi* is planted and harvested within a period of five months.

The second type, or *tipar*, is laid out on an open level field, ordinarily overgrown with large clumps of savannah grass or *alang-alang*.¹⁰² The grass is burned off and the ash ploughed under. Afterwards the fields are again ploughed and clumps of savannah grass cleared out as far as possible. Instead of the iron field-harrow so usual in Europe, the field is harrowed with a pole bound with thorn branches, *bamboo duri*, in order to remove the weeds. And finally the field is sown with germinated rice in the husk and the seed is ploughed under.

The third manner of cultivation is called *gaga*. For this an area is selected which is overgrown with scrub or even full forest. This type of planting rice, *gaga*, is no longer practiced in the environs of Batavia due to lack of forests. It is usually confined to poor Javanese who live in the mountains or who do not have access to a water buffalo. They cut down so much scrub growth as they later intend to plant with rice. After the felled wood has dried sufficiently they fire it whereby the earth becomes loose and very black. Thereafter on an auspicious day one takes a sharpened stick and walks over the prepared fields making holes with the stick at regular intervals. A child or neighbour follows with *padi* and drops two or three seeds into each hole. The holes are then covered with earth.

Tipar and *gaga* fields are planted and harvested within a time of three and a half months. The *sawah* fields need roughly the same amount of time to mature, the preparation of the fields demanding the remainder of the time. Despite abundance of areas where *sawah* fields can be laid out, *tipar* and *gaga* are far preferred.

Chinese and Javanese have reacted to such techniques depending on availability of water. By lack of it they employ *tipar* and *gaga*. These are then not only vulnerable to lack of rain or exceptionally hot sun but also to uninvited guests as wild cows¹⁰³ or swine which can force them to desert the land.

The harvest does not take place as in Europe with scythe or sickle but with a knife, termed *pisau rahnt*, with which it is cut stalk by stalk. When the cutter has one hand full of harvested ears this is called *sebela pocong* (a half of a hand-full). Two such are a *sapocong* (a handful) which are tied together. Two *pocongs*, that is four (half-) handfuls constitute a *busch padi*. A company *busch* is 16 *kadis* or 20 pound, although every province has differing weights.

As mentioned earlier there is red, black, and white rice. The red is termed *pras wangi* (fragrant rice) because of the pleasant fragrance it gives off when roasted. Yet it is the white rice which is considered to be the best among those which are harvested from the *sawah* field.

The higher the land lays in the mountains the earlier in the year is planting and harvesting. Close by Batavia one harvests first in August and September. In the provinces of Campia, Buitenzorg, Sukaraja, Citrap, Cipaminkis, etc. in short wherever water is plentiful due to proximity of large rivers, in Stützer's opinion the natives should be persuaded through rewards into planting rice twice in the year. The advantages of this are easy to imagine.

Stützer's Remarks on Coffee Cultivation

Coffee resemble none of European trees quite so much as the so-called Hungarian cherry as regards trunk, flower, and fruit. When the coffee berry ripens and on its own account falls from the tree a shoot will develop into a plant in eight days. According to Stützer, this is the manner in which all the coffee plantations have been established in the "high lands" or mountainous parts of Java.

The coffee tree lives on fertile land and needs protection against the sun rays for the first three years. For this purpose the banana plant is employed or, alternatively, a tree called *dadap*.¹⁰⁴ The *dadap* is a wild plant which bears small fruit. Its wood is weak and white and it grows quite rapidly. When one plants coffee a *dadap* shoot about three feet long is placed between coffee bushes so that they can grow up simultaneously. Coffee is in this manner not only provided with shade but also the daily shedding of *dadap* leaves makes the ground rich and fertile.



*The residence of Governor-General Alting at Goenong Sari in the late 1770's according to a sketch by van Rach. (From F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, Batavia 1923).*

The productivity of a coffee garden depends upon the locale. Hence one looks for a somewhat hilly region which allows rapid drainage after a heavy rain. The ground must be somewhat broken-up or ploughed and completely cleansed of weeds and tree-roots. The best time for such work is October and November. Young coffee trees, the smallest being the best, are taken in December and planted approximately six feet from one another. When this has been done *pisang* (banana plants) or *dadap* are planted between them. One can recoup the cost of the first year's planting by planting rice in the space between coffee and the shade plants. Rice can be grown here during the first and second years which helps to protect the young coffee plants from the sun. In the third year the coffee bushes bear fruit.

One allows the plant to grow freely until it is four or five years old. Then the top must be clipped. Otherwise it will grow quite tall, making collection of its fruit difficult. In addition, the branches will spread themselves out and the

coffee tree is in state to maintain itself even against the tropical sun and rain. At this time the shade trees can be eliminated. When the coffee garden is five years old then the only task is to collect the fruit. However during the first three years close attention must be paid to keeping the grove free from weeds.

The usual Javanese are, in Stützer's opinion, not in any condition to undertake productive plantations. Those not having a servant or retainer do not have the necessary resources to maintain even five-hundred trees, let alone more than that number. That so much coffee is produced by the highland areas is a function of the number of people who must be forced to maintain a lesser number of coffee trees.

Coffee blooms ordinarily in the rainy season and produces fruit from September to November. When harvesting one should only take those fruit which are ripe. If so, then these lands could consistently deliver coffee of the highest quality. However by preference the Javanese strip-off the greatest number of fruit at once which ruins the coffee consignment by indiscriminately mixing ripe and unripe berries. The coffee is collected and sent to an open place in order to facilitate the rotting away of the shell. After the coffee has been washed it is set out on a specially prepared apparatus to dry in the sun. When it is dried the beans are pounded to separate the thin shells from the coffee bean proper. From there the coffee is transported to the warehouses according to local arrangements. In general the company's coffee prices are reasonable. However the Javanese receive considerably less than that paid to the collector. Every district in the mountains has its set price for a *pikol* of coffee, proximity and custom regulating the transportation costs.

Discussion

Given the length of the résumé, only a few points need mentioning, namely observations on persons, natural history, and socioeconomic conditions. With regard to the first point, the *Journal* contains references to a number of the era's important persons. Among these include Professor Burman in Amsterdam, Johannes Hooyma at Batavia, Governor-General Alting, Resident Willem van der Beke, and *Kapitan Cina* Tan Cu Kong.

