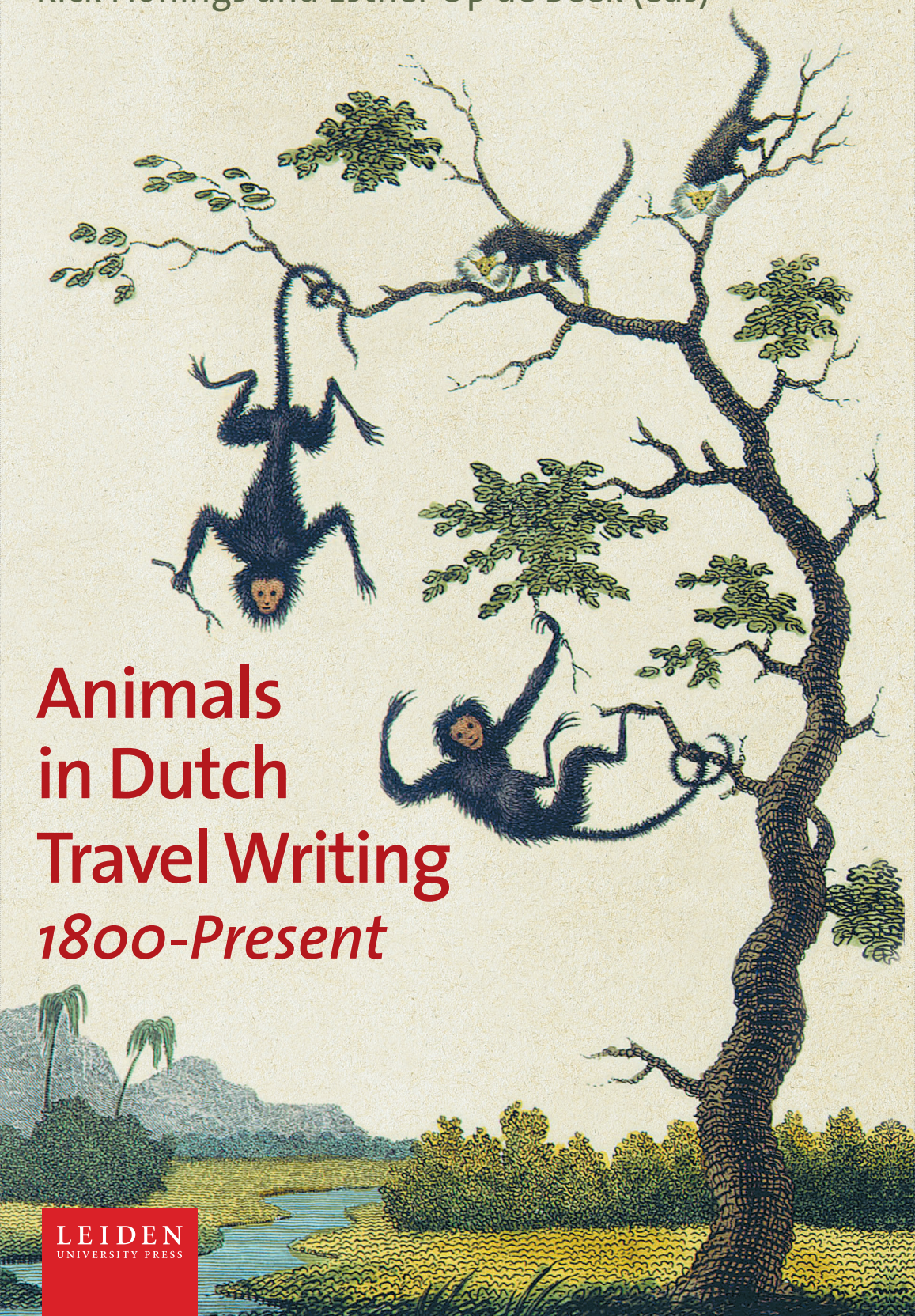
Rick Honings and Esther Op de Beek (eds)



Animals in Dutch Travel Writing

1800-Present

LEIDEN
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Animals in Dutch Travel Writing, 1800-Present

ANIMALS IN DUTCH TRAVEL WRITING, 1800-PRESENT

Edited by

Rick Honings

and

Esther Op de Beek

Leiden University Press

The publication of this volume would not have been possible without the generous support of:

Jaap Harten Fonds

J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting

Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS)

Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO)

Cover design: Andre Klijsen
Cover illustration: Image of two monkeys, in: John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796), vol. 2. Wikipedia Commons.
Lay-out: Crius Group

ISBN 978 90 8728 402 2
e-ISBN 978 94 0060 447 6
https://doi.org/10.24415/9789087284022
NUR 688

Table of Contents

Part II – Living Apart Together: Animals in Modern Travel Writing

Acknowledgements

The editors are grateful to all the contributors for their patience, enthusiasm, and work: Peter Altena, Arnoud Arps, Judith E. Bosnak, Ton van Kalmthout, Johannes Müller, Paul J. Smith, Lucie Sedláčková, Achmad Sunjayadi, Mikko Toivanen, and Claudia Zeller. We would like to thank the Dutch Research Council (NWO) for sponsoring the projects that led to this book, in particular the Vidi grant that Rick Honings received for his project *Voicing the Colony: Travelers in the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1945*. We are indebted to Saskia Gieling for her support at Leiden University Press and to Nina Bresser and Sophie Chapple of Bresser-Chapple Copy, Proofing and Translation for their editorial assistance. Furthermore, we are grateful for the financial support of the J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting and the Jaap Harten Stichting. Last but not least, we would like to thank the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society for supporting the Dutch Centre for Travel Writing Studies.

Introduction

Rick Honings & Esther Op de Beek

The slowing down of international movement caused by the 2020-2021 COVID-19 pandemic clearly reveals the ethical dilemma travel represents. Research shows that travel has demonstrable positive effects on human beings: It brings new perspectives and knowledge, and gives a sense of freedom and pleasure that enhances the subjective quality of life and well-being.[1] However, the sheer volume of travel today has become a threat, not only to our planet, but also to global welfare, equality, and health. Mass travel causes environmental damage and inevitably leads to the exploitation of people and animals. This insight has not only led to a reconsideration of our responsibility for dealing with other living beings, but has also given rise to a Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, developed by the UN World Tourism Organization.[2]

For as long as humans have been travelling, they have encountered others: new people, new cultures, and also new animals. These animals encompass the dangerous, the exotic, the unfamiliar, the domesticated, the tasty or, indeed, the helpful. In his highly influential essay 'Why Look at Animals?' (1977) – a text that is often seen as foundational to the field of animal studies[3] – the English novelist and art critic John Berger described the evolution of the relationship between human and non-human animals. Animals have, since the dawn of time, populated our world, our lives, and our fantasies – the oldest human rock paintings depict them. To Berger's regret, people seemed to have forgotten how to truly *look* at them. In the nineteenth and twentieth century, under the influence of the industrial revolution and the ever-increasing capitalism, animals became alienated and marginalised, both physically and culturally, Berger argues. As caged attractions or domesticated pets that serve human needs, they have become pale remnants of the beings they once were.[4]

A lot has changed since 1977, albeit not necessarily for the better. The current state of the planet urges us to rethink our relationship with the environment in general and animals in particular. In his essay, Berger examines the alienation of animals, also raising interesting questions about the role of *writing* about animals and animal descriptions. People, Berger argues, have come to see them more as *symbols* than as actual, real living beings. When people think they *know* animals, they in fact interpret them as it suits them: They project meanings onto the animals, who then become signs in a process of self-reflection. Berger gives the example of a woman, Barbara Carter, who won a 'grant a wish' charity contest in 1976. She

Two men and an elephant in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), 1935. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

wanted to kiss and cuddle a lion. When she tried to kiss Suki, a lioness in a nearby Safari Park that was supposed to be 'perfectly safe', she ended up in hospital with severe injuries.[5]

Whilst this type of misconception, a form of anthropomorphism – attributing human characteristics to non-human things and events – can easily be criticised, anthropomorphism itself has a long tradition in many cultures. Anthropologist Stewart Guthrie argues that our survival depends on our ability to interpret an ambiguous world.[6] Visualising the world as humanlike may be a smart survival strategy: it may help to categorize observations and experiences, and organise our predictions based on them. Moreover, we cannot simply transcend anthropomorphism, because we cannot separate our experience of reality from being human. Rather, the question here is whether some form of anthropomorphism could maintain the distinction between humans and animals. To a certain extent, human-animal relationships will always remain unequal, since animals do not possess the ability to express themselves in language – to 'write back' and offer a different perspective on themselves to that put forward by humans. In other words, they lack representational capacity.

The questions Berger asked about the effects of the representation of animals are just as relevant today: What does it mean to write about animals? To what extent can representations of animals do justice to their actual, living, physical reality? Is

it problematic to represent animals that can think or speak in human language? Perhaps more importantly, in the light of our current planetary crisis: How would our relationship to non-human animals change if we better understood, perhaps even changed, such representations?

Travel writing offers a very rich source of information from which to find answers to these questions. Indeed, it has been described as 'the most socially important of all literary genres', since it inherently deals with encounters between people and cultures.[7] The Australian scholar Elizabeth Leane, in her recent exploration of the appearance of animals in travelogues, suggests that it comes as no surprise that 'almost any travel narrative read with attentiveness to the presence of animals will yield incidents of some kind every few pages, some trivial, some highly revealing'.[8] Nevertheless, travel writing is by no means an innocent political, social, and ethical bystander to the issues surrounding the harmful effects of travel on both flora and fauna. Indeed, it is implicated in the consequences of power relations, resonates with colonialism, and contributes to the negative effects of tourism.

In postcolonial approaches to travel writing, much attention has been paid to the fact that well into the twentieth century, travel accounts were mainly written by privileged white men, who invented 'others', such as the 'barbarians', the poor, women, and/or people of colour, in order to craft a 'civilised' (national or European) self-image in comparison with 'the rest of the world'. However, the question of how they 'invented' animals as 'others' has, thus far, received much less attention, certainly in the study of Dutch travel writing. It is this lack of attention that this edited volume seeks to address.

In *Animals in Dutch Travel Writing, 1800-Present* we explore the ways in which animals populate Dutch travel stories – how they are described, and what roles and functions are attributed to them. The volume offers a balanced discussion of wild and domestic species, which in itself represents an intervention into prejudices favouring so-called charismatic animals. As a whole, the chapters present a global perspective by attending to the particularities of different regions and nations around the world, analysing voices of the Dutch 'homeland' alongside those who observe them whilst travelling both home and abroad.

In the following, we first describe how we define the notoriously slippery term 'travel writing' in this collection. Second, we will give a short characterisation of research into Dutch travel writing, which will be contextualised in relation to international developments in travel writing studies. We then turn our attention to the study of animals in travelogues at the intersection of travel writing studies, animal studies, and ecocriticism. The structure of this book is then explained and substantiated, highlighting several common threads that can be recognised throughout the contributions. Finally, we conclude with an overview of the chapters themselves.

The genre of travel writing

The need and the necessity to travel has historical roots. For as long as there have been people to make them, long journeys have been undertaken and written about, from notes in diaries, letters, and reports of scientific expeditions, to journalistic reports and literary travel stories. Travelogues are amongst the oldest surviving texts. Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, has all the characteristics of travel literature. Later, biblical stories such as the exodus of the Jews from Egypt and the journey of Moses and his people to the 'Promised Land', or the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem, also share many such elements.[9] However, such travel stories are only to a certain extent about journeys that actually took place – something that also applies to many travel stories from the Middle Ages, such as the Middle Dutch *De reis van Sint Brandaan* (The journey of Saint Brandaan) from the twelfth century.[10]

The early modern period brought some important developments, both in travel and in travel literature. Although the Italian explorer Marco Polo had travelled to Asia as early as the thirteenth century, it was mainly the voyages of Columbus from 1492 onwards that marked the real beginning of the era of European exploration. These texts nevertheless remained relatively unknown in Europe until the sixteenth century, in contrast to the (sometimes fictitious) travel accounts of pilgrims to Jerusalem, such as the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486) by Bernhard von Breydenbach or the famous fictional *Voyages* of Jean de Mandeville (circa 1356).

People no longer blindly trusted classical or medieval sources – they wanted to see for themselves what the world looked like. The Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama was the first to go to India via the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. In doing so, he discovered a travel route that would be used for centuries. From that moment on, driven by curiosity and the pursuit of wealth, Westerners ventured forth. This resulted in a wave of travel texts, which could be quickly distributed thanks to the invention of the printing press. These later travelogues were based on personal observations and a journey that the author had actually made in person.[11] Such characteristics usually define the genre of travel literature.

In subsequent eras, the genre has continued to evolve and diversify. For example, the mid-nineteenth century, a period in which the middle class became more mobile, marked the beginning of modern tourism. Since then, the literary travelogue became a popular genre (especially in Anglo-Saxon literature) and tourist genres emerged. In the twentieth and twenty-first century, new forms of travelogues appeared under the influence of the rise of non-fiction and new journalism, the rise of new media and the democratisation of education and tourism – something as true in the Netherlands as elsewhere. According to the literary historian Hugo Brems, there has been a boom in travel stories in modern Dutch literature since

the 1980s, which he attributes to the rise of mass tourism and consumerism in the second half of the twentieth century.[12]

Today, even given its enormous popularity – everyone probably will have an idea of what is meant by travel literature – it remains a difficult genre to define. There are many sub-genres, such as logbooks, travel diaries, memoirs, expedition reports, reports, ship's journals, imaginary travel stories, travel poetry, travel guides, travel letters, and serials. In addition, there is a great variety of travel texts in terms of the places visited and the themes discussed. Some are mainly descriptive, whilst others are more about the individual experience. Is there actually something that connects all these texts? In this respect, the English writer Jonathan Raban's definition is famous, describing travel writing as 'a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed'.[13] Travel literature is, in short, a hybrid genre. It is a simultaneously rich and complex source of information about how travellers define themselves and others, and offers a nuanced view of historical and contemporary ideologies and power structures.

In this edited volume a variety of travel texts are discussed and analysed, however, they all fit the criterion 'based on personal observations during a journey that the author had actually made in person'.[14] Imaginary travel stories do not form part of these analyses, because we want to focus on representations of *actual* encounters between humans and animals.

The field of travel writing studies

Recent decades have seen growth in the international field of travel writing studies, as is evidenced by the numerous monographs, multi-author volumes, overview studies, and research companions that have reached publication. In addition, the scientific journal *Studies in Travel Writing* was founded in 1997. In 2002, the Centre for Travel Writing Studies was founded in Nottingham 'to produce, facilitate, and promote scholarly research on travel writing and its contexts, without restriction of period, locus, or type of travel writing'.[15]

In Flanders and the Netherlands, travel writing has received much less attention than in the Anglo-Saxon world. For many years the only Dutch scholar drawing attention to the importance of travel literature was Siegfried Huigen.[16] However, recently, scholarly attention seems to be growing in the low countries. In 2017, the book *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790-1930*, edited by Alison Martin, Lut Missinne, and Beatrix van Dam, was published.[17] Furthermore, the interdisciplinary research group 'Tourism, Travel and Text' has existed at Radboud University Nijmegen for a number of years. In addition, in 2020, the Dutch Centre for Travel Writing Studies was founded at Leiden University.

European woman feeds monkeys in the resort of Wendit near Malang, in the Dutch East Indies, circa 1925. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

The fact that international scientific interest in travel writing has emerged relatively late compared with other genres has historical roots: Travel texts have traditionally been associated mainly with expeditions, journalism and popular adventure stories and not with 'high' literature.[18] This also applies to the Netherlands, where a large audience hungered for exciting stories such as Gerrit de Veer's *Waerachtighe van drie seylagien, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt ghehoort* (1598, translated into English as *A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East Towards Cathay and China*). The story chronicles a disastrous journey in search of a northern passage to Asia, which ended at the inhospitable Nova Zembla archipelago in Northern Russia. The detailed account of the time spent in the 'Behouden Huys' (the preserved house) became a bestseller. The stories about bitter cold, bloodthirsty polar bears and Dutch heroism appealed to the imagination, as did the *Journael ofte gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe van de Oost-Indische reijse* (1646, Diary or memorable description of the East-Indies voyage) by the Dutch skipper Willem IJsbrantszoon Bontekoe, who sailed to the Dutch East Indies in 1618 and wrote down his adventures. The story of shipwreck, famine, and cannibalism became extremely popular and was reprinted many times up to 1800. Its popularity was predicated on the mix of exciting adventures and edifying morals, with Bontekoe as the exemplary (brave, Christian) hero. Bontekoe's journal fuelled the demand for this type of text, stimulating the growth of the entire genre.[19]

Colonial travel literature in particular finds itself at the epicentre of recent scientific interest in Dutch travel literature – not least, from a postcolonial perspective. In recent years, Siegfried Huigen has published extensively on the travel stories of François Valentyn, who is best known for his magnum opus *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën vervattende een naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandelinge van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten* (1724-1726, Old and New East Indies containing an

accurate and comprehensive account of the Dutch presence in those regions). Much attention is paid to journeys to and in the Dutch East Indies, the former Dutch colony in Southeast Asia. This is evident, both from two recent theme issues of the journal *Indische Letteren*[20] and the book *Een tint van het Indische Oosten. Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (2015, A touch of the Indian East. Travels in Insulinde 1800-1950), edited by Rick Honings and Peter van Zonneveld.[21] Started in 2020, the research project *Voicing the Colony: Travelers in the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1945*, funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO), is now in its third year at Leiden University.

Hugo Brems has drawn attention to the lack of attention and appreciation for the travelogue in Dutch literature after 1945. The fact that the genre hardly appears in literary histories and studies of modern Dutch literature contrasts starkly with its popularity. Particularly from the 1980s onwards, there has been a blossoming of the genre in the low countries. Brems argues that the explosive rise of tourism in this period surely will have contributed to the popularity of travel stories, as well as the corresponding increase in popularity of the travelogue in England: 'No doubt international examples have played a stimulating role, such as the British magazine *Granta*, which has successfully brought together international literature, literary non-fiction, and travel literature since 1979, and the works of Bruce Chatwin, Paul Theroux, and V.S. Naipaul.'[22]

Animals in travel writing

An overview of recent developments in international research into travel writing is given in *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (2020), edited by Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs.[23] The handbook pays attention, first, to the diversity of types of framing in travel writing (from migrant or expat experiences to travelling in pairs); second, to modes of writing (from diaries to travel narratives); third, to sensory perceptions in travel writing; fourth, to 'interactions' in travelogues; and, lastly, to the paratexts of travel writing.

In the section on 'Interactions', Elizabeth Leane discusses interactions between travellers and non-human animals.[24] In a manner similar to John Berger, Leane observes a tendency to look *through*, rather than to look *at* the textual animals in travel literature, which were considered 'interesting only where they can be read as figures for human qualities'.[25] Although the subordinate position of the animal, which follows from the fact that only humans are able to report about these interactions linguistically, was not experienced as problematic for a long time, this has now changed under the influence of scientific disciplines such as ecocriticism and animal studies. Leane demonstrates the new insights that the 'animal turn' can offer the study of travel texts, and vice versa. She proposes a typology of the roles that animals

have traditionally been allocated in travel writing – as quest objects, as instruments of travel, and as companions – highlighting the ways in which such representations both constrain and enable human understandings of encounters with other species.

One of the most basic reasons to study animals and the human-animal relationship is because we simply cannot exist without animals. As Garry Marvin and Susan McHugh rightly say in the *Routledge Handbook of Human-Animal Studies*: 'Simply put, it is because animals – although not all, and not all equally – are essential in and for human societies. Human worlds are built upon animal lives and deaths, conceptually as well as physically.'[26] Moreover, by looking critically at (representations of) animals and human-animal relationships – both past and present – animal studies creates room for future perspectives, and, in this sense, possesses revolutionary potential. It is this insight that fuels much recent research into the representation in the arts of animals that are threatened with extinction and 'forgotten' biodiversity,[27] instead of studying traditional iconography and metaphors. In that respect, this volume ties in with the structure of *The Palgrave Handbook of Animals and Literature*, which establishes a historical line of representation of animals, whilst at the same time presenting new directions and perspectives that seem urgent in response to current environmental questions.[28] By reflecting on the human-animal relationship, the approach of animal studies is to think beyond the 'Anthropocene' – the paradigm in which man as an autonomous being is the centre of all existence – and to catch glimpses of how a healthier, more holistic 'cooperation' or 'thought' can be argued. New ideas and concepts are indispensable here, as are cultural products that destabilise normalised dominant perspectives and/or depict alternative perspectives. The field of Animal Studies invites us to critically relate to the 'legacy' of the Enlightenment.[29] Values such as physicality, vulnerability, emotionality, dependence, and mortality, traditionally attributed to non-human animals when opposed to human animals as rational, independent and dominant beings, are recognised as important shared factors of all life on Earth. This calls for a deconstruction of the opposition – the violent hierarchy humans have created between animals and themselves. If we want to have more respect for ourselves, for the benefit of our survival, we will have to show more respect for, and interest in, the animals that we are ourselves and with whom we live.

The more activist field of critical animal studies opposes structural violence against non-human animals and the discriminatory, institutionalised attitude towards animals, termed 'speciesism' – directly analogous with racism and sexism.[30] In *Critical Animal Studies. Towards Trans-species Social Justice* (2018), the editors Atsuko Matsuoka and John Sorenson define 'speciesism' as follows:

> Speciesism is an ideology that legitimates a particular social order and it is necessary to understand the oppression of animals in terms of a theory that recognizes the necessary

> factors of economic exploitation, unequal power, and ideological control. Speciesist ideology operates to justify domination over other animals and our economic exploitation and commodification of them. Academics have contributed to maintenance of this ideology by developing a system of knowledge about animals and theories to justify human domination.[31]

This quote describes a discourse that shows striking parallels with colonial discourse as analysed and criticised in, and with, postcolonial theory. The oppression, instrumentalisation, and mechanisms of exploitation – which depend on (linguistic) ideology – are not aimed at other, 'non-Western' people, but at animals. One of the tasks of critical animal studies is to 'confront this unthinkability, the taken for granted assumptions that form a hidden structure of violence and that make the most unspeakable atrocities seem an acceptable part of everyday life. Part of this effort is to challenge the anthropocentrism of various academic disciplines'.[32]

The relative lack of engagement so far between animals studies and travel writing studies may have an explanation in the close ties between the latter and postcolonial criticism.[33] In *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment* (2010), Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin state that whilst postcolonialism's theoretical concerns 'offer [an] immediate entry point for a re-theorising of the place of animals in relation to human societies', it is hard 'even to discuss animals without generating a profound unease, even a rancorous antagonism, in many postcolonial contexts today'.[34] In many of the contributions that follow, that relationship and its accompanying 'inconvenience' are explored.

Slaughterhouse in Surakarta, early twentieth century. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Themes and threads

In this edited volume, Elizabeth Leane's typology of the functions of animals in travelogues provided the starting point for the analysis of Dutch travel writing for all contributors. An exploratory typology invites and deserves to be tested and adjusted, since it can be applied in multiple ways to many different types of travel texts, from different theoretical perspectives to human-animal relationships. As Leane argues, and as will become clear in that which follows, studying animals in travel writing demands an interdisciplinary approach, on the intersection of animal studies (anthropomorphism, ecocriticism), tourism studies, and travel writing studies, including postcolonial studies.[35] Within this diversity, a number of themes have come to the fore that seem typical of human-animal interactions and their representation in Dutch (colonial) travel literature. Before giving an overview of the chapters in this volume, we will discuss four recurring topics.

A first focus area concerns the fact that travel writers, logically, favour what is newsworthy or attractive to their readers. The presence of, and interactions with, some animals seem so obvious that they are only referred to 'between the lines'. Everyday interactions with domesticated animals, such as the pigs to which Lucie Sedláčková will draw our attention in her chapter, and less conspicuous animals, such as the insects or lizards discussed by Achmad Sunjayadi, have historically received significantly less attention than those animals that count as triumphal discoveries, important encyclopaedic material, form part of adventurous experiences, or as peculiar or dangerous creatures. The presence of exotic flora and fauna was one of the key attractions in colonial travel writing from the Dutch East Indies, and the one that, as Mikko Toivanen argues in his chapter about the Java horse, has attracted the most attention in discussions of the travellers' relationship with the natural environment. It is rather more because of the consciously chosen perspective of the contributors to this book, than because of the travel writers themselves, that we now have our eyes on a broad spectrum of functions and roles. Nevertheless, encounters with these 'underexposed' animals reveal at least as much about the relationship between humans and animals – as does the way in which they are (if at all) described.

Second, the chapters expose the tension between the desire to know and understand animals, and their otherness and unknowability. Their 'gaze back' is ambiguous and difficult to read. The fact that humans cannot know what the animal sees, confirms that it is radically different and therefore cannot be known or dominated. The effect of this observation is that the social opposition between humans and animals, which is presented as natural, is exposed as an ideological construction. This construction turns out to be conditional: It is valid only on grounds devised by man himself and not on the basis of a metaphysical truth that

determines the difference and the hierarchical relationship between man and animal. This post-structuralist reasoning also applies to colonial relationships and the ways in which these can be shaped or destabilised through (narrated) gazes and perspectives. Common, in this regard, is the use of the opposition between 'civilised' and 'barbaric' qualities, both in the description of the supposed nature of humans and animals, and in the characterisation of the way in which 'others' – the native population or the tourists – treat animals.

This opposition between 'the civilised' versus 'the barbaric' is further undermined in the travelogues discussed herein. The bestial becomes a metaphor for humans, as we shall see in Claudia Zeller's chapter on monkeys, and Arnoud Arps' analysis of the animal as a metaphor for violence. Although sometimes, animals are presented as more civilised, reliable, or intelligent, this undermining of the dominant opposition also emphasises the opposition itself, and in most cases, this functions within the advantageous self-presentation of the travel writer. A similar point has been made for the contemporary era by Debbie Lisle, who notes how celebrity travel writers employ self-deprecating humour as a strategy via which to avoid and defuse more fundamental questions of structural inequality.[36] This narrative, as Esther Op de Beek shows, at least to a certain extent, accounts for the way in which the travel writer Leonhard Huizinga deals with animals in his stories.

Another focus area is the need to describe (new) animal species abroad, and to gather and share knowledge about them – a process that has been criticised based on the awareness that in doing so, one is appropriating a culture and that this kind of epistemological information forms the basis for domination. Whilst in theory, this is certainly true, in practice it appears that the traveller-scientists described in the chapters that follow often seem to have treated original, indigenous names and sources of information with more respect than a superficial condemnation of the genre of travel writing would suggest – a point argued by Johannes Müller regarding Pieter Bleeker's naming practices. Bringing the history of nomenclature into dialogue with travel writing – something Rick Honings and Judith E. Bosnak also do in their chapter – reveals another dimension of colonial interactions with the living world that is often hidden behind the rhetoric of scientific discovery. Non-scientific vernacular names can hold important information about human-animal interactions and the ecological history of species whose habitats have been severely impacted by human interference. Despite their intrinsically arbitrary nature, names are always embedded in wider discursive frameworks and can shed light on underlying social practices, mentalities, and ordering systems.

This is related to a fourth constant: the use of legitimising strategies common to colonial discourse in the description of people, animals, and their environments, both in the colonial period and subsequently. It has become clear that in Dutch travel literature, animals were also used as 'others' to enhance colonial power

relations. Of course, to a certain extent this finding follows from the focus and layout chosen in this book. Nevertheless, the contributions collectively confirm that, and demonstrate how, animals function in a colonial discourse that resonates strongly in travel (writing) practices to this day.

About this volume

The contributions to this collection are divided into two chronological periods. First, we wanted to investigate how animals play a role in travel stories from the colonial period. Dutch travel literature is teeming with animals, as is the wealth of international travel literature. Nevertheless, travel literature has been given much attention in the Netherlands from a postcolonial perspective, which may have hindered a thorough analysis of human-animal relations to date. Be that as it may, Dutch research into colonial travelogues still lacks any analyses of the role that animals played, both in (travels to) the colonies and descriptions thereof. For this reason, we have reserved a separate section for the colonial era: 'Part I. Colonial Encounters: Framing the Animal'.

In 'Part II. Living Apart Together: Animals in Modern Travel Writing', attention in several chapters is paid to the impact of discursive strategies from the colonial era. However, the focus is now shifted to the modern era, in which travel emerges as a form of leisure, travel and tourism undergo a further democratisation, and travel writers see the world changing rapidly. Central questions here are: How do the functions of animals change under these developments? What, if any, constants remain, in the face of such changes?

In the first chapter, basically two chapters in one, Judith E. Bosnak and Rick Honings undertake a comparative examination of nineteenth-century Dutch and Javanese travel writing. More specifically, they compare the representation of animals by Dutch and Javanese travellers, focusing on three different functions of animals: the animal as a scientific quest object; as a tourist 'curiosity' or pastime object; and, third, as an object of spiritual devotion. Early nineteenth-century Dutch scientists carried out extensive explorations of Java's flora and fauna. For the sake of 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 and cruel. In comparison, 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'. With their analysis, Bosnak and Honings answer the recent call for a 'decolonisation' of (the historiography of) travel writing, proposing instead an alternative comparative approach to the study of travel and the animal 'other'.

In the second chapter, 'Naming the World', Johannes Müller studies the naming practices and ordering systems used by Dutch naturalists, in particular the nineteenth-century zoologist Pieter Bleeker, to classify the flora and fauna of Southeast Asia. In doing so, Muller lays bare colonial-scientific practices of nomenclature and classification in the context of travelling and travel accounts. Bleeker's descriptions and nomenclatural decisions were deeply indebted to earlier, indigenous interactions with the described species. Bleeker's immensely productive career defies the heroic tropes of scientific fieldwork and exploration into a hitherto unknown nature. His fieldwork did not consist of hazardous expeditions to unknown places, but more typically of visits to local markets, conversations with fishermen, and the establishment of correspondence networks with people who were willing to send him preserved specimens. In contrast to other travelling naturalists and researchers, this rhetoric of discovery is largely absent from Bleeker's work and his dependence on local knowledge, sources, and infrastructures is always clear.

In the third chapter, 'Empire as Horseplay?', Mikko Toivanen examines how Dutch nineteenth-century travel writing represents encounters between European travellers and the Java horse. In its pivotal role to travel on Java in the early nineteenth century, it comes as no surprise that the Java horse features heavily in Dutch travel writing from the island. Toivanen's analysis focuses on how authors discussed the horse as a lens to, or metaphor for, the wider colonial issues of the time: the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the development of racial thinking and taxonomies, and the introduction of new transport infrastructure as a symbol of modernity. Given meaning through the eyes of the traveller-coloniser, the Java horse appears in many guises in the travel books, although, ultimately, its fate was to be left behind by fashion and technology.

In chapter four, 'The Sound of the Tokkeh and the Tjitjak', Achmad Sunjayadi focuses on animal species that are ubiquitous yet often overlooked: the Tokay Gekko and Common House Gekko. He analyses their modest appearance in Dutch East Indies travel literature. For Europeans, especially the Dutch, who saw and heard the creatures for the first time during colonial times, the tokkeh and the tjitjak were extraordinary little reptiles. Yet these tiny exotic animals appear to have warranted scant description: their presence, whilst surprising, was unwanted and thus worthy only of the briefest passing mention. Sunjayadi nevertheless aims to trace their appearance, physically or just by their sound, and the roles they played in travel accounts from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

In 'Monkeys as Metaphor. Ecologies of Representation in Dutch Travel Writing about Suriname from the Colonial Period', the fifth chapter, Claudia Zeller uses as her point of departure the fact that monkeys were deemed amongst the most 'relatable' Surinamese species and, of all the animals encountered, are the ones most written about. In her analysis, Zeller focuses on monkeys, not only as a

figure of ambiguity, but also as actual beings, revealing how different 'ecologies of representation' are constituted in colonial travel writing about Suriname. Zeller examines strategies common to travel literature as a genre, such as animalisation and familiarisation. Yet she also shows how, at the intersection of race and animality, familiarising strategies appear next to attempts to 'defamiliarise' the monkey.

Chapter six, 'Becoming a Beast in the Long Run', examines the roles played by animals in Dutch travelogues about the Indonesian War of Independence. Arnoud Arps, in his elaboration on animal metaphors in the representation of violence, also considers the appearance of actual animals in the travelogues – such as deer-pigs, crocodiles, and dogs. From a perspective that draws upon postcolonial studies, animal studies, and perpetrator studies, he argues that, in Dutch decolonisation texts such as *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* (2016, At home nobody believes me) by Maarten Hidskes and *Merdeka!* (2016, Freedom!) by Jacob Vis, Dutch perpetrators are represented as having both human and animal qualities, whereas the latter are solely reserved for Indonesian fighters. In particular, the animal is used as a dual metaphor for representing violence. It is used to describe the transformation of the Dutch from trained soldiers to cold-blooded beasts, whilst, at the same time, it is used to describe the violence committed against the Dutch by Indonesian freedom fighters that for many Dutch soldiers is described as forming the basis of their transformation.

In chapter seven, 'Do You Really Think a Donkey Has No Heart?', Peter Altena discusses the representation of the relation between Betsy Perk, a nineteenth-century Dutch travel writer, and her donkey, named Cadette, in Perk's *Mijn ezeltje en ik* (1874, My little donkey and I). Altena analyses how the perspective used – that of a talking donkey – influences that representation. There is of course no question of real equality, but in the description of Perk's dealings with Cadette, the boundaries between human and animal are shown to gently shift. In the village of Valkenburg, Betsy Perk thinks about the difference between men and women, and about the special role an animal can play. Several comparisons are made with *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes* (1879) by Robert Louis Stevenson, who published his travelogue four years after Perk and whose work has been the subject of much research in the field of animal-human studies.

In chapter eight Paul J. Smith analyses human and non-human animals in Niko Tinbergen's *Eskimoland* (1934) and Jac. P. Thijsse's *Texel* (1927). He contextualises *Eskimoland*, placing it in the Dutch tradition of popularising the knowledge of nature. Moreover, as this tradition can also be aptly illustrated in the work of Thijsse, he juxtaposes it with one of Thijsse's best-known works, *Texel* (1927), with which *Eskimoland* bears unexpected similarities. Smith examines what Tinbergen wanted to achieve with his travelogue, besides positioning himself academically. His text can be read as a scientific plea for field research as an essential element of research into animal behaviour. Moreover, he suggested that the behaviour

of humans and animals is comparable and should therefore also be studied in a similar manner – a taboo subject at the time. His text also raises awareness about the disappearance of what we now call biodiversity and indigenous culture – a narrative also present in Thijsse's *Texel*.

In chapter nine, 'The Land of Living Fossils', Ton van Kalmthout studies travelogues written by Dutch citizens that moved to Australia to start a new life in the 1950s and 1960s. The flow of emigrants was accompanied by a number of publications, including travel stories. Van Kalmthout analyses the representation of Australian faunae in these travel stories, which species are discussed, in what ways, and with what effects. He distinguishes two groups in the animals most prominently described: those introduced to Australia by Europeans – sheep, cattle, rabbits, and horses – and those indigenous to the continent. Although in practice there was little chance that Dutch migrants would encounter Australia's unique faunae in the wild, for various reasons, Dutch-Australian travel literature of the time paid it significant attention. The description of both groups of animals – those well known, and those lesser known – contributed significantly to the portrayal of Australia with its eccentric, exotic, or idyllic features as a land of limitless possibilities, a fascinating wonderland, tempting for emigrants.

In the penultimate chapter, Esther Op de Beek focuses on the functions of animals in the evocation of a lost past: 'A Lesson in Happiness. Animals and Nostalgia in the Travel Stories of Leonhard Huizinga'. In recent research on travel writing, much attention has been paid to the discourse of nostalgia. However, thus far, no attention has been paid to the function that animals can play in nostalgic discourse. In his travel stories, Huizinga depicts himself, the narrator of the stories, as someone who shies away from people and prefers to travel alone through nature with animals as his only source of company. Animals prevent Huizinga from feeling lonely and remind him of an otherwise unspoiled past. The question Op de Beek asks in her contribution is to what extent we should think of the animals that populate nostalgic discourse in Leonhard Huizinga's travel stories as instrumental to a form of nostalgia that serves the narrator, *or* as central to a more reflective form of nostalgia that serves the relationship between human and non-human species. In answering this question, she uses Svetlana Boym's literary theoretical insights on nostalgia and also takes into account the dynamic tension between text and image in Huizinga's travel stories.

In the final chapter, 'Noble Horse and Lazy Pig', Lucie Sedláčková investigates how domestic animals are represented and how their selective breeding and (mis)use are argued – both for, and against. Although according to Elizabeth Leane's classification, domestic animals have typically played the roles of instrument of travel or companion, this article asks how domestic animals can play a role as quest object in travel narratives. Sedláčková studies two books in particular: Frank

Westerman's *Dier, bovendier* (2010, English title: *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 2012) and Yvonne Kroonenberg's *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt: Biografie van een varken* (2009, literally translated as: Everything but the squeal is used. Biography of a pig). In Westerman's book, the history of the Lipizzaner horse forms the backdrop for reflections on the modern history of mankind, whilst Kroonenberg presents a realistic account of the conditions in which twelve million Dutch pigs live and die.

Together, these chapters present a solid answer to the question originally posed by John Berger: 'Why look at animals?' Textual representations, such as those in travel writing, discursively produce reality. When we look at how historical empires, travellers, and travel writers treated non-human life, we also address the question of how contemporary societies choose to live in the world today. By exposing the discourse on animals produced in and through travel literature, we open a space in which to think critically about alternative models for the world. It is precisely in literature that alternative discourses about animals can be created. The study of travel literature helps us to imagine what our future relationship to animals (both non-human animals and humans as animals) might look like.

Notes

1 Uysal & Sirgy, *Quality of Life and Wellbeing Research in Tourism*, 244.
2 Ten articles cover the economic, social, cultural, and environmental components of travel and tourism. www.unwto.org/global-code-of-ethics-for-tourism, last accessed 8 March 2022.
3 Reesink, 'Er is iets met de dieren…', 65; Markwell, *Birds, Beasts and Tourists*, 2.
4 Berger, 'Why Look at Animals?', 14-15. Through the years, Berger's text has been criticised in the field of animal studies as well, for instance by Steve Baker, who does not agree with Berger's distinction between 'lower' domesticated animals and 'wild' animals, and argues that his focus on the human experience of the animal gaze is in fact a form of anthropocentric reasoning. Baker, *Picturing the Beast*, 22.
5 Berger, 'Why look at Animals?', 17.
6 Burke & Copenhaver, 'Animals as People in Children's Literature', 207
7 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 1.
8 Leane, 'Animals', 305.
9 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 22-23.
10 Cf. Van Oostrom, *Stemmen op schrift*, 185-194.
11 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 40-42.
12 Brems, *Altijd weer vogels die nesten beginnen*, 558.
13 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 1.
14 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 40-42.
15 centrefortravelwritingstudies.weebly.com, last accessed 24 February 2022.
16 Cf. Huigen, 'Reisliteratuur tussen representatie en identiteit'.
17 Martin, Missinne & Van Dam, *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790-1930*.
18 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 2.
19 Cf. Porteman & Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, 419.

[20] Theme issue *Reizen in Indië*; Honings & Tomberge, *Op reis in Nederlands-Indië.*
[21] Honings & Van Zonneveld, *Een tint van het Indische Oosten.*
[22] Brems, 'Altijd weer vogels die nesten beginnen', 559: 'Ongetwijfeld hebben internationale voorbeelden een stimulerende rol gespeeld, zoals het Britse blad *Granta*, dat sinds 1979 met veel succes internationale literatuur, literaire non-fictie en reisliteratuur samenbracht, en het werk van auteurs als Bruce Chatwin, Paul Theroux en V.S. Naipaul.'
[23] Pettinger & Youngs, *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing.*
[24] Leane, 'Animals', 305-317.
[25] Leane, 'Animals', 305.
[26] Marvin & McHugh, 'In It Together', 1.
[27] See for instance: Miller, 'Last Chance to See', 605-620.
[28] McHugh, McKay & Miller, *The Palgrave Handbook of Animals and Literature*, 539-620.
[29] Marvin & McHugh, 'In It Together', 1.
[30] Matsuoka & Sorenson, 'Introduction', p. 3.
[31] Matsuoka & Sorenson, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[32] Matsuoka & Sorenson, 'Introduction', 1-2.
[33] Leane, 'Animals', 306.
[34] Cf. Leane, 'Animals', 306.
[35] Leane, 'Animals', 305.
[36] Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, 106.

Bibliography

Baker, Steve, *Picturing the Beast: Animals, Identity, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

Berger, John, 'Why Look at Animals?', in: John Berger, *About Looking* (London: Writers and Readers, 1980), 1-26.

Brems, Hugo, *Altijd weer vogels die nesten beginnen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1945-2005* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006).

Burke, Carolyn & Joby Copenhaver, 'Animals as People in Children's Literature', in: *Language Arts* 81 (2004), 205-213.

Honings, Rick & Nick Tomberge (eds.), *Op reis in Nederlands-Indië.* Theme issue of *Indische Letteren* 36 (2021), 4.

Honings, Rick & Peter van Zonneveld (eds.), *Een tint van het Indische Oosten: Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2015).

Huigen, Siegfried, 'Reisliteratuur tussen representatie en identiteit', in: *Neerlandistiek.nl* (October 2007).

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lisle, Debbie, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Markwell, Kevin, 'Birds, Beasts and Tourists: Human-Animal Relationships in Tourism', in: Kevin Markwell (ed.), *Animals in Tourism: Understanding Diverse Relationships* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, Limited, 2015).

Martin, Alison E., Lut Missinne & Beatrix van Dam (eds.), *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790-1930: Modernity, Regionality, Mobility* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

Marvin, Garry & Susan McHugh, 'In It Together: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies', in: Garry Marvin & Susan McHugh, *Routledge Handbook of Human-Animal Studies* (London: Routledge, 2014), 1-9.

Matsuoka, Atsuko & John Sorenson (eds.), *Critical Animal Studies: Towards Trans-species Social Justice* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International), 1-17.

McHugh, Susan, 'Modern Animals: From Subjects to Agents in Literary Studies', in: *Society and Animals* 17 (2009), 363-367.

McHugh, Susan, *Animal Stories: Narrating across Species Lines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

McHugh, Susan, Robert McKay & John Miller (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Animals and Literature* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

Miller, John, 'Last Chance to See: Extinction in Literary Animal Studies and the Environmental Humanities', in: Susan McHugh, Robert McKay & John Miller (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Animals and Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 605-620.

Oostrom, Frits van, *Stemmen op schrift: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300*, 7th ed. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2016).

Pettinger, Alasdair & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

Porteman, Karel & Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560-1700*, 4th ed. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2016).

Reesink, Maarten, 'Er is iets met de dieren…' Een korte inleiding in *Animal Studies*', in: *TMG Journal for Media History* 12 (2015) 2, 63-82.

Theme issue *Reizen in Indië, Indische Letteren* 30 (2015), 2.

Thompson, Carl, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Uysal, Muzaffer & Joseph Sirgy, 'Quality of Life and Wellbeing Research in Tourism', in: *Tourism Management* 53 (2016), 244-261.

