CHAPTER 1

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

A Comparative Examination of Dutch and Indonesian Travel Writing

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Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Animals from the Dutch perspective

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

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

Discoveries in a scientific paradise

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

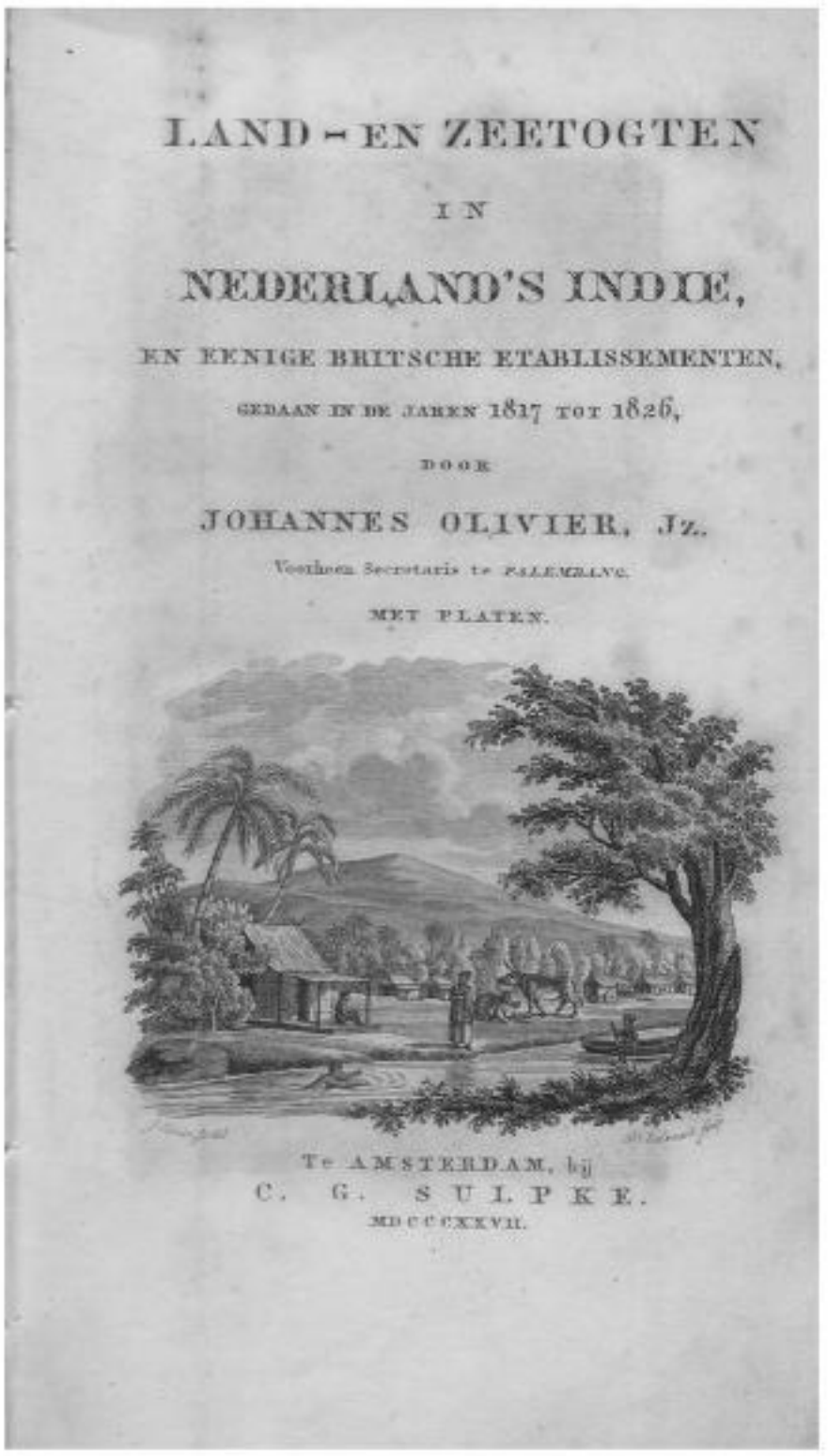
Whilst Blume evidently did not flinch from getting his hands dirty, he usually had his Javanese servants, 'who were most experienced in dissecting and mounting birds and various animals', do the work for him. After the rhinoceros had been dissected, he left a few servants behind with the raja, who was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

Gruesome games and lurking peril

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

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

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


LAND- EN ZEETOGTEN

IN

NEDERLAND'S INDIË,

EN EENIGE BRITSCHE ETABLISSEMENTEN,

GEDAAN IN DE JAREN 1817 TOT 1826,

DOOR

JOHANNES OLIVIER, Jz.