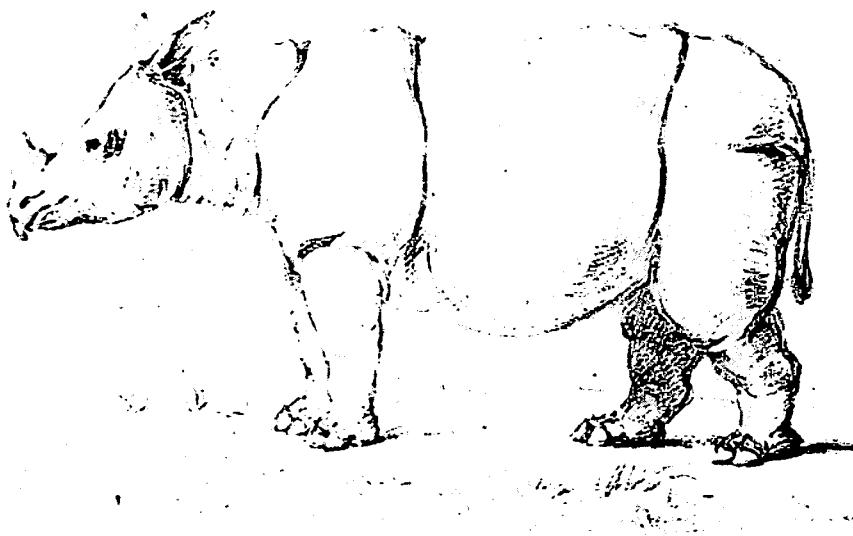
Less expectable, Stützer devotes very little space to natural historical observations. This was despite the fact that he was continually engaged in collecting of flora and fauna for preservation, including a rhino fetus, for presentation and eventual shipment to Thunberg in Uppsala. At least two cabinets loaded with such material are mentioned in the *Journal*'s annotations and are sporadically referred to in Stützer's letters to Thunberg. Slightly

more detailed are his reports on hot springs and geological formations such as the sulfur mine on the south coast.

There is one exception. Despite the fact that he does not give any detailed scientific descriptions, Stützer seems to have been obsessed by rhinoceros hunting and spent much time collecting samples to bring back for scientific analysis. The energetic hunt for rhinoceros that Stützer and his fellow travellers excelled in therefore needs some comment. The Java rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) once had a wide distribution in Southeast Asia, including Sunderbans, Tenasserim, Assam, Thailand, South West China, Laos, Vietnam, the Malaysian Peninsula, Sumatra, and Java. In some areas it was found along with the Sumatra rhinoceros (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*).¹⁰⁵ Today the Javan rhinoceros is a threatened species, extinct in most of its former area of distribution. Only a few specimens remain in a reserve in West Java, together with some reported sightings from Vietnam and Laos. Our knowledge of the species is still limited and its natural history remains to be written.¹⁰⁶

While his teacher Thunberg most probably contributed to the extermination of the blue buck of South Africa (extinct c. 1799), the rhinoceros was still relatively abundant during Stützer's stay in Java. The species was especially attracted to areas with secondary vegetation cleared by man. This also caused a conflict between the local peoples and the animal. Therefore, with the acquisition of improved weapons by the Javanese the rhinoceros has been eradicated within most of its former distribution range on Java. To some extent it also was a game animal for white hunters. The use of its horn, skin, and blood in Chinese medicine in East and Southeast Asia has also contributed to its disappearance.

Stützer's interest for the Javan rhinoceros seems to have been connected with the contemporary discussion of the taxonomy of the animal rather than any endeavour to shoot it for sport. The rhinoceros had fascinated learned societies since the sixteenth century. Albrecht Dürer's drawing of a rhinoceros presented by an Indian ruler to king Manuel I of Portugal had been copied *ad nauseam*.¹⁰⁷ Many travellers reported the occurrence of the rhinoceros from many parts of Africa and southern Asia. A renewed scientific interest came in 1739 when a live rhinoceros was brought to London. This led to the discovery of both the single-horned and double-horned rhinoceros. In the tenth edition of the *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus describes two species of rhinoceros distinguished by the presence of one or two horns. The French zoologist Buffon disagreed with Linnaeus' suggestion that the two forms belonged to two varieties or subspecies of one single species. The Linnaean view of two species was finally confirmed by Andreas Sparrman who in 1778 described one of the African species as different from the Asian ones.¹⁰⁸ The discussion of the systematic classification of the rhinoceros continued and several theories were presented.¹⁰⁹ Hence Stützer's interest for the Javan species. However,



*Drawing of a Javan rhinoceros made by Thomas Horsfield (1773-1859) in Java. (From L. C. Rookmaaker, *Bibliography of the Rhinoceros*, Rotterdam 1983).*

his possible findings were never presented to any scientific circle of readers. The *Journal* at least adds some evidence of the former distribution of the rhinoceros on Java. In a book published in 1772, Petrus Camper was the first to suggest that the Javanese species differed from the Indian one. Stamford Raffles added relevant information concerning the species. However, it was not until 1822 that Anselme Gaétan Desmarest provided the first scientific description of the Javan rhinoceros, naming it *Rhinocerus sondaicus*. Contemporary zoological systematics accept five rhinoceros species, two in Africa and three in Asia. They are all in danger of complete extinction.

Yet for the historian and the ethnologist the most important part of the *Journal* lies in its description of Cirebon-Priangan socioeconomic relations during the 1780s. To this category belong Stützer's observations on the indebtedness of the Regents to the company, an indebtedness that more effectively bound them than the greatest force. Coupled with this was their absolute poverty. This is all the more striking in light of the fact that these coffee-producing regions were the crux of the Dutch company's world-wide prosperity, or at least that of its employees. Lack of freedom and poverty of the Regents contrasts with the luxury and high incomes enjoyed by, for example, Resident van der Beke or even previous residents like Hasselaer as

an absentee sugar mill owner. On a similar plan are Stützer's observations on what he understood as the built-in hatred existing between Javanese and Chinese.

Last and certainly not least, Stützer's *Journal* provides an invaluable description of both coffee and rice cultivation in the region. The latter is particularly detailed, filling in a gap too often found in the scholarly literature. He not only describes the three types of rice cultivation, i.e. swidden, dry permanent fields, and wet-rice terraces, but also offers insights into why one was preferred over others. The material has been valuable in attempting to reconstruct the agricultural system of the time.

Aftermath

Stützer must have returned to Batavia sometime in April 1787. There he resided in rooms at the Batavian Society where the *Journal* was completed late on 21 June 1787. On 26 June he departed for Japan on board the *Zeeland* together with *ondermeester* Johan Laurens Gross. Once in Japan he made the acquaintance *opperkoopman* Baron Johan Frederik van Rhee de tot den Parke-laar. Stützer accompanied van Rhee de to Edo in February of 1788. As physician Stützer made, according to his own account, important contributions to the embassy.¹¹⁰ In all probability Stützer returned with his ship to Batavia in the autumn of that year. Little else is known of the first Japanese sojourn. In a letter of January 1789 from Batavia he mentions a "diary of some sixteen folios which I shall at another opportunity have the honour of sending", also indicating his collection of specimens.¹¹¹ To date neither have turned up.