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

PART I

Colonial Encounters: Framing the Animal

CHAPTER 1

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

A Comparative Examination of Dutch and Indonesian Travel Writing

Judith E. Bosnak & Rick Honings

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Animals from the Dutch perspective

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

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

Discoveries in a scientific paradise

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

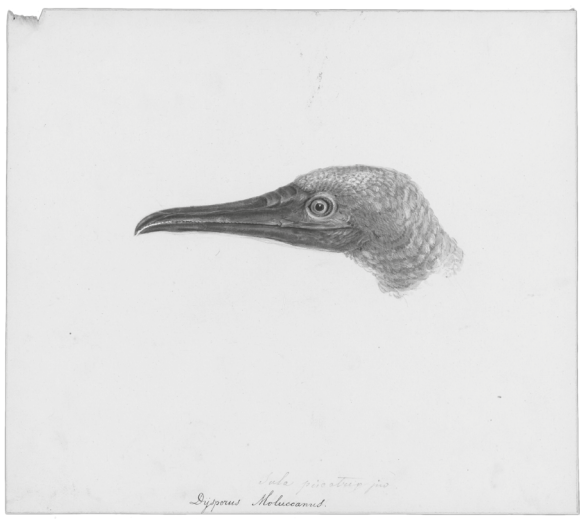
death, was his *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel in het jaar 1821* (1858, Journey to the eastern part of the Indies archipelago in the year 1821), about his peregrinations of the Indies' outer provinces, and which also testifies to Reinwardt's interest in animals. Whilst scientific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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

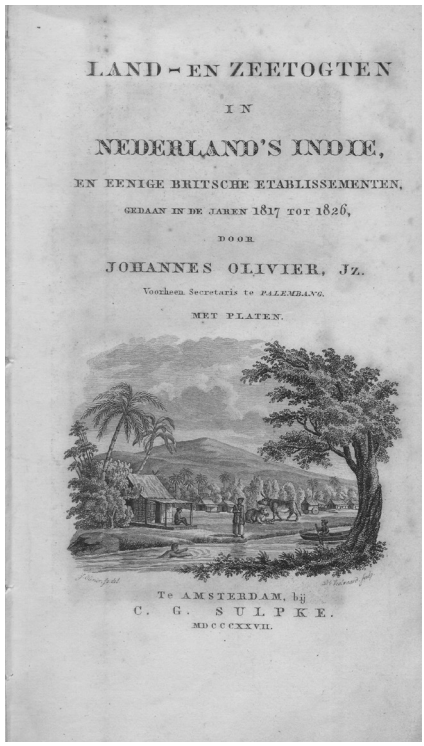
Whilst Blume evidently did not flinch from getting his hands dirty, he usually had his Javanese servants, 'who were most experienced in dissecting and mounting birds and various animals', do the work for him. After the rhinoceros had been dissected, he left a few servants behind with the raja, who was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

Gruesome games and lurking peril

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

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

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


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

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

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

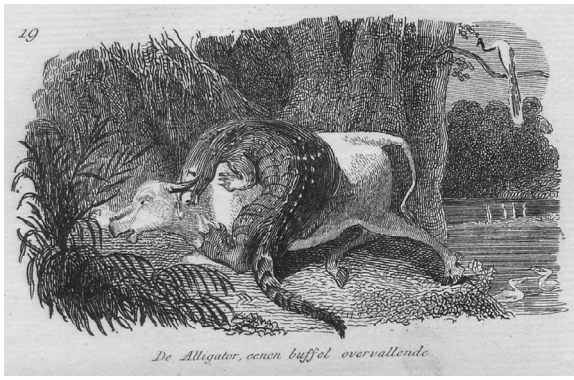
Animals also provided entertainment. From Batavia, Olivier travelled to Buitenzorg, where he visited the Botanical Garden and the modest zoo that the Dutch had founded. For Europeans, Olivier thought, there was something distinctly 'odd' about a visit to the latter. This was because, near the palace,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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

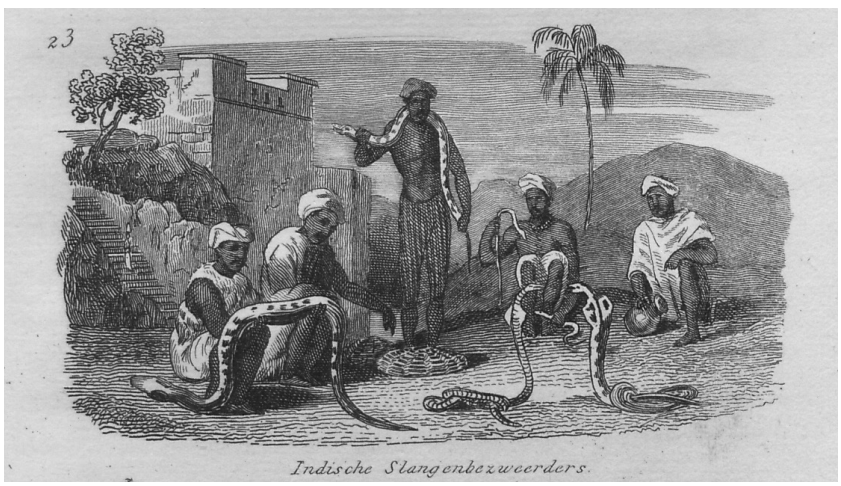
> He took, or so it appeared to us, the snake, put its tail into his mouth and gulped it down bit by bit, until nothing but the animal's head stuck out of his mouth. In one sudden gulp he now seemed to swallow the disgusting animal whole and bring it into his stomach. Some seconds later he opened his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

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

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

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

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



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

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

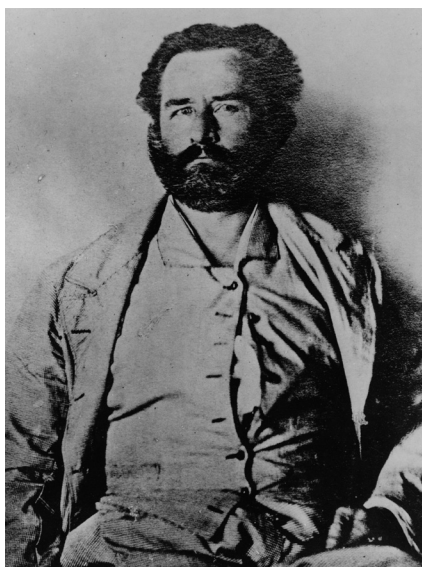
To goad the buffalo on, the Javanese attached sharply spiked branches to its back that stung at every movement: 'Enraged by such feelings of pain, the horrible snorting and roaring of the buffalo soon announces his provoked anger, and finally he comes tearing at the tiger with his dreadful horns.' The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

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

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

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

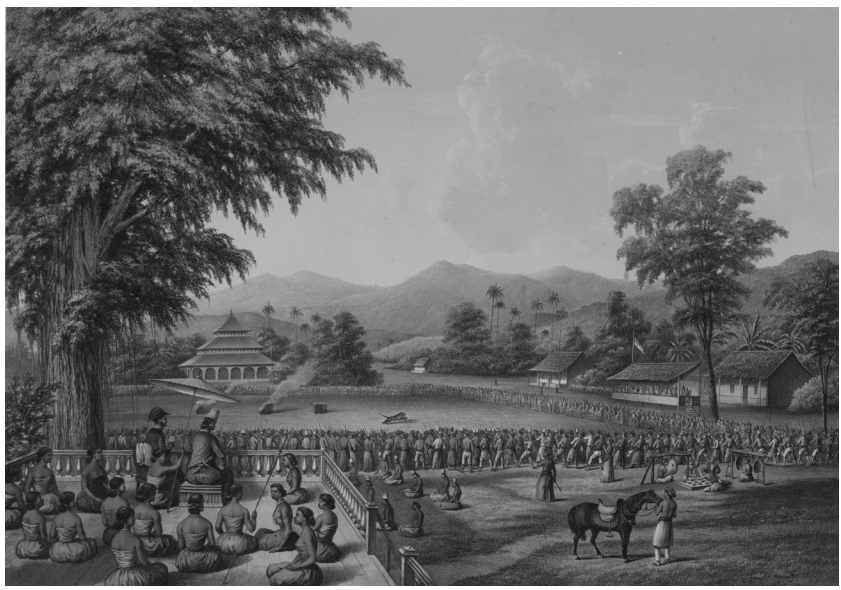
Junghuhn also witnessed a *rampog macan* where not just one but several tigers were killed in succession. The bamboo traps in which the tigers were kept were one by one set on fire, driving out the animals. Junghuhn characterises the proceedings as a 'gruesome' game. That 'thousands of brown and white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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Animals from a Javanese perspective

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Encyclopaedic knowledge and legends from the past

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pastimes in the zoo and in the ring

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Between protection and destruction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

8 Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 9.

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

10 This partly overlaps with our first category.

11 Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[100] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan,* 199.

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

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

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

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

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

Bibliography

Arps, Bernard, 'How a Javanese Gentleman Put his Library in Order', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999), 416-469.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin, *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts.* 3th ed. (London/New York: Routledge, 2013).

Barwegen, Martine W., *Gouden hoorns: De geschiedenis van de veehouderij op Java* (PhD Thesis, University of Wageningen, 2005).

Beekman, E.M., *Paradijzen van weleer: Koloniale literatuur uit Nederlands-Indië, 1600-1950*. Trans. by Maarten van der Marel & René Wezel (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1998).

Behrend, T.E., 'The Writings of K.P.H. Suryanegara: Shifting Paradigms in Nineteenth-century Javanese Thought and Letters', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999), 388-415.

Berg, Arie van den, *De leeuw van Alpi: Handel en wandel van een beestenman* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2021).

Boomgaard, Peter, *Frontiers of Fear: Tigers and People in the Malay World, 1600-1950* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2008).

Bosnak, Judith E. & Frans X. Koot, *The Javanese Travels of Purwalelana: A Nobleman's Account of his Journeys across the Island of Java 1860-1875* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

Day, Tony & Will Derks, 'Narrating Knowledge: Reflections on the Encyclopedic Impulse in Literary Texts from Indonesian and Malay Worlds', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999), 309-341.

'De menagerie van koning Lodewijk te Amsterdam', in: *Eigen Haard* (1888), 316.

Hanny, 'Kijkje in Batavia', in: *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 10 (1900), 257-264.

Habinger, G. (ed.), *Ida Pfeiffer, Abenteuer Inselwelt, Die Reise 1851 durch Borneo, Sumatra und Java* (Vienna: Promedia, 1993).

Hazeu, G.A.J., 'The Lakon Arimba', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 49 (1898), 333-388.

Honings, Rick, *Het land van 'Oosterzonnegloed': Sporen van Indië in negentiende-eeuwse schrijversarchieven* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2021).

Jonge, Huub de, 'Of Bulls and Men: The Madurese Aduan Sapi', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146 (1990), 423-447.

Junghuhn, Franz, 'Schetsen eener reis over Java, in 1844. Tiende schets', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 7 (1845), 205-222.

Junghuhn, Franz, *Licht- en schaduwbeelden uit de binnenlanden van Java. Over het karakter, de mate van beschaving, de zeden en gebruiken der Javanen; over de invoering van het Christendom op Java, het bezigen van vrijen arbeid en andere vragen van den dag. Verhalen en gesprekken tusschen de gebroeders Dag en Nacht, verzameld op reizen door gebergten en bosschen, in de woningen van armen en rijken.* 3th ed. (Amsterdam: F. Günst, 1862).

Junghuhn, Franz Wilhelm, *Java's onuitputtelijke natuur: Reisverhalen, tekeningen en fotografieën.* Ed. by Rob Nieuwenhuys & Frits Jaquet. 2nd ed. (Alphen aan den Rijn: A.W. Sijthoff, 1980).

Kamajaya (ed.), *Serat Centhini (Suluk Tambangraras); Yasandalem Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Anom Amengkunegara III (Ingkang Sinuhun Pakubuwana V) ing Surakarta.* 2 vols. (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Centhini, 1986-1992).

Koenders, W., *Bataviasche Planten- en Dierentuin, 1864-1939. Gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan* (Batavia: 't Kasteel van Aemstel, 1939).

Kumar, Ann, 'Encyclopedia-izing and the Organization of Knowledge, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155 (1999), 470-488.

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lippincott, Louise & Andreas Blühm, *Fierce Friends: Artists and Animals, 1750-1900* (London: Merrell, 2005).

Nagel, G.H., *Schetsen uit mijne Javaansche portefeuille* (Amsterdam: C.G. Sulpke, 1828).

Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, XXVIII, Series 6, vol. 3 (Batavia: H.M.van Dorp & The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1865).

Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, XXX, Series 6, vol. 5 (Batavia: H.M.van Dorp & The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1868).

Olivier, J., *Land- en zeetogten in Nederland's Indie, en eenige Britsche etablissementen, gedaan in de jaren 1817 tot 1826*. 3 vols. (Amsterdam: C.G. Sulpke, 1827-1830).

Olivier, J., *Elviro's reis naar en door Java en de Molukkos* (Amsterdam: H.W. Weytingh, 1835).

Olivier, J., *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië.* Ed. by Peter Boomgaard (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2001).

Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th, *The Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Public Collections in The Netherlands*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967).

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008).

Reinwardt, C.G.C., *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen Archipel, in het jaar 1821.* Ed. by W.H. de Vriese (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1858).

Ricklefs, M.C., *Polarizing Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions ca. 1830-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200.* 4th ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

Roorda van Eysinga, P.P., *Verschillende reizen en lotgevallen van S. Roorda van Eysinga; uitgegeven door deszelfs zoon*. 4 vols. (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey en zoon, 1830-1832).

Sastradarma, *Cariyos Nagari Batawi; punapa ingkang dipunpirsani radèn arya Sastradarma, kaanggit piyambak* [*The Story of Batavia*], 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1877).

Sirks, Marius Jacob, *Indisch natuuronderzoek* (Amsterdam: Amsterdamsche Boek- en Steendrukkerij V/H. Ellerman, Harms & Co, 1915).

Thompson, Carl, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Weber, Andreas, *Hybrid Ambitions: Science, Governance, and Empire in the Career of Caspar G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854)* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

Weber, Andreas, 'A Garden as a Niche: Botany and Imperial Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Dutch Empire', in: *Studium. Tijdschrift voor wetenschaps- en universiteitsgeschiedenis* 11, no. 3 (2018), 178-190.

Wessing, Robert, 'A Princess from Sunda: Some Aspects of Nyai Roro Kidul', in: *Asian Folklore Studies* 56 (1997), 317-353.

Wessing, Robert, 'Symbolic Animals in the Land between the Waters: Markers of Place and Transition', in: *Asian Folklore Studies* 65 (2006), 205-239.

Wirodono, Sunardian (ed.), *Serat Centhini Dwi Lingua, Sri Susuhunan Pakubuwana V, Raden Ngabehi Rangga Sutrasna, Raden Ngabehi Yasadipura II, Raden Ngabehi Sastradipura.* 2 vols. (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Wiwara, 2011).

Zoetmulder, P.J., *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).

CHAPTER 2

Naming the World

Pieter Bleeker's Travels and the Challenges of Archipelagic Biodiversity

Johannes Müller

Abstract

Dutch zoologists in the colonised areas of the Malay Archipelago were amongst the most prolific authors of new zoological species descriptions. The Sunda Islands are one of the most biodiverse regions of the planet and the overwhelming abundance of different species posed a challenge to European practices of taxonomy and nomenclature. This chapter focuses on the ichthyologist Pieter Bleeker (1819-1878) and examines his strategies of collection and information management. Bleeker described almost 2,000 species and established 511 new taxonomic genera, many of which remain in use to this day. As is argued, his approach to describe Southeast Asian nature was indebted to indigenous knowledge and critically depended on interactions with local populations.

Keywords: Taxonomy, zoological nomenclature, indigenous knowledge, fish, Dutch East Indies, biodiversity

The Malay Archipelago is one of the most biodiverse regions on the planet and the list of newly discovered and described plants and animals continues to grow to this day.[1] The overwhelming abundance of different species posed a challenge to the classification systems of nineteenth-century natural history, and European naturalists and travellers frequently expressed their astonishment at the wealth of unknown plants and animals. Even researchers who had spent decades in the Dutch East Indies were sometimes unprepared for the extraordinary number of unknown species, both flora and fauna, found in other parts of the archipelago – an area that encompasses between 13,000 and 18,000 islands, depending on their exact definition.[2] Each island held its own zoological and botanical surprises and the sheer size of this vast insular world resisted all systematic attempts to map the full extent of its wildlife. As the Dutch zoologist Pieter Bleeker (1819-1878) noted in his memoirs, he had dramatically underestimated his stated aim – to map the entire fish fauna of the Dutch East Indies in his *Atlas Ichthyologique des Indes Orientales Néêrlandaises* (Ichthyological Atlas of the Dutch East Indies, 1862-1878) – and he could never 'have guessed that it would take at least forty years to complete this

Portrait of Pieter Bleeker. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

task'.[3] After dedicating more than three decades to this ambitious project, he did not live to see the publication of all 36 parts, which appeared in nine volumes.

The attempts of colonial science to map the biospheres of the Dutch East Indies coincided with wider trends in taxonomic classification and the description of new taxa. Indeed, as Bleeker noted, between the 1790s and 1833, the number of fish species known to science expanded from 832 to at least 10,000.[4] This rapid increase challenged the existing classification systems and led to a large number of taxonomic synonyms that confused and continuously questioned the identity of the living organisms behind the ever-changing nomenclatures. This chapter examines the strategies employed by European scientists to deal with this new and confusing array of names, descriptions, collected specimens, and living animals. Examining the naming practices and ordering systems used by Dutch naturalists to classify the flora and fauna of Southeast Asia, I discuss colonial-scientific practices of nomenclature and classification in the context of travelling and travel accounts. Bringing the history of nomenclature into dialogue with travel writing reveals another dimension of colonial interactions with the living world that is often hidden behind the rhetoric of scientific discovery. Relocating the description and the naming practices of animals in the colonial world to the specific local contexts and sites shows how the 'discovery' of plants and animals was in fact embedded in practices of naming and knowledge production that preceded European science and its methods.[5]

Focusing on the work of Bleeker mentioned above, I analyse the naming practices in his taxonomic descriptions as performative acts that need to be understood in relation to specific interactions with local populations as well as to practices of collecting and travelling. As Bleeker's articles that preceded the *Atlas Ichthyologique* and his travel accounts to Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and the interior of Java reflect, his descriptions and nomenclatural decisions were not a form of 'Adamic' naming within a cultural vacuum. Rather, his findings were deeply

indebted to earlier, indigenous interactions with the described species. Scholars in the fields of biogeography, zootaxonomy, and ethnobiology have recently called for a turn in scientific naming practices and for a reinstallation of indigenous names in taxonomical nomenclature.[6] Using local vernacular in taxonomic descriptions is not new in itself: Even though the Linnean binominal system is indeed still largely based on Graeco-Latin names, Bleeker – along with other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century naturalists such as the Scottish ichthyologist Francis Buchanan-Hamilton – paid close attention to indigenous names and even used them in their descriptions of species that were new to science.[7] Bleeker meticulously noted the local vernacular names of each species in his descriptions in as many languages as possible and even named entire genera after their indigenous Asian names.

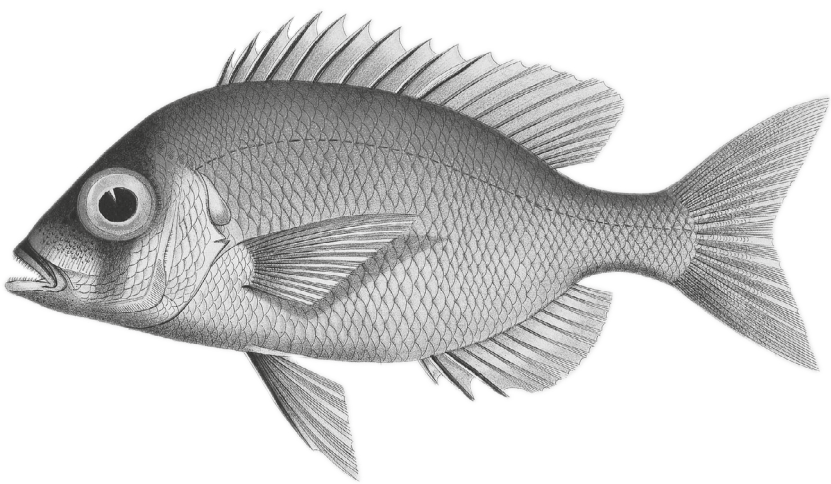
Yet these nomenclatural decisions were not inspired by the idea of doing justice to indigenous voices. Rather, they reflect his dependence on local knowledge and experience. First discussing Bleeker's wider approach to naming animal species and genera, I then turn to Bleeker's travel accounts of his journeys to the Moluccan Islands and the interior of Java, and his references to travel in his species descriptions. Addressing his interactions with local fishermen and their expertise, I will discuss how indigenous forms of knowledge helped European scientists to make sense of the rapidly increasing awareness of faunal diversity. Whilst colonial naturalists were always dependent on local assistance and expertise when finding specimens for their botanical and zoological collections, Bleeker's case illustrates how local bodies of knowledge and experience could also become relevant in matters of taxonomy and nomenclature – especially when nomenclatural decisions concerned animals new to European science.

Even though Bleeker did not travel very frequently after his arrival in Java, his travel accounts to the interior of the island, as well as to the Moluccas, provide an interesting perspective on his approach to the gathering of knowledge in a colonial setting. It soon became apparent that Bleeker was not an adventurous traveller and he never portrayed himself as such. His work took place in the administrative centre of the colony and his knowledge of the vast array of islands depended on information he received from others – very often members of local fishing communities. The notes he included in his travel accounts reveal the type of information he requested from locals – most importantly, indigenous names ('*nomina indigeni*'), habitats and fishing sites ('*loci*'), but also dietary uses and sometimes the methods employed in capture.[8] Such forms of information and local knowledge framed Bleeker's project and sharpened his eye for the biogeographical patterns he observed between the Greater Sunda Islands and the eastern parts of the archipelago.

What's in a name? Naming practices in colonial science

The ways in which names and practices of naming shape social reality have been extensively discussed in scholarly fields as diverse as anthropology, linguistics, and ethnobiology.[9] Surprisingly, the body of literature on this topic has only recently been brought into dialogue with the history of scientific nomenclature and its colonial legacy.[10] At the same time, biologists and ecologists have recognised that non-scientific vernacular names can hold important information about human-animal interactions and the ecological history of species whose habitats have been severely impacted by human interference.[11]

Despite their intrinsically arbitrary nature, names are always embedded in wider discursive frameworks and can shed light on underlying social practices, mentalities, and ordering systems. The act of naming a person, place, mountain, or animal incorporates it into a wider semantic and semiotic framework and in this respect, naming is an act that creates structures and relationships amongst and between groups of individuals or series of objects, attributing certain qualities and establishing identities and hierarchies.[12] Names and naming practices fall within a distinct linguistic category and can hardly be understood outside the context of specific social and performative acts that constitute them. In J.L. Austin's now classic text *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), the act of naming serves as the most iconic and self-explanatory example of a performative speech act. As Austin makes clear, the utterance 'I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth' is not a descriptive statement



Paradentex microdon (Bleeker), now *Gymnocranius microdon*. Collection University of Amsterdam/Geheugen van Nederland.

that can be evaluated within categories such as 'true' or 'false', but rather is an act that establishes a new *status quo*.[13]

In this respect, taxonomic nomenclature is not fundamentally different from other, less systematic practices of naming.[14] Despite the highly regulated and formalised binominal system of nomenclature that dates back to the tenth edition of Carl Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae* (1758-1759), the exact naming of a genus or taxon is a decision of the description's author. However, all levels of taxonomic classifications operate within a frame of reference that assumes relationships to other, already existing orders, families, and genera. Establishing genera or naming species is therefore inherently an act of ordering the living world and creating structures, hierarchies, and relationships. According to Bleeker, the first half of the nineteenth century had profoundly challenged existing taxonomic ordering structures and their resulting nomenclatures. The more colonial scientists became aware of the seemingly endless faunal diversity of the Malay Archipelago, the more it became clear that the newfound nature greatly exceeded the existing ordering systems and required new classifications and, consequentially, new naming practices. As Bleeker noted in 1858:

> When Linnaeus wrote his diagnoses, he had a simple task. The relatively small number of species, made its distinction in a few words easy. But those diagnoses usually have lost their value because of the thousands and thousands of species discovered since, and on several of these new species one or other diagnosis of Linnaeus would fit entirely, without stopping them being entirely different species as those for which the reformer of zoology and botany formulated his diagnoses.[15]

The description of new species did not only require far more precision than in Linnaeus' day; the new awareness of the world's zoological diversity also questioned the relationships between the various animals and often called for drastic interventions in existing systematics. Transferring already known species into new genera inevitably generated new names: After reordering the systematics of South and Southeast Asian anabantoids or labyrinth fishes – to name just one example amongst thousands of nomenclatural revisions that took place in the mid-nineteenth century – the Sri Lankan combtail gourami, *Polyacanthus signata* (Günther, 1861), became *Belontia signata*, named after a South Sumatran local name for a closely related species. Over his entire career, Bleeker established more than five hundred new genera and described almost 2,000 species, mostly fishes, but also reptiles and other animals. To this day, the history of ichthyological nomenclature has been profoundly shaped by his naming decisions.

The 'self-made' zoologist

As Bleeker states in his memoirs, he did not have an intrinsic fascination for ichthyology before travelling to the Dutch East Indies. However, upon his arrival he soon realised that local fishermen sold many species that were new to science and thus he began to document them for very pragmatic reasons, namely to fill a significant zoological gap, which would allow him to make a name for himself in the scholarly community of the Dutch colonial empire.[16] As he stated in retrospect, his later research career was rather unexpected. Born in Zaandam into a family of sailmakers without any connections to academic circles, he lacked a good education and could only dream of an academic training. His memoirs are characterised by his self-fashioning as an outsider to the world of learning. As he repeatedly states, the only thing in which he excelled at school was rebellious behaviour.[17] Bleeker's parents lacked the means that would have enabled him to pursue a university education and instead he became the assistant to a pharmacist in his neighbourhood. Yet it was his time in the pharmacy that ultimately provided a route into the academic world, finally allowing him to enter a medical-pharmaceutical programme in Haarlem, and to become a physician.

After several attempts to obtain a position in European natural history museums, Bleeker enrolled in the Dutch East Indies Army as a medical doctor and was stationed in Batavia in 1842. Whilst there, he tried to learn more about the local flora and fauna and after realising that he did not recognise many of the Javanese fishes, he began to acquire specimens for a private collection.[18] As he later stated, his choice to focus on fishes was also inspired by their wide and ready availability and the fact that they were cheap and easy to preserve. Unlike birds or mammals, the preservation of which would have required elaborate taxidermic skills, fishes could be preserved in arak, an originally Levantine aniseed liquor that was popular throughout the Indian Ocean World. Not only did Bleeker lack the appropriate technical or preservation equipment; he also lacked the scholarly reference works necessary to contextualise and compare his findings. As he states in the first volume of the *Ichthyologiae Archipelagi Indici Prodromus* (1858-1860) – a series of pre-publications to the *Atlas ichtyologique* – all he could rely on during his early studies were 'some zoological handbooks and the Histoire naturelle des Poissons of Lacépède'.[19]

Bleeker's positioning as an academic 'self-made man' was not entirely ungrounded.[20] 'Without any aids and appliances' and with only a very limited body of scientific literature available, it was even more difficult to position the fishes he found within a wider taxonomic systematics.[21] It took Bleeker years to build up a collection of reference works and newer ichthyological studies, and thus he had to start his research in a highly improvised and independent approach. The lack of access to good libraries and nomenclatural works prompted him to meticulously

note all the available common names of the animals he studied. His entire oeuvre, which includes roughly five hundred publications, is a unique repository for local and indigenous Southeast Asian animal names, and its ethnobiological value has yet to be explored.[22] The *Atlas Ichthyologique*, its several pre-publications, and the numerous articles on the archipelagic fish fauna contains more than 1,500 local and indigenous names of fishes from all over Southeast Asia. Local names guided Bleeker through the early stages of his research, but he kept noting them throughout his career, also including as many as possible in the *Atlas*. A description of a species typically included the Malay name and several local ones from other islands. Some entries listed as many as twenty-five or even thirty different names, including the names that were current amongst Chinese or Arab minorities in the Dutch East Indies.[23] In the case of *Anabas testudineus* (Bloch, 1792), the climbing perch, Bleeker noted twenty-five names in total: fourteen European names and scientific synonyms, and eleven Asian names, as well a list of the habitats in which the fish could be found:

Sennal	Incol. Tranquebar.
Peize porco	Lusitan. Ind. Or.
Pannei-eri	Tamul.
Pané-éré	Malabar.
Coi vel *Coimas*	Bengal.
Nabiema	Birmann.
Ikan Beto	Malaic. Malace.
Kété-kété	Incol. Insul. Celeb.
Ikan Betokh	Mal. Batav. et Paijacombo
Ikan Betik	Sundaic. et Javan.
Ikan Puju	Malaic. ad Luc. Sinkarang
Habit.	Batavia, Tjiringin, Seran, Tjimanok, Pandeglang, Cheribon, Gombong, Samarang, Ambarawa, Patjitan, Surakarta, Mojokerto, Surabija, Javae insulae, in aquis dulcibus. Bangcallang, Sumanap, Madura insulae, in fluvjis. Lacus Sinkarang, Paijacombo, Sumatrae occidentalis, in aqua dulci. (P. Jakles).[24]

Bleeker's notes on names also reflect interesting ethnotaxonomic patterns, especially in the case of the Malay and Sundanese names used by local fishermen. Most fishes were classified as *Ikan* in Malay, the common word for fish, and the specific fish is indicated as adjectival or nominal epithet, in the case of the climbing perch *Betokh*, or *Gabus* for the striped snakehead.[25] The generic *Ikan* was, however, not

used for more bottom-oriented carp-like fishes such as the Labeoninae, which were referred to as *Millem* or *Wadong* (or *Wadon*). Catfish species that showed some outward similarities to fishes from this family were again called *Ikan*, with respective epithets such as *Ikan Manjong utik* or *Ikan Manjong pidada*.[26] Occasionally, Bleeker incorporated such classifications into his nomenclatural system, for example by naming a small barb that reminded him of the Labeoninae (Malay: *Wadon*) *Barbus wadon*. He would only later learn that his specimen was in fact a juvenile fish that looked quite different after reaching adulthood, which led to the decision to put it into a different genus (*Systomus*).[27]

Another case in which Bleeker tried to transfer indigenous classification systems into a scientific binominal name was his description of the silver demoiselle, a small perch-like marine fish from the eastern part of the archipelago. Due to its outward similarity to the above-mentioned climbing perch (an air-breathing freshwater fish), the species was called *Ikan betokh lawut*, literally the *Ikan betokh* (climbing perch) 'of the sea'. Despite the lack of any closer phylogenetic relationship between these two species, Bleeker named the fish *Glyphisodon anabatoides* (Bleeker, 1846), referring to the order of air-breathing Anabantiformes, to which the climbing perch belonged.[28]

Local Malay and Sundanese names did not only inform Bleeker's nomenclatural decisions in the case of species, but also in that of entire genera.[29] Perhaps the most famous case in which Bleeker redescribed a fish and established a new genus by referring to a local common name was his description of *Betta trifasciata* (Bleeker, 1850; now *Betta picta*). Bleeker was both a skilful observer when it came to original animal specimens and a careful reader and interpreter of written sources. Ordering nature and establishing taxonomic systems not only depended on scrutinous empirical observation, as each finding also required careful contextualisation and had to be brought into dialogue with other studies and species descriptions. As he soon realised, a great body of natural knowledge vanished on the paper trail between Asia and Europe. Moreover, European scientists were not always able to make sense of the information they received or indeed, of the preserved specimens themselves. In 1850, Bleeker presented an overview of Central and East Javanese fishes and a description of all known Anabantiformes from the Dutch East Indies, an order of perch-like fishes with the ability to breathe air and survive in very warm and polluted water bodies.[30] He put one of the newly described fishes into a new genus, *Betta*, but he soon realised that the fishes on which this classification was based were now known in Europe and had since been placed in a very different order.

After reading and commenting on Georges Cuvier and Achille Valenciennes's *Histoire naturelle des poissons* and a series of fish drawings from an expedition by Heinrich Kuhl and Johan van Hasselt, Bleeker realised that Cuvier and Valenciennes had already described the same fish, but in an entirely different way.[31] Based on

similarities with other specimens they had received from India and the Sunda Islands, they chose the name *Panchax pictum*, which put the species into a genus within the order of egg-laying tooth carps – a group of fishes without any closer relationship to Anabantiformes like the new *Betta*. As Bleeker notes:

> Panchax pictum Val. belongs to a totally different genus and is made known in more detail by myself under the name Betta trifasciata. Earlier I did not know the similar identity of Betta trifasciata with Panchax pictum, but it became apparent, after I came in the possession of a drawing, left by Van Hasselt and provided with the name Anastoma pictum. Van Hasselt noticed very well the generic difference of both species and placed Panchax Buchanani in his genus Homalopsis, whereas he placed Betta picta (Betta trifasciata Blkr) in his genus Anastoma.[32]

Bleeker's decision to name the new genus *Betta*, after the local Ambarawese name *Ikan Wader bettah*, reflects the uncertainty around this 'discovery'. As he noticed, the fishes had a labyrinth organ that allowed them to breathe air when necessary, which suggested a closer relationship to Anabantiformes, such as the aforementioned climbing perch. However, at the same time, the differences to other fishes within this order were significant, which inspired Bleeker to install a new monotypic genus, containing only one single species. By adopting an indigenous name, he placed this new group more loosely within the existing classificatory structure and thus avoided overly specific references to other families or genera.

As this case clearly demonstrates, comparisons to other descriptions were sometimes only possible through the meticulous examinations of drawings, notes, and second- or even third-hand accounts. Confusion about the identities of specimens, species, and genera were often an inevitable result of the communication networks of nineteenth-century colonial science, and the information and the materials that reached Europe did not always hold the same epistemological implications as they did in places where knowledge could be more directly contextualised.[33] Bleeker's decision to establish *Betta* as a new genus without direct references to other related genera proved viable: Since 1850, this taxonomic decision has never been challenged and the once monospecific genus now contains no less than 73 species, the latest described only in 2020.[34]

Bleeker realised the necessity of a functioning scholarly infrastructure as an indispensable prerequisite for research in the Dutch colonies. Preserving fishes in cheap liquor was not the largest obstacle to his project. Far more problematic were the lack of a scientific network, the immense delay of communication across two oceans, as well as the conventions of taxonomic descriptions that could not keep up with the awareness of the richness of Southeast Asian nature. Since his early years in Batavia, Bleeker was an ardent proponent of new scientific journals and

Image from Bleeker's fish collection. Collection Naturalis Biodiversity Center Leiden.

societies, some of which he founded himself.[35] His work would not have been possible without these institutions, but the same is also true for his approach as a new researcher starting out in the colony: Talking to local populations and meticulously noting all names and available habitat data were key strategies in order to make sense of the overwhelming biodiversity that resisted full scientific and classificatory comprehension.

Life in other worlds: Bleeker between Java and the eastern archipelago

Following his arrival in Java, Bleeker, as stated earlier, was not a keen traveller, carrying out most of his research activities from Java – mostly Batavia. He participated in a number of smaller expeditions into the interior of Java, but his only longer journey beyond the island took place in 1855 and brought him to the eastern parts of the archipelago, where he visited Sulawesi and a number of the Moluccan Islands, including Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Seram, and Banda. The travel account that resulted from this journey and appeared under the title *Reis door de Minahassa en den Molukschen archipel* (Journey through the Minahassa and the Moluccan Archipelago, 1856) provides an insight into Bleeker's approach to collecting and interpreting nature.[36] Whilst his ichthyological publications are stringently structured around their subject matter – fish – his translated account offers far more contextualised descriptions of the landscape, geology, society, economy, flora, and fauna.

Bleeker's travels were not research expeditions into an unexplored terrain, but rather took place within a colonial and highly administrated space – and were described from such an administrative perspective. For example, his journey to Sulawesi and the Moluccas was part of a visit paid by A.J. Duymaer van Twist (then Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies) to this part of the Dutch colonial empire. Furthermore, administrative questions and matters of colonial governance are consistent elements of the travel account.[37] In contrast to other

travelling researchers active in the Dutch colonial empire, such as Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt, Heinrich Kuhl, Johan van Hasselt, and Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn, Bleeker never fashioned himself as an adventurous explorer who 'discovered' new plants or animals in spectacular research expeditions.[38] The very few occasions when he caught fish himself were at the invitation of others, for example the Dutch entrepreneur Maarten Dirk van Renesse van Duivenbode, who resided in Ternate.[39] Van Duivenbode, who shared Bleeker's interest in natural history and later collaborated with Alfred Russell Wallace, organised a small fishing trip at the beach near his home, seemingly to entertain Bleeker as his guest. Indeed, such activities typically had the character of leisure rather than systematic research.

Bleeker's broad geographical approach to travel writing, which is in some regards similar to Humboldt's, shows the islands of the eastern archipelago from a contextualised perspective, in which nature, culture, colonial economy, governance, and religion are interwoven aspects of life in an insular world.[40] Throughout the text, Java serves as an implicit point of reference to which the respective islands are compared, not only in terms of local cultures, languages, and economies, but also in terms of their flora and fauna, in which Bleeker noted striking differences to the Western archipelago. Some aspects of the area's geology gave him an impression of striking otherness compared to the Greater Sunda Islands and, even when he saw similarities, he presented them in terms of an underlying alterity – for example when travelling through the Minahassa Peninsula of Sulawesi, which he called a 'miniature version of Java'.[41] Arriving at the peninsula, he noted the ghostly absence of mammals and reptiles, which he suspected to be too shy to appear in daylight. Indeed, the further east he travelled, the greater the discrepancies between the natural world of the Sunda Islands became.[42]

Bleeker's impression of a striking difference between the biospheres of the Moluccas and the fauna with which he was familiar resembles the notes he made in his first years in Java, when the local flora and fauna were still entirely new to him. This experience of unfamiliarity resulted in a number of crucial observations that were later theorised by others. Whilst Bleeker noticed a wide range of new species or high concentrations of certain animal groups or genera, his most surprising observation was the lack of certain fishes he had expected to find. As he noted both in his travel account and the zoological papers in which he went into more details on the Moluccas' fauna, certain fish groups did not appear on Celebes and the other eastern islands, and seemed to be oddly 'replaced' by others. Lacking a conceptual vocabulary to theorise how ecological niches were filled in different biogeographical regions, on the fish fauna of the Bacan Islands he notes: 'In the freshwaters, just as on Celebes, carp-like fishes are lacking and they are replaced by species from the genera Ambassis, Dules, Mesoprion, Eleotris, etc., of which only Dules can be regarded actual freshwater fishes.'[43]

Bleeker's sharp eye for small differences between the faunae of the Greater Sunda Islands and the Moluccas foreshadow a ground-breaking hypothesis that was published only two years later by the 'father of biogeography', Alfred Russell Wallace.[44] Wallace used a wide range of zoological and botanical data to postulate a biogeographical line between the Indo-Malayan and the Australasian ecozones that divided the Malay Archipelago between Bali and Lombok in the south, and Borneo and Celebes in the north. Bleeker was not yet able to formulate this hypothesis, but the striking faunal differences inspired him to compare his observation to other collections that revealed the same patterns. The results of this comparative approach sometimes seemed to suggest that the fishes of the eastern archipelago were actually marine species that had only recently migrated into freshwater. However, his dependence on specimens from other collectors, and the lack of exact and reliable catch data, meant that he found himself in the same position as the European ichthyologists struggling to make sense of and interpret the notes and materials they received from others. As a result, he could only note the absence of a typical Indo-Malayan fauna, but was unable to explain the origins of Moluccan freshwater fishes. As he noted on a collection he had received from Ida Pfeiffer and Joseph Hartzfeld from Seram:

> The freshwater fishes were probably caught in estuaries as they belong to species that normally live in the sea – with perhaps a single exception. What makes this collection remarkable for the freshwater fauna of the Moluccan Islands is the complete absence of cyprinids (carp-like fishes), silurids (catfishes), anabantiformes (labyrinth fishes), nonacanthines (spiny eels), etc, that are all very common in the freshwaters of the Greater Sunda-Islands.[45]

The discovery of the division of the Dutch East Indies into two different ecozones was thus reserved for Wallace, even if Bleeker observed many of the faunal specifics that laid the foundation for later theories of biogeographical regions. As his travel account and his papers on the Moluccan fish fauna reflect, his approach typically relied on interactions with locals, whose knowledge and experience with the animals allowed him to contextualise his findings. Collections and notes from elsewhere were far less reliable, as information on habitats and exact sites of collection were often either lacking or, at best, unreliable. Spending only a short time on the Moluccan Islands and Sulawesi limited his ability to follow the contextualised approach he was accustomed to in Java, where he bought most of his specimens from local fishermen. Even though he tried to learn more about the fishes he collected on his journey to Celebes and Ternate via local interactions, it was more difficult to find 'knowledgeable persons' and it was only at the local fish markets that he could find such expertise.[46]

Over his entire career, Bleeker sent between 12,000 and 16,000 preserved fishes to the Netherlands, most of which went to the National Museum of Natural History in Leiden.[47] As he freely admitted and often described in detail, most of these animals were bought at local fish markets, either by himself or by his contacts who sent him preserved materials from all over the Dutch East Indies. As he noted in his memoirs: 'Collecting fishes was neither very time-consuming nor very expensive. The fish markets offered an abundance of materials, and the preservation was easy.'[48] Yet, the practical advantages of acquiring fishes at local markets were not the only reason for this approach: As he was fully aware, his descriptions of 'new' species were not discoveries of hitherto unknown animals and there was already an entire body of knowledge that could be used. Throughout his ichthyological articles, compendia, and travel accounts, local fisheries appear as the most valuable sites of relevant information. His doubts about the habitats of the described animals seldom concern specimens from local sources, but typically collections from other colonial agents. Collecting and meticulously citing all local names needs to be understood as a strategy to embed and contextualise his work in a body of knowledge that already existed and that helped to make sense of the overwhelming diversity of aquatic life he encountered surrounding the islands of the Dutch East Indies. Establishing a nomenclature within this plethora of living organisms was not an act of primordial naming of a previously blank and unnamed *fauna incognita,* but rather an attempt to 'transfer' knowledge into a new scientific system.

Conclusion

In an overview on the history of ichthyology, published in 1902 in the journal *Science*, David Starr Jordan proposed a distinction between two types of post-Linnean zoologists: 'the explorers and the compilers'.[49] In his discussion of nineteenth-century Dutch ichthyologists, he presents Bleeker as a pioneer in a colonial space 'where almost everything was new' and where most of the local faunas had yet to be explored by European science.[50] Starr's judgment on Bleeker was not exceptional and both contemporaries and later historiographers consistently presented his work in terms of 'great discoveries'. The Dutch educator Enno Zuidema included Bleeker into his list of 'most significant geographical explorers', and as Pieter Harting wrote in Bleeker's obituary, 'only the number of fishes from the Indian Sea first discovered and described by him added up to more than 1,100 species', not to mention the many freshwater fishes.[51]

Situating Bleeker's approach to ichthyological research and collection practices in the context of their interactions with Javanese and Moluccan locals makes clear

that his immensely productive career defies the heroic tropes of scientific fieldwork and exploration into a hitherto unknown nature.[52] Adventurous research expeditions into unexplored hinterlands such as those undertaken by contemporaries like Arthur B. Wallace were very different: Such endeavours would have turned the *Atlas Ichthyologique* into an unmanageable project of which only fragments could be finished during his lifetime. Fieldwork did not consist of hazardous expeditions to unknown places, but more typically of visits to local markets, conversations with fishermen, and the establishment of correspondence networks with people who were willing to send him preserved specimens, the latter being the least fruitful, as he had to rely on the sources of information his contacts were able to provide. In contrast to other travelling naturalists and researchers, this rhetoric of discovery is largely absent from Bleeker's work and his dependence on local knowledge, sources, and infrastructures is always clear.

It is remarkable that the vast majority of the Indo-Pacific fish species that were described in the Dutch colonial period were of direct or indirect relevance to local fisheries. Very few of the fishes in Bleeker's ichthyological works were smaller than 5 cm and lacked any nutritional value – indeed, the vast majority of such small species were only described after the 1950s.[53] This discrepancy reflects the crucial dependence of Dutch colonial science on interactions with local and indigenous communities: The knowledge of Dutch ichthyologists was little more than the knowledge of local fishing communities, translated into an academic framework. In other words, what Bleeker and his European informants knew was what they received from locals who caught the fish and could provide information about their habitats as well as their local names. Wherever Bleeker lacked such information, he lamented the incompleteness of his descriptions.[54]

Such colonial approaches to collecting and systematising have thus far received less attention than they deserve. The role of indigenous expertise and assistance in colonial research expeditions has been more widely acknowledged, for example in the case of Ali 'Wallace' from Sarawak, who assisted Alfred Russell Wallace as a fieldwork assistant.[55] The importance of indigenous knowledge in less spectacular forms of collecting and knowledge production is equally important and the full ethnobiological significance of the indigenous fish names Bleeker collected has yet to be fully examined and explored. As Bleeker's case shows, the role of Asian native knowledge systems in colonial science goes far beyond aid and assistance in expeditions and a full acknowledgment of indigenous agency begs the question to what extent European 'discoveries' were in fact also processes of transfer between different systems and archives of knowledge.

Notes

1 See for example Woodruff, 'Biogeography and Conservation in Southeast Asia'.

2 For a discussion of the various ways in which this is estimated and the respective methods and definitions, see Martha, 'The Analysis of Geospatial Information'.

3 Bleeker, *Atlas Ichthyologique*, 9 vols.; Bleeker, 'Levensbericht P. Bleeker,' 23: 'geenszins kon ik vermoeden dat een tijdvak van minstens veertig jaar noodig zou blijken, om het geheel tot uitvoering te brengen.' For a detailed revised chronology of the *Atlas Ichthyologique*'s publication history, see Kottelat, 'Dates of Publication of Bleeker's Atlas'.

4 Bleeker, *The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I*, 13.

5 For a seminal argument in favour of the crucial importance of specific 'places' in the production of scientific knowledge, see Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*.

6 Ban, Frid, et al., 'Incorporate Indigenous Perspectives'; Gillman & Wright, 'Restoring Indigenous Names in Taxonomy'.

7 Buchanan-Hamilton named far more species after local Asian names than Bleeker, but did not systemically indicate these indigenous names in his descriptions. See Buchanan-Hamilton, *An Account of the Fishes Found in the River Ganges.*

8 See e.g., Bleeker, 'Fragmenten eener Reis over Java' [Midden-Java], 230-234; Bleeker, 'Fragmenten eener Reis over Java' [Oostelijk Java], 140-143; Bleeker, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Ichthyologische fauna van Midden- en Oost- Java*, 6-13.

9 Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn, *The Anthropology of Names*; Hough, *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. For ethnobiological approaches to names and naming, see Berlin, *Ethnobiological Classification*. On pre-Linnaean forms of scholarly naming practices in Europe, see e.g., Berrens, 'Naming an Unknown Animal'.