Voorheen Secretaris te PALEMBANG.

MET PLATEN.

Te AMSTERDAM, bij
C. G. SULPKE.
MDCCCXXVII.

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

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

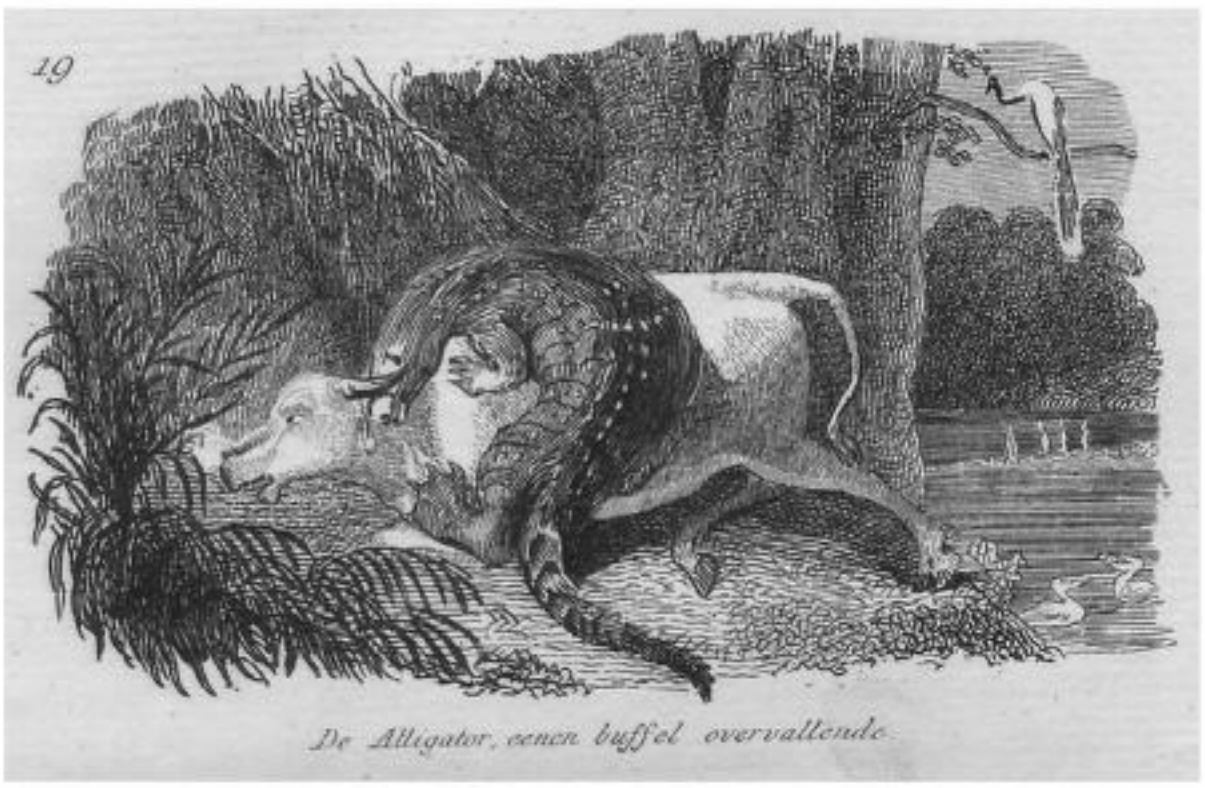
Animals also provided entertainment. From Batavia, Olivier travelled to Buitenzorg, where he visited the Botanical Garden and the modest zoo that the Dutch had founded. For Europeans, Olivier thought, there was something distinctly 'odd' about a visit to the latter. This was because, near the palace,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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

8 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 9.

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

10 This partly overlaps with our first category.

11 Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 122.

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

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

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

22 Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 142.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

35 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 26.

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

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

38 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 200.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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