The following year Stützer returned to Japan. On that occasion Stützer was engaged in some sort of private trade arrangement with van Rhee de. This had netted them some twenty-thousand *rupiah*, presumably to be divided fifty-fifty. However, van Rhee de seems to have double-crossed Stützer. On van Rhee de's counsel the goods were declared contraband and subsequently confiscated. Instead of a profit, Stützer ended up some six-thousand five-hundred *rupiah* in debt.¹¹² Suffering from intermittent illness in the first half of 1790, in August Stützer sailed for Ceylon with a letter of recommendation from Director Moens to van der Graaf, Governor of Ceylon. Chance contact with the English East India Company via a Danish intermediary convinced him to fulfil a long-standing wish to work for the English.¹¹³ In February 1791 he gave notice to the Dutch East India Company.

During the following decade Stützer engaged in private trade between the territory of the British company on the Malabar coast and Dutch Ceylon. In this context he met and married on 15 July 1792 Johanna Jacoba Lebeck, daughter of the secretary to the Governor of Jaffnapatnam, Abraham Evert

Lebeck and his wife Anna Henrietta Dormieux. Despite this, he expressed his unwillingness to reside in Dutch territory and to accept any service.¹¹⁴ An unforeseen result of the marriage was Stützer's close involvement in the affairs of his brother-in-law, the young Henricus Julius Lebeck (1772–1800). Via Lebeck Stützer re-establish the contact with Sweden and Thunberg. Only eighteen years old, Lebeck had himself written to Thunberg to ask for a copy of Carlson's *Ornithologie*¹¹⁵ and the Gmelin edition of Linnaeus' *Planta Systema* in exchange for stuffed birds and other Indian products. He also promised to send books in Tamil and other minor prints.¹¹⁶

With a nice sense of turn-about, Stützer sent his brother-in-law to Uppsala to continue his education, complete with letters of recommendation to Thunberg. Lebeck was received by the Stützer family where he periodically lodged with them at their house on Västerlånggatan in Stockholm. He enrolled at Uppsala University on 12 November 1794 where he seems to have won the approval of Thunberg.¹¹⁷ During his stay in Sweden Lebeck wrote several letters, mostly in Dutch, to Thunberg from Stockholm and Gothenburg. From India Stützer wrote Thunberg to ensure that his promising brother-in-law would be well cared for. Lebeck left Sweden in 1796, promising to send natural historical collections to Thunberg in Uppsala. Thunberg was particularly anxious to obtain collections of animals and plants for Uppsala, as the famous Linnaean collection had been sold off to James Edward Smith in London. Uppsala University was without a natural history collection. The collections from Thunberg's own travels, which he worked hard to augment throughout his life, formed the foundation for the new museum.¹¹⁸

A letter to Thunberg from Carl Wilhelm Stützer 23 June 1796 mentioned that the vessel with Lebeck's collections had been shipwrecked off Nyköping during the spring. Much was lost, but he was able to send some things to Thunberg, among them the sea-shells. In a letter from Calcutta, dated 10 January 1798, Lebeck wrote to Thunberg that Stützer was living in Jaffnapatnam "sehr vergnügt und wohl" and the father of four children. Lebeck promised to send insects and concholians to Thunberg.¹¹⁹ Thunberg also showed his gratitude to Lebeck in 1800 by naming the plant genera *Lebeckia* in South Africa after him.

In addition Lebeck wrote to the linguist Jonas Hallenberg (1748–1834), another acquaintance he seems to have made in Uppsala. He promised to send books in Tamil and Portuguese printed in Asia, as well as publications in Singhalese and Malay. In the letter Lebeck also mentioned that his brother-in-law Stützer was interested in exchanging Indian coins and art for European, but that Stützer himself would write more about it.¹²⁰ No letter from Stützer to Hallenberg has been preserved.

Lebeck's last letter to Thunberg was written 15 April 1800 from Batavia. He had found good employment as a warden of the mint and merchant in

Batavia and had even sent insects and concholians to Uppsala via Copenhagen. Through the good offices of Supercargo M. Åhman of the Swedish East India Company he also sent hides, insects, and plants to Sweden, as well as a Chinese calender to the astronomer Lars Regnér (1746–1810). Lebeck had read with interest Hornstedt's letters in *Upföstrings-sällskapets Tidningar* and promised to answer all questions Thunberg had about Java.¹²¹ This he was unable to fulfil as he passed away after a brief illness on 12 June. The news was given in Stützer's last letter to Thunberg, dated 2 November 1802, containing the former's complaint at the treatment of his brother-in-law's estate.¹²² Lebeck's death is also confirmed in a letter from Carl Wilhelm Stützer to Thunberg in December 1803.

A couple of years earlier Stützer had accepted employment in the newly-established Civil Medical Department. The Department was an outgrowth of the purely military organization consisting of army surgeons under the command of the King's forces in Ceylon.¹²³ Stützer was engaged in the Department's campaign against small-pox. In 1803 he was appointed Superintendent of Vaccination at Jaffna and Assistant Surgeon the following year "with the Island rank and to be attached to the Garrison of Jaffna".¹²⁴

Stützer's last adventure, participation in the British invasion of Java 1811–1812 seems to have originated via contacts in the Jaffna garrison.

In 1811 the Doctor, being then 48 years of age, volunteered to accompany the expedition against Batavia, and being appointed by General Sir Thomas Maitland to do duty with the Corps of the Royal Artillery as Surgeon, he happily, in the execution of this trust and of duties more important from his knowledge of the languages, manners, and people of that country, both European and Malay, succeeded in obtaining the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief and those under whom he served.¹²⁵

Regrettably, only part of this can be confirmed. One piece of evidence is found in a letter from Capt. William Colebrook to his father on the operations in Java. The letter is dated Yogyakarta, 8 July 1812, thus written after the campaign in the preceding month.¹²⁶ Among other things, Colebrook's letter describes a forced march from Semarang to Yogyakarta in which the detachment was ambushed by a superior Javanese force. Fortunately for Colebrook's detachment, then numbering only twenty-six men, the Javanese declined to attack. After it was all over, Stützer, "a Swede—surgeon in our service" confessed to Colebrook that "he had made up his mind for the other world". Rather than let his throat be cut he had planned to blow-up the ammunition supplies. With or without Stützer's contribution the detachment reached Yogyakarta with considerable difficulty but was able to participate in the storming of the Sultan's palace on 20 June 1812.