10 Ban, Fried, et al., 'Incorporate Indigenous Perspectives'; Gillman & Wright, 'Restoring Indigenous Names'; Rubis, 'The Orang Utan Is Not an Indigenous Name'; Whaanga, Papa, Wehi & Roa, 'The Use of the Māori Language in Species Nomenclature'.

11 Freire & Pauly, 'Richness of Common Names'; Palomares, Garilao & Pauly, 'On the Biological Information Content of Common Names'.

12 Finch, 'Naming Names'.

13 Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 6.

14 In a provocative and controversial argument, ecologist Carol K. Yoon proposed to disconnect nomenclature from genetic systematics in order to preserve more 'intuitive' and traditional naming systems even if they no longer correspond to newer genetic insights: 'But taxonomy is not just another science, born out of naked reason and using elegant experimentation to make its way steadily forward. Taxonomy is instead a science born out of an ancient human practice – the ordering and naming of life out of the urgings of the human *umwelt*.' Yoon, *Naming Nature*, 16.

15 Bleeker, *The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I*, 13.

16 Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 22-23. Looking back to his childhood, he notes that scholarly fame was already an ambition. See Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 14-15.

17 Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 14: 'Ook rekende men mij volstrekt niet onder de knapste scholieren, maar wel onder de voornaamste der belhamels.'

18 Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 23: 'Toen ik trachtte meer van nabij bekend te worden onder anderen met de te Batavia voorkomende vischsoorten, stuitte ik spoedig op een aantal mij volstrekt onbekende vormen.'

19 Bleeker, *The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I*, 14.

[20] On Bleeker's identification as a 'self-made man,' see Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 43. As he states here, his return from the colony to the homeland was, at least partly, one of disillusionment as he realised that social mobility was still very limited compared to his experience in the Dutch East Indies: 'In het oude Nederland waren de self-made men de uitzonderingen.'

[21] Bleeker, 'Levensbericht'. On Bleeker's role in colonial-scientific infrastructural networks, see also Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 315-16; Boomgaard, 'The Making and Unmaking of Tropical Science', 200-201.

[22] For other fruitful ethnotaxonomic and ethnoichthyological approaches to Southeast Asian fish faunas, see e.g., Hidayati, Aminah, Ghani, et al., 'Using Ethnotaxonomy'. On the crucial importance of ethnoichthyological knowledge for conservation and fishery management, see Previero, Minte-Vera & De Moura, 'Fisheries Monitoring in Babel'.

[23] See e.g., Bleeker, *The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I*, 275-276.

[24] Bleeker, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis der Visschen met doolhofvormige kieuwen', 8. Pier Jakles was a fellow army surgeon stationed in West Sumatra who provided Bleeker with fish specimens.

[25] In modern Malay, the climbing perch is mostly only called *Betokh* or *Betik*, without the generic *Ikan*. *Ikan gabus*, however, is still in use as the common name for the striped snakehead *Channa striata* (Bloch, 1793). For *Channa striatus* (named *Ophicephalus* by Bleeker), see 'Bijdrage tot de kennis der Visschen met doolhofvormige kieuwen',13-14.

[26] Bleeker, 'An Illustrated Translation of Bleeker's Fishes', 139, 156, 158, 173, 181, 189, 200, 202, 213, 309; Bleeker, *The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I*, 78, 92, 102, 107, 109, 114, 116.

[27] Bleeker, 'An Illustrated Translation of Bleeker's Fishes', 309.

[28] Bleeker, *Labroideorum Ctenoideorum Bataviensium diagnoses*, 29.

[29] Some of Bleeker's Malay- or Sundanese-based species names are no longer valid, for example the horse mackerel species *Decapterus lajang*, *Decapterus kurra*, *Selar malam*, *Selar para*, or *Selar xanthurus*.

[30] Bleeker, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Ichthyologische fauna van Midden- en Oost-Java*; Bleeker, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Visschen met doolhofvormige kieuwen*.

[31] Cuvier & Valenciennes, *Histoire naturelle*, vol. 18, 385. See also Roberts, 'The Freshwater Fishes of Java'. On the nomenclatural confusion around the genera *Panchax* and *Betta*, see Klee, 'Panchax vs. Killifish', 23.

[32] Bleeker, *An illustrated translation of Bleeker's Fishes*, 467.

[33] See also Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*, 16.

[34] Kamal, Tan & Ng, 'Betta Nuluhon'.

[35] Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 29-34.

[36] Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*. See also Bleeker, 'Levensbericht,' 29-34.

[37] Large parts of the 'Journey through Minhassa' are concerned with questions of agriculture and economy, and the ways in which the islands can be incorporated into the Dutch colonial system. See e.g., Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 42-44, 71-75, 261-267.

[38] On Reinwardt's 'rhetoric of discovery', see Judith E. Bosnak & Rick Honings' contribution to this volume. See also Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions*, 159-166. On Reinwardt, van Hasselt, Kuhl, and Junghuhn, see also Boomgaard, 'The Making and Unmaking of Tropical Science', 199-201.

[39] Bleeker, 'Zevende bijdrage tot de kennis er ichthyologische fauna van Ternate', 358.

[40] On Humboldt's integrative approach to geography and travel writing, see Buttimer, 'Beyond Humboldtian Science and Goethe's Way of Science', 107-109.

[41] Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 20.

[42] Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 20-21. On notable differences between the mammalian fauna of the Greater Sunda Islands and the Moluccas, see Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 60-61.

43 Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 248-249: 'In de zoete wateren ontbreken hier, even als op Celebes, de karperachtige visschen, die er vervangen zijn door soorten van Ambassis, Dules, Mesoprion, Eleotris enz., van welke slechts die van Dules als eigenlijke zoetwatervisschen aan te merken zijn.'

44 Camerini, 'Evolution, Biogeography, and Maps', 704.

45 Bleeker, 'Derde bijdrage tot de kennis der ichthyologische fauna van Ceram', 234: 'De zoetwatervisschen zijn evenwel waarschijnlijk in de riviermondingen gevangen, omdat zij, met welligt slechts eene enkele uitzondering, tot soorten behooren, welke gewoonlijk in zee leven, zoodat deze verzameling voor de zoetwaterfauna van de Moluksche eilanden slechts merkwaardig is door het volstrekt gemis van Cyprinoïden, Siluroïden, Osphromenoïden, Notacanthinen, enz., welke in de zoete wateren van de groote Soenda-eilanden zoo algemeen zijn.'

46 Bleeker, 'Zevende bijdrage tot de kennis der ichthyologische fauna van Ternate', 358: 'Van de visschen, op de markt gekocht, heb ik de namen kunnen aantekenen, waaronder zij te Ternate bekend zijn. Ten opzichte der overige visschen ontbrak mij daartoe de tijd en de aanwezigheid van deskundige personen.'

47 In his memoirs, Bleeker estimates the number of fishes he had sent to Leiden to be 12,000 specimens, in another note indicating the number may have even reached 16,000. See Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 38; Van Oijen, 'Data on the Genesis of the Atlas Ichthyologique', 3-8. On Dutch colonial practices of collecting and the transfer of preserved specimens to Dutch natural history collections, see Weber, 'Collecting Colonial Nature'.

48 Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 23: 'Het verzamelen van visschen was noch zeer tijdroovend, noch zeer kostbaar. De vischmarkten leverden overvloed aan materiaal en de bewaring der voorwerpen was gemakkelijk, vermits zij slechts na eene kleine toebereiding in hun geheel in arak behoefden te worden geplaatst.' For more references to markets as a source for fishes, see e.g., Bleeker, 'An Illustrated Translation of Bleeker's Fishes', 149; Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahassa*, 39, 174, 200, 224; Bleeker, 'The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part I', 80, 84, 86, 93, 107, 118, 120, 123, 157, 172, 228, 252, 287, 310, 316.

49 Starr Jordan, 'The History of Ichthyology', 246.

50 Starr Jordan, 'The History of Ichthyology', 254.

51 Zuidema, *De voornaamste aardrijkskundige ontdekkingen*, 9; Bleeker, 'Levensbericht', 8 (preface by P. Harting): 'Alleen het getal der door hem in de Indische zee nieuw ontdekte en beschreven soorten bedraagt meer dan 1100.'

52 On the self-fashioning of colonial scientific travelers as 'discoverers', see e.g., Byrne, 'The Scientific Traveler', 20-21.

53 One of many examples would be the fishes in the genus Parosphromenus, none of which exceeds 4.5 cm. The genus was established by Bleeker in 1859, but he knew of only one species. Between 1979 and 2021, more than 20 new species were added to this group. See Shi, Wentian, Guo, et al., 'Diagnoses of Two New Species of Parosphromenus', 71.

54 See e.g., Bleeker, 'Zevende bijdrage tot de kennis der ichthyologische fauna van Ternate', 358.

55 Camerini, 'Wallace in the Field'; Van Wyhe, 'Wallace's Help'; Van Wyhe & Drawhorn, 'I am Ali Wallace'.

Bibliography

Austin, J.L., *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

Ban, Natalie C. & Alejandro Frid et al., 'Incorporate Indigenous Perspectives for Impactful Research and Effective Management', in: *Nature Ecology & Evolution* 2 (2018), 1680-1683.

Berlin, Brent, *Ethnobiological Classification: Principles of Categorization of Plants and Animals in Traditional Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Berrens, Dominik, 'Naming an Unknown Animal: The Case of the Sloth (Folivora)', in: *Archives of Natural History,* 47 (2020) 2, 325-343.

Bleeker, Pieter, 'An Illustrated Translation of Bleeker's Fishes of the Indian Archipelago. Part II: Cyprini'. Ed. and transl. Martien van Oijen & Ineke Loots, *Zoologische Mededelingen Leiden,* 86 (2012), 1-469.

Bleeker, Pieter, 'The Fishes of the Indian Archipelago: Part I – Siluri'. Ed. and transl. by Martien van Ooijen, Ineke Loots & Florence Limburg, in: *Zoologische Mededelingen Leiden* 83 (2009), 1-317.

Bleeker, Pieter, *Atlas ichthyologique des Indes orientales néêrlandaises: Publié sous les auspices du gouvernement colonial néêrlandais*. 9 vols. (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1862-1878).

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Levensbericht P. Bleeker', in: *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen* (1877), 5-159.

Bleeker, Pieter, *Reis door de Minahassa en den Molukschen archipel: Gedaan in de maanden september en oktober 1855 in het gevolg van den gouverneur generaal Mr. A.J Duymaer van Twist*, 2 vols. (Batavia: Lange, 1856).

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Zevende bijdrage tot de kennis der ichthyologische fauna van Ternate', in: *Natuurkundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 10 (1856), 357-386.

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Derde bijdrage tot de kennis der ichthyologische fauna van Ceram', in: *Natuurkundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 5 (1853), 233-248.

Bleeker, Pieter, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Ichthyologische fauna van Midden- en Oost- Java, met beschrijving van eenige nieuwe species* (Batavia: Lange, 1850).

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis der Visschen met doolhofvormige kieuwen van den Soenda-Molukschen Archipel', *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 23 (1850), 1-15.

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Fragmenten eener Reis over Java: Reis door de Binnenlanden van Midden-Java', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië,* 7-12 (1850) 2, 1-22, 81-98, 141-169, 219-238.

Bleeker, Pieter, 'Fragmenten eener Reis over Java: Reis door Oostelijk Java', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 7-10 (1849) 2, 1-55, 93-145, 177-190, 266-270.

Bleeker, Pieter, *Labroideorum Ctenoideorum Bataviensium diagnoses et adumbrationes. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavia: Lange, 1849).

Boomgaard, Peter, 'The Making and Unmaking of Tropical Science: Dutch Research on Indonesia, 1600-2000', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162 (2006) 2/3, 191-217.

Bruck, Gabriele vom & Barbara Bodenhorn, *The Anthropology of Names and Naming* (Cambridge/UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Buchanan-Hamilton, Francis, *An Account of the Fishes Found in the River Ganges and Its Branches* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1822).

Buttimer, Anne, 'Beyond Humboldtian Science and Goethe's Way of Science: Challenges of Alexander Von Humboldt's Geography', in: *Erdkunde,* 55 (2001) 2, 105-120.

Byrne, Angela, 'The Scientific Traveller', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds,), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 17-29.

Camerini, Jane R., 'Evolution, Biogeography, and Maps: An Early History of Wallace's Line', in: *Isis,* 84 (1993), 700-727.

Camerini, Jane R., 'Wallace in the Field', in: *Osiris* 11 (1996), special volume *Science in the Field*, 44-65.

Cuvier, Georges & Achille Valenciennes, *Histoire naturelle des poissons*. 22 vols. (Paris: Levrault, 1828-1849).

Finch, Janet, 'Naming Names: Kinship, Individuality and Personal Names', in: *Sociology,* 42 (August 2008) 4, 709-725.

Freire, Katia & Daniel Pauly, 'Richness of Common Names of Brazilian Marine Fishes and Its Effect on Catch Statistics', in: *Journal of Ethnobiology* 25 (2005) 2, 279-296.

Gillman, Len Norman & Shane Donald Wright, 'Restoring Indigenous Names in Taxonomy', in: *Nature Communications Biology* 3 (2020): article number 609 (2020).

Groot, Hans, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778-1867* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Hidayati, Syafitri, Bibi Aminah, Abdul Ghani, Beena Giridharan, et al., 'Using Ethnotaxonomy to Assess Traditional Knowledge and Language Vitality: A Case Study with the Vaie People of Sarawak, Malaysia', in: *Ethnobiology Letters* 9 (2018) 2, 33-47.

Hough, Carole, *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Kamal, Syafiqah Shamsul, Heok Hui Tan & Casey Keat-Chuan Ng, 'Betta Nuluhon, a New Species of Fighting Fish from Western Sabah, Malaysia (Teleostei: Osphronemidae)', in: *Zootaxa* 4819 (2020) 1, 187-194.

Klee, Albert J., 'Panchax vs. Killifish: The Origin of "Panchax"', in: *American Currents* 40 (2013) 3, 23-30.

Kottelat, Maurice, 'Dates of Publication of Bleeker's Atlas ichthyologique and Poissons de Madagascar', in: *Zootaxa,* 3681 (2013), 281-285.

Livingstone, David, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

Martha, Sukendra, 'The Analysis of Geospatial Information for Validating Some Numbers of Islands in Indonesia', in: *The Indonesian Journal of Geography* 49 (2017) 2, 204-211.

Oijen, Martien van, 'Data on the Genesis of the Atlas Ichthyologique from a Little Known French Paper by P. Bleeker', in: *The Raffles Bulletin of Zoology Supplement* 13 (2005), 3-8.

Palomares, Marie Lourdes, Cristina V. Garilao & Daniel Pauly, 'On the Biological Information Content of Common Names: A Quantitative Case Study of Philippine Fishes', in: B. Séret & J.-Y. Sire (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Indo-Pacific Fish Conference* (Nouméa: Paris, Société Française d'Ichtyologie, 1999), 861-866.

Previero, Marília, Carolina V. Minte-Vera & Rodrigo Leão de Moura, 'Fisheries Monitoring in Babel: Fish Ethnotaxonomy in a Hotspot of Common Names', in: *Neotropical Ichthyology* 11 (2013) 2, 467-476.

Roberts, Tyson R., 'The Freshwater Fishes of Java, as Observed by Kuhl and van Hasselt in 1820-23', in: *Zoologische Verhandelingen* 285 (1993).

Rubis, June Mary, 'The Orang Utan Is Not an Indigenous Name: Knowing and Naming the Maias as a Decolonizing Epistemology', *Cultural Studies*, 34 (2020) 5, 811-830.

Shi, Wentian, Shujie Guo, et al., 'Diagnoses of Two New Species of Parosphromenus (Teleostei: Osphronemidae) from Bangka Island and Kalimantan, Indonesia', in: *Zootaxa* 5060 (2021) 1, 71-92.

Starr Jordan, David, 'The History of Ichthyology', in: *Science* 16 (1902) 398, 241-258.

Weber, Andreas, 'Collecting Colonial Nature: European Naturalists and the Netherlands Indies in the Early Nineteenth Century', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 134 (2019) 3, 72-95.

Weber, Andreas, *Hybrid Ambitions: Science, Governance, and Empire in the Career of Caspar G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854)* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

Whaanga, Hēmi, Wiki Papa, Priscilla Wehi & Tom Roa, 'The Use of the Māori Language in Species Nomenclature', in: *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 2 (2013) 2, 78-84.

Woodruff, David S., 'Biogeography and Conservation in Southeast Asia: How 2.7 Million Years of Repeated Environmental Fluctuations Affect Today's Patterns and the Future of the Remaining Refugial-Phase Biodiversity', in: *Biodiversity and Conservation* 19 (2010) 4, 919-941.

Wyhe, John van, 'Wallace's Help: The Many People Who Aided A. R. Wallace in the Malay Archipelago', in: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 91 (2018) 1, 41-68.

Wyhe, John van & Gerrell M. Drawhorn, '"I am Ali Wallace": The Malay Assistant of Alfred Russel Wallace', in: *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 88 (2015) 1, 3-31.

Yoon, Carol K., *Naming Nature: The Clash between Instinct and Science* (New York: Norton, 2009).

Zuidema, Enno, *De voornaamste aardrijkskundige ontdekkingen en ontdekkers* (Utrecht: Bijleveld 1881).

CHAPTER 3

Empire as Horseplay?

Writing the Java Pony in the Nineteenth Century through the Lenses of Mobility, Modernity, and Race

Mikko Toivanen

Abstract

The Java horse, used for transport throughout the East Indies, provides an ideal locus for thinking about the intersection of travel and the animal world in the Dutch Empire. Ever-present in experiences of colonial travel, encounters with the horse soon became a recurring trope in colonial travel writing, with the small yet famously headstrong and unpredictable pony providing a reliable source of humorous yet revealing anecdotes. This chapter examines the horse-drawn carriage as a mobile 'contact zone' in which Dutch travellers encountered the realities of colonisation, whilst textual depictions of the Java horse are analysed as a rhetorical site from which debates on wider social/colonial issues, such as questions of technological modernisation and the politics of race, played out over time.

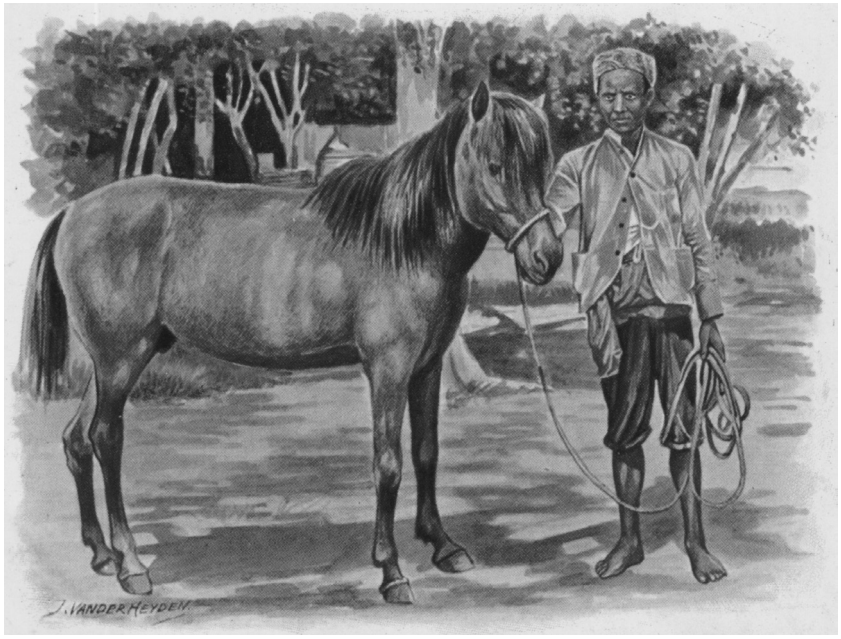
Keywords: Java horse, transportation, colonisation, race, Empire, Dutch East Indies

Nineteenth-century empires ruled, or attempted to rule, over non-human animal life as well as human subjects. They also depended on it, a multiplicity of interactions and engagements with animals both domesticated and wild underpinning their continued functioning and expansion. Amongst the great diversity of those relations, few animals have been as important, both materially and symbolically, to the establishment and maintenance of empires throughout history as the horse. Horses are central to the prevailing image of the Central Asian nomadic dynasties and, in the context of the Americas, their introduction was a crucial feature of the Spanish conquest. Also in Southeast Asia, the history of the horse has been likewise inextricably entwined with that of empires: They were sent into the region as gifts from the emperor of China to local elites, but also – and more importantly – exported into China, especially from Vietnam and Yunnan.[1] In the Indonesian archipelago, a breed apparently descending from the Tibetan pony was introduced from the mainland at some point in the first millennium, becoming an important commodity for specific islands.[2] Later on, the Dutch in turn introduced their preferred breeds – Arab and Persian – into the region, further cross-breeding

them with those already present.[3] By the nineteenth century, the horse was truly a global animal. Embodying Antoinette Burton's succinct observation that 'animals drove both the symbolic and political economy of modern imperialism wherever it took root', its ubiquity entailed a variety of relationships with specific local constellations of imperial power all around the world.[4]

In the Dutch East Indies, travellers could hardly avoid encountering the Java horse, one of the primary modes of transport on the island. Considering its omnipresence, it is not surprising that the animal appears frequently in colonial travel writing – a rather more mundane natural encounter than the more obviously exotic forms of tropical wildlife that were also a common trope. For Dutch travellers, it was more than just an animal or a symbol – it quickly became an anecdote, a trope. It was notable because it presented a unique blend of familiarity and exoticism. Whilst the domesticated horse was familiar to every European traveller, the Java horse was quite unlike any horse most travellers had ever encountered before. It was small, to the point of appearing ridiculous to European eyes – indeed, disparaging comparisons with cats appear more than once. Yet at the same time, unlike the travellers from afar, it was naturally suited to the local environment, possessing the right skills and instincts to thrive in it. Its unpredictable character was also a bit of a mystery, and a source of frustration as often as a cause for silent admiration. Whilst notionally there to serve the needs of its masters, in practice, the relationship between the animal and the coloniser was far more ambiguous. As Rohan Deb Roy has argued, human enterprise was in turn shaped by an interaction with the non-human through which the structures of empire were co-constituted.[5] An analytical focus on the Java horse therefore provides a useful way of charting the limits of the (human) coloniser's control over the archipelago.

This chapter will examine how, in Dutch nineteenth-century travel writing, the encounter with the Java horse came to represent the ambiguous and unstable mix of awkwardness and discomfort experienced by European travellers transposed into an unfamiliar, tropical setting, or what Ranajit Guha has called the coloniser's 'pervasive anxiety about being lost in empire'.[6] In particular, the analysis will focus on how authors discussed the Java horse as a lens through which to view, or a metaphor for, the wider colonial issues of the time: the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised; the development of racial thinking and taxonomies; and the introduction of new transport infrastructure as a symbol of modernity. In narrative terms, the Java horse became a site of displaced ethnography, a canvas on which a wide range of emotional and practical responses – to the totality of empire, or the unpleasant facts of colonisation, or the tropical environment – could be fixed and thus made easier to manage and communicate. In particular, many things that were written ostensibly about the horses appear, on closer inspection, to deal with the wider – and at that time, fast-developing – problematic of race.



Stable boy with horse on Java, circa 1900. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Glib assumptions of European superiority appear side by side with, and sometimes run head-first into, persistent underlying fears of inadequacy and unsuitability. Sujit Sivasundaram has characterised 'the intersection of the human and animal' as the locus where historical ideas of race developed and argued that the classification and categorisation of humanity into racial blocks occurred in dialogue with contemporary conceptualisation of the human-animal divide.[7] In the Dutch East Indies, this discursive double process was nowhere more apparent than in the case of the unsuspecting guest star of many a travel book: the Java horse.

The analysis of depictions of the Java horse below draws on a wide range of texts from the 1820s to the end of the century – short pieces from colonial and literary periodicals, as well as individually published travel books and pamphlets. The majority of the texts were authored by representatives of the Dutch colonial middle classes: officials of the colonial administration, officers of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL), or merchants and journalists with literary aspirations. Some were published in Batavia, however, most of the accounts came out in Europe – at the time a common means by which returnees from the colonies could earn extra income or gain social status: The prominence of the genre in the mid-nineteenth century is reflected in the generic descriptor 'Indische schetsen' (Indies sketches), a

variant of which appears in no fewer than five of the titles considered here. Taken together, these accounts provide a representative cross-section of the so-called 'Indische letteren' (Indies literature) of the period, whilst a consideration of less-known authors and shorter pieces allows the analysis to move beyond the handful of famous and influential individuals.

The horse and carriage as a contact zone

That the Java horse was amongst the first acquaintances a newly arriving visitor made in the Indies is natural enough. After all, where could a traveller go without some means of transport? A characteristic scene is recorded in H. Prange's brief account 'De eerste dagen te Batavia' (The first days in Batavia), published in 1858 in the Batavian literary magazine *Warnasarie*. Prange, a middle-class immigrant of a literary persuasion – apart from writing, he worked as an editor and a book salesman – describes his entry, after landing, into the port area of the colonial capital. Having cleared the customs and looking for a conveyance to take him to his hotel, Prange's eye alights upon the horse: '"Beware!", I thought or said, I no longer remember which, "what are those, cats or horses!"'[8] The remembered and reported interjection may well be based on a real experience – although the hesitation in Prange's phrasing is telling – but might also be an embellishment drawing on contemporary stereotypes circulating within the Dutch community.

As noted above, the comparison with cats is not unique to Prange. A little later, in his 1872 booklet *Een reistogtje van Batavia naar Buitenzorg* (A trip from Batavia to Buitenzorg), the mining engineer P. van Diest describes the horse in very similar terms: 'They are thin as a bone and stiff like goats, which they resemble as much as they do cats, but not in the least whatever a newcomer on Java might imagine a horse to be.'[9] Like Prange's anecdote, Van Diest's is also given at the very beginning of the narrative – in this case, at the start of his recounted trip to Buitenzorg – and thus helps to set the scene for the adventures that follow. The image of the supposedly cat-like Java horse therefore serves both as a welcome and a reminder, a signpost indicating to the reader that a different world has been entered, one in which even the horses are unfamiliar. The horse also takes centre stage as the first encounter of the journey that has been embarked upon, often before any human beings, whether European or Asian, have been depicted, let alone engaged with. For narrative purposes, the horse *is* the colony, a living embodiment of its experienced strangeness and a promise for more exciting and curious discoveries to follow.

Beyond merely setting the scene, the encounter with the animal also defines the mood, often in the tone of a humorous anecdote. The stubbornness and unpredictability of the Java horse is a recurring trope and adds a flourish of dynamism and

uncertainty to travelogues that are frequently rather touristic and banal. Having overcome the surprising outer appearance of the beast and found their seat, actually getting started on the journey was by no means as simple for the hopeful tourist. The anecdote of the Dutch parliamentarian W.T. Gevers Deynoot, told with the weariness of the experienced Indies traveller, is representative: 'I had barely sat in the carriage when the as usual poorly reared horses refused to move and were so unruly that I feared I would end up back in my hotel room, wagon and all.'[10] Another account, from a little later in 1887, contains a strikingly similar scenario, albeit this time ending up, not through the hotel window, but rather, in the roadside fields: 'Barely […] had the horse finally been brought to move when a light shock of the carriage, caused by a hole in the road, scared the animal and made it suddenly jump to the side, tipping me and the cart over into the *sawah* (field).'[11]

Occasionally, the trouble was less about ending up where you did not want to, and more about not getting anywhere at all. August Weitzel, an officer in the colonial army, made this clear in his 1860 book *Batavia in 1858*, lamenting the 'headstrong and unmanageable' animals: 'Sometimes they just stop and stand still in the middle of the road or even perpendicularly across it. And even if your honour, your life or your fortune depended on it, and even if you did your best, with curses and lashings of the whip, to make them understand it, they refuse to move their feet.'[12]

Anecdotes of this nature were, as already mentioned, a regular trope. An account by the colonial official J.S.G. Gramberg in the journal *Nederland* later in the decade uses very nearly the same words: 'the ambulance cart had stopped and the horses stood perpendicularly across the road. A Javanese horse is stubborn. If it thinks it has run enough, it stays still.'[13] Such stories provide some light entertainment and the occasional laugh, as well as constituting a reasonable substitute for any real sense of challenge or danger, at a time in the middle of the nineteenth century when travel across Java had already become largely routine for the colonial elites. More generally, the use of the natural environment – not just wildlife, but volcanos, mountains, and waterfalls – as a backdrop against which travellers could adopt poses of adventurousness and exertion was a common characteristic of a fast-developing culture of colonial proto-tourism around the middle of the nineteenth century.[14]

The self-deprecating humour of these anecdotes also helps to soften the underlying suggestion of the Dutchman's lack of control in the colonies. If the horse, native to the land and in some sense representative of it, cannot be made to move against its will, not even if your life depends on it, then what does that mean for the authority of the Dutch in the Indies as a whole? Arguably, the horse is a convenient site upon which to displace such fears of losing control: A stubborn Javanese horse is a joke, an anecdote, and a comfortingly familiar one also from European lore, whereas an equally insubordinate Javanese human being would

represent an outright challenge to colonial rule, and a real threat of violence and rebellion. This was especially true around the middle of the nineteenth century, when memories of the Java War (1825-1830) were still fresh in the mind of many travellers, despite the fact that, notably, the conflict rarely features in the genre of popular travel writing, to the point of appearing deliberately suppressed at times.[15] In contrast, the lovably headstrong Java horse represents a thoroughly acceptable and endearing form of depoliticised protest to the Dutch presence in the East, one frustrated would-be-tourist at a time.

Yet, naturally enough, the horse was not merely – or even primarily – an obstacle to making progress on the road. In fact, once it had finally been convinced to move, many travellers expressed sincere admiration for the animal's speed and efficiency. Rather than *koppig* (stubborn), another favoured adjective for the Java horse was *vurig* (fiery). This was primarily spun as a positive trait, at least in the sense that, once the animal had made its mind up to move, progress would be rapid. This led the journalist and writer Cornelis la Motte to characterise the animal's pace as 'the steam-power and the railway of the Indies'.[16] Whilst La Motte himself appears to never have visited the Indies, instead modelling his pseudonymous 'sketches' on the popular travel writing of his time, his characterisation of the Java horse can be taken to reflect the animal's reputation in the 1850s.[17] Indeed, the statement points to a significant truth: The horse and carriage, and especially the post coach system developed on Java around the turn of the nineteenth century, formed the backbone of travel across the island until the introduction of the railway in the latter part of the century.[18] This was a system that frequently garnered praise from (both Dutch and non-Dutch) visitors. As the colonial official and writer G.H. Nagel commented in his own 'sketches', an early example of the genre in 1828, 'it is a very rare occasion that a traveller on Java has cause to complain about the post horses afforded to him'.[19]

The traveller's dependence on the post coach, or similar modes of transport, meant that the carriage was also one of the most important routine sites of encounter between the colonial tourist and the local population. Notwithstanding the fact that servant labour was central to the life of Dutchmen in the colonies, it often remains understated in colonial travel accounts, partly out of a sense of embarrassment on the part of the coloniser, partly to create more heroic and adventurously individualistic narratives. Yet the coach encounter is a trope that occurs repeatedly, a curiously multipolar microcosm of colonial society in which the non-human presence of the horse intrudes upon, and modifies, the relations between the coloniser and the colonised. In some instances, the familiarity of the setting from the Netherlands provided an opportunity to bridge the cultural distance between European and Asian. One example is provided by the colonial official and amateur scholar J. van der Chijs, who in his travelogue observed wryly

that 'the coachmen [on Java] have this in common with Dutch ones, that during breaks they gladly take a little nap'.[20] Notably, however, the potential cross-cultural identification here is undercut with the class-based stereotype of the lazy worker, which the author unfavourably contrasts with the stamina of the horse.

At other times, the European trappings of the coachman's role could lead to bemusement and discomfort:

> Such an apparition had I never seen before […] A coachman dressed up like a Javanese, with the usual cloth around the head, but on this cloth a European coachman's hat, and before his eyes two great green spectacles! Moreover, a small slender little man who held the reins of four brave Javanese horses in his slender hands.[21]

This fascinating little vignette contains two simultaneous juxtapositions: the Javanese coachman's local style of clothing clashing with the European-coded accessories of his occupation; and his diminutive physique with the energy of the 'brave' horses. It certainly seems significant that the famously small size of the Javanese horse, which would align it physically with the character of the coachman, is not mentioned here and the focus is instead placed on its vigorous spirit. From this framing, the man emerges as a target for ridicule, the suggestion being that he is doubly an interloper, both in the worlds of European culture and of good horses.

It is perhaps unsurprising then, that the generally smooth progress of travel on Java is frequently credited to the horses rather than those making them move. Occasionally there is wonderment in descriptions of the speed of travel that also tips a hat to the eagerness and vigour of the coachmen in attending to their beasts, but more frequently this is expressed in terms of concern for animal welfare. 'How often do we react with disgust upon seeing the native mishandle in all sorts of ways the willing horse, when it cannot at once move an unreasonably loaded car from its place!', is the rhetorical question posed in an 1871 article in the *Militair tijdschrift* (Military journal), followed by a suggestion that it is precisely this mistreatment that gives rise to the animal's stubbornness.[22] Even Weitzel, after venting his frustrations as shown above, placed his sympathies squarely with the horse: 'What is more, the native coachmen have no skill whatsoever in dealing with horses; if one does not stand up to it, they will pull and push, beat and whip as long as they sit on the box. A native of the lower classes that shows any love for a horse is a real rarity.'[23]

Similarly, the juxtaposition of a large Chinese family employing a Javanese coachman and drawn by a miserable, famished Java horse in the illustration from *Lectuur voor de huiskamer* (Readings for home), accompanying a description of Batavia's bazars, suggests a stark hierarchy incorporating both the colony's human and animal life, where suffering and deprivation occurs despite the European colonial presence rather than because of it. The presentation of human-animal

An illustration depicting a Chinese family on their way to the market in Batavia. From *Lectuur voor de huiskamer* 3 (1856), p. 221. Collection Leiden University Libraries.

relations in these and similar depictions provide examples of how these three-way encounters in the colonial 'contact zone', to borrow Mary Louise Pratt's term, frequently found resolution in a sort of imagined camaraderie between the European traveller (or reader) and the local animal, and a kind of rhetorical alliance against the supposed misdeeds of the Javanese, Chinese, or other local communities.[24] In her work on nineteenth-century European travel writing, Elizabeth Leane has noted how violence against the transport animal appears in those texts as both necessary and regrettable, reflecting the compromises of the human-animal relationship.[25] Yet, in a colonial context, the presence of the animal also provides the travel writer with an excuse to look away from the complexities of the simultaneous human encounter embodying the colonial relations of the time.

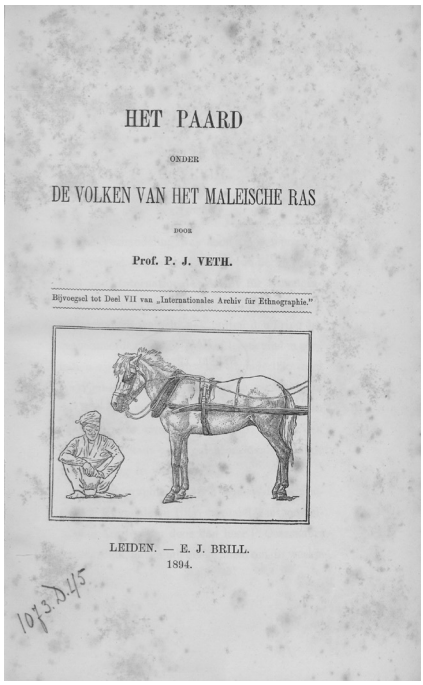
Local adaptations and ideas of race

The colonial traveller's awkwardness with the encounter in the carriage perhaps explains why so many travel writers seem to prefer the more individualistic effort of riding to the passivity of sitting in a post coach. A particularly common scene is that of riding in mountainous terrain or up the side of a volcano, where the difficulty of the routes ruled out the use of four-wheeled conveyances. Some of these scenes display an unabashed romanticism, perhaps inspired by the lofty mountain environment. In his 1874 memoir, the physician Isaäc Groneman waxes lyrical

about the 'small, but strong and reliable little mountain horses […] as brave and fiery in the climb as they are careful and understanding in the descent'.[26] Indeed, Groneman goes so far as to describe the creation of a genuine emotional bond with his steed: 'Through softness, but also steadfastness of will […] the rider can make his horse into a friend.'[27] Notably, such a rapprochement would have been close to unimaginable with any of Java's human inhabitants.

Such empathy was often afforded particularly to the horses in the mountains. Considered almost a different subspecies, their adaptation to the environment and understanding nature was widely praised. It was 'an animal, that you must let take its own course, that takes care of everything for its rider', as the popular author Justus van Maurik informed the reader, and if it wanted to stop to eat some grass on the way, why not just let it?[28] As a piece in *De Gids* suggests, the beast surely deserved a bit of leeway for its expert handling of the difficult terrain: 'The Javanese horses have a reputation for being careful like cats and having the ability to climb like cats' – a far more positive spin on the disparaging comparison already mentioned above.[29] It was this usefulness on mountain paths that placed the Java horse at the centre of that central trope of travel writing from Java: the climb up the volcano. Most writers chose to depict this scene as a contemplative journey of the adventurous rider alone on his horse, although it goes without saying that such tourists generally brought local guides and helpers along, benefitting immensely from their intimate knowledge of the environment.

The narrative function of the mountain horse draws attention to the question of local adaptations. Generally speaking, mountain life was unfamiliar to the travelling Dutchman whereas the Java horse was born into it and therefore proved exceptionally useful to the former. Moreover, altitude was just one of the many potential complications of colonial life: The tropical heat and local foodstuffs were also treated with suspicion by arriving Europeans, and there were genuine fears that life in the tropics was quite simply unsuited to their European constitution.[30] These concerns had the potential to subvert otherwise unquestioned norms. 'To make a comparison between a European farmer and a Javanese one is as absurd as to compare a Javanese horse to a European one', the Indisch Genootschap pronounced in 1866 in calling for more European settlers on the island to improve its economy.[31] However, taking the simile at face value, if the strong and agile Javanese horse was actually far better suited to the local environment than lumbering imported animals ever could have been, as was evidently the case, attested to by numerous travellers and writers, then did that not also call into question the assumed superiority of the European settler? Such an admission raised the possibility that there were perhaps better ways of doing things, ways unknown to the coloniser's mindset – that perhaps the solution was less, rather than more, colonisation.


HET PAARD

ONDER

DE VOLKEN VAN HET MALEISCHE RAS

DOOR

Prof. P. J. VETH.

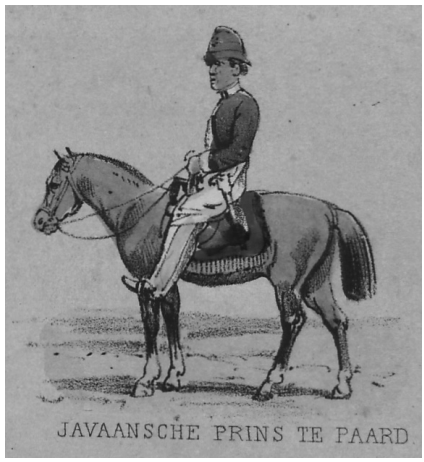
Bijvoegsel tot Deel VII van „Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie."

LEIDEN. — E. J. BRILL.
1894.

A Sumbawa horse, considered superior to the Java horse and imported to the island. From the title page of P.J. Veth, *Het paard onder de volken van het maleische ras* (1894). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

It goes without saying that such doubts were rarely openly entertained in travel writing. There were ways around the issue, and it is here that the overlap between racial theories and ideas of animal rearing becomes apparent. Rather than acting as proof of the value of local adaptations, the usefulness of the Java horse in the mountains was instead ascribed precisely to its distance from local human culture and supposedly uncorrupted, natural state, as opposed to the horses used in the more densely populated lowlands. The prettiest horses were to be found 'especially in the mountains', according to one observer.[32] In contrast, the lowland or *sawah* horse was considered 'small, ugly, with hanging loins and bad hooves'.[33] This division was also mirrored on a macro scale, where accepted wisdom identified a stark contrast between the Java horse on the one hand, and the highly valued animals imported from the outer islands of the archipelago on the other. The latter were seen as self-evidently superior, with the former considered less energetic and less vital due to their greater familiarity with humans.[34] The stereotype is also conveyed in the illustration of the Sumbawa horse from the Sunda Islands, selected for the title page of the famous scholar P.J. Veth's 1894 book on horses in the Indies, towering over a crouching human figure.

This taxonomical differentiation was closely aligned with nineteenth-century colonial thinking about race, as Jagjeet Lally has also argued for British India.[35] Similar to the case of the horses, the Dutch actively promoted a racial stereotype that ascribed greater physical vitality to the inhabitants of the islands beyond Java. As in other imperial contexts, highland communities were prized for their supposed martial virtues. Those from the island of Ambon, in particular, were increasingly singled out for the value of their service in the Dutch colonial army over the course of the nineteenth century.[36] It has been shown, however, that this was more on the level of propaganda rather than actual numbers, with the (supposedly untrusted)



A Javanese prince on horseback. Illustration from J.J.A. Goeverneur, *Nederlandsch Indie, of de bewoners dezer streken, geschetst in tafereelen* (1870). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

Javanese always forming the backbone of the force.[37] The Dutch found it useful to favour communities without an independent base of support in the heart of the colony, and to promote them as a counterweight to the influence of the Javanese nobility, which had in the early part of the century given rise to the rebels of the Java War.

The promotion of the vitality of the *overwalsche* (overseas) horses went hand in hand with the notion of the long-term decline of the Java horse. Here the allusions to the rise and fall of civilisations were barely disguised. 'From one year to the next, the Javanese race of horses declines in usefulness and appearance', was the harsh judgment of one article, which goes on to point out that even in places that used to be famous for their steeds, good horses were now nowhere to be found.[38] This calls to mind similar discourses around, for example, local architecture and culture, with European-educated experts in newly developed branches of scholarship proclaiming their puzzlement at the disappearance of the civilisations that once gave rise to temple complexes like the Borobudur or Prambanan. As with the self-appointed mission of the archaeologists, the horse soon became something to rescue, a symbol for the supposed benefits of colonial rule. In a clear call for colonial intervention, the above-cited article goes on to demand that 'appropriate measures' be taken to stop the 'deterioration' of the island's horse stock.[39]

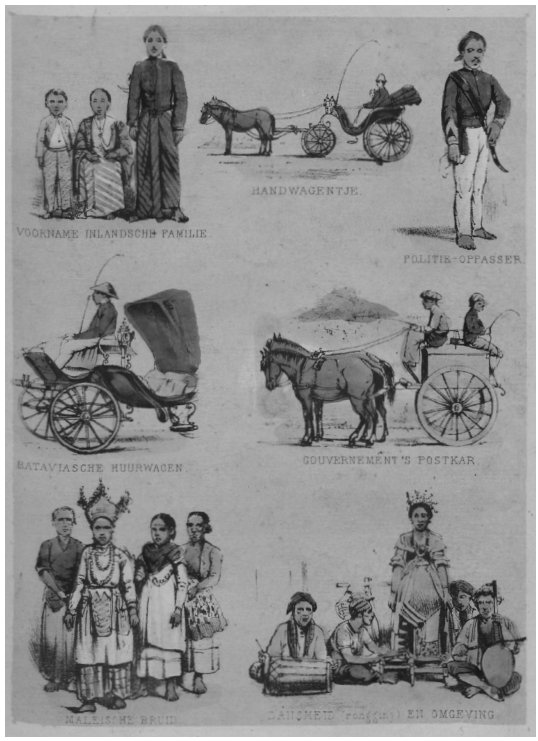
Towards the end of the century, the Java horse became a site for technical debates around how best to rear horses. Summarising the conventional view, the 1881 compendium *Het paard* (The horse) suggested that the Javanese simply did not have the necessary knowhow, either putting the animals to work too young or allowing them to breed in an uncontrolled manner.[40] Somewhat contradictorily, the work then goes on to praise their natural affinity with horses, appreciation for good steeds, and remarkable skill in riding and performing daring feats on horseback. In the colonial context, these affective and individualist inclinations are presented as categorically different from the kind of good, modern, and rationalised animal husbandry that supposedly only Europeans could be expected to introduce to Java.

Mobility, technology, and progress

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Java horse became a project of colonial technocracy – something to be salvaged via careful and scientifically informed breeding from its supposed state of terminal decline. Yet there were also other ways in which representations of the horse came to revolve around questions of modernity and progress. Transport technologies are constitutive of the experience of travel, and the proliferation of steam technology and especially the railways came to symbolise the rapidly changing world of modern tourism in the nineteenth century. It has been argued that many of the transformations conventionally ascribed to the railways – regular, punctual schedules and the homogenisation of life on the road – were instead introduced gradually and had their roots in the previous century, embodied in systems such as the post coach. Yet despite the importance of systems such as these, the symbolic centrality of the railway in nineteenth-century culture remains unchallenged.