The other piece of evidence is the appearance of Stützer's name on the cover of two Javanese manuscripts taken from the Sultan's library. One, IOL Jav. 7 containing a history of the West Javanese kingdom of Pajajaran, seems to have been acquired for the India Office Library via Rothenbüler, at that time Resident at Surabaya. Moreover, "A fragment of a *pangguat* bound in at the end of the text is from Dr. Studzee [sic Stützer], Yogyakarta 6 July 1812." The other, IOL Jav. 92 is a mixture of texts but bears a note on the inside cover "From Djockokarta. From Dr. Studzee, July 6 1812."¹²⁷

If so, it raises interesting questions. For the first this would mean that Stützer was sufficiently important to partake in the division of the spoils with the major leaders of the English forces, namely Stamford Raffles (1781–1826), John Crawfurd (1783–1868), and Colin Mackenzie (1753–1821). These three, in fact account for by far the greatest part of the some one hundred fifty manuscripts taken from the Yogyakarta place now found in respectively the Royal Asiatic Society, the British Library, and the India Office Library in London.¹²⁸ How Stützer's two manuscripts came into possession of the India Office Library and whether their possession attest to linguistic skills even in Javanese are questions for further research.

Of Stützer's return to Ceylon or his family life there we know little. He and his wife had at least four children. The only son, Charles Stützer, born in 1801, became an officer and served as second lieutenant of the 1st Ceylon Regiment. He was killed during the Uva Rebellion of 1817–1818, perhaps the greatest uprising during the colonial period.¹²⁹ The couple also had three daughters, only one of which seems to who have survived infancy. Her name was Jane Alexandra Stützer, and she married lieutenant C.F. Thomson of the 16th Regiment at Triconalee in November 13, 1828.

Stützer died at Jaffnapattnam in July 1821. His wife, Johanna Jacoba, survived him by a decade, passing away on 30 April 1831 and being commemorated with a stone in the Pettah Cemetery in Jaffna.

Epilogue

Stützer lived in a scientific era when travelling was not only an adventure but indeed an important source of knowledge. To explore the world was an important way of widening the scientific knowledge. As for the Linnaeans it also formed an essential part of an educational programme and a career. Whatever ambitions Johan Arnold Stützer may have had in adding to knowledge of Asia and contributing to zoological and botanical collections from the region, in practice they came to very little. None of the specimens seems to have reached Sweden.¹³⁰ Even Stützer's role in the translation of Thunberg's work on Japanese coins into German is not confirmable. No letters from Thunberg to Stützer are preserved to reveal the master's attitude. Only in his

description of Batavia in 1777 penned many years later do we find a passage mentioning Stützer "as one of my friends and beloved pupils".¹³¹

It is just possible that Stützer had missed his calling. From the contents of his *Journal* he emerges as an unusually sharp and critical observer of the situation in the Dutch East Indies. In addition to the invaluable observations on rice and coffee cultivation mentioned earlier are a number of short thumb-nail sketches worth mentioning. Among these are his inquiries into Resident Wilhelm van der Beke's earnings, contrast with the poverty of the inhabitants, observations on the Chinese community, and the racial tensions between them and Javanese. In this regard it needs emphasizing that these tensions were of recent origin.¹³² Thus Stützer's comments are a product of his observations, not mere repetition of local stories. And finally the English in employing him for the invasion of Java made specific references to his knowledge of the area gained by personal experience. In short, Stützer showed considerable talent as an observer of his fellow human beings' behaviour. His greatest misfortune may have been having to fit into the mold demanded by the natural sciences rather than being free to anticipate the development of the social sciences.

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Ms 277. J. A. Stützer, *Journal von die Reise nach Cheribon und den da umliegende Gegenden.*

Sweden

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 G 300q. *Bref till C. P. Thunberg*, Vol. 18. *L-Linnerhjelm.*
 G 300aa. *Bref till C. P. Thunberg*, Vol. 31. *Stickman-Sömmerberg.*
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Authors address: Mason C. Hoadley, Department of East Asian Languages,
 University of Lund, Box 7033, S-220 07 Lund, Sweden
 Ingvar Svanberg, Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University,
 S:t Johannelsgatan 21nb, S-753 12 Uppsala, Sweden

Notes

1. For a cursory survey see Elisabeth Lind and Thommy Svensson, "Early Indonesian Studies in Sweden: the Linnaean Tradition and the Emergence of Ethnography before 1900", *Archipel*, 33 (1987), pp. 57–78; the Swedish view of Southeast Asia, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, is dealt with in detail in Åke Holmberg, *Världen bortom västerlandet. Svensk syn på fjärran länder och folk från 1700-talet till första världskriget*. Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis. Humaniora 28. Göteborg, 1987.
2. Nils Mattsson Kiöping, "Beskrifwes een reesa genom Asia, Africa och många andra Hedniska konungarijen ...", in *Een kort beskrifning uppå tressne resor och peregrinationer, sampt konungarijet Japan*. Wisingsborgh: Johan Kankel, 1667.
3. For biographies and bibliographies, see Olle Franzén, "Kaudern, Walter", pp. 10–12 in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 21, Stockholm, 1975–77, and the same, "Mjöberg, Eric Georg", pp. 538–541 in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 25, Stockholm, 1985–87. A work on Mjöberg in Sarawak is in progress.
4. For exemplification, see T. J. Arne, "'De heeren XVII' och de 15000 ...", *Allsvensk Samling*, 42, No. 1 (1955), pp. 4–6, and T. J. Arne, "Svenskar och svenska insatser i Asien", pp. 193–267 in *Vår svenska stam på utländsk mark. Svenska öden och insatser i främmande land*, vol. 3. *Övriga världen*, red. Axel Boëthius, Stockholm: AB Lindqvists förlag, 1953. On the basis of a small sample of ship crews' nationalities Carl Steenstrup comes to the same conclusion in "Scandinavians in Asian Waters in the 17th Century: On the sources for the history of the participation of Scandinavians in early Dutch ventures into Asia", *Acta Orientalia*, 43 (1982), pp. 69–83.
5. Information on Stützer is sparse. The main piece of evidence, a journal of his trip through West Java in 1786–1787, remained in the Netherlands where it was until recently catalogued under "Munther, G. A". Other sources of information include letters to Thunberg, Uppsala University Library (G 300aa), and a couple of references in Dutch and English sources.
6. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, 27 November 1784.
7. See Ewert Wrangel's encyclopedic *Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland särdeles under 1600-talet*. Lund, 1897. A Dutch translation of this important work was published in Leiden in 1901.
8. For further details, see Leif Lindin and Ingvar Svanberg, "Holländare" pp. 145–153 in *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om invandrargrupper och minoriteter*, red. Ingvar Svanberg and Harald Runblom, (2nd ed.) Stockholm: Gidlunds Bokförlag, 1990. A more complete survey is found in Ingvar Svanberg, "Nederlandse immigranten in Zweden", (manuscript).
9. Johan Bernström, "Frederik Coyett, guvernör på Formosa 1656–1662, och hans ättlingar", *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 1953, pp. 14–20.
10. For a description of the establishment of New Sweden and its relations with the Dutch, see Hans Norman, "The Swedish Colonial Venture in North America", pp. 45–125 in *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden. Governor Johan Risingh's Journal 1654–1655 in its historical Context*, by Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman. Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, XXVII. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988.
11. Lars Niléhn, *Peregrinatio Academica. Det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet*. Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, 54. Lund, 1983.
12. For Linnaeus in the Netherlands, see Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria. Frihetstiden*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1978, pp. 168–177 and Albert Johan Boerman, "Linnaeus and the scientific relations between Holland and Sweden", *Svenska Linnéållskaps Årsskrift* 1978 (1979), pp. 43–56.
13. Thunberg's biography remains to be written. Most scholarship on Thunberg has emphasized his itinerary, especially to Japan, but his life at Uppsala university is still not especially well known. Some information is provided by Nils Svedelius, "Carl Peter Thunberg", *Svenska Linnéållskaps Årsskrift*, 27 (1944), pp. 29–64, Nils Svedelius, "Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828). On his bicentenary", *Isis*, 35:2 (1944), pp. 128–134, and Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria. Gustavianska tiden*. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1981, pp. 31–39. Cf. also Bengt-Olof Landin, "Carl Peter Thunberg", pp. 3–11 in *Carl Peter Thunberg* (Björck & Börjesson. Catalogue 518), Stockholm, 1985, and Vernon S. Forbes,