We have already remarked on La Motte's admiring characterisation of the Java horse as 'the steam-power and the railway of the Indies', and the pride expressed by that statement was widely shared at the time. 'There is no country where one rides as fast with the post as on Java', claimed J.B.J. van Doren, an officer of the colonial army, in his 1854 travel book.[41] Adding a touch of competitive imperialism to this boast, he asserts that no Englishman has travelled on Java without once or twice 'clinging fast to the walls of their wagon'.[42] Indeed, visitors from the neighbouring British colonies were frequently impressed. The Bengal official Charles Walter Kinloch assured that 'if this be the usual rate of travelling on the island, there is little grass can grow beneath the hoof of a Java pony'.[43] Yet as time wore on, the specific phrasing employed by La Motte in what he intended as praise could also increasingly be interpreted as the opposite: a contemptuous reminder that as Europe moved forwards technologically and embraced the railways, the Dutch colonies, even if only temporarily, lagged behind.

Motte's statement was correct in a very literal sense in 1858, when his book was published, but in less than a decade the animal had had to make way for the railway. The first connections in the Dutch East Indies railway date from the 1860s, and the network expanded steadily from that point.[44] The glorification of the horse increasingly came to feel as if it belonged to another, bygone era. By 1872, P. van Diest had little patience for the *ellendig* (miserable) horse-drawn coaches linking Batavia with the nearby resort town of Buitenzorg (now Bogor) and could barely wait for it to be replaced by a railway connection: 'For half the price one can soon steam to Buitenzorg in an airy second-class compartment, comfortably and with four times the speed. What a difference!'[45] There was no stopping



Page from J.J.A. Goeverneur, *Nederlandsch Indie, of de bewoners dezer streken, geschetst in tafereelen* (1870). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

modernity for travellers like Van Diest, who were quick to forget the virtues of the horse that until recently had been so essential to their journeys. In contrast, the Java horse was increasingly reduced to a figure of condescension, or at least something distanced from the European colonial experience, as in the illustration of a Javanese prince on horseback that again draws attention to the horse's small size relative to the human figure.

Two quotes from the latter decades of the century underline the change of perspective in Dutch travel writing that saw the Java horse relegated to the status of a mere curiosity – an affectionately treated heirloom of a distant past. In the account of his five-year placement in the Indies, published in 1873, L.E. Gerdessen, an officer in the Dutch colonial army, describes the hustle and bustle of a coach ride on Java's post roads: 'That was real riding, riding as perhaps our grandfathers can still remember it from the days before the railways and steamboats made [post coach operator] Van Gend & Loos decline into a miserable omnibus service.'[46] This excerpt, from a time when railway travel was only just beginning on Java, already places the horse-drawn coach firmly into the realm of nostalgia, a reminder from the time of 'our grandfathers' whose legacy still lingered in the colonies, but were sure to be soon swept aside. Unlike his contemporary Van Diest, Gerdessen romanticises the strength of the horse and the open road, but in a way that only serves to emphasise their supposed anachronism in the bigger picture.

The second passage dates from the end of the century in 1895, from an account in a missionary magazine in which the narrator describes travelling by tram from Semarang to Kudus and observes the lively traffic from the window of his car:

> Imagine a wooden box […] in which the Javanese, sitting with his legs under him or casually stretched out along the side or over the back, is drawn by the small but brave and tough Java horse. Such a sight is worth a drawing or a photograph. And when our good, mild-mannered, patient Javanese brother observes the tram catching up with him and whirring past, he thinks: 'it is only a tram, I'll get there too;' and indeed he will.[47]

At the cusp of the new century, this scene bears witnesses to the European commuter, comfortably seated and casually observing the world around him from the vantage point of his modern tram, quite literally leaving the Java horse behind as they enter into a different era and a different world of travel transformed by technology. There is still a measure of empathy for the 'brave and tough' horse, but its infamous stubbornness and unpredictability – traits that travellers once feared could leave them stuck in place or thrown headfirst into the bushes – now seem improbable to the point of being wholly erased from memory. Instead, the horse trundles along mildly with its Javanese master, the two figures – made out to be slightly ridiculous – receding into the distance as the tram approaches its destination. Whilst perhaps they will get there too one day, their path and the experience of the journey will be a different one, barely comprehensible to the Dutch coloniser.

Conclusion

The Java horse, whether employed singly or in teams to pull a carriage or ridden alone, was central to travel on Java in the early nineteenth century. As such, it comes as no surprise that the animal features heavily in Dutch travel writing from the island, starring in little guest cameos here and there that often count amongst the most memorable scenes of the genre. The narrative functions of these snippets were diverse, reflecting the horse's multifaceted role in the Dutch imperial imagination. It is perhaps best to think of it as a canvas on to which a range of desires and anxieties could be projected, depending on context and the specific situation of the writer. For travellers freshly arrived from Europe, the horse was an apt symbol of the new land in which they found themselves: somehow familiar, a horse like any back home; yet also so very different, physically strange in ways that left writers grasping for points of reference from cats to goats to donkeys. What better way to signal to your reader the transition from one world to another? Yet the horse also

came to stand for more than mere tropical exoticism, with anecdotes and jokes circling – sometimes explicitly, often awkwardly and implicitly – around the many contradictions that were central to colonial life.

The unpredictability of the horse imposed limits on the traveller's agency and thus challenged the coloniser's arrogance. Yet this can also be seen as a bargain of sorts: an admission of weakness, couched in good humour, vis-à-vis the animal served to displace from the narrative the awkwardness and instability of the human relations colonialism depended on. A similar point has been made for the contemporary era by Debbie Lisle, who notes how celebrity travel writers employ self-deprecating humour as a strategy to avoid and defuse more fundamental questions of structural inequality.[48] For colonial-era travellers, the stubborn beast was perhaps unreliable, but even at its worst, its unreliability held no prospect of rebellion. Furthermore, apart from displacing human actors, the horse served as a site for a different kind of displacement, whereby characteristics ascribed to the people of Java or imagined features of their entire civilisation came to be written on to the body and into the history of the animal.

To come back to Sujit Sivasundaram's work on 'the intersection of the human and the animal', it can be seen that in the Dutch empire, too, the Java horse functioned as a proving ground for the rapidly evolving discourse on the racial categories of the Indies.[49] The supposed physical superiority of highland populations compared to that of lowland areas – starkly ironic in the colonial discourse of the Netherlands – was applied to horses as well as humans. Similarly, both horses and humans were imported to Java from the outer islands to buttress Dutch colonial rule with the vitality of their supposedly 'uncorrupted' bloodlines. The supposed fall of the Javanese civilisation found its counterpart and putative proof in the decline of the island's horse breeds.

The Java horse appears in many guises in the travel books of the nineteenth century: as a nuisance; a target for ridicule; an indispensable help; and even as a friend. Yet ultimately its fate was to be left behind by fashion and technology. The onward march of progress is rarely as smooth and transformative as the ideologues of modernisation would have us believe, but for travel writers the temptation to cast the memorable, sympathetic figure of the cat-horse as a symbol of the changing times was all too strong. As the century approached its end, the horse, once a useful site of many discursive displacements, was itself increasingly relegated to the margins. From a central feature of travel in the Indies and a problem one simply had to learn to live with, the plucky pony gradually receded into the world of yesterday. Whilst its romanticised figure remained fondly remembered, its actual functions for the colonial tourist were overtaken by steam-powered machines. The story of the troublesome Java horse in nineteenth-century Dutch travel writing is one of guarded and occasionally accidental admissions of the limits of colonial rule, a

hesitant probing of the extent of its reach into the worlds of the human and the non-human. Yet it is also, fundamentally, a story of imperialism as triumph: The horse, however stubborn, cannot speak as a human could. It is only given meaning through the eyes of the traveller-coloniser. It is a challenge set up to be conquered, something to reassure and entertain the reader, whilst the real problems pile up backstage.

Notes

1 Clarence-Smith, 'Breeding and Power', 34; Wade, 'The Horse in Southeast Asia', 173-174.
2 Bankoff & Swart, *Breeds of Empire*, 35.
3 Boomgaard, *Southeast Asia*, 186.
4 Burton, 'Introduction', 1.
5 Deb Roy, 'Introduction: Nonhuman Empires', 67.
6 Guha, 'Not at Home in Empire', 484.
7 Sivasundaram, 'Imperial Transgressions', 157.
8 Prange, 'De eerste dagen', 68: '"Beware!", dacht ik of zeide het, dat weet ik niet meer, "wat zijn dat voor katten van paarden!"'. Translations from the Dutch here and throughout the chapter by the author.
9 Van Diest, *Een reistochtje*, 7: 'Ze zijn broodmager en stijf als bokken, waarop ze al evenveel gelijken als op katten, doch wel het minst op hetgeen de nieuweling op Java zich voorstelt een paard te zijn.'
10 Gevers Deynoot, *Herinneringen eener reis*, 56: 'Naauwelijks was ik in het rijtuig gezeten, of de als gewoonlijk weinig gedresseerde paarden weigerden te vertrekken en waren zoo weerbarstig, dat ik dacht met wagen en al weder in mijne logeerkamer te zullen belanden.'
11 Rogge, 'Eene dienstreis in de binnenlanden van Borneo', 99: 'Nauwelijks […] was het paard eindelijk in den draf gebracht of een lichte schok van het rijtuig door een kuil in den weg deed het dier schrikken, dat in één op zijde sprong en mij met rijtuig en al in een sawah deed ombuitelen.'
12 Weitzel, *Batavia in 1858*, 18: 'Soms blijven zij te midden van den weg of ook wel dwars daarover stil staan. Al was uwe eer, uw leven of uwe fortuin er mede gemoeid en al deedt gij uw best hun dit, door een hagelbui van vloeken en zweepslagen, aan het verstand te brengen, zij verzetten geen voet.'
13 Gramberg, 'De vallei van Pelantoengan', 364: 'de ziekenwagen had blijven steken en de paarden stonden dwars over de weg. Een Javaansch paard is koppig. Als het meent genoeg gelopen te hebben, blijft het staan.'
14 Toivanen, 'Colonial Tours', 149-160.
15 Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 116-117; Toivanen, 'Colonial Tours', 174.
16 Van Erlach van der Bilt la Motte, *Java*, 58: 'Dat is de stoomkracht en de spoortrein van Indië.'
17 Wijnmalen, 'Levensbericht', 206.
18 Nas & Pratiwo, 'Java and De Groote Postweg', 709-712.
19 Nagel, *Schetsen uit myne Javaansche portefeuille*, 60: 'Groote zorg word door de opzieners der posterijen (meestal Europeänen) voor deze nuttige dieren gedragen, en het is een zeer zeldzaam geval, dat de reiziger op Java reden heeft, over de hem verstrekte postpaarden te klagen.'
20 Van der Chijs, *Mijne reis naar Java in 1869*, 26: 'terwijl de koetsiers dit met de Nederlandsche gemeen hebben, dat zij in dien tusschentijd gaarne een uiltje knappen'.
21 [Anonymous], 'Djokdjokarta', 301: 'Zulk eene verschijning was mij nog nimmer voorgekomen […] Een koetsier als Javaan gekleed, met den gewonen doek om 't hoofd, maar op dien doek een Europeesche koetsiers-hoed, en voor de oogen twee groote groene brilglazen! Overigens een klein tenger mannetje, die de teugels van vier moedige Javaansche paarden in de magere handen had.'

[22] D.d.G. [pseudonym], 'Het Indische paardenras', 150: 'doch hoeveel malen werd onze afkeuring niet opgewekt, wanneer man den inlander datzelfde gewillige paard op allerhande wijze zich [sic] mishandelen, wanneer het de onmatig bezwaarde kar, niet op eens van de plaats konde trekken!'

[23] Weitzel, *Batavia in 1858*, 19: 'Hierbij komt nog, dat de inlandsche koetsiers er hoegenaamd geen slag van hebben met paarden om te gaan; verzet man er zich niet tegen, dan rukken en trekken, dan klappen en ranselen zij zoo lang zij op den bok zitten. Een inlander uit de geringe klasse, die liefde voor een paard toont, behoort tot de uitzonderingen.'

[24] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6-7.

[25] Leane, 'Animals', 313.

[26] Groneman, *Bladen uit het dagboek*, 119: 'de kleine, maar sterke en vertrouwde bergpaardjes [...] even moedig en vurig bij 't opstijgen, als voorzichtig en verstandig bij 't afklimmen'.

[27] Groneman, *Bladen uit het dagboek*, 47: 'Door zachtheid, maar ook vastheid van wil [...] kan de ruiter zich zijn paard te vriend maken.'

[28] Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een 'Tòtòk'*, 356: 'hij heeft me geleerd, dat een Javaansch paard een dier is, dat men zijn eigen gang moet laten gaan, dat alles voor zijn berijder overheeft'.

[29] Croockewit, 'Zes weken in de Preanger-regentschappen', 297: 'De javaansche paarden hebben de renommée van voorzigtig te zijn als katten en als katten te kunnen klauteren.'

[30] Kennedy, 'The Perils of the Midday Sun', 118-141.

[31] Indisch Genootschap, 'Algemeene vergadering van 17 November 1865', 194: 'Eene vergelijking tusschen den europeeschen landbouwer en den Javaan te willen maken, is even ongerijmd als een javaansch paard met een europeesch te willen vergelijken.'

[32] Goeverneur, *Nederlandsch Indie*, 28: 'intusschen vindt men er vaak recht fraaie dieren onder, vooral in het gebergte'.

[33] Veth, *Het paard*, 30: 'Het eerste is klein, leelijk, met afhangend kruis en slechte hoeven.'

[34] Veth, *Het paard*, 30.

[35] Lally, 'H Is for Horse', 84.

[36] Chauvel, *Nationalists, Soldiers and Separatists*, 40.

[37] Moor, 'The Recruitment of Indonesian Soldiers', 64.

[38] Noordijk & Van der Weide, 'Staat van de veestapel', 191: 'Het Javaansche paardenras neemt van jaar tot jaar in deugdzaamheid en schoonheid af.'

[39] Noordijk & Van der Weide, 'Staat van de veestapel', 191: 'Worden geen gepaste maatregelen genomen, om en grooten achteruitgang tegen te gaan, dan zal zich binnen weinigen jaren [...] een schaarste, ja gebrek aan bruikbare paarden [...] doen gevoelen.'

[40] Winkler, *Het paard*, 81.

[41] Van Doren, *Fragmenten*, 273: 'Er is geen land, waar men zoo snel per post rijdt, als op Java.'

[42] Van Doren, *Fragmenten*, 273: 'De Engelsen, die daarin aan de beschaafde natiën het voorbeeld geven, en de *matadors* in het hardrijden zijn, moeten zelven bekennen, dat zij even als anderen nimmer eene reis over Java hebben gedaan, zonder zich nu en dan aan de wanden der wagens vast te klemmen.'

[43] Kinloch, *De zieke reiziger*, 50.

[44] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 154.

[45] Van Diest, *Een reistochtje*, 5: 'Voor de helft van dezen prijs zal men weldra in een luchtige coupee der 2e klasse gemakkelijk en viermaal sneller naar Buitenzorg kunnen stoomen. Wat een verschil!'

[46] Gerdessen, *Vijf jaar gedetacheerd*, 41: 'Dat mocht eerst rijden heeten, rijden zooals misschien onze grootvaders zich nog herinneren uit de dagen, toen spoorwagen en stoombooten van Gend & Loos nog niet tot 'n ellendigen omnibus-rijder hadden doen dalen.'

47 Bieger, 'Uit een schrijven van Br. Bieger', 10: 'Stel u voor een' houten bak […] waarin de Javaan, zittende met de beenen onder 't lijf of rustig langs zijde of naar achteren heen gestrekt, getrokken wordt door 't kleine maar moedige en taaie Javaansche paard. Zulk een gezicht is eene teekening of photographie waard. En al ziet onze goede, zachtmoedige, geduldige Javaansche broeder zich door de tram ingehaald en voorbij gesnord, hij denkt: "'t is maar een tram, ik kom er toch ook;" en hij komt er ook.'

48 Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, 106.

49 Sivasundaram, 'Imperial Transgressions', 157.

Bibliography

[Anonymous], 'Djokdjokarta. (Fragment uit een Reisverhaal.) Garebek Moeloed', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië* 19 (1857) 5, 301-328.

Bankoff, Greg & Sandra Swart, *Breeds of Empire: The Invention of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa 1500-1950* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008).

Bieger, 'Uit een schrijven van Br. Bieger', in: *Maandbericht van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 97 (1895) 1, 9-11.

Boomgaard, Peter, *Southeast Asia: An Environmental History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007).

Burton, Antoinette, 'Introduction: Animals, Disruptive Imperial Histories, and the Bestiary Form', in: Antoinette Burton & Renisa Mawani (eds.), *Animalia: An Anti-Imperial Bestiary for Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 1-16.

Chauvel, Richard, *Nationalists, Soldiers and Separatists: The Ambonese Islands from Colonialism to Revolt, 1880-1950* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Chijs, J. van der, *Mijne reis naar Java in 1869 en terugkeer over Engelsch Indië, Palestina enz. in 1870* (Utrecht: C. van der Post Jr, 1874).

Clarence-Smith, William G., 'Breeding and Power in Southeast Asia: Horses, Mules and Donkeys in the Longue Durée', in: David Henley & Henk Schulte Nordholt (eds.), *Environment, Trade and Society in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 32-45.

Croockewit, A.E., 'Zes weken in de Preanger-regentschappen', in: *De Gids* 30 (1866), 290-328.

D.d.G. [pseudonym], 'Het Indische paardenras', in: *Militair Tijdschrift* 2 (1871), 137-161.

Deb Roy, Rohan, 'Introduction: Nonhuman Empires', in: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35 (2015) 1, 66-75.

Diest, P. van, *Een reistochtje van Batavia naar Buitenzorg en omstreken* (Amsterdam: C.F. Stemler, 1872).

Doren, J.B.J. van, *Fragmenten uit de reizen in den Indichen Archipel, enz. Eerste deel.* (Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1854).

Erlach van der Bilt la Motte, Cornelis van, *Java: Schetsen en omtrekken uit de portefeuille* (Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1858).

Gerdessen, L.E., *Vijf jaar gedetacheerd: Indische schetsen* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1873).

Gevers Deynoot, W.T., *Herinneringen eener reis naar Nederlandsch Indië in 1862* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1864).

Goeverneur, J.J.A., *Nederlandsch Indie of de bewoners dezer streken, geschetst in tafereelen uit hun dagelijksch leven, zeden en gebruiken* (Leiden: D. Noothoven van Goor, 1870).

Gramberg, J.S.G., 'De vallei van Pelantoengan', in: *Nederland* 1 (1869), 347-376.

Groneman, Isaäc, *Bladen uit het dagboek van een Indisch geneesheer* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1874).

Guha, Ranajit, 'Not at Home in Empire', in: *Critical Inquiry* 23 (1997) 3, 482-493.

Indisch Genootschap, 'Algemeene vergadering van 17 November 1865', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 4 (1866) 2, 169-206.

Kennedy, Dane, 'The Perils of the Midday Sun: Climatic Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics', in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 118-140.

Kinloch, Charles Walter, *De Zieke Reiziger, or Rambles in Java and the Straits, in 1852* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1853).

Lally, Jagjeet, 'H Is for Horse', in: Antoinette Burton & Renisa Mawani (eds.), *Animalia: An Anti-Imperial Bestiary for Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 79-86.

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lisle, Debbie, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Maurik, Justus van, *Indrukken van een 'Tòtòk': Indische typen en schetsen* (Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1897).

Moor, Jaap de, 'The Recruitment of Indonesian Soldiers for the Dutch Colonial Army, c. 1700-1950', in: David Killingray & David Omissi (eds.), *Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers c. 1700-1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 53-69.

Nagel, G.H., *Schetsen uit myne Javaansche portefeuille* (Amsterdam: C.G. Sulpke, 1828).

Nas, Peter J.M. & Pratiwo, 'Java and De Groote Postweg, La Grande Route, the Great Mail Road, Jalan Raya Pos', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 158 (2002), 707-725.

Noordijk, P. & J. van der Weide, 'Staat van de veestapel in de 1e en 3e afdeeling op Java', in: *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië* 3 (1856), 166-206.

Prange, H., 'De eerste dagen te Batavia', in: *Warnasarie* 11 (1858), 64-74.

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993).

Rogge, C. 'Eene dienstreis in de binnenlanden van Borneo', in: *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 4 (1887), 88-103.

Sivasundaram, Sujit, 'Imperial Transgressions: The Animal and Human in the Idea of Race', in: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 35 (2015) 1, 156-172.

Toivanen, Mikko, 'Colonial Tours: The Leisure and Anxiety of Empire in Travel Writing from Java, Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, 1840-1875' (PhD Thesis, European University Institute, 2019).

Veth, P.J., *Het paard onder de volken van het maleische ras* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1894).

Wade, Geoff, 'The Horse in Southeast Asia prior to 1500 CE: Some Vignettes', in: Bert G. Fragner (ed.), *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel Und Kultur / Horses in Asia: History, Trade and Culture* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 161-178.

Weitzel, A.W.P., *Batavia in 1858: Schetsen en beelden uit de hoofdstad van Neêrlandsch Indië* (Gorinchem: J. Noorduijn & Zoon, 1860).

Wijnmalen, T.C.L., 'Levensbericht van Cornelis van Erlach van der Bilt la Motte', in: *Handelingen en mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1869), 197-215.

Winkler, T.C. *Het paard* (Haarlem: De Erven Loosjes, 1881).

CHAPTER 4

The Sound of the Tokkeh and the Tjitjak

The Representation of the Tokay Gekko and Common House Gekko in Dutch-Indies Travel Literature

Achmad Sunjayadi

Abstract

In the narratives of Dutch East Indies travel literature, the modest appearance of animal species such as the *tokkeh* (Tokay Gekko) and *tjitjak* (Common House Gekko) offer a fleeting glimpse of a much deeper story. For Europeans, especially the Dutch, who saw and heard the creatures for the first time during colonial times, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* were extraordinary little reptiles. This chapter focuses on their appearance, sound, and the roles they played in Dutch East Indies travel accounts from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century such as the works of Justus van Maurik, Jan Poortenaar, C.K. Elout, Arie Trouw, and Mary Pos.

Keywords: Animals, Dutch East Indies, travel literature, sound, *tokkeh, tjitjak*

The first impression for those unfamiliar with the *tokkeh* (Tokay Gekko [*Gekko gecko*]) and the *tjitjak* (Common House Gekko [*Hemidactylus frenatus*]) is shocking, especially if you are alone in the middle of the night in a foreign land – only a disembodied voice is heard. Even once discovered, their physical appearances may offer little solace. For Europeans, especially the Dutch, who saw and heard the creatures for the first time during colonial times, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are extraordinary little reptiles – surprising due to their appearance, like miniature lizards or crocodiles.[1] These tiny exotic animals were barely visible and only known to exist by the sound they produced. However, when compared to the wild animals that most often concern the travel writings of Europeans – crocodiles, tigers, lions, elephants, rhinos, Komodo dragons, and other exotic animals in Asia or Africa – the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* appear to have warranted neither description nor recording photographically, not even for souvenirs. Indeed, encounters with these two exotic little creatures seem to instil no feeling of adventure of which to be proud or retell. Instead, they become animals whose presence, whilst surprising, is unwanted and only worthy of the briefest passing mention.

The relationship between humans and animals whilst travelling is a fascinating discussion topic, especially when concerning supposedly unwanted and surprising

Full-size color drawing of an East Indian tokeh or house lizard, by Jan Brandes, 1784. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

animals, such as the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak*. This chapter, therefore, aims to trace their appearance in travel accounts from the Dutch Indies from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, and to examine the roles they played in such accounts. Since the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are often presented only in passing, this task requires that travel literature from several periods is analysed. The selection of sources for this chapter is based on period and availability. The type of data used stems from Dutch-Indies travel literature of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. This choice of time-period is predicated on the growth of tourism activities in the Dutch Indies, namely its emergence in the late nineteenth century to its peak in the 1930s, when various travel support facilities became available, especially transportation and accommodation. To determine when tourism activities began, I use the concepts of tourism place, space, and change by Shaw and William (2004), who state that the process of commodification of tourism is started, not with the arrival of tourists and their cultures, but rather with how destinations are represented through marketing systems, such as guidebooks and travel brochures.[2]

As the travel literature discussed in this chapter dates from the colonial period, Edward Said's theory of *Orientalism* (1978) is of great use, providing the basis for

reading colonial literature.[3] Indeed, the concept of 'colonial discourse' is one of Said's contributions to postcolonial theory and, as an example of colonial discourse, the critique of travel literature is a genre that Said initiated with *Orientalism*. The other significant contribution of *Orientalism* was to show how and why the Orient was created as a binary opposition. The Orient was painted as the very antithesis, the binary opposite, and the contrasting image of the Occident. Said stated that 'the Orient was a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscape, remarkable experiences'.[4] For some Europeans, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are 'exotic beings' that represent the Orient. Therefore, in this chapter, I focus on the representation of the *tokkeh* and *tjitjak* in Dutch-Indies travel literature by close reading the texts from the narrators' perspective.

In this chapter, I argue that the appearance of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* in the narratives of Dutch travel literature follows Elizabeth Leane's (2020) typology of the representation of the 'animal as companion'.[5] However, being near the creatures does not make them human companions; it is the human who considers them as companions. Donna Haraway (2015) explains that companion animals comprise one kind of companion species, whilst 'companion species is a bigger and more heterogeneous category than companion animals'.[6] Therefore, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* can be categorised as companion species. I would posit the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* as complementary background companions that appear when the human writers are silent and alone. They usually appear at home, at the *pasanggrahan* (guesthouse), and in hotel rooms amidst silences – both of the day and the night. Even though the role of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* remains small and seems to be relatively meaningless, their presence in the various narratives offered proof that the writers had been in the Indies, that exotic overseas colony. This is in accordance with Leane's opinion that 'the companion animal narrative creates space for a more positive sustained examination of interspecies interaction'.[7] Their voices seemed a welcoming sound for newcomers in the Indies and became a crucial ingredient in memories of the tropical Indies. This concurs with the recent analyses of 'sound in travel writing' by Tim Youngs (2020). Youngs showed that attention to sounds in selected travel texts of the twentieth and twenty-first century reveals its use as far more than a descriptive detail. Sounds are not merely heard because they are processed and interpreted by the hearer. Rather, they are transmitted through the texts to the readers. Sounds in travel texts function in profoundly symbolic ways.[8] As well as smell, taste, and touch, sound can evoke powerful individual memories. Therefore, the sound of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* served to arouse the memories of those that travelled to, and wrote about, the Dutch Indies.

The existence of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* in the Dutch East Indies is discussed mainly by biologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists. However, the *tjitjak* in particular has attracted attention since the time of the Dutch East India Company.

Jan Brandes (1743-1808), an illustrator and Lutheran minister in Batavia, observed the *tjitjak* in the eighteenth century and drew illustrations of a complete *tjitjak*. His image of the *tjitjak* is dated 18 February 1784. Brandes calls the *tjitjak* a *huyshagedis* (house lizard), also describing how they climbed the walls and the ceilings of the house, their body shape, their legs, their body colour, how they catch mosquitos, and their typical call (according to Brandes, the sound '*tje, tje, tje, tje, tje*').[9]

The Dutch ethnologist George Alexander Wilken (1847-1891), in an article dated 1891, discusses the importance of geckos and lizards to Malayo-Polynesians. Wilken specifically explains the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh* from an anthropological perspective. Wilken explains the physical characteristics of the two animals: a pale yellow, small, and not unpleasant animal for the *tjitjak*; and yellow with brown spots for the *tokkeh*. Wilken then goes on to describe the distinctive sound they make: 'a chirping scream tone'.[10] Expanding upon his description, he explains how, in the Indonesian context, the animals are considered to be oracles. The Timorese, for example, regard the two animals to be emissaries of the souls of the dead. The Gorontaloans in North Celebes (also known as North Sulawesi) believe that if a *tjitjak* or *tokkeh* falls on someone's body, it is an unfavourable omen. Similarly, if a *tjitjak* falls into food, then it is an omen of doom, whilst if it falls to the ground, something sad must be expected. According to Wilken, such beliefs are shared by the Alfur, the Minahasa, and the Javanese. Meanwhile, the *tokkeh* is said to be able to read the future based on its sound. The Balinese identify the *tokkeh* with Saraswati, the goddess of wisdom and knowledge. Indeed, in Bali, if one is having a conversation and the sound of the *tokkeh* is heard, the Balinese say: 'It is true, Saraswati', or 'Be it true, mistress'. This is similar to the Bataks, who identify the *tokkeh* as *Boraspati*, the god of wisdom.[11]

The *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are different from the lizards that Europeans usually refer to, even though they are reptiles. *Tokkeh* have thick, cylindrical bodies with heads distinct from their necks. Their bodies are covered in spots. There are two variants of the *Gekko gecko*: the red-spotted and the black-spotted. The spots of red-spotted tokay geckos range from light yellow to red and overlay a bluish or greyish body. The male *tokkeh* ranges from 13-16 inches (35-40 centimetres) in length, whilst females measure between 8-12 inches (20-30 centimetres).[12]

The name 'gecko' was in widespread use by the mid-eighteenth century and was used by the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) in 1758 when he described the Tokay Gecko as *Lacerta gecko* (now *Gekko gecko*). The first known usage of the word in the Western world was in a book by a Dutch physician and a pioneer of tropical medicine, Jacobus Bontius (1592-1631), in which he discussed the animals and plants he had encountered in the East Indies thirty years previously.[13] The *tokkeh* is found across Southeast and East Asia, whilst black-spotted *tokkeh* are to be found in northern Vietnam and mainland China, where they favour rocky

environments. Meanwhile, red-spotted *tokkeh* are more widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Indo-Australia Archipelago. They are more likely to be encountered in lowland or submontane rainforests. In some areas, they enjoy a seemingly mutualistic relationship with people, and they may shelter in the ceilings and walls of a home, consuming undesirable insects. They communicate vocally with a sound variously described as *tok-keh* and *gekk-gekk,* which they use to locate potential mates.[14]

The *tjitjak* is native to Southeast Asia and is also found in Africa, Australia, and the United States. Their average size is 3-6 inches (7.5-15 centimetres), and males are larger than females. Usually, they are grey or light brown to beige with a greenish iridescence and a white underside. They can be found in various habitats, from rain forests and savannas to deserts, although they are most abundant in urban, suburban, and developed locations. They are nocturnal and almost always found on the walls of buildings near artificial lighting, as this attracts insects. The *tjitjak* has a distinctive three- or five-note call described as '*chuck, chuck, chuck*'. They have a louder voice and call more frequently than other gecko species and can be heard throughout the day and night.[15]

Corpus and embedding

The works analysed below are Justus van Maurik's *Indrukken van een Totok, Indische typen en schetsen* (Impression of a Totok[16], Indies types and sketches, 1897) and Mary Pos' *Eens op Java en Sumatra* (Once in Java and Sumatra, 1948). Other works analysed are *Een kunstreis in de tropen* (An art trip in the Tropics, 1925) by Jan Poortenaar; *De Grote Oost* (The Great East, 1930) and *Indisch dagboek* (Indies journal, 1936) by C.K. Elout; and *Indische reisbrieven* (Indies travel letters, 1933) by A. Trouw. These writers all have different professions and backgrounds, each of them expressed through their writing.

First, Justus van Maurik (1846-1904) was a Dutch cigar manufacturer and writer. He travelled in the Indies in 1895 for business and wrote his impressions and recollections in his successful book *Indrukken van een Totok* (1897). However, according to Jeroen Dewulf (2015), this text cannot be regarded as a literal report of his Indonesian trip. Rather, it is a collection of sketches of gripping events and unique encounters.[17] Nonetheless, Van Maurik's text is an important source, because it relates to the early days of tourism in the Dutch Indies.

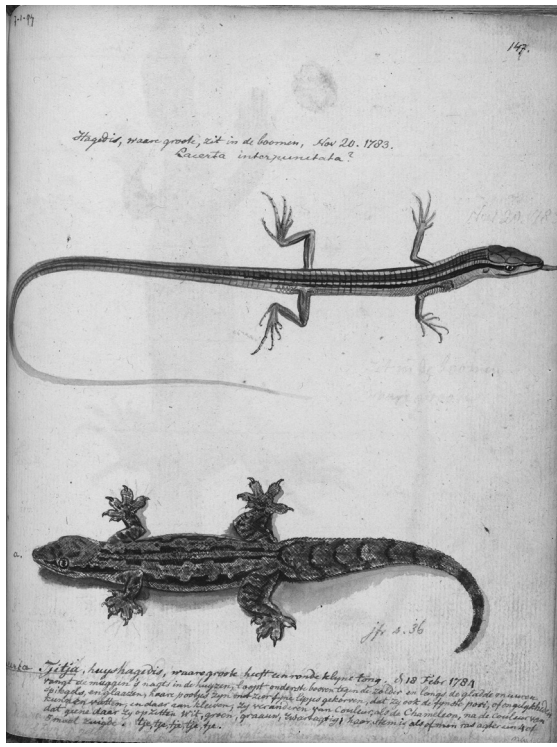
The Dutch artist, musician, and writer Jan Poortenaar (1886-1958) resided in London from 1914 to 1922. In 1922, Poortenaar embarked on a leisurely tour through the Indies, accompanied by his wife, Geertruida van Vladeracken (1880-1947), who was a singer and composer.[18] The couple recorded their experience in the travel

memoir *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, which was translated as *An Artist in Tropics* in 1927. The book of his journey through the Indies is illustrated with his etchings and paintings. According to Susie Protschky (2007), as an artist, Poortenaar, during his journey, criticised the attempt of the colonial government to impose European concepts of order on the tropical landscape, especially the colonial notion of a garden, which he perceived as a stilted affair.[19] Poortenaar and his wife were convinced that rural life in the archipelago was impervious to colonial intervention.[20]

The third work is from Cornelis Karel Elout (1870-1947), a leading Dutch journalist in the interwar period. Elout initially opted for a military career, first being admitted to the practical preparatory course of the Military School in Haarlem and a year later to the Artillery Course in Delft. However, when he was eighteen years old, he won a prize for the best short story, awarded by the magazine *Jong Nederland*. Although it remains unclear what made him decide to make the jump from the military to writing, in 1891 Elout joined the Amsterdam-based newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* as a reporter. After the newspaper appointed him as their correspondent in The Hague in 1901, Elout moved to the city, then to Wassenaar in 1911. Initially, he delivered local and parliamentary news and covered lectures, theatre, and music reviews. Later, however, he was permitted to limit his writing to the Lower House (of the Dutch parliament) and the stage. From 1901 to the late 1930s, he was political editor in The Hague. In 1929, Elout decided to limit his reviews mainly to the colonial budget in the Dutch East Indies. He had developed a great interest in the Dutch East Indies and, as a result, in 1925 and 1929, he travelled to and around the archipelago (Java, Bali, Sulawesi, Sumatra).[21] In 1925, Elout made a four-month tour of the Indonesian archipelago. A year later, he published his *Indisch dagboek* (1926, Indies diary).[22] He then returned to the Dutch East Indies in 1929, again resulting in a series of journalistic travel letters, *De Groote Oost* (1930, The Great East).[23]

Moving now to the work of Arie Trouw (1891-1950). Trouw was a Liberal Reformed Church minister in The Hague and Scheveningen. In 1918, he was the Dutch Reformed Pastor in the municipality of Heenliet. In 1921, he joined Liberal Reformed Church as a predecessor pastor in the municipality in Haarlem, whilst twelve years later, he became pastor in The Hague and Scheveningen. In 1932, he toured for the *Groep Vereeniging Vrijzinnig Godsdiensten* (Group of the Liberal Religions Association) in the Dutch Indies and visited Java, Bali, and Sumatra, giving numerous lectures.[24] In 1933, he published *Indische reisbrieven* (Indies travel letters).

The only female travel writer discussed in this chapter is Mary Pos (1904-1987). She was a Dutch travel journalist known as a astute solo traveller who travelled worldwide from the late 1920s until the late 1970s. Pos was a pioneer in the Dutch field of journalism, managing to obtain sponsorship not only from ministries, but also from commercial companies such as Heineken.[25] In 1938-1939, Pos visited



Full-size color drawing of a lizard and a *tjitjak*, by Jan Brandes, 1784. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

several islands in the Dutch East Indies, including Sumatra, Java, and Bali. Based on this visit, she wrote two books: *Werkelijkheid op Bali* (1947, Reality on Bali) and *Eens op Java en Sumatra: Het laatste reisboek over ons Indië in zijn laatste glorietijd* (1948, Once on Java and Sumatra: The last travel book on our Indies in its last glory time).

Place, time, and sound

Houses, hotels, guesthouses, and concert halls provide the spaces in which the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* appear. Mary Louise Pratt introduced the concept of the 'contact zone', referring to social spaces in which different cultures meet.[26] In the context of this chapter, it could be said that houses, hotels, guesthouses, and concert halls act as 'contact zones' for humans and animals (in this case, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* on the one hand, and the European traveller on the other).

When Justus van Maurik was in Padang, West Sumatra, he stayed with his old friend from Amsterdam, with whom he worked on the stock exchange in

Amsterdam. He recalls being alone in the room during the daytime, encountering his first *tjitjak*:

> I slept for a long time, overwhelmed by the unusual temperature and awakened by a cold, chilly, slippery something falling on my face. It was a *tji[e]tjak*, a kind of small lizard, who had walked up against the ceiling from my bedstead and was probably going to get acquainted with newcomers.[27]

Although Van Maurik was not afraid of the *tjitjak*, the creature's 'smooth, cold touch' still made him shiver. As Rick Honings notes, European travellers, perhaps unsurprisingly, tend to describe unknown things from their existing frames of reference and those of their compatriots.[28] For example, Van Maurik describes the *tjitjak* as 'some kind of small lizard'.[29]

Mary Pos (1948) had the same experience with the *tjitjak* and *tokkeh* when she was also alone in the room of a house in Batavia during the evening. First, she imagined the atmosphere in the Netherlands. It was quiet and static around the houses with shaded lamps burning everywhere; an atmosphere of intimacy and cosiness made her imagine a Dutch house. Then she saw the *tjitjaks* crawling along the walls, and she heard the thick throat sound of the *tokkeh* – 'the piercing cricket choir'.[30] The imagination of being in the Netherlands vanished when she saw the *tjitjak* and heard the sound of the *tokkeh*. In addition, a myriad mosquitoes had bitten her arms and legs, leaving bluish spots, again making her aware that she was in the tropics. Here, according to Pos, the appearance of the *tjitjak* and the sound of the *tokkeh* disturbed her daydreams about her homeland. As stated by Youngs (2020), the sound is processed and interpreted by the hearer. As the hearer, Pos processed and interpreted the sound of the *tokkeh*, then she transmitted through the text and showed that the sound disturbed her daydreams. When Pos visited the *Vorstenlanden* (the 'royal lands' of Yogyakarta and Solo), which according to her had the atmosphere of the Indies, different from other cities in the Indies with the bustle of European life, she described hearing the sound of a strange animal in the middle of the night. From all those strange animal noises that she could have heard, Pos stated, the sound of *tokkeh* was always predominant.[31]

Such an encounter with the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh* was also narrated by Elout (1936) from his hotel room. However, unlike the account of Pos, for Elout, watching the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh* was more a form of entertainment. Elout wrote that at least they were friendly; indeed, he describes them as 'the nicest of critters'.[32] In the evening, Elout often amused himself by watching them slowly stalk flies along the roof of the front porch, or flee having lured each other with their distinctive '*tjuk-tjuk-tjuk*' call. He noted that they shot away at lightning speed if approached by a human, and that the big *tokkeh* was much more timid and thus rarely seen

against the wall of the front porch. Before calling, Elout explains how the *tokkeh* first made a sound from within – a sound like a 'Frisian hanging clock', the weights of which have been picked up: '*kerrr, kèrrr, kèrrr* and then it shouts, deep and dignified, with a dark voice and chanting punishment: *èk-kooo, èk-kooo, èk-koooo*… until it is over'.[33]

In the above description of unknown things, once again we see the use of a more familiar frame of reference when Elout describes the sound of the *tokkeh* as a 'Frisian hanging clock'.[34] Elout's admiration for the two 'nicest of critters' contradicts his opinion of the other animals. Elout does not consider Indonesian fauna to be particularly strange, and suggests those who expect more – such as birds of paradise and parrots fluttering around their ears – will be sadly disappointed. He criticises those in Holland with foolish imaginations of the 'animal horrors' of the Indies: crocodiles, tigers, elephants, rhinos, and snakes. Based on his experience of several months in the Indies, he saw only a few crocodiles in the Palembang River, and two snakes in Java and Sulawesi – even comparing them to snakes in the Netherlands. Indeed, Elout wrote that whilst in the Dutch province of Gelderland, one could be bitten by very dangerous vipers, during his visit to the Indies, he never encountered such beasts.[35]

As a European, Elout imagines the exotic creatures in the East, especially the wild animals he will see, such as tigers, elephants, and rhinos. However, in reality, he did not see them. He only saw crocodiles and snakes.[36] Elout's obvious disappointment at not being able to see wild animals in the Indies reveals a characteristic of colonial discourse: that, although he himself criticised the Dutch for thinking that the Indies were overrun with wild animals, he also thinks that the Indies are full of exotic creatures. According to William H. Sherman, Elout's expectation is based on eighteenth-century travel books, which were full of illustrations of exotic plants and animals, as well as places, archaeological sites, and the native costumes of the East.[37]

Honings, based on Pratt's idea that 'the landscape is estheticised', explains that a characteristic of colonial discourse in nineteenth-century Dutch travel literature is the aestheticisation of nature. In much nineteenth-century travel literature, the overwhelming nature of the Indies is described as if in a painting.[38] This narrative is also akin to Pratt's concept of the 'seeing-man' – the label for the European (white) male subject of European landscape discourse – whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess.[39] Pratt shows that travel literature from the nineteenth century contains an imperialistic vision of the colonised country. This is expressed, amongst other things, in how the landscape is described as a painting. This characteristic is still discernible in Dutch travel literature of the late of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century.

The characteristics of colonial discourse outlined above are found throughout Elout's account from 1936. Elout gave his impression of the landscape and, amongst

others, the sound of the *tjitjak* in a guesthouse in Lubuk Sikaping, West Sumatra. His description of Indonesian nature in the evening silence is accompanied by a description of the *tjitjak*'s sound. It was in the evening, and he sat on the front porch of the guesthouse in the light of a gas lamp surrounded by dancing mosquitoes. He wrote:

> Outside, the pale trunks of the road shimmer (tamarinds, I believe). Behind it stands, unmoving and black, the Indonesian night, the deep, thick, motionless darkness, in which I know the heavy mountains yonder before me. And the Indonesian night itself is such a mountain range: just as heavy and just as unmoved.[40]

Elout describes the vista outside the guesthouse, with the pale trunks of tamarinds by the roadside beyond which lay a still and dark Indonesian night – deep, thick, motionless darkness. He saw the black mountains before him, heavy and unmoving in the darkness. For Elout, the evening was not silent. He heard thousands of crickets, the croak of frogs, the bark of a dog, the chug of the *tjitjak*, the meow of a cat, and people talking to each other. He compares the silence of a Dutch night with the Indies: 'It is often much quieter in Holland than in the Indies where there is always noise – but it is silent, the Indies night, poignantly silent with immobility. An obsession with impassibility.'[41] Elout describes the silence in the Indies as static and different from that of the Netherlands. As in the account from Pos, for Elout, the sound of the *tjitjak* in combination with other sounds, makes the difference, especially to the evening 'silence' of the Indies and Holland.

Regarding the sound of the *tokkeh* that Van Maurik heard in his hotel room in Batavia at night, Van Maurik noted its melodic nature.[42] He gained the same impression of the sound of the *tokkeh* during his stay in a guesthouse in Srogol, Preanger, West Java. He heard the sound of the *tokkeh* in the quiet evening after the *ronggeng* – a dance performance accompanied by *gamelan*[43] music. Van Maurik noted: 'It has become dead quiet, the cricket kept on singing softly, and a *tokkeh* shouted from time to time: *tokke-tokke-e*'!'[44] He also described the scene before him that evening with the sound of *tokkeh*:

> Trees and ferns, shrubs and palms stand, still lit by the moon, ghostly outlined against the mountainous background, and dreamily the bluish-yellow glow of the moon wanders over the hospitable roof of the house, in which the guests with the *toewan besar* [the master] and his family take a rest.[45]

The exotic scenery and the sound of the *tokkeh* described by Van Maurik are again characteristic of colonial discourse, and the aestheticisation of nature. Here too, Van Maurik's aesthetic description of nature is reminiscent of the impression given by Elout.