- “Foreword,” pp. VII–XXXVI in *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope*, by Carl Peter Thunberg. Van Riebeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents. Second Series No. 17, Cap Town, 1986.
14. Carl Peter Thunberg, *Resa uti Europa, Africa, Asia, förrättad åren 1770 til 1779*, 4 vols. Stockholm: Joh. Edman, 1788–1793 (English edition 1793–1795).
15. Clas Fredric Hornstedt, “Anteckningar under en resa till Ostindien åren 1782–1786”, utgiven av E. Lagerblad in *Skrifter utgivna af Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland*, 10, Helsingfors, 1888, pp. 75–176. Further materials are kept in the Westin collection at Uppsala University Library. See also Olle Fransén, “Hornstedt, Clas Fredric”, pp. 417–419 in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Vol. 10, Stockholm, 1971–73. Hornstedt is the center of a recent article, Ann Kumar, “A Swedish View of Batavia in 1783–84: Hornstedt’s Letters”, *Archipel*, 37 (1989), pp. 247–262, who was apparently unaware of the Lind-Svensson article and references.
16. Sten Carlsson, “Tyskar”, pp. 454–460 in *Det mångkulturella Sverige. En handbok om etniska grupper och minoriteter*, eds. Ingvar Svanberg and Harald Runblom. Stockholm: Gidlunds Bokförlag, 1990.
17. *Sveriges läkarehistoria, ifrån Konung Gustaf I:s till närvarande tid*, utg. Joh. Fredr. Sacklén, Första afdelningen, Nyköping: P. E. Winge, 1822, pp. 863–864. The Stützer family is also dealt with in Joh. Anton Aug. Lüdeke, *Denkmal der Wieder-Eröffnung der Deutschen Kirche in Stockholm zur öffentlichen Gottes-Verehrung nach vollendetem Aussbesserung*, 1821, Bd. 3, Stockholm: Fr. Bog. Nestius, 1823. On Johan Arnold, see p. 454.
18. Axel Key, *Till kirurgiens historia i Sverige, särskild med hänsyn till den kirurgiska undervisningen i Stockholm*. (Inbjudning till åhörande af den offentliga föreläsning hvarmed e.o. professorn i kirurgi doktor Jules Heribert Åkerman kommer att måndagen den 29 nov. 1897 vid Karolinska medikokirurgiska institutet tillträda sitt ämbete), Stockholm, 1897, pp. 60–62.
19. Hilding Bergstrand, “Läkarekåren och provinsialläkarväsendet”, p. 107 in: *Medicinalväsendet i Sverige 1813–1962*, red. Wolfram Kock, Stockholm: AB. Nordiska Bokhandelns Förlag, 1963; Rolf Å. Gustafsson, *Traditionernas ok. Den svenska hälso- och sjukvårdens organisation i historie-sociologiskt perspektiv*. Stockholm: Esselte Studium, 1987, pp. 220–232.
20. Otto E. A. Hjelt, *Svenska och finska medicinalverkets historia 1663–1812*, vol. 1, Helsingfors, 1891, pp. 403–405.
21. Ibid, pp. 268–269.
22. In 1792, Thunberg himself argued for changes in the medical curriculum at Uppsala University, see Anton Blanck, *Striden om Carl Peter Thunbergs förslag 1792 rörande de medicinska studierna*. Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1949:2. Uppsala, 1949.
23. *Sveriges läkarehistoria, ifrån Konung Gustaf I:s till närvarande tid*, utg. Joh. Fredr. Sacklén, Första afdelningen, Nyköping: P.A. Winge, 1822, pp. 402–403; ibid, Supplement, Nyköping, 1835, p. 53.
24. Stützer’s mother died the same year. His father then married Ulrica Bruhn, a widow of a sea captain named Timm. She gave birth to three children. After her death 1774, Martin married again, this time with Anna Maria Elisabeth Holmberg. *Sveriges läkarehistoria, ifrån Konung Gustaf I:s till närvarande tid*, utg. Joh. Fredr. Sacklén, Första afdelningen, Nyköping, 1822, pp. 889–890; ibid, Supplement, Nyköping, 1835, p. 165.
25. *Uppsala universitets matrikel, vol. II. 1750–1760*. Utg. A. B. Carlsson. Uppsala, 1925, p. 228.
26. *Sveriges läkarehistoria, ifrån Konung Gustaf I:s till närvarande tid*, utg. Joh. Fredr. Sacklén. Andra afdelningen, senare häftet, Nyköping, 1824, pp. 564–565.
27. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, 3 December 1782.
28. Christian Mentzel from Brandenburg was a professor of botany, member of the Académie des curiosités de la nature, and an early traveller in Asia, Carl von Linné, *Svensk flora. Utgiven i samarbete med Svenska Linné-Sällskapet*, Stockholm: Forum, 1986, p. 438. Cf. also Claus Nissen, *Die botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie*, Bd. 1. Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1951, pp. 78–79.
29. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, June 15, 1783.
30. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, October 14 1783. The references to the manuscripts in Berlin are somewhat confusing. In the preface of *Flora Japonica*, iii, p. XXVI Carl Peter Thunberg himself refers to the Christj. Mentzelii, *Flora Japonica*, Tom 2, “manuscript in Bibliotheca Berolinensi, plantis coloribus vivis pictis” and Christj. Hendr. Erndelii, *Epistola de Flora Japonica*, Dresden 1716. “4. in Bibliotheca Berolinensi.” Christian Heinrich Erndl (1676–1734) published *De Flora Japonica* in Dresden 1716, G.A. Pritzel, *Thesaurus*

- literaturae botanicae, Lipsiae: F.A. Brockhaus, 1872, p. 102.
31. Originally published as *Inträdes-Tal, om de mynt-sorter, som i äldre och sednare tider blifvit slagne och varit gångbare uti kejsardömet Japan; hället för Kongl. Vetenskaps-Academien, den 25 Aug. 1779*. Stockholm: Johan Georg Lange 1779. A facsimile edition of this numismatic minor classic was published with an illusive introduction by "Numismatiska Litteratursällskapet i Göteborg" in 1984.
32. Carl Peter Thunberg, *Abhandlungen von den Münzsorten, welche in ältern und neuern Zeiten im Kaiserthum Japan geschlagen worden und gangbar gewesen sind*. Stendal: Franzen und Grosse 1784. A Dutch edition with the title *Verhandlungen over de Japansche Natie haare zeden, gebruiken en haare munten* was published in Amsterdam already in 1780.
33. Cf. Karl Sudhoff, *Kurzen Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*. Berlin: Verlag von S. Karger, 1922, p. 472.
34. Letter from Martin Christian Wilhelm Stützer to Thunberg, August 8, 1784.
35. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, August 9, 1784.
36. Cf. C. P. Thunberg, *Resa uti ...*, vol. 4, Upsala, 1793, pp. 156–157, 257 (Wimmercrantz) and 300 (Fähræus, Swart, Lunge).
37. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, August 28, 1784.
38. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, October 24, 1784.
39. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, March 31, 1785.
40. Ian Brown, "Dutch East Indian Company", pp. 406–407 in *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, vol. 1, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988. Perhaps the most readable presentation of Dutch engagement in Asia is C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800*. London: Hutchinson, 1965.
41. Based upon F. de Haan's *Oud Batavia*, 2 vols. Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1922–23. Adolf Heuken's book *Historical Sights of Jakarta*, Singapore: Times Books International, 1989, pp. 3–29 updates and adds new facts to the early history of Batavia.
42. H. J. de Graaf, *De Regering van Sultan Agung, Vorst van Mataram, 1613–1645 en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan Sédaing-Krapjat, 1601–1613*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958, pp. 144–164.
43. James R. Rush, "Coen, Jan Pieterszoon", p. 324 in *Encyclopedia of Asian History*, vol. 1, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988.
44. For development of such networks see Kristoff Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620–1740*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958, under individual products.
45. For a recent study on this topic, see Philip D. Curtin, *Death by Migration. Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
46. T. J. Arne, "Svenska kartografer på Java", *Allsvensk Samling*, 46, No. 6 (1959), pp. 11–12.
47. T. J. Arne, "Svenska läkare och fältskärer i holländska ostindiska kompaniets tjänst", *Lycnos* 1956 (1957), pp. 132–146; Carl Sahlin, "Guld- och silvermahn från Sumatra", *Med hammare och fackla* 1936, pp. 64–87.
48. As late as the period of Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) the Dutch East Indies was overwhelmingly Java plus the spice islands acquired from the Portuguese.
49. G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. Ijzerman (eds), *De eerste schippers der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië, 1595–1597. D'Eerst boek van Willem Lodewijksz*, Den Haag: Linschoten Vereening, 1915–1919.
50. F. de Haan, *Priangan. De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*. Batavia: G. Kolff 1910–1913.
51. H. J. de Graaf, *Geschiedenis van Indonesië*, Den Haag: W. van Doeve 1949, pp. 269–270.
52. See D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*. New York: St Martins Press, 1968, pp. 326–342.
53. See M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749–1792. A History of the Division of Java*. London: Oxford University Press, 1974, especially pp. 67–95.
54. Mason C. Hoadley, "State Sponsored Migration: Java in the 17th Century", in *Patterns of Migration in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert R. Reed, Berkeley, CA: Center for South and Southeast Asia studies, 1990, pp. 25–42.
55. That ensuring the safety of just such officials who had to travel unaccompanied in the Priangan territories was given high priority by the Dutch East India Company is illustrated by the great effort expended on the occasion in 1719 when an official had been murdered, see Mason C. Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competence, the Cirebon-Priangan Legal Administration 1680–1792*, Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asian Publications, 1991, pp. 86–93.
56. See Mason C. Hoadley, *Towards a Feudal Mode of Production. West Java's Socioeconomic Structure, 1680–1800*. (in press)
57. T. J. Arne, "Svenska läkare och fältskärer