According to Pratt, female authors present their journeys in a very different manner to their male counterparts, who tend to present their journeys as voyages of discovery. The works of female authors usually lack the rhetoric of discovery, paying more attention to matters and topics that are traditionally considered to be part of the female domain.[46] At the end of her journey, Pos, travelling in a convertible car from Danau Toba (Lake Toba), North Sumatra, describes:

> We drove in that open car through the goodness of the tropics evening to a picturesque kampong, the sight of which, the music, even the smells, brought us under the spell of the tropics. We drove to a still river in a vast country, which reminded me of Holland. Always that mix of the Indies and the Motherland.[47]

The aestheticizing characteristics of colonial discourse are also found in Pos' description above. Once again, Pos can be seen also to use her own frame of reference regarding the silence she encounters. She compares the river's silence in a 'vast country' with the silence of Holland. After she enjoyed the landscape and its silence in the rural, she was back in the city of Medan. At night she heard the sounds of the tropics, 'the high and shrill sound of crickets, and the *tokkeh* with their heavy sound.'[48]

Unlike Van Maurik and Elout, who enjoyed the sound of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak*, Jan Poortenaar gives a rather more negative impression of their calls. Poortenaar heard their sound in a concert hall. However, at that time, attendance in an Indonesian concert hall was limited to certain circles of society, thus it could be argued that it should also be seen as a 'private space'. In Indonesia, the concert hall becomes a 'contact zone' for Poortenaar, who encounters 'disparate culture'. He noted: 'It is always a surprise how people are received as a travelling artist. In large or small places, one cannot guess what people will be encountered or what their manners will be.'[49]

In his chapter about concerts in the *Kunstkring* (artistic circle) of an Indonesian city in the Indies, Poortenaar compared the concert halls of Europe with those of the Indies. He interprets the situation in the Indies by using the old Dutch proverb ''*s lands wijs,'s lands eer*' (so many countries, so many customs), and describes the difference between European and colonial (Indonesian) concert halls. He comments that it is the custom in Europe that the stage is reserved for the artists. However, in the Indies, he noticed bats, mosquitos, flies, beetles, crickets, and dogs.[50] These animals and, of course, the sounds they produce, disturb concert performances. Like Elout and Pos, Poortenaar agrees that amongst the sound of the animals, the sound of *tokkeh* is the strongest. He commented: 'The menagerie of the Indies nature also provides other candidates for stage honours. *Tjitjaks,* small wall lizards, scarcely count, but the big ones, *tokkehs*, can make a respectable noise at

awkward moments.'[51] If, during a performance, a human makes a noise, then he or she may be asked to leave, but if it is an animal making the noise, it is not so easily remedied. Here, Poortenaar also uses his own frame of reference to describe the *tjitjak* as 'small wall-lizards'.[52]

Sound is essential for Poortenaar, who is a musician. Therefore, it is understandable why he finds the *tokkeh's* voice so disturbing. There is an accepted etiquette when attending a concert: One must sit still and be calm, listening to the music being played, however, this inevitably means that any extra sound that is not part of the music will be a distraction for both players and audience alike. Similar to Pos, who is disturbed whilst enjoying her silence, for Poortenaar, the sound of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* appeared in a delicate moment, disturbing the silence of the concert hall and the music he hoped to hear.

Arie Trouw also uses a personal frame of reference to describe the *tjitjak*. In his letter from Medan, North Sumatra, after visiting a Karo-Batak village, he used the word *hagedisje* (small lizard) for the *tjitjak*. He wrote: 'The *tjitjak* is the *hagedisje* [small lizard] that, towards evening, enters the Indonesian houses in great numbers and, in pursuit of mosquitoes, climbs up the walls and ceiling.'[53] The use of personal frames of reference to describe the *tjitjak* was used earlier by Brandes and Wilken.[54] Wilken called the *tjitjak* 'a not ungraceful animal'), and he called both the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh* oracle animals par excellence.[55]

In the village Trouw visited, he also found the *tijtjak* used decoratively as a motif on the house. He wrote that the creature has a reputation for good luck – something that probably plays a role in its use decorating the *kampong* houses.[56] Furthermore, many houses are surrounded by a wide, carved, wooden edging. According to Trouw, the motifs incorporated therein have magical significance, serving to attract good, and ward off evil, spirits.[57]

Sound as an accompaniment of memories

The sounds of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* also accompany some of our narrators' memories. For example, Elout, who was bothered neither by their presence nor sound, was on board the *Prins der Nederlanden* on 27 June 1925. He remembered the sound they made when he was staying at the guesthouse in Lubuk Sikaping, West Sumatra, in his journal written on 18 May 1925. Elout's journal entry, again, exhibits the characteristics of colonial discourse – the estheticization of nature accompanied by the sound he now knows so well:

> Perhaps you remember something about what I wrote about that evening in the *pasanggrahan* [guesthouse] in Lubuk Sikaping. The road with the trees. The field and the high

> mountains just behind it. The fast sinking of the night flattens even far away and envelops you in darkness. It is only the lamp of the *pasanggrahan*. Crickets, *tjitjaks* and *tokkehs*. One voice begins to sing, slowly, in a minor key, resigned. And everything is motionless, staring motionless.[58]

He reminisces about that evening in the guesthouse. He then describes the atmosphere of the night and the darkness around him that made it impossible to see. He feels as if everything is approaching him, but his stalkers remain invisible and inaudible. He commented that 'all that sultry darkness full of great Indies things' is stalking him, the helpless Westerner in that formidable East. Helpless in the darkness of the night, a suspicion arises that something will happen to him. He called it 'the mystery of the stillness in the Indies'.[59] Here we discover his fear and suspicion as a Westerner in the Indonesian night.

Suddenly, Elout hears a *tjitjak* shout – a sound that made his ears so fiercely tense that it reverberated through his heartbeat. Then he heard the sound of the *tokkeh*, its grunts warning and taunting him, shaking his very soul. Elout writes: 'Hopelessly his cry gradually numbs. However, now the sad song singer suddenly cries a little higher, which seems to you such a despairing tone that you feel: Now it will come soon.'[60] The sound of the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh*, which according to Elout sound like sad vocalists, break the mystery of the still Indonesian night. Elout refers to this as 'the soul of the Indies'.[61]

In *De Groote Oost*, Elout tells how the sound of the *tokkeh* came to typify his memory of the Indies. On 5 July 1929, he wrote his journal at the largest hotel in Batavia before he departed for Belawan, North Sumatra. He noted: 'So that I, in this largest and most important Indies hotel village, where tonight I will for the last time hear the sound of my friend the *tokkeh* in my back porch and hear his name rhythming.'[62] In the above, Elout makes the sound of the *tokkeh,* who he considers to be his friend, an important memory of his time in the Indies.

Pos, however, had a different impression of the sound of the *tokkeh* on Christmas Eve at her friend's house in Batavia. It rained and became very uncomfortable in the house. She was typing and noticed that when darkness fell, the *tjitjak* slid along the walls, suddenly becoming motionless above a painting, before slipping away behind a curtain. She also heard the monotonous call of the *tokkeh* and the endless chirping of crickets. She longs for the seclusion of a private room, with closed windows and a closed door, with the warm light of table lamps and the cheerful nurturing of a fireplace.[63]

Pos then turns on a table lamp and sits daydreaming whilst listening to the radio. She thought of home and past family Christmas Eves. Together with her family, she sang accompanied by the organ and felt happy. However, she was the only one in the family to travel, and thus, in recent years has been amongst other

A *tjitjak*'s figure made of brass. Private collection.

people on Christmas Eve. Then she hears the *tokkeh*: 'A *tokkeh* keeps calling its name heavily and monotonously close to me, and the wind rustles in the palms.'[64] Pos' memories of Christmas Eve with her family in Holland were suddenly shattered by the sound of *tokkeh*. Moreover, the use of 'monotonous' for the sound of the *tokkeh* strengthens the impression of her dislike for the sound.

On 31 December, New Year's Eve, Pos again encounters the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh* at her friend's house in Batavia. After drinks and conversation with the host and some acquaintances, Pos sat alone. She saw from the gallery that the sky was overcast, and darkness fell early. She looks out on the motionless green, black in the twilight from the gallery, and she sees nobody. She wrote: 'A few *tjitjaks* run along the wall and an old *tokkeh*, awakened too early, calls languidly and heavily. A smell, a scent of moisture, and rotting leaves enter. I am thinking about New Year's Eve at home.'[65] New Year's Eve in the Indies accompanied with the sound of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak*, and the smell of rotting leaves, make her long for the atmosphere of New Year's Eve at home.

According to Tim Youngs, 'sounds are not merely heard; they are processed and interpreted by the auditor'.[66] In the above accounts, the sounds of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* constitute the essential element in determining the relationship between

animals and humans. Their voices became companions and evoked memories. Although Leane stated that the animal might act as a silent auditor of the narrator's opinions and reflection, in these Dutch travel texts, the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* act as far from silent auditors.[67]

Conclusion

Based on this analysis of travel accounts written in the Dutch Indies by writers from various professional backgrounds, we can trace the role of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* in travel experiences. The *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are represented as close companions in Dutch travel narratives from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. They complement their human counterparts and appear when the authors are either alone or in moments of silence.

The *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* usually appear at home, in guesthouses, hotel rooms, and concert halls – both by day and by night. Most encounters occur indoors, in the bedroom, the living room, and concert hall – places considered safe from disturbance by the traveller wanting to enjoy a quiet atmosphere. Furthermore, for some writers (Van Maurik and Elout), the presence and sound of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* are considered entertaining. Almost all of the writers use personal frames of reference to describe the physical form and sound of the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh*. Moreover, all of the writers displayed characteristic colonial discourse, especially those who described the landscape of the Indies as if a painting, accompanied by the sound of the *tjitjak* and the *tokkeh*. Their sound and presence in the various texts proved that the narrators had been in the Indies.

Even though the role of the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* is, for some writers (Pos and Poortenaar), relatively meaningless and even unwanted, their sounds welcomed the arrival of all newcomers alike and became part of their memories of their time in Indonesia. The sound of both the *tokkeh* and the *tjitjak* became the accompaniment to many thoughts – about the past, and about a homeland across the ocean.

Notes

1 This experience of encountering the gecko continues into the twenty-first century. A brochure for the Dutch Travel Club, aimed at tourists wanting to join a study trip to Java and Bali in 2012, specifically mentioned the two animals on the third day in Yogyakarta: 'We are staying at the Puri Artha Hotel. A three-star hotel with excellent rooms. Here we meet the gecko and the *tjitjak* lizards. We scare him so much that he sheds his tail, which scares us so much that we flee the room…' Klos, 'Studiereis Indonesië: Java en Bali': 'We verblijven in het Puri Artha Hotel. Een 3 sterren hotel met prima kamers. Hier maken we kennis met de gekko en de tjitjak hagedissen. We laten hem zo schrikken dat hij zijn staart afwerpt, wat ons weer zo doet schrikken dat we de kamer uit vluchten…' Another experience of the *tjitjak* is retold by Annerie Godschalk, who owns two holiday accommodations in Bali. When asked for a nice anecdote from or about her guests, she recalls that they once had a guest (a young lady) who was visiting the tropics for the first time. The young lady started screaming very loudly when she saw the *tjitjak*. They then quickly explained that the *tjitjaks* are beneficial animals that eat mosquitoes and do not harm people. Lutjes, 'Een gesprek met Annerie Godschalk eigenaresse Buana Bali & Buana Poleng' (A conversation with Annerie Godschalk, owner of Buana Bali & Buana Poleng).

2 Shaw & William, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*. Early modern sources for tourism in the Dutch Indies include Maurits Buys' *Batavia, Buitenzorg en de Preanger: Gids voor Bezoekers en Toeristen* (1891). See also Sunjayadi, 'The Early Tourist Guidebooks to Dutch East Indies and Malaya in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century.'

3 Said, *Orientalism*.

4 Said, *Orientalism*, 1.

5 Leane offered three preliminary typologies of the representation of animals in travel texts based on the functions animals perform for humans, namely as quest objects; instruments of travel; and as companions. The first category refers to any journey in which an animal encounter, be it violent or peaceful, is framed in the narrative as the primary motivation for travel, such as hunting or specimen collection. The second category is when animals are included in a journey to ensure human survival, comfort, and/or movement, or as the source of food, clothing, fuel, or protection. The third category includes animals for the companionship of humans in their journey. Leane, 'Animals', 306-315.

6 Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 12-15.

7 Leane, 'Animals', 315.

8 Youngs, 'Hearing', 208.

9 Jan Brandes, *Album van Jan Brandes*, vol. 1. In his illustration, Brandes also drew a *hagedis* (lizard), and he noted in Latin *Lacerta interpunenata* with a question mark. *Lacerta* is a genus of lizards. The sound of *tjitjak* may also be described as '*tchak, tchak, tchak.*' In Indonesia, *tjitjak* have local names onomatopoetically derived from the sound they make, and are called *cicak* or *cecak*. In Singapore and Malaysia, they are called *chi chak* or *chee chak*.

10 Wilken, 'De Hagedis in het Volksgeloof der Malayo-Polynesiërs', 487: 'tjilpende kreet'.

11 Wilken, 'De Hagedis in het Volksgeloof der Malayo-Polynesiërs', 487-488.

12 Corl, *Gekko gecko*.

13 Bauer, *Geckos*, 2.

14 Corl, *Gekko gecko*.

15 Wu, *Hemidactylus frenatus*.

[16] *Totok* is a Malay term used to refer to migrants of Arab, Chinese, or European origins (primarily Dutch) in Indonesia. It also means a full-blooded person. See Bosma & Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920*.

[17] Dewulf, 'Meer dan banale soosverhalen', 143.

[18] Christie's Live Auction 2240 Indonesian Pictures, Watercolours, Drawings and Works of Art, 'Jan Poortenaar (1886-1958)'.

[19] Protschky, *Cultivated Tastes. Colonial Art, Nature and Landscape in the Netherlands Indies*, 137.

[20] Protschky, 'Environment and Visual Culture in the Tropics', 388.

[21] Heldring, 'Elout, Cornelis Karel (1870-1947)'.

[22] The first edition was published in 1926 by Mees, Santport. For this chapter I used the second edition of *Indische Dagboek*, which was published in 1936 by W.P. van Stockum & Zoon.

[23] Kuitenbrouwer, 'Journalistiek orientalisme', 25-44.

[24] *De Indische Courant*, 27 June 1932.

[25] Boter & Villaecusa Illán, 'Self-fashioning and Othering', 89.

[26] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

[27] Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totok*, 5: "k Sliep een lange poos, overweldigd door de ongewone temperatuur en ontwaakte door een koud, kil, glibberig iets dat op mijn gezicht viel. 't Was een tjietjak, een soort hagedisje, dat tegen den hemel van mijn ledikant had geloopen en nu waarschijnlijk eens kennis met den "baar" wilde maken.'

[28] Honings, 'Een kind in de kolonie', 113.

[29] Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totok*, 5: 'een soort hagedisje'.

[30] Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra*, 38-39: 'het doordringende krekelkoor'.

[31] Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra*, 101.

[32] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 188: 'alleraardigste beestjes'.

[33] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 188: '…kerrr, kèrrr, kèrrr en dan roept hij, diep en deftig, met een donkere stem en straf scandeerend: èk-kooo, èk-kooo, èk-koooo.. tot hij afgeloopen is'.

[34] See the work of Frans Lion Cachet, a Dutch pastor who visited Java in 1891-1892. He also used his frame of reference to describe the sound of the *tokkeh* as an '*ouderwetsche Friesche hangklok*' (old-fashioned Frisian hanging clock). He wondered about the sound, whether it was a ghost or a beast that plagued him so much, and if a beast, what kind of beast was it, and where did it live? Cachet, *Een jaar op reis*, 355.

[35] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 186, 188: 'dierenverschrikkingen'.

[36] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 128, 188.

[37] Sherman, 'Stirring and Searchings (1500-1720)', 17-36.

[38] Honings, 'Een kind in de kolonie', 113; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 204.

[39] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

[40] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 134: 'Daarbuiten schemeren de bleeke stammen langs den weg (tamarinden, geloof ik). Daarachter staat, onbewegelijk en zwart, de Indische nacht, de diepe, dikke, roerlooze duisternis, waarin ik ginds vóór mij de zware bergen weet. En de Indische nacht is zelf zoo'n gebergte: even zwaar en even onbewogen.'

[41] Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 134: '…het is in Holland vaak veel stiller dan in Indië waar altijd geluid is – maar hij is stil, de Indische nacht, aangrijpend stil van roerloosheid. Een obsessie van onbewogenheid'.

[42] Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totok*, 172.

[43] *Gamelan* is traditional Indonesian instrumental ensemble including metallophones, xylophones, drums gongs, bamboo flutes, and plucked strings. *Gamelan* usually accompanies dance and *wayang* puppet performance.

44 Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totok,* 229.

45 Van Maurik, *Indrukken van een Totok*, 229: ''t Is doodstil geworden, slechts de krekel blijft zachtjes doorzingen en een enkele gèkko roept van tijd tot tijd zijn: tokkè-tokkè-è! Boomen en varens, heesters en palmen staan, stil beschenen door de maan, spookachtig zich afteekenend tegen den bergachtigen achtergrond en zachtkens dwaalt de blauwiggele schijn der maan over 't gastvrij dak van het huis, waarin de gasten met den toewan besaar en zijn gezin zijn ter ruste gegaan.'

46 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 201-227.

47 Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra,* 250: 'We reden in dat open auto'tje door de goedheid van de tropenavond naar een schilderachtige kampong, waarvan de aanblik, de muziek, zelfs de geuren je onder de ban der tropen brachten, we reden naar een stille rivier in een wijd land, dat je aan Holland deed denken. Altijd weer die mengeling van Indie en het Moederland.'

48 Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra*, 250: 'De krekels hoog en schel, de tokkeh's met hun zwaar geluid.'

49 Poortenaar, *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, 127: 'Het is toch altijd een verrassing, hoe men als reizend artist ontvangen wordt. In groote noch kleine plaatsen is er peil op te trekken.'

50 Poortenaar, *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, 129.

51 Poortenaar, *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, 129: 'De menagerie der Indische natuur brengt nog vele andere gedierten ten toonele. Tjitjaks, kleine muur-hagedisen, tellen niet mede, maar tokkeh's, de groote, kunnen een flinke stem opzetten op ongewenschte momenten.'

52 Poortenaar, *Een kunstreis in de tropen*, 129: 'kleine muur-hagedisen'.

53 Trouw, *Indische reisbrieven*, 43: 'De tijtjak is het hagedisje, dat tegen den avond in groote getalen de Indische huizen binnenkomt en op jacht naar muskieten, tegen de wanden en zoldering opklimt.'

54 Jan Brandes, *Album van Jan Brandes*, vol. 1; Wilken, 'De Hagedis in het Volksgeloof der Malayo-Polynesiërs'.

55 Wilken, 'De Hagedis in het Volksgeloof der Malayo-Polynesiërs', 487: 'niet onbevallig dier'.

56 Trouw, *Indische reisbrieven*, 43.

57 Trouw, *Indische reisbrieven*, 43.

58 Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 195: 'Misschien is u iets bijgebleven van wat ik schreef over dien avond in den pasanggrahan te Loeboek Sikaping. De weg met de boomen er langs. Het veld en de hooge bergen daar vlak achter. Het snelle zinken van den nacht die al't verre wegvlakt en in duisternis u doet omsluiten. Alleen het lampje van den pasanggrahan. Krekels, tjitjaks en tokkehs. Eén stem begint te zingen, langzaam, in mineur, berustend. En alles onbeweeglijk, starend onbeweeglijk.'

59 Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 195: 'heel die zoele duisternis vol grote Indische dingen'; 'het geheimenis der roerloosheid'.

60 Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 197: 'hopeloos zijn roep allengs verdoovend. En nu huilt de zanger van het droeve lied ineens wat hooger en dat schijnt u zulk een wanhoopstoon dat ge voelt: Nu komt het dadelijk.'

61 Elout, *Indisch dagboek*, 198: 'de ziel van Indië'.

62 Elout, *De Grote Oost*, 187: 'Zoodat ik, in dit grootste en voornaamste Indische hoteldorp, waar ik dezen nacht voor 't laatst mijn vriend de tokkeh in mijn achtergalerij zijn keel zal hooren schrapen en zijn naam zal hooren uitrhythmen, mijn ervaringen van reizen en verblijven in Indië wel vast kan gaan neerschrijven.'

63 Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra*, 198.

64 Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra,* 199.

65 Pos, *Eens op Java en Sumatra*, 206: 'Een paar tjitjaks rennen langs de muur en een oude tokkeh, te vroeg ontwaakt, roept loom en zwaar. Een geur van vocht en rottende bladeren komt naar binnen. Ik denk aan ouderjaarsavond thuis…'

66 Youngs, 'Hearing', 218.

67 Leane, 'Animals', 307.

Bibliography

Bauer, Aaron M., *Geckos: The Animal Answer Guide* (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013).

'Biography Jan Poortenaar 1886-1958'. Gallerease, last accessed 7 March 2021. https://gallerease.com/en/artists/jan-poortenaar__d852f4205996.

Bosma, Ulbe & Remco Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008).

Boter, Babs & Irene Villaecusa Illán, 'Self-fashioning and Othering: Women's Double Strategies of Travel Writing', in: *Feminismo/s* 36 (2020), 77-102.

Brandes, Jan, *Album van Jan Brandes*, vol. 1, circa 1784. Collection Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, NG-1985-7-1, last accessed 13 March 2021.

Cachet, Frans Lion, *Een jaar op reis in dienst der zending* (Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1896).

Corl, Jaime, '*Gekko gecko*'. Animal Diversity Web. University of Michigan. https://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Gekko_gecko/.

Dewulf, Jeroen, 'Meer dan banale soosverhalen: De Indische schetsen van Justus van Maurik', in: Rick Honings & Peter van Zonneveld (eds.), *Een tint van het Indische Oosten: Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 141-149.

Elout, C.K., *De Grote Oost* (Den Haag: W.P. van Stockum & Zoon, 1930).

Elout, C.K., *Indisch dagboek*. 2th ed. (Den Haag: W.P. van Stockum & Zoon, 1936).

Haraway, Donna, *The Companion Species Manifesto.* 6th ed. (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2015).

Heldring, J.L., 'Elout, Cornelis Karel (1870-1947)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland,* last accessed 5 May 2021. http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/elout

Honings, Rick, 'Een kind in de kolonie: De tienjarige Anna Abrahamsz op Java', in: Rick Honings & Peter van Zonneveld (eds.), *Een tint van het Indische Oosten: Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2015), 107-117.

'Jan Poortenaar (1886-1958)'. Christies Live Auction Indonesian Pictures, Watercolours, Drawings and Works of Art, last accessed 6 March 2021, www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-2609847.

Klos, Helen, 'Studiereis Indonesië: Java en Bali', last accessed 22 February 2021. www.thetravelclub.nl/reisadviseurs/noord-holland/helen-klos/reiservaring-buiten-europa/indonesi%C3%AB.

Kuitenbrouwer, Vincent, 'Journalistiek orientalisme C.K. Elout en de transformative van de koloniale verslaggeving in Nederland 1920-1930', in: *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 20 (2017) 1, 25-45.

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lutjes, Ria. '[Interview] in gesprek met Annerie Godschalk eigenaresse Buana Bali & Buana Poleng', last accessed 22 February 2021. www.globaldutchies.nl/interview-met-annerie-godschalk-eigenaresse-buana-bali-buana-poleng.

Maurik, Justus van, *Indrukken van een Totok: Indische typen en schetsen* (Amsterdam: Holkema & Warendorf, 1897).

N.N., 'Ds. A. Trouw: Zijn tournee door Indië'. *De Indische Courant*, 27 June 1932.

Poortenaar, Jan, *Een kunstreis in de tropen* (Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1925).

Poortenaar, Jan, *An Artist in the Tropics* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co, 1927).

Pos, Mary, *Eens op Java en Sumatra* (Baarn: De Boekerij, 1948).

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* 2th ed. (London: Routledge, 2008).

Protschky, Susie, *Cultivated Tastes: Colonial Art, Nature and Landscape in the Netherlands Indies* (PhD Thesis, University of New South Wales, 2007).

Protschky, Susie, 'Environment and Visual Culture in the Tropics: The Netherlands Indies, c. 1830-1949', in: Robert Aldricht & Kirsten McKenzie (eds.), *The Routledge History of Western Empires* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 382-395.

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

Shaw, Gareth & Allan M. William, *Tourism and Tourism Spaces* (London: Sage Publication, 2004).

Sherman, William H., 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)', in: Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-36.

Sunjayadi, Achmad, 'The Early Tourist Guidebooks to Dutch East Indies and Malaya in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century,' in: *Paradigma Jurnal Kajian Budaya* 9 (2019) 2, 167-177.

'Tokay Gecko'. Smithsonian's National Zoo Web, last accessed 19 February 2021, https://nationalzoo.si.edu/animals/tokay-gecko.

Trouw, Arie, *Indische Reisbrieven* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp, 1933).

Wilken, G.A, 'De Hagedis in het Volksgeloof der Malayo-Polynesiërs', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 40 (1891) 3, 463-492.

Wu, Krista, '*Hemidactylus frenatus*', last accessed 19 February 2021. https://animaldiversity.org/accounts/Hemidactylus_frenatus/.

Youngs, Tim, 'Hearing', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2020), 208-221.

CHAPTER 5

Monkeys as Metaphor

Ecologies of Representation in Dutch Travel Writing about Suriname from the Colonial Period

Claudia Zeller

Abstract

This chapter maps out the ecologies of representation with regard to monkeys in Dutch travel writing on Surinam from the colonial period. By combining insights from animal studies and postcolonial theory, it addresses the monkey as a figure of ambiguity in texts from the early up to the late nineteenth century. It shows how the 'dreaded comparison' between humans and animals plays out in those texts wherein both animality and humanity is created, contested, and (re)negotiated. Such actions occur through strategies of familiarisation and defamiliarisation, thereby also shedding light on the peculiarities of a Dutch colonial gaze that informed the writings of Dutch scientists, naval officers, or missionaries that were sent to Suriname in order to explore, conquer, or convert.

Keywords: Monkeys, Blackness, Dutch travel writing, Suriname, animalities, postcolonial theory

In *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* (Remnants of the Dutch Caribbean, 1969), a collection of travel reflections and journal entries about his journey to Suriname and the Dutch Antilles during the early months of 1969, the Dutch writer W.F. Hermans (1921-1995) briefly mentions a monkey he spots whilst on a walk with his wife through Moengo, Suriname: 'In the garden opposite the guesthouse, there's a monkey on a chain. He is about the size of an average dog, but his penis is as large as a king size cigarette and constantly erect.'[1] Although Hermans' portrayal of the monkey seems at first innocuous, on closer inspection it is clear that it combines elements that point to a lingering colonial gaze – the chain, the comparison to man's most faithful pet, the insistence on the monkey's sexual nature – that posits the monkey as an ambiguous being, wild and sexual, yet simultaneously subdued and pet-like. Neither pet nor wild animal, Hermans' monkey can be read as a figure of colonialism's lingering presence, which at the time that *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* was written and published was still the remnant of the colonial era.

Monkeys also figure in travel writing about Suriname from an earlier period. They are described, admired, and sometimes eaten, in John Gabriel Stedman's

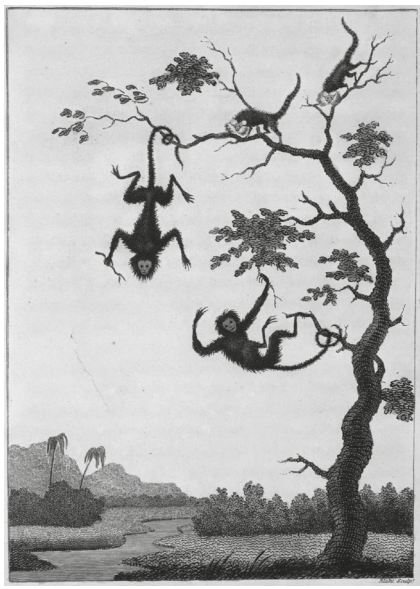


Image of two monkeys, in: John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796), vol. 2. Collection Wikipedia Commons.

Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam (1796) – to date probably the best-known, most referenced, and most studied travel account about Suriname.[2] Suriname was under British rule from 1799 until the end of the Napoleonic wars. However, the Dutch regained control of the colony in 1816, which led to an influx of Dutch men (and women) from all walks of life – merchants, administrators, clergymen, missionaries, and private travellers – who recorded and later published their impressions.[3] Some of these texts, although written over the course of the nineteenth century, were not published until after the Second World War when they appeared in journals such as the *West-Indische Gids*.[4]

It is not only in John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative* that descriptions of wild animals abound. Whether crocodiles, anteaters, jaguars, or various species of monkey, Dutch travellers marvelled at the rich fauna they encountered during their visits to plantations or their excursions into the jungle. Yet most travel accounts did not depict animals by means of drawings, illustrations, or photographs. Rather, they described the animals in writing – their size, colour, and behaviour – in order to paint an image to which their European readership could relate. As will become clear, monkeys were deemed amongst the most 'relatable' Surinamese species and, of all the animals encountered, they are the ones most written about.

Studying these monkeys and the contexts in which they appear not only provides insight into the way Dutch travel writing approaches various kinds of animals, but also opens up avenues pertaining to larger issues regarding the intersection of species and race in a colonial context. Although Elizabeth Leane cautions against such 'intersectional approaches that draw parallels between the structures of oppression operating through race and species categorisation'[5] and instead proposes studying animals in travel writing according to their various (narrative) functions, this chapter focuses on monkeys, not only as a figure of ambiguity, but also as actual beings. This is achieved by mapping out the different contexts in

which they appear through an approach described by Neel Ahuja as 'ecologies of representation'.[6] According to Ahuja, this perspective provides a means via which to trace 'the ways in which the historically situated zones of contact between peoples and nonhuman species create the conditions of possibility for semiotic activities in defined fields of social power'.[7] The colonial space is precisely such a field of social power. Focusing on the various positions that monkeys occupy within this field, this chapter proposes to read Dutch travel accounts about Suriname through (the figure of) the monkey.

I am concerned here with the written travel accounts of white Dutch men who went, or were sent to, Suriname with a specific mission: to conquer, convert, or explore. Some, such as G.P.C. van Breugel (1798-1888), G. van Lennep-Coster (1791-1845), J.H. Nagel (date of birth unknown), and A.J. van Stockum (1864-1935), were naval officers. Others, such as A.H. Pareau (1849-1918), W.F.R Suringar (1832-1898), and Herman van Cappelle (1857-1932), were scientists. However, most of them, such as G.B. Bosch (1794-1837), J.H. de Ridder (1816-1886), J.A.F. Kronenburg (1853-1940), and Willem Boekhoudt (1822-1894), were protestant or catholic clergymen or missionaries.[8] With the exception of A.E. van Noothoorn (1811-1851), a teacher and a children's books author who never set foot in Suriname and instead relied on second-hand sources,[9] those men recorded their own observations that were, as will be shown, coloured by a similar colonial gaze – one that persisted in Hermans' writing in the late 1960s.

Studying monkeys in travel literature from the colonial period is a delicate topic, not least since, as Frantz Fanon notes in *Les damnés de la terre* (1961), the coloniser tends to employ a zoological language when speaking about the colonised.[10] This 'dreaded comparison'[11] between human and animal manifests itself in Van Breugel's (1842) likening a group of enslaved children to 'monkeys […] showing their soldier tricks',[12] or Van Noothoorn (1843) comparing a group of enslaved men to a 'flock of sheep lead by a shepherd and his dog'.[13] This process of animalisation – an all too common technique of the coloniser – revolves around establishing various comparisons between different kinds of animals and 'the bodies or behaviors of racialized subjects'.[14]

Within such comparisons, not all animals are made equal, yet the bodies of those they are compared to are. To be clear, especially in travel accounts from the colonial period, it is never white men that are likened to animals, be it monkeys, sheep, or some undefined generic animal. Yet what the French literary scholar Bénédicte Boisseron refers to as a 'black-animal subtext […] deeply ingrained in the cultural genetics of the global north, an inherited condition informed by a shared history of slavery and colonization'[15] is a topic that has largely been avoided within the context of Dutch literature and Dutch studies on (post)colonialism.[16] One of the noteworthy exceptions is Maaike Meijer, who briefly touches on the representation

of the 'Black subject' in literature from the Dutch East Indies in the last chapters of her book *In tekst gevat*: *Inleiding tot een kritiek van representatie* (1996). Discussing the novels *Rubber* (1931) and *Koelie* (1932) by Madelon Székely-Lulofs, Meijer notes that – even though *Koelie* and *Rubber* were intended as a condemnation of colonial practices – the narrator consistently uses zoological terms when talking about the native population, thus effectively dehumanising them.[17]

Most travel accounts studied here did not have such pretensions. Although some espouse a tentative critique of slavery, others wholeheartedly defend it.[18] It is against this discursive backdrop that, by combining insights from animal studies and postcolonial theory, this chapter traces the contexts in which monkeys appear and the ways in which they are represented in Dutch travel writing about Suriname from the colonial era. The initial section provides a brief sketch of recent studies that attempt to bridge the gap between the research fields cited above and proposes a shift from various modes of animalisation to studying forms of animalities instead. Based on this brief theoretical conceptualisation, the ensuing sections address both strategies of familiarisation and defamiliarisation, as well as intersections thereof.

Regarding familiarisation, one of the most common strategies found in travel accounts from the nineteenth century is a tendency to describe the exotic fauna of Suriname in terms that the European readership could relate to – either by comparing monkeys to other animals, or by referring to them in terms such as 'heer Kisi-Kisi', which effectively render them less animal- and more human-like.[19] Yet besides these strategies common to travel literature as a genre, it will also be shown how familiarising strategies appear next to attempts to 'defamiliarise' the monkey, especially when trying to justify the consumption of its meat. It should be noted that I take defamiliarisation not in the sense of Viktor Shklovsky's definition,[20] but as a strategy that highlights the 'Otherness' of the monkey through rhetorical means that are inscribed in a colonial and racialised logic. This complementary approach maps out how the monkey can be construed as a figure of ambiguity that reflects how colonial power is constructed, negotiated, or undermined.

(Post)colonial animalities

The relationship between animal studies and postcolonial studies has always been one of contention, fraught with an impulse within animal studies and the animal rights movement to use the comparison between slavery and animals, first and foremost, 'as a tool to serve animal rights, regardless of its impact on African Americans and the Afro-Caribbean community'.[21] In *Afro-dog: Blackness and the Animal Question* (2018), a reflection on the intertwinement between dogs and Blackness, Bénédicte Boisseron traces the history of critical animal studies as

a field that has only recently begun to develop a postcolonial awareness. Boisseron shows how studies such as Marjorie Spiegel's *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (1988) have tended to gloss over the racialised nature of comparisons between animals and humans without acknowledging nor engaging with 'the messy persistence of racial slavery's and colonialism's afterlives'.[22]

Whereas scholars such as Boisseron and Che Gossett[23] have pointed out that, in the past, animal studies did not consider Blackness, in their introduction to *Postcolonial Animalities* (2020), Suvadip Sinha and Amit R. Baishya discern a similar hesitancy within postcolonial studies to consider the animal.[24] Like Leane,[25] they identify various tensions that help explain the impulse within postcolonial studies to either disregard the animal completely or to read animals as mere metaphors or 'narrative protheses [...] without contending with the material dimensions of animal existence'.[26] In order to bridge this gap between animal studies, the core principle of which is that the animal is not a signifier, and postcolonial studies, a field primarily concerned with analysing discursive constructions of racial inequality and 'Otherness', Sinha and Baishya propose a focus, not on the appearance, construction, or representation of animals and instances of animalisation, but on 'animalities' instead – an approach that takes into account both the representational and the material dimension of the beings studied.

Although recent studies situated at the cross-roads between animal studies and postcolonial studies have contended with animals as diverse as dogs,[27] elephants,[28] and crocodiles,[29] the situation becomes messier once monkeys enter the picture. As Donna Haraway notes in her study *Primate Vision: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (1989), 'simians occupy the border zones' in the Western mythology of the nature/culture divide.[30] In other words, monkeys remind us of ourselves, which is why, of all animals, monkeys occupy a privileged place in the human imagination. Yet this privileged place comes with a dark history – after all, literature and pop culture are rife with examples that use the monkey as 'a personification of the Other', as a figure that 'represents that which is like a human but not quite so'.[31] Echoing Homi Bhaba's famous assertion that the 'Other' is '*a subject of a difference that is almost the same but not quite*',[32] the monkey could be said to function as a figure onto which humanity projects its fears and dreams.[33] Such a projection, however, tends to lose sight of the monkey as a material being, transforming it instead into a literary device that is taken as a reflection of what it means to be 'human' without acknowledging that this conception of being human relies on 'the elevation of white, bourgeois, European, cisheterosexual masculinity as the only way to being human in Western modernity'.[34]

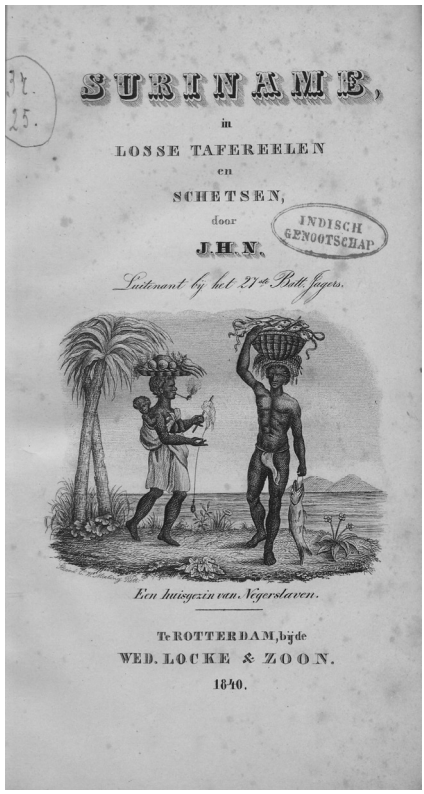
Although animals have long served as markers of humanity, especially within a colonial and racialised context, it must be stressed that within animal studies, the animal is not understood as a signifier, but as an actual being. Instead of understanding

monkeys as a projection or a literary device, this chapter takes its cue from animal studies and approaches the monkeys found in Dutch travel writing about Suriname from the colonial period, not as symbols of one thing or another, but as part of various ecologies of representation. These ecologies of representation constitute what Claire Jean Kim calls the 'borderlands between human and animal, a fraught zone of ambiguity, menace, and transgression' wherein both animality and humanity is created, contested, and (re)negotiated.[35] Bridging the gap between monkeys as material beings that are encountered as part of an 'ecology' and the means by which they are represented in writing, this shift from animalisation to (representations of) animalities opens new perspectives regarding the construction of differences and relationality.[36] Although those terms might seem at odds with one another, they are two sides of the same coin. Instead of conceptualising animalisation as a one-way-street – or rather, a *cul-de-sac* – a focus on the discursive means by which animalities are constructed takes into account the fluidity at the core of what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari refer to as 'becoming animal'[37] – construing both 'animalisation' *and* 'humanisation' as interruptions that open up possibilities to, as Fanon would say, 'roar back'.[38]

Squirrels and wolves: Europeanisation and the colonial gaze

Suriname is home to eight different species of monkeys that are all native to the Southern American continent. One of the smaller 'New World monkeys' is a monkey colloquially known as the squirrel monkey. Just like the overarching term 'New World monkeys' as such, the squirrel monkey is a prime example of the linguistic power exercised by the coloniser. After all, naming the world is a way of asserting ownership over it through an act of speech.[39] This section discusses how this power can be located in strategies of familiarisation and appropriation. It looks at the specific conditions of Suriname as a colonial space and addresses the ways in which Dutch travel writers catered to their audience by presenting not only the 'exotic' wildlife of the Americas, but also the Surinamese landscapes in terms that their readership at home could relate to.[40]

Translating the unfamiliar into familiar terms by relating the fauna of Suriname to European wildlife did not always involve comparisons that were as obvious as the monkey-squirrel relation, which after all both concerned fairly small animals living in trees. Sometimes, the comparisons were much more far-fetched. For instance, in a letter to his wife, Nagel notes that the 'green crocodile, but only the male one, has a comb on its head just like that of a rooster'.[41] Likewise, Van Noothoorn describes the anteater as 'a pitch-black four-legged creature', a 'black animal […] about the size of a wolf, with an exceptionally long, feathery tail and very sharp claws'.[42] Both descriptions seem equally fantastic, not least as there is practically



Title page of J.H. Nagel, *Suriname in losse tafereelen en schetsen* (1840). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

no way to distinguish between male and female crocodiles by appearance alone. Instead of acknowledging those unfamiliar animals for what they are, Van Noothoorn, who had no first-hand experience with the wildlife of Suriname, went out of his way to stress the strangeness of the anteater by insisting on its blackness. Conversely, Nagel, who spent about three years (1828-1831) in Suriname, opts for a reverse strategy and transplants his ideas about combs on roosters to a species with which he is utterly unfamiliar.

This appropriation through language was not limited to animals. In fact, anything and everything could be appropriated and passed through the lens of the European colonial gaze – which sometimes could also be very much a Dutch gaze. Thus, in describing the city of Paramaribo, Pareau writes that '[o]nce one realises that there are practically no walls made of stone since almost all houses are made of wood, one can imagine that Paramaribo reminds us of Zaandam and places nearby in the Zaan region'.[43] By focussing on the familiar – the wooden buildings – and disregarding the unfamiliar, such as the heat, the roads, the flora and fauna, or the people, Pareau effectively asserts ownership, not only by understanding, but also by grasping Paramaribo via his own background – a stance one might refer to as 'colonial Dutchness'.

This tendency to 'Dutchify' Suriname is also visible in Bosch, who provides an extensive list of things one might encounter in Suriname, before contending that one must just go and see with one's own eyes. His lengthy description contains several elements that seem to imply that Suriname is just like the Netherlands, only larger: 'And if you were to conjure up a miniature version of Suriname in your mind, imagine: a flat land with rivers, creeks and streams; […] mansions and warehouses […]; gardens and canals; […] rain and sunshine.'[44] All 'exotic' elements, such as the various crops grown on the plantations – which Bosch conveniently refers to

as 'fields' – and animals such as hummingbirds, monkeys, and tigers are embedded in a description of a landscape reminiscent of Amsterdam and its surroundings.

Lastly, Boekhoudt, who went to Suriname in 1845 when he was just 22 years old and spent four years there working as a private teacher, expressed his first impressions in similar terms of ownership:

> Wherever one sets foot in this beautiful and rich land, one encounters an abundance of life. The forests are teeming with colourful birds and butterflies, whilst the slithering snake, the roaring tiger, and the prying caiman below a bush or in a swamp are lusting for their prey. […] Monkeys large and small, the small ones in large numbers, bring life to the branches of the trees and amuse the spectators with their hilarious hopping about. So much wealth of everything that might be called surprising, impressive, and beautiful – and so much more that escapes my memory – was presented to me by our Creator to be contemplated, no, to be admired in nature's creation of our Dutch El-dorado: Suriname.[45]

The sentiment that everything in Suriname is there only to serve the coloniser, be that the extraction of wealth or his entertainment, is not a personal failure of Boekhoudt. Rather, it is evidence of a colonial logic based on annexation – an annexation that plays out on both a linguistic and a material level. Together, these examples of appropriation point to an ecology of representation in which monkeys serve as a *pars pro toto* for the colonial space of Suriname as such.

Facing the monkey

Whereas the previous section took the monkey as its point of departure to show how attitudes towards animals reflect and were shaped by a colonial logic, this section takes a different route, looking instead at other forms of familiarisation. Not only were monkeys compared to other animals; they were also compared to humans. Such strategies of 'humanisation' are less prevalent than the various animal-animal comparisons discussed thus far; however, the contexts in which they appear shed an important light on the ambivalent status of monkeys within the overall system of representation, adding a further dimension to the implications of the colonial gaze.

First, there is an inclination to see a reflection of the human in the monkey, which is apparent in several travel accounts. As Bosch writes:

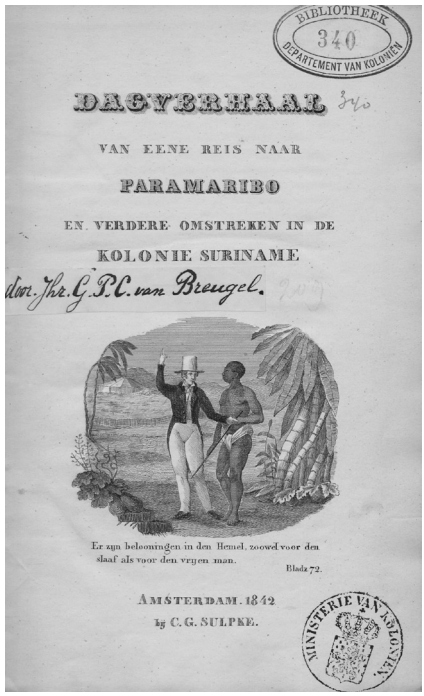
> I have always enjoyed witnessing encounters between man and monkey, or vice versa, between monkey and man. Both their faces then tend to have a slightly mocking expression. And although man may use his tongue to mock his four-handed counterpart, his

> features are no match for the aptness of mister Kisi-Kisi's face when it comes to expressing mockery and mischief.[46]

Bosch marvels at the likeness between man and monkey, but the likeness he discerns concerns only their generic forms. This is also the case in another fragment of Bosch's travel account, in which he seems to suggest that the (generic and thus white European male) human exists on a kind of sliding scale between the (generic) monkey and the (generic) sloth.[47] Likewise, Bosch constructs the differences between monkey and man through the possession of language – one can speak, whereas the other must rely on facial expressions.

There are other travel writers who employ humanising terms when writing about monkeys, yet none try to erase the frontiers between them in quite the same way as Bosch. More often, monkeys are compared to children or vice versa. For instance, Kronenburg (1897) relays a scene he witnesses whilst in the jungle – a woman baking cassava bread with a monkey on her shoulder and a couple of children playing nearby. He writes: 'The woman is baking white cassava bread whilst a small monkey, no larger than a squirrel, frolics on her head and shoulders; a little further, there are children tumbling about in the sand.'[48] Drawing from the same linguistic reservoir, Kronenburg establishes a congruency between the monkeys that frolic ('*dartelen*') and the children that tumble ('*buitelen*') about in the sand, thereby mirroring the descriptions of Van Breugel, who likens a group of enslaved children to monkeys showing their tricks.[49] In both cases, however, it is not white children that are likened to monkeys. Although published almost fifty years apart, the parallelism that both Van Breugel and Kronenburg draw between monkeys and children relies on the same racialised logic.

Kronenburg's idyllic picture of a woman with a monkey on her shoulder betrays another demarcation line that is also evident in other texts – after all, the monkeys described as pet-like are exclusively associated with the indigenous population encountered in the rain forest. This can be related to Boisseron's assertion that the enslaved population was excluded from ownership.[50] In other words, since an enslaved person was considered to be property, they could not own a pet monkey, meaning that the description of the pet-like squirrel monkey also served as a marker of freedom for the marron population described by Kronenburg and Van Breugel. At the same time, the monkeys living in proximity to the marrons are neither domestic(ated) animals, nor are they completely wild. Rather, they are met with benevolence and an attitude Haraway would describe as 'making kin'.[51] Yet both Van Breugel[52] and Nagel make no attempt to define the relationship as anything other than a hierarchical one when describing how, in determining whether a certain kind of fruit is edible, the indigenous population apparently takes the monkey's lead: 'If the monkey is offered a piece of fruit, he will immediately teach



Title page of Gaspard Philippe Charles van Breugel, *Dagverhaal van eene reis naar Paramaribo en verdere omstreken in de kolonie Suriname* (1842). Collection Leiden University Libraries.

his master which parts of it are edible, and whether it should be eaten at all.'[53] The explicit use of the term 'master' ('*meester*') constructs this relationship, not as one of pet and owner, nor as one of different species living together. Rather, the relation between marron and monkey is presented as part of a colonial hierarchy with the monkey occupying a subservient position. After all, to colonial eyes, the monkey might be familiar, but he is still inferior.

Black skin, white meat

Having now analysed various forms of familiarisation, it is time to consider strategies of 'defamiliarisation' that do not attempt to erase the monkey's 'Otherness', but instead make an effort to emphasise it. The allegiance of some travel writers shifts rather seamlessly between the monkey-as-person, the monkey-as-pet, and the monkey-as-food. Admiring the intelligence of the spider monkey (*kwatta*, sometimes also spelled as *quata* or *coiata*) in one sentence, they see no harm in reporting on its taste when cooked in the next. Neither attaining (near-)personhood by being referred to as 'mister monkey', nor being considered pets, seems to spare the monkeys from being killed for their meat.

Yet not all monkeys are cooked equally, and racial subtexts influence the ways in which differences between the monkey-as-food versus the monkey-as-companion are constructed and negotiated. Where the small squirrel monkey is generally considered cute and (thus) pet-like, the larger spider monkey is described in rather less flattering terms. Stedman describes the *kwatta* as follows:

> The *quata*, or *quato*, is very large, with an enormous tail: their arms and legs being covered over with long black hair, they make a very hideous appearance indeed; the more so, as the creature's face is quite naked and red, with deep sunk eyes which gives it much the appearance of an old Indian woman.[54]

Activating various forms of 'Othering' relating to colour, age, and gender all at once, the *kwatta* is presented as what must be one of the most hideous beings of Suriname. This seems to be the *communis opinio*. Van Cappelle, a geologist and biologist by training, calls the *kwatta* 'the most despicable monkey of the colony',[55] and Van Noothoorn, in a passage echoing Stedman, writes:

> The ugliest monkey that I have ever seen is the *coiata*. His arms and legs are covered with long black hair; his skin is red and almost hairless; his eyes deep in its skull, the ears short. If you want to hunt him, he'll climb into a tree and throws with fruit whilst making all kinds of ugly grimaces. Although he might be hideously ugly, I still enjoy a piece of him, if he's grilled, stewed, or cooked. You might say 'Bah, you're eating monkey meat?' But of course! […] especially the meat of young monkeys, which is white, juicy, and tasty.[56]

In pointing out the *kwatta's* supposedly short ears, Van Noothoorn adds another element into the mix and removes the *kwatta* even further from the possibility of being considered a floppy-eared pet. However, more importantly, Van Noothoorn insists on the monkey's blackness as a determining factor of its unsightliness – a strategy that, as we might recall, he also deployed in his description of the anteater. Given that Van Noothoorn had no first-hand experience in consuming monkey meat and that his writing, geared towards Dutch school children, was to serve didactic purposes, it is especially telling that he seems to suggest that the black, hideous spider monkey is only redeemed by being cooked, and thus transformed into a piece of white and tender meat.

This tenderness is greatly exaggerated by Van Noothoorn, as is the eagerness to consume monkey meat at all. In fact, the consumption of monkey meat – or the refusal to do so – also served as an indication of the colonial hierarchy. In choosing to not consume monkey meat, the white coloniser sets himself apart from, as Stedman writes, 'the miserable slaves, […] so starved, that having killed a *Coata* monkey, they broiled it, with skin, hair, intestines, and all, then tore it to pieces with their teeth, and devoured it like so many cannibals, before it was even half dressed'.[57] Despite having established the ugliness of the *kwatta* earlier on, Stedman clearly disapproves of the monkey being eaten. He even portrays its consumption as an act of cannibalism, noting that the monkey is not merely eaten,

but 'devoured' – as if it were not an instance of a group of hungry men consuming animal meat, but of animals eating each other.[58]

Although Stedman categorically refused to take a bite, many Dutch colonisers were rather less finicky, also reporting on the consumption of monkeys other than the *kwatta*. For instance, Kronenburg emphasises that the *pitagori*[59] shot by a friar would make 'a delicious snack for our indigenous companions' before quickly conceding that he had also eaten it and that its taste was 'like ox meat, although a little stringy'.[60] The fact that the monkey Kronenburg consumed was shot by a friar, somebody belonging to the colonial apparatus, that it was thoroughly prepared and used to make soup may help explain why Kronenburg had no qualms in enjoying this 'delicious snack'. Concerning Kronenburg's description of the monkey meat as ox meat, it should also be noted that ox meat, in the form of '*ossenworst*' (raw beef sausage), was consumed in the Netherlands from the seventeenth century onwards. Kronenburg thus uses a comparison that could very well be read as another instance of 'Dutchification'.

There is one last case of a dead *kwatta* that needs to be discussed, since it sheds further light on the relation between its supposed ugliness and its propensity for being eaten. The account is found in Van Stockum (1905), who was part of a scientific expedition that also featured a taxidermist called De Kock and a somewhat over-eager, trigger-happy hunter by the name of Pulle. The expedition 'collected' all sorts of monkeys that were immediately prepared by De Kock in order to be shipped off to museums throughout Europe. This constituted a departure from earlier practices. Although many early travel writers were gifted live monkeys that they took with them to Europe, many of those monkeys did not survive the journey. Killing and stuffing the animals whilst still in Suriname thus provided a welcome alternative to satisfy the colonial hunger of the European public. Naturally, Van Stockum's expedition chose only the most beautiful specimen, as is evidenced by Van Stockum's description of a *kwatta* (shot by Pulle 'just because he felt like it') as 'a splendid, fully grown specimen with full, long, shiny black fur', its hands covered with 'soft, black skin resembling kidskin leather'.[61] Here, it is important to note that even being described as 'a splendid specimen' affords the *kwatta* no protection. On the contrary, it is precisely because it was such a superb specimen that it was shot, making the *kwatta* the most lamentable monkey in Dutch travel writing about Suriname.

Conclusion

Studying animals in travel writing by combining insights from animal studies and postcolonial studies is a worthwhile endeavour. As this chapter has shown, monkeys in colonial travel writing about Suriname can be read as a reflection of a colonial logic. Taking monkeys as a focal point reveals how different ecologies of representation are constituted in such texts. Within these ecologies, monkeys occupy multiple places at once, since their status – as pet, food, or trophy – is constructed by drawing on various 'intersection[s] of race and animality' that are 'based on a shared status of nonrelevance as nonhuman and nonwhite'.[62]

As a general rule, there are two equally present, albeit conflicting strategies in the travel accounts studied here. The first is a tendency to 'familiarise' the animals encountered by comparing them to animals known in, and native to, the coloniser's homeland. In the case of monkeys specifically, these animal-animal comparisons are supplemented with reflections on the likeness between monkey and man – this likeness being, more often than not, profoundly racialised. This racialisation of the monkey is particularly evident if the animal is not only admired from afar, but also consumed. In other words, monkeys that are to be consumed for their meat are animalised by passing through Blackness, removing them not only from humankind, but also from animals considered cute enough not to be eaten. Concerning the *kwatta* in particular, the intersection of race and animality thus leads to a kind of 'double-animalisation'.

Apart from monkeys, there are other kinds of animals 'frolicking' through the pages of Dutch colonial writing that are worth studying. One of those animals, the jaguar, is one of the focal points of Raoul de Jong's *Jaguarman: Mijn vader, zijn vader en andere Surinaamse helden* (2020). In this book, De Jong recounts his fascination with one of his Surinamese ancestors about whom it is said that he could turn into a jaguar. Tracing his family history, De Jong establishes an alternative genealogy of Suriname that could also be read as a claim to a 'species-fluid (as in "gender-fluid") condition, a nonbinary identity with the privilege of unspecification and the possibility to reposition one's "human" identity at will'.[63] Addressing his father, De Jong writes: 'You are not a descendant of slaves. You are a descendant of jaguars.'[64] The monkey might not be the one that 'roars back', but maybe the jaguar is: 'I saw what you have given me. There is no other story that I would rather tell. I will be the jaguarman that you deserve.'[65] Obviously, this story of the jaguar(man) roaring back is not mine to tell.

Notes

1 Hermans, *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland*, 79: 'In de tuin tegenover het guesthouse zit een aap aan een ketting. Hij is zo groot als een middelsoort hond, maar zijn penis heeft het formaat van een kingsize sigaret en is voortdurend in erectie.'

2 See for instance Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place. Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770–1833*, 54-81; Polcha, 'Voyeur in the Torrid Zone. John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 1773–1838'; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 90-102.

3 As Michiel van Kempen notes, Dutch literature about Suriname experienced an uptick during the nineteenth century. Whereas there were only about four Dutch travel accounts to Suriname published during the eighteenth century, according to Van Kempen's estimates, the number climbed to more than twenty during the nineteenth century. See Van Kempen, *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur. Deel 3*, 151.

4 See for instance De Gaay Fortman, 'Een vijfdaags bezoek aan Suriname in 1825'; Scheltema de Heere, 'Bezoek van een Haarlemmer aan Suriname en Curaçao in 1861 en 1862'; Wagenaar Hummelinck & H. van Borcharen, 'Het dagelijksche leven op de Surinaamse koffieplantage "Kokswoud" in 1828. Een brief van H. van Borcharen gepubliceerd'.

5 Leane, 'Animals', 306.

6 Ahuja, 'Postcolonial Critique in a Multispecies World', 559.

7 Ahuja, 'Postcolonial Critique in a Multispecies World', 559.

8 Michiel van Kempen's *Chronologische signaleringslijst van koloniaal en niet-Surinaams literair werk over Suriname* has been an invaluable resource in elaborating this corpus of texts.

9 Although he never left the Netherlands, Van Noothoorn published several fictional travel accounts geared towards school children, with the intention of teaching them about geography and history. To that end, in 1843, he published *Reizen en lotgevallen van Lodewijk Vermeer, in de Nederlandsch Oost-Indische bezittingen* and shortly thereafter *Reizen en lotgevallen van Gustaaf Westerman, in de Nederlandsch West-Indische bezittingen.* These books complemented each other and, like factual travel accounts, included maps and drawings. Van Noothoorn published similar books about Russia (*Reizen en lotgevallen van Frederik Langendam in Rusland: Een lettergeschenk voor knapen en meisjes, geschikt om hen met de aardrijkskunde van dat land bekend te maken,* 1844), the United States (*Reizen en lotgevallen van Henry Warton in de Vereenigde Staaten van Noord-Amerika,* 1846) and the Netherlands (*Reizen en lotgevallen van Karel de Man, in Nederland,* 1846).

10 Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre*, 45.

11 See Spiegel, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery*.

12 Van Breugel, *Dagverhaal van eene reis naar Paramaribo en verdere omstreken in de kolonie Suriname*, 56: 'waarna al de kinderen bleven, om als apen, onder de leiding van den blank-officier, hunne kunsten als soldaatje te vertoonen'.

13 Van Noothoorn, *Reizen en lotgevallen van Gustaaf Westerman, in de Nederlandsch West-Indische bezittingen*, 58-59: 'eenen geheelen troep half naakte zwarte menschen, die, even als eene kudde schapen door eenen herder en eenen hond worden bestuurd'.

14 Ahuja, 'Postcolonial Critique in a Multispecies World', 557.

15 Boisseron, *Afro-dog: Blackness and the Animal Question*, ix.

16 Neither Paasman's *Reinhart: Nederlandse literatuur en slavernij ten tijde van de verlichting* nor Oostindie's *Postkoloniaal Nederland: Vijfenzestig jaar vergeten, herdenken, verdringen* touch upon this issue, and it is also largely absent in Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial*

Imagery in a Modern Society. In 'Gekleurd vertellen' (1990), Van Alphen discusses *De stille plantage* by Albert Helman with regard to this black-animal subtext, but is mostly concerned with the various discursive functions and connotations of 'white' versus 'black'. Lastly, both *De kolonie op drift* (2020) and *De postkoloniale spiegel: De Nederlands-Indische letteren herlezen* (2021) pay attention to animalisation, but like Meijer, address literature from and about the Dutch East Indies only.

17 Meijer, *In tekst gevat. Inleiding tot een kritiek van representatie*, 154-155.

18 One of the most lurid apologies for the maintenance of slavery is articulated in the work of Lennep-Coster. Lennep-Coster argues that the men, women, and children brought to Suriname by force are not only better off because of it, however: 'The slave trade has the advantage to have saved thousands of lives of those whose death would otherwise have been certain, and has given them a life of servitude equal to and in much respects better than the life of many a craftsman or worker in Europe, with the difference that although they lack freedom, they do not care for it and would never aspire to be free if their master is a good man.' Lennep-Coster, *Herinneringen mijner reizen naar onderscheidene werelddeelen*, 117: 'De slavenhandel bezit derhalve dat voordeel, dat hij verscheidene duizenden voor den dood behoed heeft, waartoe zij anders gewis zouden veroordeeld geweest zijn, en hen daarentegen tot een leven van dienstbaarheid geleid heeft, gelijk staande met, en in vele opzigten beter zijnde, dan de levenwijze van menig ambachts- en werkman in Europa, met dat onderscheid, dat zij de vrijheid missen, een goed, hetwelk zij niet waarderen, en zoo zij een goeden meester hebben, niet verkiezen.'

19 Literally 'Mister Monkey', since 'Kisi-Kisi' or 'keesie-keesie' is used by Bosch as an umbrella term for all kinds of monkeys. See Bosch, *Reize naar Suriname in brieven: Reizen in West-Indië en door een gedeelte van Zuid- en Noord-Amerika. Derde deel*, 281.

20 Shklovsky, 'Art, as Device', 167. A Russian formalist, Shklovsky introduced this concept of estrangement or defamiliarisation ('ostranenie') to indicate literary language that was supposed to 'de-automatise' our perception and draw attention to new ways of relating to reality.

21 Boisseron, *Afro-dog*, xi.

22 Weheliye, 'Preface', x.

23 See Boisseron, *Afro-dog*; Gossett, 'Blackness, Animality and the Unsovereign'.

24 Sinha & Baishya, 'Introduction: Postcolonial Animalities', 1-25.

25 Leane, 'Animals', 306.

26 Sinha & Baishya, 'Introduction: Postcolonial Animalities', 1.

27 See Boisseron, *Afro-dog*; Khayyat, 'The Dog That Therefore I Follow'; Sinha, 'Pariah Dogs – Precarious Cohabitation'.

28 See Sandhar, 'Plotting the Elephant Graveyard: Anthropomorphism and Interspecies Conflict in Tania James's *The Tusk That Did the Damage*'.

29 See Rooks, 'No Place for Waltzing Mathilda: Uncanny Australian Swamps and Crocodiles in *Rogue, Black Water*, and *Dark Age*'.

30 Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, 1.

31 Boisseron, *Afro-dog*, 28

32 Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', 126, italics in original.

33 Jensen, *Waarom vrouwen van apen houden: Een liefdesgeschiedenis in cultuur en wetenschap*, 18.

34 Weheliye, 'Preface', ix.

35 Kim, *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species, and Nature in a Multicultural Age*, 24.

36 Weheliye, 'Preface', x.

37 Deleuze & Guattari, '1730 – Devenir-intense, devenir-animal, devenir-imperceptible…', 285.

38 Ahuja, 'Postcolonial Critique in a Multispecies World', 557. Ahuja relies on the 2004 English translation of *Les damnés de la terre* (The Wretched of the Earth) by Richard Philcox when quoting Fanon, which reads that 'the colonised […] roar with laughter'. The French original, however, reads '*le*

colonisé […] rit un bon coup' (Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre*, 46), which, in an older translation by Constance Farrington, is translated as 'the native […] laughs to himself'. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington, 43.

39 As Fanon notes in *Peau noire, masques blancs*, 14: 'Un homme qui possède le langage possède par contrecoup le monde exprimé et impliqué par ce langage.' This is rendered by Charles Lam Markmann in his translation of *Black Skin, White Masks* as follows: 'A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language.' (18).

40 The way in which Stedman described the wildlife of Suriname in his *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* seems to have served as a model that other travel writers followed. Baboons are described by Stedman as 'the size of a small bull-dog' (235) whereas the *saccawinkee* (red-handed tamarin) is described as 'not much larger than a Norway rat' whilst 'its feet are not unlike those of a squirrel, and its tail is bushy' (13).

41 Nagel, *Suriname in losse tafereelen en schetsen* , 70: 'De groene krokodil, namelijk alleen het mannetje, heeft een kam op den kop, gelijk die van een haan.'

42 Van Noothoorn, *Reizen en lotgevallen van Gustaaf Westerman*, 105: 'een pikzwart viervoetig beest […]. Dit zwarte beest was de zogenaamde miereneter. Hij heeft de grootte van een wolf, een zeer langen staart met eene pluim aan het uiteinde en zeer scherpe klauwen.'

43 Pareau, *Onze West. Reisschetsen*, 27: 'Wanneer met bovendien bedenkt, dat steenen muren tot de zeldzaamheden behooren, daar bijna alle huizen uit hout zijn opgebouwd, dan kan men zich voorstellen dat Paramaribo doet denken aan Zaandam en aan de naburige plaatsen in de Zaanstreek.'

44 Bosch, *Reize naar Suriname in brieven*, 105: 'En wilt gij nu Suriname in miniatuur voor uwe verbeelding halen, stel u dan voor: vlak land met rivieren, kreken en beken; akkers, waarop suikerriet, katoenboomen, koffijboomen, oranjeboomen en bananen; verder huizen en lootsen; bosschen en moerassen; apen en menschen van alle natiën en tongvallen; bergen en heuvels; papegaaijen en kolibrietjes; de fraaiste planten en bloemen; slaven en indianen; tuinen en grachten; muskieten en tijgers; slangen en padden; boschnegers en mieren; regen en zonneschijn; kostelijke maaltijden en sober onthaal; sterk gekruide spijzen en heerlijken wijn; gastvrije menschen en blank-officiers in kwaden luim; weinig nieuws en veel gepraat; fraai gekleede dames en schier naakte negerinnen – dan zult u een flaauw denkbeeld kunnen vormen, van hetgeen Suriname niet is; want om juist te weten, hoe het er is, en wat men er vindt, zoudt gij u zelf te Suriname moeten bevinden.'

45 Boekhoudt, *Uit mijn verleden. Bijdrage tot de kennis van Suriname*, 78: 'Wáár men in dit schoone en rijke land zijne schreden zet, wemelt het van leven. Opgevuld zijn overal de bosschen met bontkleurige vogelen en vlinders, terwijl de schuifelende slang, de brullende tijger en de loerende kaaimaan onder struik en in moeras begeerig naar prooi uitzien. […] Groote en kleine apen, de laatste veelal in rijken getale, brengen leven en beweging in de takken der boomen en vermaken den aanschouwer met hun kluchtige sprongen. Zooveel rijkdom van al wat verrassend, indrukwekkend en schoon mag heeten – en nog zooveel meer, dat aan mijne herinnering is ontsnapt – werd mij ter aanschouwing, neen ter bewondering door den Schepper aangeboden in de natuurgewrochten van Neêrlands El-dorado: Suriname.'

46 Bosch, *Reize naar Suriname in brieven*, 281: 'Het heeft mij altijd eenen vrolijken oogenblik verschaft, wanneer ik een' mensch tegenover een' aap, en omgekeerd, een' aap tegenover een' mensch zag: er ligt alsdan in de trekken van beiden iets spotachtigs. En heeft al de mensch het gebruik der tong op den aap vooruit, om zijn vierhandig evenbeeld te bespotten, zoo drukt toch het geheele gelaat van heer Kisi-Kisi veel sterker en veel beter het spotachtige uit, dan zulks bij den mensch het geval is.'

47 'Nature has placed humankind between the monkey and the sloth. One is lively, the other inert; one is cunning and furtive, the other mindless and idle; one shows curiosity and seems to have human reason, the other is completely indifferent and bestial. Suriname is home to both species.'

Bosch, *Reize naar Suriname in brieven*, 340: 'De natuur heeft den mensch aan de eene zijde den aap, en aan de andere zijde den luijaard gegeven. De eene is al leven wat men ziet, de andere is de traagheid zelve; de eene is leep en diefachtig, de andere dom en lui; de eene is nieuwsgierig, en schijnt menschelijk verstand te bezitten, de andere onverschillig en geheel dierlijk. Beide deze diersoorten vindt men in Suriname.'

48 Kronenburg, *Door Suriname: Reisherinneringen uit ons missiegebied*, 55: 'Op een klein vuur of buiten de hut bakt de vrouw het witte cassave-brood, terwijl een kleine aap, wat grooter dan een eekhoorntje, op haar hoofd en schouders dartelt; verderop buitelen de kinderen in het zand.'

49 Van Breugel, *Dagverhaal van eene reis naar Paramaribo en verdere omstreken in de kolonie Suriname,* 56.

50 Boisseron, *Afro-dog*, 151-155.

51 See Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*.

52 Van Breugel, *Dagverhaal van eene reis naar Paramaribo en verdere omstreken in de kolonie Suriname*, 102.

53 Nagel, *Suriname in losse tafereelen en schetsen*, 87: 'Wanneer men dit snedige dier de eene of andere vrucht aanbiedt, dan leert hij dadelijk zijnen meester, of deze er het binnenste of het buitenste gedeelte, – het geheel of niets van gebruiken moet.'

54 Stedman, *Narrative*, 10.

55 Van Cappelle, *De binnenlanden van het district Nickerie. Lotgevallen en algemeene uitkomsten van eene expeditie door het westelijk deel der kolonie Suriname in September en October van het jaar 1900,* 86: 'de meest afschuwwekkende apen der kolonie'.

56 Van Noothoorn, *Reizen en lotgevallen van Gustaaf Westerman,* 92-93: 'De leelijkste aap, welken ik immer gezien heb, is de *coiata.* Zijne armen en beenen zijn met lange zwarte haren bedekt; de huid is rood en bijna zonder haar; de oogen liggen diep in het hoofd, de ooren zijn kort. Wil men hem vervolgen, dan klimt hij in eenen boom en werpt met vruchten, terwijl hij allerlei leelijken gezichten trekt. Maar hij moge er afzigtelijk uitzien, toch lust ik wel een stukje van hem, wanneer hij gebraden, gestoofd of gekookt is. Foei! zegt gij welligt, lust gij apenvleesch? Wel zeker! […] vooral het vleesch van jonge aapjes, dat wit, sappig en smakelijk is.'

57 Stedman, *Narrative*, 128.

58 This link between eating monkey meat and cannibalism that is insinuated here is explored in greater depth by scholars such as John Miller, who notes that 'food appears as a prominent part of the line in the ideologically charged colonial battle to produce civilised subjects from the raw material of supposedly primitive peoples'. Miller, 'Meat, Cannibalism and Humanity', 75.

59 It is unclear which kind of monkey this term refers to.

60 Kronenburg, *Door Suriname. Reisherinneringen uit ons missiegebied*, 38: 'na tien minuten hoorden we twee schoten vallen, en de Frater kwam terug met een *pitagori*, een grooten aap […]. Een heerlijk boutje voor onze inlandsche reizigers. Met huid en haar werd het dier onder de heete asch gelegd, om den volgenden dag in de soep te recht te komen. Ik heb er van gegeten; het had den smaak van osschevlees, maar was wat taai.'

61 Van Stockum, *Een ontdekkingstocht in de binnenlanden van Suriname. Dagboek van de Saramacca-Expeditie*, 119: 'een mooi, volwassen exemplaar met een dichte, langharige, glanzig zwarte vacht. Alleen de handpalmen […] zijn kaal, en met een zachte, zwarte huid bedekt, die op het beste glacé-leer gelijkt'.

62 Boisseron, *Afro-dog*, 108.

63 Boisseron, *Afro-dog*, 91.

64 De Jong, *Jaguarman*, 246: 'Jij stamt niet af van slaven. Jij stamt af van jaguars.'

65 De Jong, *Jaguarman*, 247: 'Ik heb gezien wat jullie mij gaven. Er is geen ander verhaal dat ik liever zou doorvertellen. Ik zal er een mooi hoofdstuk van maken. Ik zal de jaguarman zijn die u verdient.'

Bibliography

Ahuja, Neel, 'Postcolonial Critique in a Multispecies World', in: *PMLA* 124 (2009) 2, 556-563.

Alphen, Ernst van, 'Gekleurd vertellen: Albert Helmans (anti)racisme', in: *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 83 (1990) 1, 289-297.

Bhabha, Homi, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in: *October* 28 (1984), 125-133.

Blakely, Allison, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

Boekhoudt, Willem, *'Uit mijn verleden': Bijdrage tot de kennis van Suriname* (Winschoten: J.D. van der Veen, 1874).

Bohls, Elizabeth A., *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Bosch, Gerardus Balthazar, *Reize naar Suriname in brieven: Reizen in West-Indië en door een gedeelte van Zuid- en Noord-Amerika. Derde deel* (Utrecht: L.E. Bosch en Zoon, 1843).

Boisséron, Bénédicte, *Afro-dog: Blackness and the Animal Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

Breugel, Gaspard Philippe Charles van, *Dagverhaal van eene reis naar Paramaribo en verdere omstreken in de kolonie Suriname* (Amsterdam: C.G. Sulpke, 1842).

Cappelle, Herman van, *De binnenlanden van het district Nickerie: Lotgevallen en algemeene uitkomsten van eene expeditie door het westelijk deel der kolonie Suriname in September en October van het jaar 1900* (Baarn: Hollandia, 1903).

Deleuze, Gilles & Félix Guattari. '1730 – Devenir-intense, devenir-animal, devenir-imperceptible…', in: *Mille plateaux. Capitalisme et schizophrénie 2* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1980), 284-380.

Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks.* Trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1967).

Fanon, Frantz, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: La Découverte/Poche, 2002).

Fanon, Frantz, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952).

Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

Gaay Fortman, B. de, 'Een vijfdaags bezoek aan Suriname in 1825', in: *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 29 (1948) 1, 13-19.

Gossett, Che, 'Blackness, Animality and the Unsovereign', in: Risa Pulea (ed.), *Walls Turned Sideways: Artists Confront the Justice System* (Houston: Contemporary Arts Museum Houston, 2018), 56-63.

Haraway, Donna, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (London: Verso, 1989).

Haraway, Donna, *Staying With the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chtulucene* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

Honings, Rick, Coen van 't Veer & Jaqueline Bel (eds.), *De postkoloniale spiegel: De Nederlands-Indische letteren herlezen* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021).

Hermans, W.F., *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* (Amsterdam: Bezige bij, 1969).

Jensen, Stine, *Waarom vrouwen van apen houden: Een liefdesgeschiedenis in cultuur en wetenschap* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2002).

Jong, Raoul de, *Jaguarman: Mijn vader, zijn vader en andere Surinaamse helden* (Amsterdam: Bezige bij, 2020).

Kempen, Michiel van, *Chronologische signaleringslijst van koloniaal en niet-Surinaams literair werk over Suriname* (www.surinamistiek.nl/main/literatuur/lijst_koloniale_literatuur_volw.pdf).

Kempen, Michiel van, *Een geschiedenis van de Surinaamse literatuur. Deel 3* (Amsterdam: De Geus, 2002).

Khayyat, Efe, 'The Turk That Therefore I Follow', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), 73-88.

Kim, Claire Jean, *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species, and Nature in a Multicultural Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Kronenburg, Joannes Antonius Franciscus, *Door Suriname: Reisherinneringen uit ons missiegebied* (Amsterdam: F.H.J. Bekker, 1897).

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lennep-Coster, G. van, *Herinneringen mijner reizen naar onderscheidene werelddeelen.* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: J.F. Schleijer, 1836).

Meijer, Maaike, *In tekst gevat: Inleiding tot een kritiek van representatie* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

Miller, John, 'Meat, Cannibalism and Humanity in Paul du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa,* or, What Does a Gorilla Hunter Eat for Breakfast?', in: *Gothic Studies* 16 (2014), 70-84.

Nagel, J.H., *Suriname in losse tafereelen en schetsen* (Rotterdam: Locke & Zoon, 1840).

Noothoorn, Antony Egbertus van, *Reizen en lotgevallen van Gustaaf Westerman, in de Nederlandsch West-Indische bezittingen* (Amsterdam: Sijbrandi, 1843).

Oostindie, Gert, *Postkoloniaal Nederland: Vijfenzestig jaar vergeten, herdenken, verdringen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010).

Paasman, A.N., *Reinhart: Nederlandse literatuur en slavernij ten tijde van de verlichting* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984).

Pareau, Antonius Henricus, *Onze West: Reisschetsen* ('s Gravenhage: W.P. van Stockum en zoon, 1898).

Polcha, Elizabeth, 'Voyeur in the Torrid Zone: John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, 1773–1838', in: *Early American Literature* 54 (2019) 3, 673-710.

Pratt, Marie Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Rooks, Isaac,. 'No Place for Waltzing Mathilda: Uncanny Australian Swamps and Crocodiles in *Rogue*, *Black Water*, and *Dark Age*', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), 127-146.

Sandhar, Jason, 'Plotting the Elephant Graveyard: Anthropomorphism and Interspecies Conflict in Tania James's *The Tusk That Did the Damage*', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), 147-162.

Scheltema de Heere, G.A.N., 'Bezoek van een Haarlemmer aan Suriname en Curaçao in 1861 en 1862', in: *West-Indische Gids* 25 (1943) 1, 321-343.

Shklovsky, Viktor. 'Art, as Device', Trans. Alexandra Berlina, in: *Poetics Today* 36 (2015) 3, 151-174.

Sinha, Suvadip, 'Pariah Dogs – Precarious Cohabitation', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), 108-124.

Sinha, Suvadip & Amit R. Baishya, 'Introduction: Postcolonial Animalities', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), 1-25.

Spiegel, Marjorie, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (London: Heretic Books, 1988).

Stedman, Johan Gabriel, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America from the year 1772-1777* (London: J.J. Johnson St. Paul Church Yard & J. Edward Mill, Pall Mall, 1796).

Stockum, A.J. van, *Een ontdekkingstocht in de binnenlanden van Suriname: Dagboek van de Saramacca-Expeditie* (Amsterdam: G.P. Tierie, 1905).

Veer, Coen van 't, *De kolonie op drift: De representatie en constructie van koloniale identiteit in fictie over de zeereis tussen Nederland en nederlands-Indië (1850-1940)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020).

Wagenaar Hummelinck, P. & H. van Borcharen, 'Het dagelijksche leven op de Surinaamse koffieplantage "Kokswoud" in 1828: Een brief van H. van Borcharen gepubliceerd', in: *West-Indische Gids* 28 (1947) 1, 33-41.

Weheliye, Alexander Ghedi, 'Preface', in: Suvadip Sinha & Amit R. Baishya (eds.), *Postcolonial Animalities* (London: Routledge, 2020), ix-x.

CHAPTER 6

Becoming a Beast in the Long Run

Travelling Perpetrators and the Animal as Metaphor for Violence

Arnoud Arps

Abstract

In Dutch war-themed travelogues on the Indonesian War of Independence, representations of human and nonhuman animals are conflated through the animal as a dual metaphor for representing violence. On the one hand, the animal metaphor is used in describing the transformation of the Dutch from trained soldier to cold-blooded beast. On the other hand, it is used to describe Indonesian freedom fighters' violence as non-human which is considered to be the basis for the Dutch soldiers' transformation. Moreover, distance is created between the perpetrators as agents of violence and the violence they commit through the animal metaphor. The result is that both the 'animal Other' and the 'animal Self' act as post-colonial barriers to processing the perpetratorship of the Self.

Keywords: War-themed travelogues, Indonesian War of Independence, animal metaphors, violence, Othering

In war-themed travelogues on Dutch colonialism's violent end in Indonesia, the indigenous fauna of the country returns time and again in forms similar to those described by travelers in the Dutch East Indies. Carabao meat is, for example, a key ingredient in 'the best *rendang* in West Java' and 'caramelised and simmered with a mysterious blend of spices' to create a desirable dish for eaters from far and wide.[1] The animal as food also stands for warfare preparation, as barns stacked with fish indicate the presence of the enemy.[2] The animal is thus sustenance for the soldier, but in other instances is used to signal the hunger and running wild of the Indonesian people, who are ostensibly taught how to boil and roast rats to combat a hunger that has led to people dying beside the roads.[3] Horses are repeatedly used as means of transportation for the living as well as the dead, although elephants are preferred during one recovery mission of dead bodies.[4]

Yet, even though the material animal is encountered and described as food and transportation, it is much less important in these travelogues than the metaphorical animal: how they are meaningful to humans, disclosing an anthropocentricism in

the use of animals. As Barbara Creed and Maarten Reesink write, 'contradiction lies at the heart of media representations of and responses to nonhuman animals and other creatures', especially within anthropocentric discourse and particularly 'the representation of human and nonhuman animals as totally separate entities'.[5] As I will illustrate in this chapter both are conflated through the animal as a metaphor for violence. Of particular importance is how animals symbolise the animal within humans in Dutch decolonisation literature.[6]

When Maarten Hidskes, the author of *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* (2016, At home, nobody believes me), imagines his father's state of mind as a soldier during the war, he provides a brief insight into the mechanisms at work: 'Superfluous bodily functions, such as memory and conscience, have been shut down, soldier number 220522000 functions exclusively mechanically. The decision centre is paralysed, animal instincts take over my father's body.'[7] This description of how 'animal instincts' have taken over his father's body is in reality an interpretation of his father's writing, about which Hidskes continues: 'The violent world my father finds himself in must be hidden in those letters.'[8] Since his father does not address this violent world directly himself, Hidskes creates an imagined world for him. In it, as the foregoing quote illustrates, the metaphor of the animal plays a central role.

The use of the animal metaphor is also striking in the opening sequence of *Merdeka!* (2016, Freedom!) by Jacob Vis. The protagonist of the novel, Jan Bax, is walking through the jungle of Celebes in 1948 when he smells the disgusting, all-pervading smell of decomposing bodies:

> I pulled myself together, tied a handkerchief in front of my nose, breathed as lightly as possible and lifted a partly eaten forearm. I couldn't find out who it belonged to. Nor did it matter. Nothing mattered to the three unfortunates anymore. They had been ambushed and killed in a beastly manner.[9]

Thus, as *Merdeka!* similarly underscores, there is a particular appetite, albeit to differing effect, for ascribing animal qualities to the violence of the Indonesian War of Independence.

During the Indonesian War of Independence, more than two hundred thousand Dutchmen, both volunteers and conscripts, fought in the war of independence.[10] The events of this violent struggle reverberate to this day, and these travelling perpetrators are represented in both fiction and non-fiction alike. Indeed, decades later, in 2015, there began a heated public debate about Dutch participation in the Indonesian War of Independence. News items and scholarly articles were continuously published on the matter, stressing not only the sensitivity of the Dutch colonial past, but also the urgent need to examine it critically. Especially in the light of the wealth of contemporary literature on the matter, this ongoing public debate

Picture of Raymond Westerling in 1948. Collection Wikipedia Commons.

calls for a critical reassessment of the colonial period more generally – its representation in past and present literature on the Dutch East Indies.[11] Scrutinising the relation between the literary arts and society is especially fruitful for mapping out the process via which the Netherlands is trying to come to terms with its colonial past. A literary work, by its very nature, creates an opportunity to understand how it is shaped by, and indeed shapes, this very reality through its representations.[12] The reciprocal relation between sociocultural forces and literary texts offers a chance to understand the shared emotions, moods, and thoughts of the Dutch in the current post-colonial historical moment as given evidence in decolonial literature.[13]

The beginning of this period of critical reflection saw the publication of several books dealing with the violent end of the Dutch colonial presence in Indonesia. In July 2016, the Dutch author Maarten Hidskes published *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* (At home no one believes me), a book that he wrote on the basis of research conducted into his father's (Piet Hidskes) military past during the so-called 'South Celebes affair' (1946-1947). The second independence war-themed book of 2016 was *Merdeka!* (2016, Freedom!), which was published a month later. This latter fictional novel by Jacob Vis (1940) centres on a soldier, Jan Bax, who similarly joins Raymond Westerling's troops. As Indonesian resistance against the Dutch re-occupation grew in Southern Celebes (present day South Sulawesi), captain Raymond 'The Turk' Westerling (1919-1987) was sent there in 1946. He became known for the 'Westerling Method' – night-time raids that ended in summary executions. This arbitrary violence led to the killing of at least three thousand Indonesians.[14]

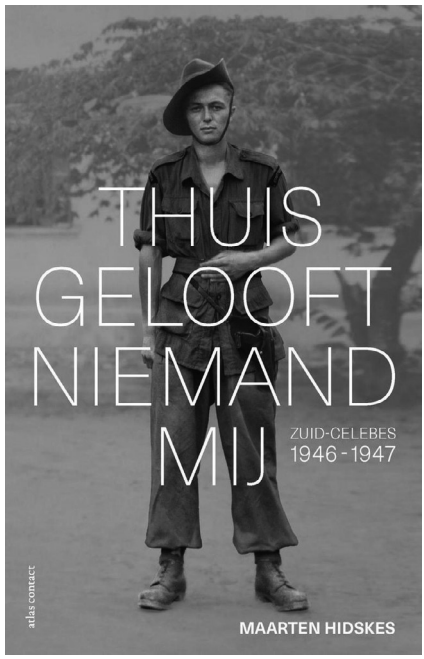
Thuis gelooft niemand mij and *Merdeka!* have been selected to act as case studies here because, in both works, the protagonists exemplify the centrality of travelling perpetrators to fighting that takes place beyond national borders. These war-themed travelogues, set during the Indonesian War of Independence, form part of the wider sphere of Dutch decolonisation literature.[15] Other notable publications within the genre are Alfred Birney's 2016 *De tolk van* Java (The interpreter of Java)

and Tomas Ross's *Indië-trilogie* (Dutch East Indies trilogy), published between 2015 and 2018. Together they form part of a broader cultural development that reflects how the Netherlands is currently processing its colonial past. In addition, the recurrent focus on animals gives insights into how the historical perpetration of violence, here in an Indonesian context, is processed in the postcolonial Netherlands through a barrier mechanism. Despite the fact that, in their descriptions of the war, neither book shies away from depicting its violence, a disjuncture is observable in their representations of violence – one that creates a safe distance from which this past can be addressed. The animal assumes a pivotal role in this.

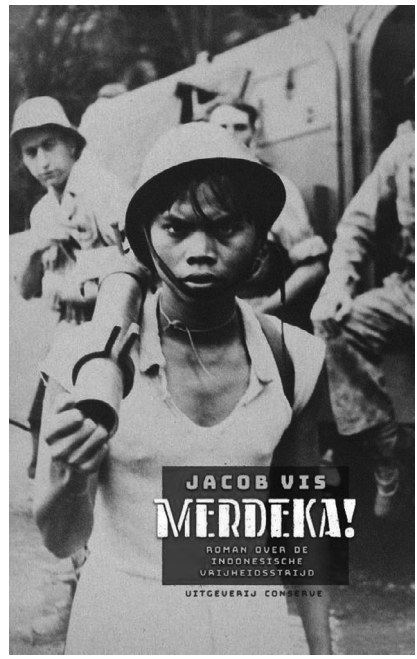
In postcolonial studies and travel writing studies alike, the animal has gained increased interest as an object of study. Postcolonial studies, for instance, deals with concerns over how humanity has been defined through the non-human: the animal and the animalistic.[16] Whilst, in travel writing studies, non-humans are often instrumental, for example as a means of transport.[17] This chapter adds to these analyses of the instrumentality of non-humans, here, in their use as metaphors. Such metaphors have a charged meaning in the context of the colonial past, as they can simultaneously legitimise colonial systems whilst masking the suffering of those over whom those systems preside.[18] The case studies chosen combine these different interests to answer the underlying question of this chapter: What roles do animal metaphors play in contemporary Dutch decolonisation travelogues?

This chapter thus analyses the roles played by animals in Dutch decolonisation literature written about soldiers who travelled from the Netherlands to Indonesia to fight during the Indonesian War of Independence (1945-1949). Over the course of the war, the protagonists of the books travel from island to island – a form of 'violent island hopping'. In their representations of these travels the violence committed and encountered is often metaphorically described as bestial. However, in my elaboration on animal metaphors I also take into account the appearance of actual animals in the books – such as deer-pigs, crocodiles, and dogs. In their metaphorical context, I will discuss them in conjunction with, and focus on, the broader animal metaphor as a whole. Analysing *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!* from a perspective that draws upon postcolonial studies, animal studies, and perpetrator studies, I argue that, in Dutch decolonisation literature, the animal is used particularly as a dual metaphor for representing violence. On the one hand, it is used to describe the transformation of the Dutch, from trained soldiers to cold-blooded beasts, whilst on the other, it is used to describe the violence committed against the Dutch by Indonesian freedom fighters (Dutch soldiers have been 'killed in a beastly manner') that for many Dutch soldiers is described as forming the basis of their transformation.

I will first briefly discuss the contents and structure of both books and argue how they can be understood as part of the broader genre of travel writing. Subsequently, I propose that, similar to the distance created through colonial



Front cover of Maarten Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* (2016). Private collection.



Front cover of Jacob Vis *Merdeka!* (2016). Private collection.

'Othering', distance is created between the European perpetrators as agents and the violence they commit through the metaphor of the animal. However, unlike in colonial literature, animal traits are here attributed to European soldiers to indicate a transformation. This differs from the representation of Indonesian soldiers, as I will show, as the violence of the Indonesian enemy is described as inherently non-human in the same way as the native 'Other' is metaphorically represented as animal-like in colonial literature. The result, I conclude, is that both the animal 'Other' and the 'animal Self' act as post-colonial barriers to processing violent acts perpetrated by the human Self.

The two books

Thuis gelooft niemand mij and *Merdeka!* are not traditionally considered travel writing as they are neither based fully on 'true accounts of actual travels', nor are they first-person travel accounts 'undertaken by the author-narrator'.[19] Even so, Tim Youngs has recognised the mutability of this definition and the 'borrowing' of

literary form that occurs between fiction and travel texts.[20] As I focus on metaphors – which are themselves perceptual constructions that '*carry meaning across*, to unfamiliar and unlikely contexts'[21] – questions of verisimilitude are less important to this chapter than precisely how 'manipulation and [the] invention of detail' are central to the imagined travels and those represented in them.[22] Therefore, in this chapter I follow Jan Borm's broader notion of travel writing as 'a collective term for a variety of texts both fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel'.[23] In both *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!* travel is essential to the power dynamics and representations they convey, thus constituting travel as (one of) their main themes.