- i holländska ostindiska kompaniets tjänst", *Lychnos* 1956 (1957), pp. 132-146.
58. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, May 4, 1786.
59. Cf. his brother's information to *Sveriges läkarehistoria, ifrån Konung Gustaf I:s till närvärande tid*, utg. Joh. Fredr. Sacklén, Andra asfdelningen, senare häftet, Nyköping, 1824, p. 565.
60. See Claus Nissen, *Die botanische Buchillustrationen...*, p. 159 n. 1.
61. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, May 4, 1786.
62. H. J. de Graaf, *Catalogus van de handschriften in Westerse Talen toebehorende aan het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963, p. 86 under "H 277 Munther (G. A.), Zweeds arts".
63. Cf. Thunberg, *Resa*, pp. 153-154.
64. Daniel Balguerie (1733-1788) of Amsterdam whose father, Pierre Balguerie (1679-1759) had been ennobled in 1755, Erik Naumann, "Balguerie, Pierre," pp. 616-617 in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Bd. 2, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1920. Cf. G. Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor*, Vol. 1, Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, 1925, p. 217.
65. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië*, 40 (1891), p. xxix.
66. Tan Cu Kong was murdered in mid-1787 nearly causing a revolt in the Cirebon region, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, *Koloniaal Archief*, VOC 3814, "Memorie van Willem van der Beke", 22 February 1789.
67. Oleum caryophylli is an oil produced of cloves from the clove tree, *Eugenia aromatica*. It is a well-tried medicine against toothache, Lauritz Gentz and John Lindgren, *Läkemedelsnamn. Ordförklaringar och historik*. Del II. Stockholm, 1927-1946, pp. 59-60.
68. The white dots indicate that Stützer is referring to the axis deer, *Cervus axis*, which according to Raffles was tamed and fattened for food, Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. 1, London: Black, Parbury & Allen, 1817, p. 49. This species is, however, not indigenous on Java.
69. The Cirebon royal house had been divided in the late seventeenth century between an older branch (*sepuh*) and a younger one (*anom*).
70. Stützer consistently gives "Akker Musik" which seems particularly difficult to translate. Other observers, including those of Sir Francis Drake's crew who in the 1580's visited "Donan" on the south coast near where Stützer travelled, described the music as country music, Jaap Kunst, *Music in Java. Its History, its Theory and its Technique*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973, p. 5.
71. = *istana*?
72. *Kacang* usually refers to peanuts but in Malay *kacang* is used for beans in general. Stützer might refer to chick pea.
73. The *cayaput* tree, *Melaleuca leucadendron*.
74. Several *Streptopelia*-species are to be found on Java. It might be the oriental turtle dove, *Streptopelia orientalis*, but it could also be the collared dove, *Streptopelia decaocto*, which still is a common cage bird in Southeast Asia.
75. Several small squirrels are found in Java. This one is probably a *Callosciurus spec.*
76. The Javanese porcupine is regarded as a separate species, *Hystrix javanica*.
77. Java has many species of civets. This might be the rass, *Viverricula indica*.
78. Sugar palm or sagueir, *Arenga saccharifera*.
79. Leopard Cat, *Felis bengalensis*.
80. A *pice* is a small lead coin of very little value.
81. The black monkey is probably the black leaf-monkey, *Presbytis cristata*. See below.
82. Indigo dyes produced from *Indigofera tinctoria*, were in Stützer's time widely cultivated in Southeast Asia.
83. The Dutch term "steenbok" was used for small antelopes in South Africa. In Indonesian Dutch it might refer to a mouse deer, *Tragulus javanicus*.
84. Probably a kind of fruit dove, *Treron spec.*
85. Today the one-horned or Javan rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) is on the verge of extinction. Only a few individuals remain in the Ujung Kulon reservation, West Java, R. Schenkel and L. Schenkel-Hulliger, "The Javan Rhinoceros (*Rh. sondaicus* Desm.) in Ujung Kulon Reserve. Its Ecology and Behaviour", *Acta Tropica*, 26:2 (1969), pp. 97-135.
86. Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon published his monumental *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière. Avec la description du cabinet du roy*, 1-14; suppl. 1-7, in Paris 1749-1782. Although he rejects Linnaeus' system of classification, his descriptions of mammals and birds are considered brilliant and versatile.
87. A *kris* is a decorative dagger with high ceremonial and symbolic value in the Javanese society. It was a common gift among the natives of Southeast Asia. J. Groneman, "Der Kris der Javaner", *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, IX-XII (1910-1913), is probably

- still the most adequate study on kris daggers.
88. "Lutung" in Javanese, "lotong" in Malay denote the leaf-monkey. The "black monkey" is probably a black leaf-monkey, *Presbytis cristata*.
89. The Dutch local term for crocodile was "kaiman", while the Malay call it *buaya*. Stützer is referring to the estuarine crocodile, *Crocodylus porosus*.
90. Edible bird nests consist wholly of hardened saliva and are gathered from several species of swifts, although the edible-nest swiftlet, *Collocalia fuciphaga*, is the most well known and produces the best quality. In the mid-19th century not less than 1500 persons were involved in collecting edible birds nests for the Dutch government at Karang-Kallong along the south coast of Java, see A. E. Brehm, *Djurens liv*, Vol. 2, *Foglarne*, Stockholm: Em. Gj. Förlag, 1875, pp. 197-198.
91. A palanquin.
92. "kaffer" was a non-Muslim native.
93. Two species of wild hogs co-exist on Java, namely the Javanese Wild Hog, *Sus verruca*, and the Common Wild Hog, *Sus scrofa* [vittatus]. Both were abundant in West Java.
94. The Javanese Tiger, *Panthera tigris sondaica*, has probably been extinct since 1988 when the last two known specimens disappeared, David Day, *The Encyclopedia of Vanished Species*, Hong Kong: McLaren Publishing, 1989, p. 180.
95. Most likely the Green Turtle, *Chelone mydas*, which is the most abundant species in the seas surrounding Java. However, other marine turtles are occasionally found in these waters as well, especially the Hawksbill Turtle, *Eretmochelys imbricata*.
96. "Zeeduivel" usually refers to devil ray. Stützer, however, obviously refers to a kind of sea urchin (*Diadema saxatile*), "zeeëgel" in Dutch.
97. The Menjangan Deer (*Cervus timorensis*) usually lives in large herds. In the mid-19th century, J. K. Hasskarl gave a colourful description of the hunt on mounted horses on Java. The natives did not use firearms at all but rode after the deer and broke their backbones with swords or spears, Alfred Brehm, *Djurens liv*, Vol. 2, Stockholm: Aktiebolaget Familjeboken, 1924, p. 81.
98. Javanese for rhinoceros.
99. The territory between Panimbong and Suci had been more or less continually disputed between Bandung, Sukapura, and Limbangan for at least a hundred years.
100. For comments upon this, see Mason C. Hoadley, *Roots of the Chinese Minority "Problem" in Indonesia. The Eighteenth Century Turning Point in West Java*, University of Stockholm, Center for Pacific Asian Studies, Working Paper, 1, Stockholm, 1986.
101. Sunyaragi was not only a pleasure garden for the Cirebon royal family but also a place of meditation. Laying along the Cirebon "bypass" and recently renovated into an archaeological museum and park, Sunyaragi was built during the 1700s, very likely using the increased revenues obtained from working with the Dutch East India Company.
102. *Imperata arundinacea*.
103. The wild cow certainly refers to the Banteng, *Bos javanicus*.
104. The datap tree, *Erythrina lithosperma*, was mentioned by Thunberg and is still considered an excellent shade tree for coffee plantations.
105. L. C. Rookmaaker, "The Distribution of the Rhinoceros in eastern India, Bangladesh, China, and the Indo-Chinese region", *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, 205:3-4 (1980), pp. 253-268, and Nico J. van Strien, *The Sumatran Rhinoceros Dicerorhinus sumatrensis (Fischer, 1814) in the Ganung Leuser National Park, Sumatra, Indonesia; its Distribution, Ecology and Conservation. Mammalia Depicta. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde*, H. 12. Hamburg & Berlin: Verlag Paul Parey, 1986, pp. 173-174.
106. The best survey of the Javan rhinoceros is still H. J. V. Sody, "Das Javanische Nashorn, *Rhinocerus sondaicus*, historisch und biologisch", *Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde*, 24 (1959), pp. 109-240. It is a translation of a Dutch work published in Buitenzorg 1941 that is hard to obtain.
107. T. H. Clarke, "The Iconography of the Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs. Part I. Dürer's *Ganda*", *Connoisseur*, 184 (1973), pp. 2-13, and L. C. Rookmaaker, "Two Collections of Rhinoceros Plates compiled by James Douglas in the eighteenth Century", *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, 9 (1978), pp. 17-38. For a full iconography on rhinoceros illustrations, see L. C. Rookmaaker, *Bibliography of the Rhinoceros: an analysis of the literature on the recent rhinoceros in culture, history and biology*, Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1983. An excellent discussion on the view of rhinoceros in Europe during the three centuries and its impact on European art is given in a beautiful book by T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515-1799*, London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986.