Before becoming an author, Maarten Hidskes worked as an editor in chief and researcher for several Dutch television programmes. *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* was his literary debut, written sporadically over a period of twenty-five years. His father had travelled to multiple islands of the Indonesian Archipelago during his military service. Banka, Bali, Java, Sulawesi, Sumatra, Sumbawa, and New-Guinea, his father used to recall, albeit never specifying what he had done there.[24] Rather, always being wary when asked about his activities in Indonesia, in these enumerations Celebes was 'stripped of the "South" prefix, and, moreover, safely embedded in an image of *island hopping*'.[25] Thus never directly connected to the war violence of the euphemised 'South Celebes affair'. Although Hidskes' father had a three-year military career in Indonesia, the period of twelve weeks in which he joined Raymond Westerling's Depot Speciale Troepen (Special Troops Depot) was the one that stood out. Hidskes tried to reconstruct his father's war history on the basis of interviews with veterans, military intelligence reports, and eyewitness accounts. Hidskes has described the book as non-fiction, although, in reality, it is an amalgamation of historical research and fictional interpretations constructed into a narrative. It thus leans towards *postmemory fiction* – the way in which he imagines his father's experiences are informed by his father's own personal cultural traumas.[26]

Thuis gelooft niemand mij received mixed reviews, exemplified by Chris van der Heijden's appraisal as one of 'those books that constantly make you doubt between yes, no and well'.[27] In a different review, Maarten Reijnders concludes that Hidskes refrains from making easy judgements about the war, since 'it was another time'.[28] Reijnders, sketching how he understands this dynamic, suggests that the Dutch soldiers operated in a terrorised society where they were cut into pieces if they fell into the hands of insurgents. He concludes by stating that the Dutch soldiers must have had traumatic experiences as they were young boys who were thrown in at the deep end without proper training.[29] Of roughly 220,000 troops active in the region between August 1945 and December 1949, about 160,000 were Dutch and 80,000 locals. Unlike – or in some cases, possibly in addition to – the situation that Reijnders sketches, the soldiers that were sent or travelled to Indonesia were not simply juvenile victims

or bystanders. Rather, as earlier research has proven, war crimes perpetrated by the Dutch became a structural element of warfare during the independence war – a subject about which many soldiers wrote in later ego documents.[30]

It is strange that Reijnders arrives at this interpretation when Piet Hidskes, the main figure in *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, is clearly one of these perpetrators. He was one of the troops that used intimidation, violence, and terror in order to achieve what Westerling himself has called 'the pacification of the Celebes with astonishing rapidity'.[31] A soldier who served with Piet Hidskes in Indonesia furthermore described him as always being the first to step up when volunteers were needed. During such jobs things happened of which they were not proud.[32] However, the ways in which the violence is represented in the book through use of the animal metaphor help us to understand how some readers might establish a detached reading of these events.

Just as in *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, the central protagonist of *Merdeka!* becomes part of the Depot Speciale Troepen. It is not surprising that Jacob Vis has set this novel during a pivotal moment in the Dutch colonial past, as he is known for thrillers that contain a historical element.[33] Vis has a familial past in the Dutch East Indies, about which he writes in the novels *Tandem* (2012) and *Moerta* (2013). The former follows Vis' grandfather, the plantation owner Dirk Sanders, on his tobacco plantation Tandem in Deli, Sumatra, in the early twentieth century. *Moerta* is a historical novel about Vis' grandmother, the Javanese doctor Moerta Tjondronego. *Merdeka!* can be considered the epilogue of this Dutch East Indies triptych. Unlike his novels *Tandem* and *Moerta*, no familial relation exists between the fictional protagonist Jan Bax and Jacob Vis and, unlike *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, this is an entirely fictionalised thriller.

Kester Freriks reviewed the book as 'a brutal boys' book', written in an 'unabashed style' in which Vis 'notes the trials and tribulations of Westerling's elite corps'.[34] 'It impresses', Freriks states, 'because it reflects the heat of battle and even makes clear that the soldiers, caught in the guerrilla trap, had nowhere to go. In a way, it even promotes understanding. Without saying so, Vis seems to be engaging in a polemic with a new trend: the accusation of war veterans.'[35] Freriks sees *Merdeka!* as a book that counters the so-called accusation of war veterans, yet this observation seems difficult to sustain as, in both *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!*, it is clear that the main protagonists have witnessed war crimes.

Jan Bax, the protagonist of *Merdeka!*, is a student who was born on Java and returns to Indonesia as a soldier. He eventually ends up with Raymond Westerling's commandos on South Celebes, where he observes various atrocities. At one point in the novel he is given the assignment of investigating the ways in which the Depot Speciale Troepen has 'restored peace in the insurrectionary part of Southern Celebes'.[36] The main goal of his assignment is to ascertain if war crimes have been

committed. Bax affirms that this is indeed the case, stating that the summary executions of civilians and soldiers; the torture of civilians and prisoners of war with the purpose of eliciting information from them; the rape of women and girls; the burning of homes; and the destruction of property have all taken place.[37] Both novels thus acknowledge war crimes, citing Westerling as the ringleader. The opening line of *Merdeka!*'s first chapter leaves nothing to the imagination: 'Every war has excesses. Hitler had the camps, Pol Pot the *killing fields*, we had Captain Westerling.'[38] Although Westerling is positioned in this sentence in the same framework as those responsible for the deaths of millions, his representation in the novel itself is much more ambiguous. The way in which he is represented can even be considered as a preeminent example of a Dutch East Indies celebrity figure. Westerling is depicted as an extraordinary man with unique personal qualities.[39]

In recent non-fiction decolonisation literature, a picture is painted of war crimes being fully acknowledged. Yet there seems to be a threshold preventing such books from entering into any dialogue about the colonial past. Instead of fully raising the curtain on the violent acts of the Dutch soldiers, the protagonists are enveloped in a shroud of ambiguity, and the first step in creating this ambiguity is how the individual is transformed from a trained soldier into a cold-blooded beast.

From trained soldiers to cold-blooded beasts

The first use of the animal metaphor concerns the representation of European soldiers. As previously mentioned, in June 1946, Piet Hidskes, the protagonist of *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, volunteers for the elite unit Depot Speciale Troepen under the command of Raymond Westerling. Then, in his mid-twenties, he begins a six-month training programme, after which he is deployed to South Celebes. On 11 December 1946, at half past three in the morning, he is part of a platoon approaching a village called Bardja. On the southern edge of the village, they lie down and advance in a leopard crawl. In the book, the description of the raid is interspersed with various contextualising information, although at times the source of this information is not entirely clear. For instance, when Piet arrived on Celebes – as the book narrates in between descriptions of the night-time raid – he witnessed horrible events:

> On arrival, Piet saw a woman who was seven months pregnant, whose head, arms and legs had been cut off and whose remaining body had been hung from a tree with a bamboo stick through the abdomen. Murdered by Indonesian *rampokkers* [gangs] because soldiers had rested at her home. The streets were full of corpses when he arrived in Celebes. Some had laid there for days. Nobody cleaned up those bodies.[40]

It remains unclear where the narrator has obtained this information. Therefore, it creates a strange interjection because it interrupts the unfolding horrors being committed by the Dutch soldiers, thus framing the raid as a legitimised counter measure to the observed horrors. When Maarten Hidskes interviews a former colleague of his father, Peter, he asks him if it could be possible that his father became nauseous after seeing someone cut into pieces. Peter answers that he once saw a whole village, whole families including women and children, massacred by the enemy. 'When you see that as a white man', he states, 'then you start to think differently'.[41] Here, 'thinking differently' is one of the manifold ways the veterans say that they changed during their period in Indonesia. However, to the question of changing into what precisely, Peter explains how he could witness the brutal killings: 'You are a beast in the long run. An outsider won't understand. When you see someone laying like that, your heart turns around. You are human, but you become a beast. I was really a beast there. That was what I was known for.'[42]

The transformative aspects of the events in South Celebes are underscored when Piet Hidskes returns to Jakarta three weeks later. His best friend, Harry, waits on the quay as part of an arrival committee that also includes a band. Harry boards the boat to welcome his friend on deck. On the boat, Harry takes a photograph of the band on the quay, yet he does not take a photo of Piet, as his friend unnoticeably 'radiates something almost animalistic'.[43] The end result of the beastly violence during the Indonesian War of Independence is the transformation into the animalistic of those involved.

The above stands in stark contrast to the book's description of Piet before he went to Indonesia. Growing up, Piet Hidskes was a 'simple boy in a simple world', described sitting in class with a tuft of hair that repeatedly popped up even though his mother had tried to flatten it with her spit. He was the second youngest in a family of seven children and came from the city of Nijmegen close to the German border. Every day he walked to school with his brother Rudi, with whom he also camped along the river Waal in summer.[44] During the Second World War – Piet was eighteen years old when it started – he worked in a Dutch margarine factory in Germany. His best friend Harry was rounded up and deported to Poland. After escaping, Harry crossed the German-Dutch border with the help of Piet. Maarten Hidskes writes the following about his father's journey into manhood:

> I try to pinpoint where, during the years of occupation, my father is situated on the route from boyhood to manhood. His youth is not quite over yet, but the occupier does not wait until Piet is an adult to deport best friends and neighbours. On closer inspection, Piet's childhood was filled with war violence and expressions of power.[45]

In 1944, Piet signed up as a war volunteer in the Netherlands, 'hair blonde, eyes blue, rifle number 95719'.[46] However, shortly after his first battles against the Germans, the Third Reich ceased to exist. 'What to do with all this energy, all this adrenaline?'[47] Piet's best friend Harry clarifies: 'Everyone felt: Something had to be done in the Dutch East Indies. We had signed up for a fight against an occupier, but now that had fallen away. Our goal was extended without even being asked about it. The decision had already been made. And everyone agreed.'[48] In his letters to his family, Piet never mentions whether he has killed someone during the war, nor did he clarify this afterwards. Many of the veterans deny they ever did. Maarten Hidskes, both author and omniscient narrator of *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, does imagine his father in the midst of the battles.

During his second raid, Piet is on board a small and slow boat when it comes under fire from archers. 'With a salvo from his Sten gun, Piet probably fires at the shore; a woman is hit in the back, pieces of her bone marrow spatter away.'[49] The use here of 'probably' shows how the author does not fully commit to this interpretation and imagines it with a degree of reservation. This hesitancy can be ascribed to the familial bond, the father-son relation, and that between author and protagonist. As the author confesses, every attempt to discuss the war violence with his father would have failed and ended in superficiality, both because of unwillingness on his father's side, and also because of the author's careful questions: 'To protect him, because I loved him.'[50] The author is unwilling to condemn his father. This leads to a conclusion in which Piet Hidskes is described as someone who has lost much in the transformative period of the war: 'He has left school, he has left the Church, he has left his parental home. He doesn't have the words ready, this sympathetic tough dyslexic stuck boy. With the best of intentions, he was up to the ankles in blood and after that no one wanted to listen to the explanation.'[51] This is his transformation, from a simple boy in a simple world with good intentions, to someone who is later described by his best friend as a person with animalistic qualities who stood up to his ankles in blood. He is a man who returns broken, who did not have to travel on a military train because of his mental condition, as written in an official statement by the Military Neurosis Hospital in Austerlitz.[52]

Far from Piet's 'simple background', the fictional protagonist Jan Bax in *Merdeka!* grew up in colonial wealth in the Dutch East Indies. 'It was a childhood in Paradise, I have no other word for it', comments Bax.[53] Born on a sugar plantation outside of Bandung on 25 November 1924, just two years after Piet Hidskes, Bax lived there the first fifteen years of his life. Before their move to the Netherlands, his father worked as an administrator and his mother was a teacher. Unlike Piet Hidskes, he was not a volunteer, but a conscript who departed for Indonesia in 1946 as a radio operator. As the only one in his squadron fluent in both Malay and Javanese, he was increasingly used as an interpreter. A reluctant Bax joins the

army, because he would be seen as a traitor if he did not. His intention, therefore, was to not shoot anyone:

> I wondered how I would be able to shoot people with whom I had played, been in school, played football and got into mischief. I could clearly bring to mind my classmates and the people at the plantation and the thought of facing them with a rifle was unpalatable. I made up my mind not to fire a shot, no matter what happened.[54]

Throughout the novel, Bax witnesses the war crimes committed, but does not participate. When he refuses to aid in an execution, he is placed under arrest. However, as the novel proceeds, he gains the respect of the military because of his brave actions during battle. One of these actions forces him to diverge from his initial intention not to shoot anyone. When he and a colleague are attacked by people armed with knives and machetes, they empty their submachine guns, taking out half of their attackers. When they run out of ammunition, however, the attackers return fiercer than before. This violent situation forces them to turn into a 'two-headed monster': 'We were fighting with the *klewang* [bladed weapon], back-to-back like a two-headed monster against a tenfold majority. The fear of death gave us superhuman powers and once more we took out a number of opponents, but there were too many. Too many!'[55] The animal within is invoked again later in the novel when, during a reconnaissance mission, he needs to approach a camp of the Indonesian army within fifty meters. He is able to do so because he hides in the fast-growing young trees surrounding him, 'to a soldier and a predator, the young forest is a blessing, because it is so dense that you can hide invisibly and approach your prey within a few yards'.[56]

In *Merdeka!*, Bax is sometimes pushed to the limits of his humanity. Similarly, the soldiers in *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* behave in a transgressive manner. In both books, initially, the Dutch soldiers were not beasts; rather, they became them. They are constantly 'negotiating the actual and metaphorical complexities of [the] species boundary'.[57] Violence, eventually, is what makes them cross this boundary. As Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin have argued, 'bad behaviour on the part of humans', such as murder, 'mark the outer limits of the human'.[58] Yet, the Dutch soldiers never truly cross the boundary, because 'the "real" basis has been exiled to the animal (the "beast")'.[59] It is in the form of the beast that they commit these acts of violence. Huggan and Tiffin show the mechanics of this in the context of human cannibalism. Replacing cannibalism with 'murder', however, lays bare the workings in Dutch decolonisation literature:

> [Murder] turns people into 'animals' or 'beasts', but without jeopardising human distinctiveness since the deed has already been categorised as 'animal': humans can thus behave

> *like* animals or beasts while at the same time the species boundary, with its operational distinction between animals and non-animals, is kept firmly in place.[60]

Throughout the books, 'the animal' represents a way to be killed, dirt, swear words, betrayal, threats, danger, the monstrous, and murder. It is, therefore, unfavourable to be labelled 'animal': Animals are not only reduced to metaphors for humans, but specifically to the very edge of what it means to be human.

When actual animals are represented, they are always connected to death: a herd of *babirusas* (deer-pigs) is eating naked bodies; on many occasions people are threatened with being thrown to the crocodiles; whilst guard dogs can betray you when you try to sneak up on people.[61] The animal thus becomes 'a sacrificial symbol of violence' – a symbol of death, as it is through the animal that violence or even death arrives.[62] Human distinctiveness is affirmed in the case of the Dutch soldiers, because their initial 'human' background clearly differs from their 'animal' behaviour as soldiers. The negative metaphorical connotations of 'the animal' thus apply to their behaviour *like* animals, although they *are* not animals. This is different for the Indonesian freedom fighters, who are from the very beginning presented as bestial.

Photograph of executions of residents of an Indonesian kampong by soldiers of the Depot Special Troops in kampong Salomoni. Collection NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam.

The violence of non-human freedom fighters

The previous paragraph has established that the metaphor of the animal functions as an end point of the transformation that Dutch soldiers undergo. However, as I will now illustrate, this is not the case for Indonesian soldiers, who retain their animalistic nature throughout their representations. As such, this exemplifies the use of animal metaphors in a colonial context. In colonial literature and politics, the native inhabitants of the colonised country are represented stereotypically and occupy a position subordinate to the European coloniser.[63] In contrast to Western society, they are seen as primitive, uninhibited, hedonistic, wild, uncivilised, and dumb.[64] Through a juxtaposition between a 'superior' Europe and 'lesser' colonised peoples, European individuality is defined.[65] This 'symbolic complex of the other' was so fundamental to colonisation that it became 'the keystone of colonialist ideology' – the comparing of native inhabitants to animals one of its key features.[66] In a postcolonial context, the meaning attributed to the former coloniser and the formerly colonised shifts.

Yet, in both *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!,* a form of 'Othering' can still be observed. Key in these texts is how the transformation that was the focus of attention in the previous paragraph has its roots in the violence of the Indonesian freedom fighters. When the native 'Other' was described as 'lesser' than Europeans in colonial literature, one of the ways this was achieved was by ascribing them the status of animals.[67]

In the context of cross-cultural travel such as the travelogue, this has implications for how the body – both human and animal – has been described. Travel writing is a corporeal literary genre, as the travelogue represents the body in motion. In the context of colonialism, this meant 'the travelling of the Western body and the bodies of the "travellees" encountered en route', where often these 'travellees' were denied their humanity.[68]

As in colonial Dutch East Indies literature, this can also be read in decolonisation literature where the metaphor of the animal is negatively utilised. Monkeys, for instance, are used to describe Indonesians: They are 'monkeys', 'half-monkeys', a 'monkey gang', use 'monkey language', and have 'monkey houses'.[69] Similarly, when a Chinese shopkeeper who informed the Indonesian army of Dutch military actions has been captured, Sergeant Van Pijkeren says: 'We have to decide what to do with this rat: hang it, shoot it or feed it to the crocodiles' – about which Bax gets to make the final decision.[70] Negative connotations are further typified in both books by the manner in which two of the Axis powers that fought against the Allies during the Second World War, Nazi Germany and the Empire of Japan, are described as 'beasts' and animals.[71] In *Merdeka!*, Bax's family moves to the Netherlands after his father retires. Less than a year later, the Nazi German

occupation of the Netherlands occurs. Faced with the choice of remaining in the now occupied Netherlands or returning to the Dutch East Indies, Bax explains:

> Going back was also not an option, because a year later the Japs overran the KNIL and all the Dutch were interned in camps that were admittedly less horrific than the German extermination camps and in which, if you kept a low profile, you would not be threatened with death day after day, but in which life was extremely unpleasant. And whether you were bitten by the dog or by the cat, as my father would say after the war: either way it hurts like hell.[72]

When, after the liberation of the Netherlands, the war for the Dutch moved from the European mainland to the overseas colonies, the colonial metaphors for the native inhabitants and those for the enemy folded into each other. When Jan Bax travels through the jungle in 1948, he encounters massacred Dutch soldiers. The sergeant-major accompanying him asks about their native inhabitant guide. After Bax tells him that he has run away, the sergeant responds: 'Cowardly dog … You see, you can never trust those natives.'[73] The dog metaphor returns also in the description of the soldiers of the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Armed Forces).[74] In addition, the *pemoeda's* (young revolutionaries) first sprout from the ground 'like mushrooms', after which they disappear 'like moles in the ground'.[75]

The veterans interviewed told Hidskes that Westerling was ultimately successful in countering the attacks from the Indonesians. Westerling radiated calm and control, and he was the right man in the right place, exemplified by a statement repeated by a veteran: 'If you chop off a piece of a snake's tail, that snake just crawls on. You have to cut the head off.'[76]

The animal traits ascribed to native society in colonial literature, in decolonisation literature translate into negative traits such as unreliability, cowardice, and the violence Indonesians commit. When Indonesian freedom fighters kill their enemy in the books, they slaughter them like animals: 'Twenty people were butchered like *carabaos* [water buffalos] and their bodies thrown in the river.'[77] Comparably, Dutch soldiers who had fallen in an ambush had been killed in a beastly manner.[78]

However, these metaphors do *not* signify a transformation. There is no similar development from human to animal, as described in the previous paragraph regarding Dutch soldiers. Although the animal metaphor does connect Indonesians to violence, just as natives and violence were connected in colonial literary traditions, a transformation such as those from a civilised European to someone who 'begins to equal a "native"' is absent.[79] Here no transformation takes place for the Indonesians.

What becomes clear is that the animal as a metaphor for violence has a double articulation: first, it shields the Dutch perpetrators from the violence they commit

as humans, because they have a history that affirms their humanity; and second, as the veteran Peter in *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* underscores, the supposedly primal Indonesian violence is portrayed as the initial root for this transformation. Indonesians and Indonesian freedom fighters are often presented as behaving in an animal-like manner. The animal metaphor thus creates a distance between the agency of perpetrators and the violence they enact. This is particularly visible through the metaphor of 'the beast'.

Distance through the animal metaphor

The subordinate relation between the coloniser and the colonised in colonial literature in many instances created an unbridgeable difference between the two. In the decolonisation literature under scrutiny here, distance is still created between the European soldiers and their enemy 'Other'. Strikingly, this is done by using the same metaphor to describe both the Dutch soldiers and the Indonesians: that of the bestial.

The discourse created when representing this violence as bestial roughly follows that of naturalised anthropocentrism: 'The absolute prioritisation of one's own species' interests over those of the silenced majority.'[80] By considering 'Others' as animals, not only are they 'excluded from the privileged ranks of the human', but their killing is also considered non-criminal.[81] Within a postcolonial ecocritical context, this leads to the idea that 'in assuming a natural prioritisation of humans and human interests over those of other species on earth, we are both generating and repeating the racist ideologies of imperialism on a planetary scale'.[82] As Huggin and Tiffin (2010) assert: 'The effectiveness of this discourse of species is that "when applied to social others of whatever sort", it relies upon "the taking for granted of the institution of speciesism; that is, upon the ethical acceptability of the systematic, institutionalised killing of non-human others"'.[83]

An underlying theme in *Merdeka!* is based on the childhood friendship between the main protagonist Jan Bax and Karim Kelong. The latter later becomes a captain in the Indonesian army. They meet several times during the war, helping each other with favours, and discussing the attacks committed on both sides. When Bax accuses two young Indonesian soldiers of being psychopaths, Kelong replies by asking: 'What do you think of the guy who committed the beastly murder of Sarina's father?'[84] Soon after, Kelong describes how he gave Engelbert, the successor to Bax's father on the sugar plantation, and indeed his entire family, a 'mercy shot'. The *pemoeda's*, not much older than fourteen, arrived at the plantation. They raped, tortured, and murdered Engelbert's wife and daughters. Engelbert himself was bound to a tree and used as a living target. Kelong tells an angered Bax that he

put the family out of their misery: 'That murder was a turning point for me. I intend to do what is possible to prevent these events of beastliness in my area.'[85] Kelong then appeals to Bax's conscience when he says that all the pair of them can do is to try to avoid beastliness on both sides, for example by correctly treating prisoners of war.[86] Bax replies by saying: 'Karim, we are not animals. Needless to say, these people have received care.'[87] Beastly slaughters return throughout the novel, as they are described as occurring 'on both sides'.[88]

Towards the end of the novel, Bax evaluates his time in Indonesia and describes his most unhappy weeks there. He has counted more than three thousand deaths, of which at least twelve hundred were civilians on Celebes and Sumatra, especially in Djambi and Rengat. 'In that last town, we raged like animals', he explains.[89]

Despite using the bestial metaphor for both Dutch and Indonesian violence, the meaning of the term 'bestial' differs depending on the perpetrator. As Rashné Limki points out in the context of contemporary human rights, 'the perpetrator is approached as a transgressor against an established moral order'.[90] She argues that in the case of violence perpetrated against subaltern bodies, the violence forms part of a long history of killing – one in which 'rationality flows from the description of the subaltern as expendable'.[91] Subaltern lives are similarly expendable in decolonisation literature as acts of violence against the Indonesian subjects 'are a repetition of killing as *constitutive* of the moral order'.[92] Yet, as the previous paragraphs have illustrated, the use of bestial violence by and against the Dutch does not function as a framework for *their* expendability. The reason for this is that the history of being killed – taking place through centuries of colonialism – does not apply to them as they are, in a temporal sense, quite literally an extension of the former coloniser.

An animal 'Other' is thus created to encompass Indonesians. Where the Dutch have both a 'human Self' (the one before the war) and an 'animal Self' (the one during the war), the Indonesian lack this pre-existing humanity. In this way, discursively, a post-colonial barrier is constructed behind which the acts perpetrated by the Dutch remain safely distanced.

Conclusion

Whether postcolonial writers are actually able to subvert the colonial genre of travel writing has been subject to debate, particularly in the context of travel writing and the environment.[93] Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin argue that an emphasis on the human and social change remain characteristic of the postcolonial novel 'at a time when ideas of the human are increasingly being challenged, and where the place of human beings within a broader, ecological network of relations is now widely

accepted if not always adequately informed'.[94] The post-colonial authors of the war-themed travelogues *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!* seem unable to go beyond the emphasis on the human within broader networks of relations. Despite the fact that animals return continuously in both books, they mainly function as metaphors for the human or as symbols of death. Yet, the non-human has always been important to how 'human societies have constructed themselves in relation to other societies, both human and non-human'.[95] In this process, humans 'have built barriers between themselves and the "others" they have effectively created as a means of defining their own identities and defining their social norms'.[96]

Philip Armstrong writes that human-animal relations have been central to the mission of modernity as both a resource for thought and knowledge, and the expansionism of modern cultures.[97] Part of Armstrong's focus is 'the relationship between human-animal narratives and the social practices and conditions from which they emerge'.[98] In the context of the postcolonial Netherlands, these practices and conditions are embedded in a contested memory culture of the colonial past, showing the emergence of an anthropomorphic discourse in which the animal metaphor is used as a barrier.

In colonial literature, these barriers were often created by equating native inhabitants with nature and animals. For the postcolonial books analysed here, the animal metaphor is a way to process the past and represents an artificial barrier. The question of agency comes to mind here, which is a problematic issue for postcolonial studies because, even if 'Others' are able to speak, 'their speech is often pre-positioned so as not to be heard by those in power'.[99] As an animal 'Other', the Indonesian freedom fighters, like animals, are not seen as independent actors and thus they do not have agency: They are neither human nor non-human.

Analysing *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* and *Merdeka!* from a theoretical angle drawn from postcolonial studies, animal studies, and perpetrator studies, I have specifically focused on how the animal metaphor is utilised in both texts. The chapter examined the context in which the animal returned and to what effect. Although different in their structure, the books have been analysed alongside one another in order to create a comprehensive analysis. From the outset, both books have laid bare the horrors of the Indonesian War of Independence, including its extreme violence and war crimes. However, neither succeeded in overcoming a prioritisation of the human over the animal. This in turn prevented the books from having a transnational perspective on the war.

The perpetration of violent acts, the central theme throughout both books, employs a distanced approach. Dutch perpetrators are represented as having both human and animal qualities, whereas only the latter is reserved for the Indonesian fighters. This leads to a transformation from Dutch trained soldiers to war-time beasts, whereas the Indonesians function as non-human fighters. This difference

also creates a distance between the violence perpetrated and the possibility of victimhood. It is the difference between being solely the animal 'Other', and being a 'human Self' with a destructive 'animal Self'.

For the Dutch soldiers, the 'animal Self' can take the blame for violence – a narrative within which good intentions can even find a place. Such is the affordance of a fictional travelogue over a conservative view of travel writing as 'factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator'.[100] This is made particularly clear in the epilogue of *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, where Maarten Hidskes fabricates a conversation which his father could have had with him. This results in a reflexive moment in which a sense of remorse, reparation, and arguably even justification of his father's deeds are constructed. As Piet Hidskes tells in this fictional conversation, good intentions have made space for bad ones, but crucially, it is an act of transformation that has led to this. After all, he used to be someone else:

> Yes boy, I have once shot someone, more than once even; yes, even in situations that had nothing to do with fighting, but felt more like retaliation; yes, I started this job with the best of intentions and in the beginning, I did not feel guilty about anything at all, even though it did feel amiss […] Killing becomes easier when you first change clothes and paint your face. And yes: I was someone else before I allowed my voluntariness to turn into compulsion […] In this country, I have become someone else, because here I have seen how good intentions can become ill-intent.[101]

Notes

* This chapter contains graphic descriptions of acts of violence that some may find upsetting. All English translations of periods, terms, and citations have been made by the author unless otherwise specified.

1 Vis, *Merdeka!*, 231: 'We zaten in de eettent van Mama Dee, waar je de beste *rendang* at van West-Java. Het karbouwenvlees was gecarameliseerd en met een geheimzinnige mix van kruiden gestoofd tot een gerecht dat eters van heinde en ver aantrok.'

2 Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 55.

3 Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 36.

4 Vis, *Merdeka!*, 181-182.

5 Creed & Reesink, 'Animals, Images, Anthropocentrism, 97-98.

6 Reesink, *'Er is iets met de dieren…'*, 74.

7 Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 68: 'Overbodige lichaamsfuncties, zoals geheugen en geweten, zijn stilgelegd, soldaat nummer 220522000 functioneert uitsluitend mechanisch. Het beslissingscentrum is lamgelegd, dierlijke instincten nemen mijn vaders lichaam over.'

8 Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 68: 'De gewelddadige wereld waarin mijn vader zich bevindt moet in die brieven verstopt zitten.'

[9] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 7: 'Ik vermande me, bond ook een zakdoek voor mijn neus, haalde zo licht mogelijk adem en tilde een aangevreten onderarm op. Van wie hij geweest was kon ik met geen mogelijkheid meer achterhalen. Het was ook niet van belang. Niets was meer van belang voor de drie ongelukkigen. Ze waren in een hinderlaag gelopen en op een beestachtige manier afgemaakt.'

[10] Oostindie, Hoogenboom & Verwey, 'The Decolonization War in Indonesia', 255.

[11] Honings, Van 't Veer & Bel, *De postkoloniale spiegel*, 12.

[12] Honings, Van 't Veer & Bel, *De postkoloniale spiegel*, 12-14.

[13] Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity*, 4.

[14] Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 275.

[15] As war-themed travelogues, their predominant focus lies on the experience of violence during the travels, unlike, for example, the very different focus of picturesque travelogues.

[16] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticsm*, 5.

[17] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 4; Leane, 'Animals', 310-313.

[18] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 21.

[19] Hulme & Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 31; Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 3.

[20] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 3-4.

[21] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 15.

[22] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 3-4.

[23] Borm, 'Defining Travel', 13.

[24] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 14.

[25] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 14: 'In deze opsommingen was Celebes ontdaand van het voorvoegsel 'Zuid' en bovendien veilig ingebed in een beeld van *island hopping*.'

[26] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 5.

[27] Van der Heijden, 'Dit loopt niet goed af'.

[28] Reijnders, 'Thuis gelooft niemand mij. Het Nederlandse My Lai'.

[29] Reijnders, 'Thuis gelooft niemand mij: Het Nederlandse My Lai'.

[30] Oostindie, Hoogenboom & Verwey, 'The Decolonization War in Indonesia', 255-256.

[31] Westerling, *Challenge to Terror*, chapter XVIII.

[32] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 27.

[33] His debut novel *Prins Desi* (1987), for instance, is set during the Surinamese civil war with key actors Desi Bouterse and Ronnie Brunswijk.

[34] Freriks, 'Een vuile oorlog'.

[35] Freriks, 'Een vuile oorlog'.

[36] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 162: 'de rust herstelde in het opstandige deel van Zuid-Celebes'.

[37] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 162.

[38] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 12: 'Elke oorlog kent excessen. Hitler had de kampen, Pol Pot de *killing fields*, wij hadden kapitein Westerling.'

[39] Arps, 'Een omstreden koloniale beroemdheid', 463.

[40] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 20: 'Bij aankomst heeft Piet een zeven maanden zwangere vrouw gezien, van wie hoofd, armen en benen waren afgehakt en wier resterende lichaam met een bamboestok door de buik aan een boom was opgehangen. Vermoord door Indonesisch rampokkers omdat soldaten bij haar huis hadden gerust. De straten lagen vol lijken toen hij op Celebes aankwam. Sommige lagen er al dagen. Niemand ruimde die lichamen op.'

[41] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 69: 'Als je dat ziet als blanke man dan ga je ander denken.'

[42] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 69: 'Je bent een beest op den duur. Een buitenstaander kan het niet begrijpen. Als je iemand zo ziet liggen, dan draait je hart om. Je bent een mens, maar je wordt een beest. Ik was echt een beest daar. Daar stond ik om bekend.'

[43] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 131: 'Ongemerkt straalt die namelijk iets bijna dierlijks uit.'

[44] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 33.

[45] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 35: 'Ik probeer scherp te krijgen waar, in de bezettingsjaren, mijn vader zich bevindt op de route van jongen naar man. Zijn jeugd was nog helemaal niet voorbij, maar de bezetter wacht niet met boezemvrienden en buurjongens deporteren tot Piet volwassen is. Piets jeugd zat, bij nader inzien, vol met oorlogsgeweld en machtsuitingen.'

[46] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 36: 'Haar blond, ogen blauw, geweernummer 95719.'

[47] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 36: 'Wat te doen met alle energie, alle adrenaline?'

[48] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 36: 'Iedereen voelde, er móét iets in Indië gebeuren. Wij hadden ons aangemeld voor een gevecht tegen een bezetter, maar die viel nu weg. Ons doel werd verlegd, zonder dat ons daarvoor ook maar iets gevraagd was.'

[49] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 32: 'Met een salvo uit zijn stengun vuurt Piet waarschijnlijk naar de oever; er wordt een vrouw in haar rug geraakt, stukken van haar ruggenmerg spatten weg.'

[50] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 147: 'Om hem te beschermen, omdat ik van hem hield.'

[51] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 135: 'Hij heeft de school verlaten, hij heeft de Kerk verlaten, hij heeft zijn ouderlijk huis verlaten. Hij heeft de woorden niet paraat, deze sympathieke stoere dyslectische vastgelopen jongen. Met de beste bedoelingen stond hij tot de enkels in het bloed en daarna wilde niemand meer naar de uitleg luisteren.'

[52] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 135.

[53] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 15: 'Het was een jeugd in het Paradijs, ik heb er geen ander woord voor.'

[54] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 20: 'Ik vroeg me af hoe ik zou kunnen schieten op mensen met wie ik had gespeeld, op school gezeten, gevoetbald en kattenkwaad uitgehaald. Mijn klasgenoten en de mensen van de onderneming stonden me helder voor de geest en de gedachte dat ik met het geweer tegenover hen zou komen te staan was onverteerbaar. Ik nam me voor geen schot te lossen, wat er ook gebeurde.'

[55] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 10: 'We vochten met de klewang, rug aan rug als een tweekoppig monster tegen een tienvoudige overmacht. De doodsnood gaf ons bovenmenselijke krachten en weer schakelden we een aantal tegenstanders uit, maar ze waren met te veel. Te veel!'

[56] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 204: 'Maar voor een soldaat en een roofdier is dat jonge bos een zegen, want het is zo dicht dat je onzichtbaar kunt schuilen en je prooi tot een paar meter kunt benaderen.'

[57] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 173.

[58] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 172-173.

[59] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 173.

[60] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 173.

[61] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 143; Vis, *Merdeka!*, 7, 27, 35, 62, 63, 126, 251, 291.

[62] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 189-190.

[63] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 75-76.

[64] Van 't Veer, 'De duivel hale dat door en door in weelde en luiheid opgegroeide volk', 23.

[65] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 75-76.

[66] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 75-76.

[67] Boehmer, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature*, 76.

[68] Forsdick, 'Body', 22-23.

[69] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 21, 52, 65, 67, 146, 174.

[70] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 126: 'We moeten besluiten wat we met deze rat gaan doen: ophangen, doodschieten of aan de krokodillen voeren.'

[71] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 144.

[72] Vis, *Merdeka!*,16: 'Teruggaan was ook geen optie, want weer een jaar later liepen de Jappen het KNIL onder de voet en werden alle Nederlanders geïnterneerd in kampen die weliswaar minder gruwelijk waren dan de Duitse vernietigingskampen en waarin je, als je je gedeisd hield, niet dagelijks met de dood werd bedreigd, maar waarin het leven uiterst onaangenaam was. En of je nu door de hond of door de kat gebeten werd, zoals mijn pa na de oorlog zei: in beide gevallen deed het verdomd pijn.'

[73] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 8: '"Laffe hond", gromde hij. "Je ziet, je kunt die inlanders nooit vertrouwen."'

[74] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 124.

[75] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 29, 95.

[76] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 42: 'Als je van een slang een stukje van de staart afhakt, kruipt die slang gewoon verder. Je moet de kop eraf hakken.'

[77] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 28: 'Waar in Tolo twintig mensen werden afgeslacht als karbouwen en hun lijken daarna in de rivier werden geworpen.'

[78] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 7

[79] Honings, 'Kampong Smells', 10.

[80] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 5.

[81] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 5.

[82] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 6.

[83] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 6.

[84] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 111: 'Wat denk je van de kerel die de beestachtige moord op de vader van Sarina pleegde?'

[85] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 114: 'Die moord was voor mij een keerpunt. Ik heb me voorgenomen te doen wat mogelijk is om deze beestachtigheden in mijn regio te voorkomen.'

[86] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 115.

[87] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 115: 'Karim, we zijn geen beesten. Natuurlijk hebben die mensen verzorging gekregen.'

[88] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 252: 'Van weerskanten vonden beestachtige slachtpartijen plaats.'

[89] Vis, *Merdeka!*, 265: 'In dat laatste stadje zijn we als beesten tekeer gegaan.'

[90] Limki, 'Notes on the Subaltern', 182.

[91] Limki, 'Notes on the Subaltern', 182.

[92] Limki, 'Notes on the Subaltern', 182.

[93] Didur, 'Walk This Way', 33.

[94] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 214.

[95] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 214.

[96] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 214.

[97] Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity*, 1.

[98] Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity*, 2.

[99] Huggan & Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism*, 191.

[100] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 3-4.

[101] Hidskes, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij*, 146-147: 'Ja, jongen, ik heb wel eens iemand doodgeschoten, ja, meer dan eens zelfs; ja ook in situaties die niets met vechten te maken hadden, maar meer als vergelding aanvoelden; ja, ik ben aan deze klus begonnen met de beste bedoelingen en ik heb me in het begin helemaal nergens schuldig over gevoeld, ook al voelde het niet zo fris; […] Doden wordt makkelijker als je je eerst verkleedt en je gezicht beschildert. En ja: ik was iemand anders voordat ik toeliet dat mijn vrijwilligheid omsloeg in dwang. […] In dit land ben ik iemand anders geworden, want hier heb ik gezien hoe onfris goede bedoelingen kunnen uitpakken.'

Bibliography

Armstrong, Philip, *What Animals Mean in the Fiction of Modernity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

Arps, Arnoud, 'Een omstreden koloniale beroemdheid: Het geweld en de reputatie van Raymond Westerling in de dekolonisatieliteratuur', in: *Indische Letteren* 33 (2018), 452-466.

Boehmer, Elleke, *Colonial & Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Borm, Jan, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in: Glenn Hooper & Tim Youngs (eds.). *Perpsectives on Travel Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 13-26.

Creed, Barbara & Maarten Reesink, 'Animals, Images, Anthropocentricm', in: *NECSUS. European Journal of Media Studies* 4 (2015) 1, 95-105.

Didur, Jill, 'Walk This Way: Postcolonial Travel Writing of the Environment', in: Robert Clarke (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 33-48.

Forsdick, Charles, 'Body', in: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley & Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London: Anthem Press, 2019), 22-24.

Freriks, Kester, 'Een vuile oorlog, en veel vuile leugens', in: *NRC Handelsblad*, 19 Augustus 2016.

Van der Heijden, Chris, 'Dit loopt niet goed af', in: *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 31 August 2016.

Hidskes, Maarten, *Thuis gelooft niemand mij* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2016).

Hirsch, Marianne, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

Honings, Rick, '"Kampong smells", Guna-guna and "Indigeneous Perkaras"', in: *Dutch Crossing: Journal of the Low Countries Studies* (2020), 1-18.

Honings, Rick, Coen van 't Veer & Jacqueline Bel (eds.), *De postkoloniale spiegel: De Nederlands-Indische letteren herlezen* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021).

Huggan, Graham & Helen Tiffin, *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

Hulme, Peter & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Limki, Rashné, 'Notes on the Subaltern: Or, How Postcolonial Critique Meets the Perpetrator', in: Susanne C. Knittel & Zachary J. Goldberg (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Perpetrator Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 181-191.

Oostindie, Gert, Ireen Hoogenboom & Jonathan Verwey. 'The Decolonization War in Indonesia, 1945-1949: War Crimes in Dutch Veterans' Egodocuments', in: *War in History* 25 (2018), 254-276.

Reesink, Maarten, '"Er is iets met de dieren…". Een korte inleiding in *Animal Studies*', in: *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 12 (2009) 2, 63-83.

Reijnders, Maarten, 'Thuis gelooft niemand mij: Het Nederlandse My Lai', in: *De Leesclub van Alles*, https://deleesclubvanalles.nl/recensie/thuis-gelooft-niemand-mij, last modified 8 March 2017.

Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Van 't Veer, Coen, '"De duivel hale dat door en door in weelde en luiheid opgegroeide volk": Verindischte Europeanen, een gevaar voor het koloniale systeem', in: *Internationale Neerlandistiek* 54 (2016), 19-31.

Vis, Jacob. *Merdeka!* (Schoorl: Conserve, 2016).

Westerling, Raymond, *Challenge to Terror* (Harlestone: Read Books, 2011).

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

PART II

Living Apart Together: Animals in Modern Travel Writing

CHAPTER 7

‘Do You Really Think a Donkey Has No Heart?’

Betsy Perk and her Cadette

Peter Altena

Abstract

In 1874, The Dutch feminist writer Betsy Perk published *Mijn ezeltje en ik (My little donkey and I)*. The work was both travel literature and an autobiography. Whilst she rides her female donkey, Cadette, she talks to her and her companion replies, participating in the conversations. During their conversations the writer, who hides her identity by naming herself B.P., discovers many parallels between the donkey and herself: sensitivity, stubbornness, good memory, and a love of music. The writer reflects on the relationship between woman and animal, and on the different roles played by men and women. In this chapter an important comparison is made with R.L. Stevenson’s novel *Travels with a Donkey*.

Keywords: Feminism, travel literature, autobiography, hearing and speaking donkey, male-female, R.L. Stevenson

The Dutch writer Betsy Perk (1833-1906) spent the closing months of 1873 living in Valkenburg, a small town in the hilly south of the Netherlands, a short distance from Maastricht and Aachen. Valkenburg, known as Fauquement in French, was both a rural and a cosmopolitan town – the international train from Brussels to Cologne stopped in Valkenburg. When Perk alighted there in late autumn, she did so with the idea of finding some peace. By train it took no more than fifteen minutes to reach either Germany or Belgium. In the town itself Dutch, French, German, and the local dialect were used, effortlessly and interchangeably: ‘We live here 1/3 German, 1/3 Belgian, 1/3 Dutch’, wrote Perk.[1] Thus, the small town of Valkenburg was logistically and linguistically linked to a larger world. Whilst journeying throughout the area, the author was accompanied, and sometimes borne, by a donkey named Cadette.

A year later, in 1874, *Mijn ezeltje en ik: Een boek voor vriend en vijand* (My little donkey and I: A book for friend and foe), in which Betsy Perk described her days in Valkenburg and wanderings in the area, was published in Dordrecht. The year before, the same publisher, J.P. Revers, had published a book by Wilhelmina (Mina) Kruseman entitled *De moderne Judith* (The modern Judith). Earlier in 1873,

Photograph of Betsy Perk. Collection Literatuurmuseum, The Hague.

Kruseman and Perk had travelled across the Netherlands, giving lectures and readings, and Revers had invited both feminists to entrust their thoughts and ideas to paper. The publisher had offered Kruseman 315 guilders to write the book, whilst Perk had to make do with 150 guilders.[2] This difference also reflected the difference in public appreciation of their earlier tour: Kruseman had stolen the show, whilst Perk was ridiculed.[3] It is thus possible that besides writing her book for Revers, Perk settled in Valkenburg to rest and recover.

In *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, described by the author as 'a sort of diary',[4] the relationship between humans and animals plays an important role. However, as is clear from the wording of the title itself, this relationship is far from equal. The writer appears twice, via the possessive 'my' and the personal 'I', whilst the donkey appears but once, and in a diminutive form. Although the 'I' in the title puts the donkey first, the 'my' clearly indicates which of the two determines the perspective. Notwithstanding the above, at the beginning of the book, on the final page of the first chapter, Perk twice states that both donkey and author are going to be the heroes of the book, which seems indicative of a more balanced view. Throughout, the writer speaks of herself in the first person, yet also regularly calls herself 'B.P.'. Thus, by using the third person and the abbreviated B.P., she distances herself from herself. Cadette is not only described and addressed, but remarkably also addresses the writer directly. Indeed, Cadette often speaks at some length, for example, recalling a conversation with a neighbouring ox during the night. This creates a second perspective, and with it a more equal relationship between human and animal arises. The subject, when referred to as B.P., becomes the object, just as the object, Cadette, is allowed to speak and thus occasionally becomes the subject.

This chapter examines the book, the relationship between Perk and Cadette, and how they communicate. What does the relationship between human and animal look like here? To what extent does the second perspective – that of a

talking donkey – ensure a more equal relationship? What do humans and animals learn from each other? To this end, I make use of insights and experiences from the interdisciplinary field of animal-human studies.[5] In a first exploration of the relationships between humans and animals in travel literature, Elizabeth Leane distinguishes three roles for 'nonhuman [animal] travellers': as a 'quest object'; as an 'instrument of travel'; and as a 'companion'.[6] The central question that arises here is which of the three roles Cadette fulfils in *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, whilst a further (perhaps equally interesting) question is what (if any) further roles the donkey might fulfil. Several comparisons will be made with another account of a journey with a donkey – the famous *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes* (1879) by Robert Louis Stevenson.[7] Stevenson published his travelogue four years after Perk and his work has been the subject of much research in the field of animal-human studies.

Mijn ezeltje en ik consists of 24 chapters and a '*slotwoordje*' (closing words). However, the chapters are not dated, as one might expect in a diary. Interestingly, the closing words are dated, although the cited date of 27 December 1873 seems more likely to be the day the book was finished than the day described in those pages. Throughout the 24 chapters the reader is frequently addressed, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. Perk, for whom writing was her only form of income, relied on reader approval. Indeed, she never lost sight of her readers as she described her weeks with Cadette. Occasionally, she invited her readers to write back to her: 'You know my address.'[8] The dialogue that the writer enters into with her readers echoes the conversations she has with her little donkey. However, by referring to her address, the writer underlines that she also exists outside the realm of *Mijn ezeltje en ik* – she is a living reality.