108. Andreas Sparrman, "Beskrifning om *Rhinoceros bicornis*", *Kongl. Vetenskaps Akademiens Handlingar*, 1778, pp. 303–313.
109. L. G. Rookmaaker, "Early Rhinoceros Systematics", pp. 111–118 in *History in the Service of Systematics. Papers from the Conference to celebrate the Centenary of the British Museum (Natural History) 13–16 April, 1981*, eds. Alwynne Wheeler and James H. Price, Society for the Bibliography of Natural History Special Publication Number 1, London: The Society for the Bibliography of Natural History, 1981.
110. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, Dec. 1790, mentions that he has saved the Baron twice from deathly illness. *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, Nederlands factorij in Japan, The *Monster Rol van alle E. Compagnies Dienaars onder ultimo Junie deese Jaars in Weezen ten Eijland Decima in Japan*, for 1788 lists both Stützer and van Rheege.
111. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, January 24, 1789. J. Penry Lewis, *List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon, of Historical or Local Interest with an Obituary of Persons Uncommemorated*. Colombo: H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 1913, p. 409, states that Stützer "was employed as Physician to several embassies to Japan, from whence he brought many specimens of the art of that wonderful people".
112. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, December 1790. Given van Rheege's general dubious reputation there seems to have been some foundation in Stützer's complaint, see L. Brummel, "Achttiendeeuws kolonialisme in brieven", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 87 (1972), pp. 171–204. The authors are indebted to Dr. Jurrien van Goor, Rijksuniversiteit de Utrecht, for this information.
113. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, May 4, 1790.
114. Letter from Stützer to Thunberg, January 12, 1793.
115. Probably Anders Sparrman's *Museum Carlsonium* (1786–1789) in four volumes.
116. Letter from Lebeck in Trankebar to Thunberg, 30 August 1791.
117. *Uppsala universitets matrikel*, vol. II. 1750–1760. Utg. A. B. Carlsson. Uppsala 1925, p. 331.
118. Åke Holm, *Specimina Linnaeana. I Uppsala bevarade zoologiska samlingar från Linnés tid*. Uppsala Universitets årsskrift 1957:6. Uppsala 1957.
119. Letter from Lebeck in Calcutta to Thunberg, January 1798. The interest in conchoilians is dealt with briefly in Yngve Löwegren, "Äldre svenska konkyliessamlingar", pp. 15–33 in *Konkylien. Snäckan och musslan i mänskans värld*, red. Gunilla Eriksson, Lund: Kulturen, 1984. In the entomological collection of the Zoological Museum at Uppsala university, specimens of insects collected by Lebeck are still preserved. Personal communication from professor Lars Wallin, Department of Zoology, Uppsala.
120. Uppsala University Library. G 100. *J. Hallenbergs brevexling*, Vol. 1. *Utländska*: Letter from H. J. Lebeck, Dec 14, 1796. In the Hallenberg collection of Uppsala University Library there is a handwritten note book on the Tamil and Malabar languages with the title "Observationes de Lingua Malabarica, praecipue de ifta ejusdem Linguae dialecto quae Tamulica dicitur: Ex orali manuductione Domini Lepeck, natione Tamulico, in insula Ceylonia nato, exceptae ab I.H. 1795", J. H. Hallenberg R 132; some notes on Malabar and Tamil is also to be found in R 130.
121. Letter from Lebeck to Thunberg, April 15, 1800.
122. Letter from Johan Arnold Stützer to Thunberg, Nov 2, 1802.
123. Lennox A. Mills, *Ceylon under British Rule 1795–1932 with an account of the East India Company's Embassies to Kandy 1762–1795*. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1964 (1933), pp. 44–45.
124. J. Penry Lewis, *List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon, of Historical or Local Interest with an Obituary of Persons Uncommemorated*. Colombo: H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 1913, p. 409.
125. Ibid., p. 409.
126. London, Royal Artillery Institution, MD/142. The authors wish to thank Dr Peter Carey of Oxford university not only for drawing our attention to this information but also generously putting his notes at our disposal.
127. M. C. Rickeffs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain, A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections*, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 58 and 71 respectively.
128. See P. B. R. Carey, (ed.), *The Archive of Yogyakarta, Vol. 1. Documents relating to politics and internal Court Affairs*, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 1–12.
129. K. M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*. London: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 220–235.

130. None of the three tomes published by Thunberg in 1825, *Florula zeylanica*, and *Florula javanica*, 1 and 2, nor the Thunberg plant collections make any reference to material supplied by Stützer. See H. O. Juel, *Plantae Thunbergianae. Ein Verzeichniz der von C. P. Thunberg in Südafrika, Indian und Japan gesammelten und der in seinen Schriften beschrieben oder erwähnten Pflanzen. Arbeten utgivna med undersöd af Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond*, Uppsala, 21. Uppsala 1918.
131. Carl Peter Thunberg, *Resa ...*, Vol. 4, Stockholm 1793, p. 132. Stützer's brother Carl Wilhelm thanked Thunberg for seeing to it that he could obtain a doctor's examination from Uppsala *in absentia* making it possible for him to continue practising as a doctor. Letter from Carl Wilhelm Stützer to Thunberg, February 9, and February 24, 1807.
132. Mason C. Hoadley, "Javanese, Peranakan, and Chinese Elites in Cirebon: Changing Ethnic Boundaries", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 47 (1989), pp. 513-516.