In *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, the range within which Perk and her donkey travel seems very limited, sometimes so much so that the travel story takes on the character of a 'journey around my room'.[9] It is from the room rented by Perk on the Market in Valkenburg that she writes, gazes at the world outside, and thinks about her short trips. However, the writer does not stay inside. Rather, she ventures out with her donkey, spending time in the immediate vicinity. Some trips fail because Cadette simply refuses to cooperate. On other occasions, for example during a trip across the Zwindel,[10] the trip succeeds on the outward journey, only to fail on the return leg because the donkey is tired and no longer wants to carry her burden. Their adventures always end by returning to the room in Valkenburg.

However, in two respects the range of their travels is much greater: Perk's stay in Valkenburg is only an intermediate stage – her correspondence, her books, and her wardrobe are still at home in Delft, as she keeps telling us – and the days in the '*grensstedeke*' (little border town) provoke reflections on what has happened in recent times. In this way, it is a journey into her own past. The self-reflective nature of Perk's travelogue is in line with a characteristic Susan Bassnett distinguished in

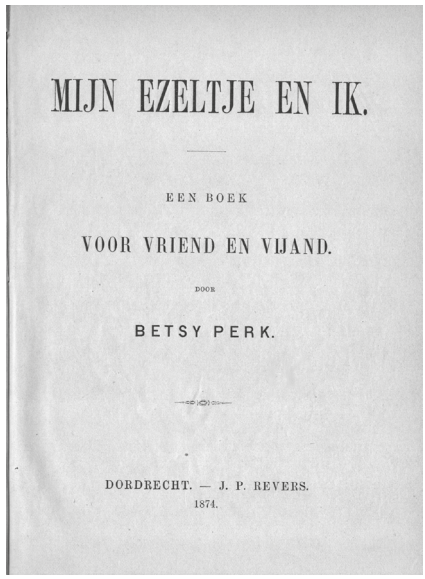
British travelogues of that period.[11] According to Bassnett, a simple categorisation was impossible, because many travel stories were also autobiographical in nature. This fusion of travelogue, diary, and autobiography is typical of *Mijn ezeltje en ik*.

The donkey as companion

The trips in the Valkenburg area stirred up many reminiscences that Perk had yet to come to terms with properly. Against this backdrop, Cadette functions as the writer's natural companion. In the first chapter of *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, Perk introduces Cadette: 'Cadette is so small, frail, and tough – just like me. What sets her apart from me, however, is this. She is a rarity among her kind, and of course I am not, because Cadette is not gray – but white – more precisely: stark white.'[12] Although Cadette was sold to Perk as a six-year-old, on closer inspection, the animal turned out to be 'twenty-five years old'. However, the conclusion that Cadette must have been 'an old nag, with stiff legs' is passionately contradicted by her new owner: 'Far from it!'[13] The former owner, 'boss' Hollander, had asked 80 francs for the donkey, that was, by the way, called Cadette before the sale.

When Cadette demonstrates her restive character and throws the writer off her back, the cruel advice of bystanders (who also assume Cadette is male) is: 'He must have a beating.' However, Perk thinks ill of such advice: 'She – Cadette – have a beating? My donkey?' Perk asks.[14] Cadette here subtly changes from masculine to feminine, with the change of 'he' into 'she'. Whilst the name 'Cadette' gave little reason to think the animal was a Jack (male donkey), the correction, as explicit as it is casual, of a wrong assumption is nevertheless important here.[15] In his *Travels with a Donkey*, Stevenson made much more fuss about the special nature of the relationship between himself as a man and his donkey Modestine. He calls his Modestine his 'lady-friend' and, when he beats her, he rather hypocritically notes that it actually conflicts with his conscience to be cruel to women.

In a section on animals as 'instrument[s] of travel', Leane pays much attention to *Travels with a Donkey*.[16] In this book, the donkey, Modestine, carries the traveller's luggage. It is physically impossible for Stevenson to carry it himself on his hike through the Cévennes. Although Modestine might appear to be accompanying Stevenson as a simple pack mule, the title of the book reveals another role – a journey with a donkey, which apparently is more than a mere means of transport. Later in the book, Stevenson himself refers to 'fast companions' when he refers to Modestine and himself. Referring to her three categories, in her discussion of the travelogue, Leane makes it clear (perhaps unintentionally) that Modestine can hardly be regarded here as an 'instrument of travel', but rather fits into the third category: that of the animal as a travel companion. A similar categorisation can


MIJN EZELTJE EN IK.

EEN BOEK

VOOR VRIEND EN VIJAND.

DOOR

BETSY PERK.

DORDRECHT. — J. P. REVERS.
1874.

Title page of *Mijn ezeltje en ik: Een boek voor vriend en vijand* (1874). Private collection.

thus be applied to Cadette. Whilst at times, she may be a means of transport, she functions mainly as a travel companion.

In *Mijn ezeltje en ik,* Cadette first appears as a remedy for loneliness. In a somewhat ironic tone, a biblical note is struck: 'It is not good for the man to be alone': 'Whoever has neither man nor woman, neither child nor crow, take a dog or a cat, a canary or a parrot, and yes, if necessary – a monkey.'[17] As 'B.P.', the longing for a travelling companion is directed towards a donkey. Like a child – in this comparison B.P. belittles herself thus – she cherishes 'the prospect of getting a donkey, and roaming about with it, uphill, downhill… look, reader! I was overjoyed with happiness.'[18] The donkey provides B.P. with companionship, but should also be a means of transport. More often than not, B.P. walks alongside Cadette rather than riding her.

Later in the book, another of Cadette's roles becomes visible. At one point, the writer ponders another remedy for loneliness – marriage. According to the Valkenburgers, a lady 'who can keep a donkey' could also let a man 'join [her for] dinner', however, this is a risk Perk is unwilling to take. Perk explains that it is easy for a man to leave his wife, but almost impossible for a woman to get out of a bad marriage: 'A second me like myself can be got rid of and no harm's done, but a man – imagine, if such a person turns out to be less easy than a donkey like Cadette?'[19] Is Cadette, therefore, for Perk at least, a superior version of a husband?

The donkey as conversation partner

Maarten Reesink sees the development of animal-human studies as the emancipation of the last marginalised group in our society. Following the emancipation of humans on ethnic, religious, sexual, mental, and physical disability grounds, it is now the turn of the animals. This final group face the problem of 'their voice literally not being heard, simply because they don't have a human voice'.[20] Whilst in the

first chapter of *Mijn ezeltje en ik* we see Perk purchase Cadette, in the second, she gives her a voice. Shortly after her first tumble (and her subsequent refusal to give the animal a beating), a second attempt at mounting her is more successful. She then invites Cadette into a conversation: 'Tell me, Cadette – is it true what people say of you? Are you a rascal?' Cadette answers in surprise, even aggrieved: 'Me… a rascal?!'[21] That her question is met with an answer hardly surprises B.P. at first (she was apparently 'fully prepared for an answer'), but shortly afterwards she raises an eyebrow: She said she felt 'as Balaam must have felt, when his donkey "discoursed" with him'.[22] In the Biblical Book of Numbers, Balaam strikes his donkey three times, upon which the creature calls her cruel rider to order. The difference between hard-hearted Balaam and gentle B.P. is obvious here. Where Cadette speaks, she appears to be a subject. Sometimes her words seem to be prompted by B.P. and what the donkey says, could have come from the mouth of B.P. herself: 'I only lose my temper when they get on my nerves.'[23]

However, more often, Cadette's words have a greater independence, giving her a character of her own, for example, when she responds irritably to a question from B.P. 'Do you really think a donkey has no heart … that a donkey… knows no sorrow or joy… that a donkey… but why am I talking to a stranger… who may laugh at such sensitivities?'[24] In what follows it becomes undoubtedly clear that Cadette has a heart and is a sensitive creature. She looks back with sorrow at her 'divorce' from Hollander, who had sold her 'without a single parting word'. In addition, during the night Cadette had spoken to an ox in a nearby stable. That ox, endowed with a human voice, had told her that he was going to be slaughtered, 'in honour of Saint Barbara, the patron saint of the Valkenburg Church'.[25] However, the ox did not grumble about his fate, because he knew from birth that his life would be like this, stating that he knew that it was 'the only reason he was well fed and cared for'. Furthermore, the ox said he was lucky to have an 'Israelite butcher', 'such a very sensitive and good man', who would let the animals 'eat and drink until the end, so that they might enjoy their sweet life'.[26]

Perk gives the animals – the combination of ox and donkey is in many respects remarkable – a human voice. The nameless ox and Cadette oppose easy judgments and prevailing prejudices. The ox stands up for 'the Israelites', who have shown themselves more humane and more caring towards animals than 'many a Christian man', as Cadette denounces the callousness of men. Boss Hollander could have bought an ox with the money he got for Cadette, and in doing so his memory of the donkey would have quickly faded: '"That's the way people are!" and the animal sighed deeply.'[27]

The words of Cadette and the suggestion mentioned earlier to speak to 'a stranger' create a contrast: The donkey is the sensitive one, whereas the man is 'a stranger' incapable of empathy. The ox stands up for the Jewish butcher and in

Betsy Perk reads from her work in Valkenburg. Collection Literatuurmuseum, The Hague.

doing so opposes the anti-Semitism of Christians. These opposing notions are an invitation to both B.P. and the reader to sympathise with the animals and the reviled Jews. The talking animals offer an opportunity to switch roles: Humans, have the heart of animals! It goes without saying that Cadette’s words are always the words of the writer, even where they betray a greater independence and criticise B.P. The recollection of Hollander and the nocturnal conversation with the ox are a product of Perk’s pen. The writer reveals herself through Cadette as a good mistress and a sensitive person, but to accuse her here of complacency does not do her justice. She has certainly made strenuous efforts to make the animal experience tangible by creating the talking donkey.

As previously been mentioned, B.P. also has a conversation partner in the form of the reader. In her conversations with the reader, she does not present her book as an everlasting masterpiece, but, with appropriate modesty, as a ‘relaxing read’ that she hopes is ‘somewhat’ to our satisfaction.[28] Although this modesty is in line with the broader rhetoric used by writers to address their readers, the unwilling or hostile reader may very well misunderstand the rules of rhetorical modesty and take the writer’s self-denial literally. In letting Cadette communicate her adventures to B.P., the aggrieved B.P. tells us about her painful struggle to do good. In the ensuing conversations Cadette herself becomes less and less present as a conversation partner, especially where the complaints of B.P. take up a lot of time and space. Here, the role of the reader remains as important as before. It is as if Cadette’s role is no longer needed. Perk had at one point promised a second part of the story, but she never came to write it. On the last page of the published story, she says goodbye: ‘And thus, reader: vale!’ At other times she shows more subtlety towards the reader, for example on the same page, where she ends her dialogue with the reader: ‘But what do I want to say to you in the end? This.’[29]

Mirror, image and lamp

From the very start of *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, the die is cast: Cadette and B.P. are united by their mutual likeness: small, delicate, tough, far from being written off, and female. There is unmistakably a somewhat false modesty behind the coquettish manner in which B.P. recognises herself in Cadette. Self-disparagement and irony set the tone in the travelogues of British female travellers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, much more so than in those of male travellers.[30] For example, on the final page of the first chapter, she states: 'I don't feel there is any need to introduce myself', continuing: 'Whoever doesn't know who I am, let him ask his neighbour.' Both of these instances refer to the reputation she had gained in recent times. Although spiteful remarks circulated about her, she managed to turn them into compliments. In the title of the first chapter, the writer refers to herself as 'Old Young Miss', a sneering nickname the writer E.J. Potgieter had given her shortly before or after one of her lectures in Amsterdam in 1873, and which she now used as a kind of 'honorary title'.[31] This was but one of the recent personal insults that she mentions, apparently without anger. She also included the medical advice of a befriended general practitioner who, in the first chapter, states: 'B.P., you are a weak vessel.'[32] Although the writer seemed to be at peace with the public image that existed of her, that is an illusion. Indeed, she tried to the best of her ability to correct the false image.

During her journey 'back in time', Perk did not spare herself, although she used her humble attitude to hide a certain amount of moral superiority. Indeed a slight self-reproach escalated more than once into a full-blown reproach of others:

> I am therefore not ashamed to confess that I often, oh! so often have made a mistake, even when I was convinced I was doing the right thing. So, I have to ask forgiveness, even of my adversaries, because I have not always allowed myself to be guided by a kind-heartedness that overcomes everything, even though I have more to forgive because of offenses committed against me, as a generator of so many ideas.[33]

In this way she travels 'back' in an autobiographical manner and as events from the past cross her mind, she also must defend herself against the gossip that gets through to even a quiet town like Valkenburg. She had thought she could ward off such gossip by remaining silent, however, that silence was seen as an admission of guilt.

Cadette is used by the writer to hold up a mirror to people. Later she presents the donkey as a shining example. Compared to humans – 'the two-legged creatures' – the 'four-legged' Cadette, according to B.P., must definitely be seen as the wiser one. The sensible words of the donkey induce B.P. to foretell that she will learn more from the donkey than the donkey from her. Indeed, in subsequent

chapters B.P. notices that Cadette possesses 'human memory' and also 'human musicality'.[34] The use of the adjective 'human' shows, once more, that humankind remains the norm in many, perhaps all, respects. A love of music – something that Cadette shares with B.P. – becomes apparent when the donkey comes to a standstill on hearing music played on a piano and starts to walk again as B.P. begins to sing: 'And behold, my voice wrought upon Cadette the same effect as David's playing the harp upon Saul.'[35]

Earlier we encountered the biblical character of Balaam, whereas now we see references to David and Saul. In several such casual comparisons, the writer connects the fortunes of her donkey with the Bible. However, greater emphasis is placed on the donkey's memory and musicality, which leads Perk to the conclusion that the animal 'must have a soul or a spirit', as demonstrated by the earlier verbal exchanges with Cadette.[36]

The writer learns even more from her donkey. Cadette's characterisation of the Jewish butcher, an example for many Christians, demonstrates both tolerance and aversion to anti-Semitism. In a later chapter, aggressive 'Bible distribution' by Protestants is discussed, 'in a region as Catholic as Limburg'. The writer makes no secret of her distaste for the 'unedifying attempt' to convert people. The Catholics of Valkenburg do not hurt anyone: 'The people here are Roman Catholic and good and honest; they do not cheat or deceive one another.'[37] Christian intolerance must be shameful in the eyes of 'pagans' and 'my good Israelites'.[38]

Man-woman, human-animal

The dreaded decency tells her how to treat Cadette. People tell her that she should ride on the donkey's back: 'You can't go through the city holding a donkey by the reins!' Whilst Perk would like to decide that matter for herself, the troublesome local youngsters will not allow her to. Her dissatisfaction with this inspires her to a remarkable desire: 'If only I had come here in a boy's suit, or bought it at the same time as Cadette, the youth would leave me in peace, and I could hold Cadette by the reins.'[39]

Apparently, as a woman she has to conform. For many British female travellers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, aversion to the prevailing, oppressive norms was a reason to travel. Such women wanted to escape the strict rules of so-called 'decent society' and went out into the world.[40] Aversion to the 'seemly' was an important motive for Perk. What was permissible for boys and men was not so for girls and women.

The desire for a 'boy's suit' returns a few chapters later. In another passage she compares Cadette – her 'second self' – to a boy 'putting on boots for the first

time' and walking around with them triumphantly.[41] Thus we can see Perk not only questioning the difference between animal and man, but also that between woman and man. To men it is clear that it is impossible to 'rule' donkeys with cubes of sugar, in the same way as difficult boys cannot be won over by kind words. Yet her indignation at these pleas for coercion and beatings induces her to blame the men for not chivalrously assisting her in the struggle with the boys. Perk thus questions a 'corrupted manhood, which claims to protect women as the weaker sex, and thus keeps them dependent on them'. The invitation to wear a boy's suit is, however, declined: She was 'not manly enough' to handle the whip.[42]

Stevenson does use violence in his *Travels with a Donkey* to get Modestine to do what he wants, and he does this to a large extent 'to avoid the knowing smiles of the locals' and on the basis of an assumed characteristic of donkeys that they can withstand heavy-handedness very well.[43] Both Stevenson and Perk observe that a civilised and urban gentleness in the behaviour of man towards animals is a reason for ridicule. Here rural and urban norms apparently clash. A striking difference is that Stevenson gives in and conforms to local standards, whilst B.P. stands firm, only giving in when there is no other option. Yet when Cadette does not want to go forward or backward, Perk relents and wields the whip 'firm like a soldier': 'Bang! Bang! Bang!' This earns her a rebuke: 'You shouldn't punish that stupid animal so much.' The result is that Perks becomes afraid that she, 'the liberal writer', will become known as a 'tormenter of animals'.[44] Is handling the whip required of men and reproached in women? One thing is certain, Perk would never call her Cadette a 'stupid animal'. Rather, it is the Valkenburg environment that belittles the donkey, whilst she goes as far as giving the donkey a voice, albeit one the timbre of which strongly reminds us of the writer's voice.

According to Elizabeth Leane, Stevenson's donkey is deprived of 'subjectivity' and the title of his book reduces the animal to a particular category, despite the fact that the donkey is given a name in the text – a move seemingly at odds with that idea. Something similar applies to *Mijn ezeltje en ik*. In the title, the donkey is indeed the representative of a species, but the donkey is given a name on the very first pages, even if it is the name that she previously bore. That 'subjectivity' not easily attained, should hardly be surprising. After all, Stevenson's and Perk's perspectives are that of a human, rather than animal, traveller. So, does a donkey have no voice? What makes the story of Betsy Perk special, is that she gives her donkey the floor: Cadette speaks for herself and tells us of adventures in which the human traveller played no part.

Conclusion

The old donkey Cadette starts her career in *Mijn ezeltje en ik* first and foremost as a travelling companion and only later (barely) as a means of transport. On the basis of firmly attributed similarities, B.P. thinks of her donkey as an alter ego and as a first-class conversation partner. B.P. takes Cadette as an example and allows herself to be led by her. These are new roles, which are lacking from Elizabeth Leane's categorisation. What makes the contact between B.P. and Cadette special, is that the donkey answers back and does more than just confirm what B.P. already thought. Together they criticise human ignorance and the bizarre attachment to decency or 'seemliness'. An important theme in the chapters featuring Cadette is education. A gentle approach is preferred, but it is striking that what is condoned in the case of men, is frowned upon where women are concerned. The relationship between men and women is, as it were, called into question by passages of this nature and by the reflection on changes in role.

Cadette enables Perk to become B.P. and to reflect in distant Valkenburg upon her past life, upon the injustice that was done to her, and upon the development of feminism in the Netherlands. Valkenburg is referred to as a '*stedeke*' (little town), Cadette as '*ezeltje*' (little donkey), but because B.P. repeatedly emphasises her small stature, diminutives here seem to create a bond rather than indicating condescension. Moreover, the subject objectifies itself as B.P. – i.e., as someone else. Although Cadette is described as a reflection of and by Betsy Perk, the author exerts herself to seek justice and respect for her donkey. She has indeed given the animal a voice, a heart, and a soul, and has thus created the beginning of a subjectivity. In this way, the relationship between humans and animals is made 'flexible' in her book. There is of course no question of real equality, but in the description of her dealings with Cadette, the boundaries between human and animal are seen to gently shift. Those who, like Betsy Perk, undertake travel in both space and time, cannot but bring themselves and their own standards along, whilst also encountering other worlds and new circumstances that question those very standards. In Valkenburg, Betsy Perk thinks about the difference between man and woman, and about the special role an animal can play. In this way, both travelling and contemplation create an opportunity for change.

Notes

1 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 29: 'Wij leven hier 1/3 Duitsch, 1/3 Belgisch, 1/3 Hollandsch.' Via Googlebooks two copies are available: the copy in the University Library of Gent, which has on its titlepage the signature of Betsy Perk, and the copy from the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague, which comes from the personal library of the poet Willem Kloos. From the copy in Gent an important introductory page is missing. A word of gratitude to Myriam Everard and Léon Stapper for their comments on this chapter.

2 Huisman, *Publieke levens*, 254. On the basis of Municipal Archive Dordrecht Arch. J.P. Revers (25), inv. nr. 2.

3 Bel, 'Amazone in domineesland'; Perk, *Strijd binnenshuis*; Reeser, 'De gang van een intrigerende uitspraak'.

4 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, v: 'een soort van dagboek'.

5 Reesink, *Dier en mens.*

6 Leane, 'Animals', 306.

7 Stevenson, *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes*; Lawton, 'Brutality and Sentimentality in the Cévennes', 119-138.

8 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 41: 'Gij kent mijn adres.'

9 De Maistre, *Voyage autour de ma chambre.*

10 A corruption of the word '*dwingel*' – a deep trench in the hill towards the 'rear' of Valkenburg castle. The '*dwingel*' is a wide corridor (now Van Meijlandstraat), a 'crossover' (for pedestrians only) between Daalhemmerweg and Berkelpoort/Neerhem. My gratitude here to Lou Spronck.

11 Bassnett, 'Travel Writing and Gender', 225.

12 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 1-2: 'Cadette is alzoo klein, teer en taai – net als ik. – Wat haar echter van mij onderscheidt is dit. Zij is een specialiteit in haar soort en ik natuurlijk niet, want Cadette is niet grijs – maar wit – zegge: spierwit.'

13 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 1: 'vijf en twintig jaaren'; 'Een oûwe bonk dus, met stramme pooten'; 'Ver van dien!'.

14 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 8: 'Hij moet slaag hebben'; 'Zij – Cadette – slaag hebben? Mijn ezeltje?'

15 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 101. The footnote on the same page is even more explicit: 'Cadette is a she-donkey.'

16 Leane, 'Animals', 310-313.

17 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 3: ''t Is den mensch niet goed dat hij alleen is'; 'Wie man noch vrouw heeft, kind noch kraai, neemt een hond of een kat, een kanarie of een papegaai, ja, des noods zelfs – een aap.'

18 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 6: ''t Vooruitzicht om een ezel te zullen krijgen, en daarmee vrij rond te dolen, berg op, berg af… kijk, lezer! Ik was boven de wolken van geluk.'

19 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 104: 'een dame, die er een ezel op kan nahouden, heeft allicht zooveel dat ook 'n man zou kunnen mee-eten'; 'Zoo'n tweede ik-je als 't mijne, kan men nog zonder schaê overdoen, maar 'n man – verbeel je, als zoo iemand minder meevalt als 'n ezeltje Cadette?'

20 Reesink, *Dier en mens*, 30.

21 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 9: 'Zeg eens, Cadette – is 't waar wat de menschen van je zeggen? Ben je een rakkert?'; 'Ik…een rakkert?'

22 Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 9: 'ofschoon geheel voorbereid op een antwoord, gevoelde ik mij toch, toen ik het van Cadette kreeg, al dito dito als Bileam zich moet gevoeld hebben, toen zijn ezel met hem "in discours" trad'.

[23] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 9: ‘Ik ben alleen kwaad als ze mij kitteloorig maken.’

[24] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 10: ‘Denk je dat een ezel geen hart heeft bij geval… dat een ezel… geen verdriet of vreugde kent… dat een ezel… doch wat praat ik tegen een vreemde, die misschien om zulke teergevoeligheden lacht.’

[25] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 10: ‘scheiding’; ‘toen hij mij achterliet zonder een enkel afscheidswoord’; ‘ter eere van de Heilige Barbara, de patrones der Valkenburgsche Kerk’.

[26] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 10-11: ‘Van zijn geboorte af heeft hij geweten dat zóo zijn einde zou zijn en dat hij daarom alléen goed gevoederd en verzorgd werd’; ‘Israëlitische slachter’; ‘zoo’n heel gevoelig en braaf mensch’.

[27] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 10-11: ‘menig christenmensch’; ‘“Zoo zijn de menschen!” en ’t beest zuchtte diep.’

[28] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 212: ‘eenigszins tot verpozingslektuur verstrekt’.

[29] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 212: ‘En hiermede lezer, vale!’; ‘Maar wat ik u dan ten slotte wil zeggen? Dit.’

[30] Bassnett, ‘Travel Writing and Gender’, 225.

[31] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 18; see also 72, 102, 136.

[32] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 3: ‘B.P. je bent een zwak vaatje.’

[33] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 141: ‘Ik schaam mij daarom ook niet te bekennen, dat ik dikwijls, o! zoo dikwijls heb misgetast, zelfs dàn als ik het goede zocht en meende te doen. Dat ik vergeving heb te vragen, zelfs aan mijn tegenstanders, omdat ik mij niet altijd heb doen leiden door een zachtmoedigheid, die het al verwint, ofschoon ik meér nog te vergeven heb voor de vergrijpen aan mij gepleegd als schenkster der ideeën.’

[34] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 19-20: ‘tweevoet-mensch’; ‘viervoeters’; ‘menschelijk herinneringsvermogen’; ‘menschelijk muziekaal’.

[35] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 19: ‘En zie, mijn stem deed dezelfde uitwerking op Cadette, als indertijd Davids harpspel op Saul.’

[36] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 20: ‘dat ook zij een ziel moest hebben of een geest’.

[37] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 33. Perk’s idea of tolerance is even more emphatic on pages 89 and following.

[38] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 33: ‘bijbelverspreiding’; ‘in een streek, zoo Catholiek als Limburg’; ‘onstichtelijke poging’; ‘De menschen hier zijn Roomsch en braaf en eerlijk; zij bedotten noch bedriegen elkaar’; ‘heidenen’; ‘mijn brave Israëlieten’.

[39] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 14-15: ‘je kunt toch niet met een ezel aan den toom door de stad gaan!’

[40] Bassnett, ‘Travel Writing and Gender’, 226, 234.

[41] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 101: ‘als ’n jongen, die voor ’t eerst in de laarzen steekt’.

[42] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 80-81: ‘verbastering van ’t mannendom, dat toch de vrouw als zwakkere heet te beschermen en daarom van zich afhankelijk houdt’; ‘niet mannelijk genoeg […] om toe te slaan’.

[43] Leane, ‘Animals’, 312.

[44] Perk, *Mijn ezeltje en ik*, 116: ‘Nu voelde ik toch dat mijn geduld te kort schoot en ik militairement handelen moest. En klets! klets! klets! ging mijn zweepje over de lange ooren’; ‘Foei madam, – je moest dat stomme dier niet zoo “straffeeren”’; ‘nu krijgt de vrijdenkerige boekenschrijfster nog den naam van “dierenplaag” op den koop toe’.

Bibliography

Bassnett, Susan, 'Travel Writing and Gender', in: Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 225-241.

Bel, Jacqueline, 'Amazone in domineesland: Het hardnekkige streven van Betsy Perk', in: Rick Honings & Olf Praamstra (red.), *Ellendige levens: Nederlandse schrijvers in de negentiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2013), 207-215.

Huisman, M. H., *Publieke levens: Autobiografieën op de Nederlandse boekenmarkt 1850-1918* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008).

Lawton, Lesley, 'Brutality and Sentimentality in the Cévennes: Doubleness in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey*', in: *Caliban: French Journal of English Studies* 59 (2018), 119-138.

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Maistre, Xavier de, *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (Turin: s.n., 1794).

Perk, Betsy, *Mijn ezeltje en ik: Een boek voor vriend en vijand* (Dordrecht: J.P. Revers, 1874).

Perk, Betsy, *Strijd binnenshuis: Vrouwen kiesrecht-novelle*. Ed. Peter Altena (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Flanor, 2021).

Reeser, H., 'De gang van een intrigerende uitspraak: "Arbeid adelt – intrigue onteert"', in: *Voortgang* 8 (1987), 39-54.

Reesink, Maarten, *Dier en mens: De band tussen ons en andere dieren* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2021).

Stevenson, Robert Louis, *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*. Ed. Penelope Chetwode (London: Arrow, 1991).

CHAPTER 8

Naturalist Lessons from the North

Human and Non-Human Animals in Niko Tinbergen's *Eskimoland* (1934) and Jac. P. Thijsse's *Texel* (1927)

Paul J. Smith

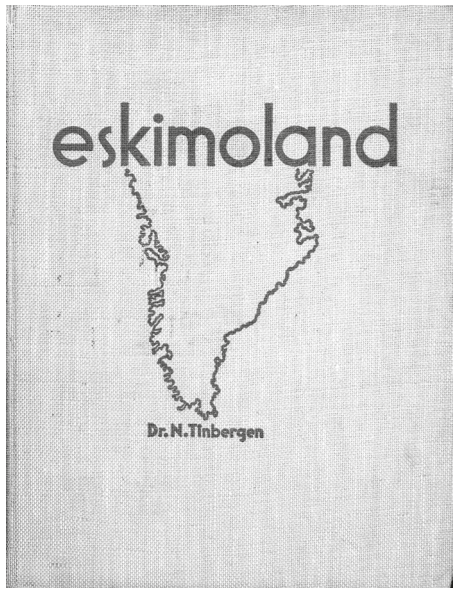
Abstract

This article examines the work *Eskimoland* (1934) by the Dutch biologist and (later) Nobel Prize winner Niko Tinbergen (1907-1988), in which he recounts his year-long research stay with the Inuit of Greenland as part of the Second International Polar Year (1932-1933). With this autobiographical travelogue, full of observations and reflections on arctic birds, seals, sledge dogs, and polar bears in relation to the Inuit, the young Tinbergen profiled himself, not only as a scientist-to-be, but also as a nature writer. In doing so, he follows the example of Jac. P. Thijsse (1865-1945), one of the founding fathers of nature conservation in the Netherlands. In order to contextualise *Eskimoland* and its ideas *in statu nascendi* about animal behaviour and human-animal relationships, in this chapter the book is juxtaposed with one of Thijsse's best-known works, *Texel* (1927), which Tinbergen, as a great admirer of Thijsse, undoubtedly read as a student, and to which *Eskimoland* bears unexpected similarities.

Keywords: Greenland Inuit, ethology, Texel, Verkade albums, arctic fauna

In recent years, the Dutch-language literary market has been flooded with books about nature. In this seemingly endless stream of books – both Dutch and translated – there is a growing interest in experiencing nature from a historical perspective. Works such as Hans Mulder's award-winning *De ontdekking van de natuur* (2021), Tim Birkhead's *The Wonderful Mr Willughby: The First True Ornithologist* (2018, Dutch translation 2019), Menno Schilthuizen and Freek Vonk's *Wie wat bewaart: Twee eeuwen Nederlandse natuurhistorie* (2020), and Gunnar Broberg's *Carl Linnaeus: De man die de natuur rangschikte* (2020) are illustrative of this new literary trend.[1]

This trend can also be seen in the second Dutch translation of the American cult book *Walden* by Henry David Thoreau (originally 1854), which had its first edition in 2006, yet was already in its sixth edition by 2019.[2] Another example – an author discussed in detail in this chapter – is Jac. P. Thijsse, probably the Netherlands' most famous naturalist. In 2021 the literary publisher Van Oorschot published Thijsse's



Front cover of Niko Tinbergen, *Eskimoland* (1934). Collection Museon, The Hague.

Front cover of Niko Tinbergen, *Eskimoland* (2017). Private collection.

1884-1887 and 1894-1898 nature diaries under the title *Nu ga ik er eens op uit*. The diaries describe Thijsse's nature walks around Amsterdam, with a specific focus on plants and animals.[3]

Amongst this stream of historically oriented, often sumptuously produced nature publications, emerged an apparently inconspicuous book entitled *Eskimoland*. The book, written by the Dutch biologist and (later) Nobel Prize winner Niko Tinbergen (1907-1988), originally appeared in 1934. However, it remained obscure and untranslated until republished by Van Oorschot in 2017, with its original black and white illustrations.[4]

In the work, Tinbergen recounts his year-long research stay in the polar wilderness of Greenland as part of the Second International Polar Year (1932-1933). Van Oorschot's new edition has garnered attention in the form of reviews in several leading Dutch newspapers (*NRC*, *Trouw*, *Volkskrant*) and two radio broadcasts.[5] The attention is certainly justified, because in *Eskimoland* we find *in statu nascendi* the ideas with which Tinbergen would lay the foundation for ethology, of which Desmond Morris, one of Tinbergen's former students, with his influential book *The Naked Ape* (1967),[6] and the Dutch primatologist Frans de Waal, with his *The Age of Empathy* (2009),[7] are the most famous proponents.

In this chapter, I contextualise *Eskimoland*, placing it in the Dutch tradition of popularising the knowledge of nature. Moreover, as this tradition can also be aptly illustrated in the work of Thijsse, I will further contextualise *Eskimoland* by juxtaposing it with one of Thijsse's best-known works, *Texel* (1927), which Tinbergen, as a great admirer of Thijsse, undoubtedly read as a student, and with which *Eskimoland* bears unexpected similarities.[8]

Eskimoland: An atypical travelogue

Eskimoland begins abruptly: 'July 14, 1932. Finally the time had come.'[9] Yet this opening sentence implies rather more than the average reader might at first think and is not simply a traditional narrative-rhetorical stimulation of the reader's expectation. Rather, especially for those familiar with Tinbergen's life, it represents a thinly veiled expression of relief. The journey to Greenland can be interpreted as an escape from the oppressive academic world inhabited by Tinbergen in search of freedom and security in an untouched and hitherto inaccessible realm. There are similarities here to the way in which the young Tinbergen withdrew from school and home, to the dunes of Meijendel near The Hague, the place where he was born in 1907, or lost himself in the inland dunes near Hulsthorst (where his parents' holiday residence was, and where he would later conduct his PhD field research). In order to make his Greenland journey, Tinbergen had to hastily complete his PhD research at the University of Leiden, which was thus not completed to his satisfaction. Indeed, Hans Kruuk, Tinbergen's biographer and former student, himself an authority on ethology, stated that the thesis, on the behavioural biology of the '*bijenwolf*' (literally 'bee-wolf', a bee-killing digging wasp, *Philanthus triangulum*), was the thinnest in the field (29 pages, published as an article)[10] and not of exceptional quality.[11] Tinbergen's doctoral defence took place in Leiden on 12 April 1932. Two days later, on 14 April, Tinbergen married Lies Rutten, and on 14 July of that same year together the young couple embarked on the expedition of a lifetime. They lived for a year with the Kalaallit – the Greenlandic Inuit (Tinbergen still uses the name 'Eskimos') – in order to carry out ornithological field research into the behaviour of selected Arctic bird species, collect zoological material for the National Natural History Museum in Leiden, and to gather anthropological artefacts for the Education Museum in The Hague (now called the Museon). For a year, the couple traversed the area around Angmagssalik in East Greenland 'by boat in summer and by sled and ski in winter'.[12] Tinbergen's Greenland trip is rightly seen by Kruuk as determining the rest of his life, because some of Tinbergen's later insights on animal behaviour are already discernible in this early writing.

In many respects, *Eskimoland* is an atypical travelogue, which makes it the 'odd one out' in the context of the present volume. *Eskimoland* is not a travelogue in the strict sense of the word because the journey itself to Greenland is only briefly (if aptly) narrated, and the treks within Greenland are often little more than dashes from one observation spot to another, from one field observation (and reflection on it) to the other. The book, therefore, does not fit well into the typologies that literary criticism has drawn up as definitive of the genre of travel writing. The term 'animal turn' is also problematic, especially if we assume Elizabeth Leane's tripartite typology of the animal in travel writing,[13] or the following definition of its meaning, one that can be read in a recent blog, according to which the animal turn can be defined as 'an increasing scholarly interest in animals, in the relationships between humans and other animals, and in the role and status of animals in (human) society. The animal turn is an academic focus on animals in new terms and under new premises.'[14]

Tinbergen would certainly have used the terms 'humans and other animals' in this quote, were it not for the fact that word combinations such as 'human animal' were out of the question at that time. One could call *Eskimoland* a precursor of the animal turn, because the book implicitly appears to be a plea for an identical scientific approach to human and animal behaviour – one to be investigated from specific research questions that Tinbergen would later specify for the study of animal behaviour.[15] Such questions would set the research agenda for years to come, not only in behavioural biology, but also in the social sciences and humanities. Simultaneously, however, the book assumes a non-scientific approach to human-animal relations, which Tinbergen gradually adopts from the Inuit. Therefore, one could also speak of an 'anthropologic turn' that breaks with a long natural scientific tradition that separates the study of man from the study of animals.

Indeed, the book is often more about people in relation to animals than it is about animals themselves. Much is said about the Inuit's complete reliance on animals for all aspects of life: food (seal, fish, bird eggs), clothing (fur and leather), construction (skin, bone, gut), fuel (whale oil), and transportation (sledge dogs). The interaction between humans and animals also receives attention, for example in the (to European eyes, cruel) way in which the Inuit treat animals. What is striking, and sometimes shocking, even for the modern reader, is the distant, observant way in which Tinbergen describes what we would now call animal suffering. In doing so, Tinbergen distances himself implicitly from the empathetic, exalting sentimentalism that is characteristic of romantic nature observation, of which the reputed French historian and naturalist Jules Michelet (about whom, more later) is a well-known exponent – also in the Netherlands. Also striking are the varying ways in which the author describes the Inuit: sometimes objectively from an anthropological point of view, as he describes animal behaviour as an ethologist,

Kârale Andreassen, 'Ûmitsoq and the Polar Bear'. Collection Museon, The Hague/Tinbergen Family.

then at other times from a certain sense of superiority (similarly to the amused way an adult looks at romping children). That sense of superiority, however, quickly turns to wonder, admiration, and self-reflection – in some ways similar to that in which, from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Brazilian Indians brought Europeans such as Michel de Montaigne, Jean de Léry, and Claude Lévi-Strauss to a point of self-relativisation.

Nevertheless, Tinbergen also has an eye for his personal contacts with the Inuit. The book contains a number of anecdotal and amusing passages about the interaction between the Inuit and Tinbergen and his wife that provide a light-hearted contrast to the more theoretical or descriptive passages. One of these entertaining passages concerns Tinbergen's skill in *kajakduikelen* (the kayak roll), illustrated with stills from a film by Frans P.J. Kooijmans, one of Tinbergen's colleagues.[16] The pages devoted to Tinbergen's Inuit host, Kârale – a shaman, who died of tuberculosis shortly after Tinbergen's departure, but who is still known in Greenland as a poet and an artist – are particularly special. Similar to a guru (a comparison made by Kruuk), Kârale guided Tinbergen through the Inuit's way of living, specifically their spiritual and mythical world – one haunted by half-human, half-animal creatures. Tinbergen also published some of Kârale's work in his book: He recounts Kârale's story of a man in a kayak who was attacked by a polar bear – a story illustrated

with a drawing by Kârale.[17] Later in the book there are four drawings by Kârale that tell a morbid story about a *tupilaq*, an evil spirit.[18] This story is summarised by Tinbergen and placed as captions with the drawings, giving the impression of a comic strip (see Appendix).

I discuss the role of animals and the relationship between humans and animals in the following paragraphs. However, it is first necessary to address my point of comparison: Thijsse's book *Texel*. I do this in some detail because unlike Tinbergen, although famous in the Netherlands, Thijsse is practically unknown abroad.

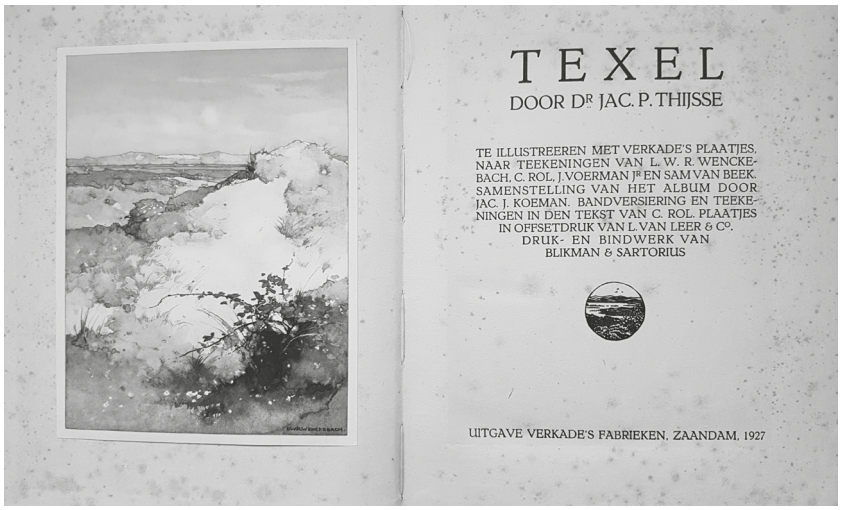
Thijsse's *Texel*: Nature education through walking

Jac. P. Thijsse (1865-1945) is considered one of the founding fathers of nature conservation and nature education in the Netherlands. He founded the magazine *De Levende Natuur* (Living nature, first issue published in 1896), in which, to this day, biological field research is presented to a non-scientific readership. Amongst other subjects, Thijsse authored professional publications in the field of botany, however, he is perhaps best known as the author of a large number of popular scientific articles and books written in a pleasantly readable, accessible style. These works can be seen as a rather sober Dutch variant of the exalted style of the aforementioned Jules Michelet (1798-1874), whom Thijsse greatly admired. When Thijsse was asked for advice on natural history works for the well-known series *Wereldbibliotheek*, he recommended Michelet's *L'oiseau* (1856). This book, which had already been translated in 1859, was retranslated by Martha van Vloten (1856-1943). In his introduction, the publisher L.S. (Leo Simons) warns the reader

> that here he has before him a work from an earlier period, a work not of science in the first place, but of emotion and revelation of insight into nature, in which feeling and imagination (more than rigorous research) guided the writer, but which precisely because of these qualities it will not fail to arouse the reader's love for nature and to captivate him by the descriptive art of the poetic prose writer.[19]

Thijsse checked the proofs of Van Vloten's translation before it was printed.

Thijsse's writing style is less exultant and more educational/descriptive than that of Michelet, resembling more the style of Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), whose famous book *Walden* was translated in 1902 on the initiative of Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932), a great admirer of Thoreau, and the former husband of Martha van Vloten. The difference between Thijsse and Thoreau, however, is that Thoreau's descriptions of nature resulted in self-contemplation and philosophical thought experiments, which, incidentally, led Van Eeden to set up a social



Jac. P. Thijsse, *Texel* (1925). Titlepage and illustration by L.W.R. Wenckebach. Private collection.

experiment, called *Walden*, which existed from 1898 to 1907. Thijsse usually steers clear of self-contemplation: He observes and enthuses more than he philosophises.

Thijsse was an example to the young Tinbergen who had already written articles for *De Levende Natuur* about field research that he conducted, first as a schoolboy, and later as a student. Tinbergen's early writings were produced based on the conviction that scientific research should always be presented to the general public – a conviction he would later express via a professional journal.[20] Tinbergen asked Thijsse to write a foreword for his first book publication, *Het Vogeleiland* (Bird island, 1930), for which, at the age of only 23, he was the lead author.[21] The book was based on field research on the renowned bird island De Beer (which no longer exists) near Rotterdam. Kruuk suggests that Tinbergen's PhD research into the behaviour of the bee-wolf was in fact inspired by Thijsse's interest in digging wasps.[22]

Thijsse was (and remains) best known to the general public for the contribution he made to the series of so-called *Verkade albums* – very popular picture card albums on the subject of nature that were issued by Verkade, a Dutch biscuit manufacturing company. One of these albums is of special interest to us, namely *Texel* (1927), richly illustrated with engravings and with stick-in colour pictures that were based, amongst others, on watercolours by L.W.R. Wenckebach.

In this work, Thijsse looks back at an important moment in his life: his appointment in 1890 at the age of 25 as head of the 'French School' on the island of Texel, one of the Wadden Islands in the north of the Netherlands – at that time an area relatively unknown to most Dutch people. At the beginning of the book, Thijsse

has a rare moment of introspection. He underlines his relatively short stay on the island as a marker in his life: 'All my life I will continue to rejoice that I chose Texel, and – even though I only have lived there for two and a half years, I will remain a *Texelaar* until the end.'[23] The opening chapter briefly describes the boat trip to Texel and his first steps on the island. The way in which his first meeting with the pupils is told, is remarkable: 'The next morning I went to that school and arrived just as the tallest boy, a 16-year-old giant, put one of the children in the gutter – that boy was that tall and the gutter that low.'[24]

The chapter emphasises the natural open-mindedness of the pupils and how familiar they were with the nature of the island. This is aptly illustrated in lapwing egg collecting – a Northern Dutch and especially Frisian tradition – which, if not prohibited, is very strictly regulated for reasons of nature conservation today. Egg collecting requires physical skill, as it involves jumping over ditches with poles. Thijsse went with the boys and so, according to Thijsse, 'we became very good friends, all the more because I walk tirelessly and could jump over wider ditches with a run-up than the best of them. They overcame me with the pole stick.'[25] In this way, in order to limit the unbridled egg collecting, Thijsse managed to persuade the boys to amass a joint school egg collection.

Later in the chapter, Texel is described on the basis of a two-day walk of 60 kilometres around the island, and in the following chapters descriptions are made based on the many bicycle trips via which Thijsse would later crisscross the island with his school classes. The description of the nature of the island was thus presented to the reader in an unsystematic, natural way through the walks and bicycle rides described. It is in the same unsystematic way, this time determined by the narrative of the encounters with animals, that the natural history information in Tinbergen's *Eskimoland* is also presented.

Thijsse proceeds cautiously in these descriptions of nature, in a way that might be considered rhetorical. Probably in order to achieve a *captatio benevolentiae*, the reader is gradually introduced to the description of nature whilst the author walks and rides his bicycle. An overabundance of information is avoided. Therefore, in order not to appear pedantic, Thijsse recounts, in a varied and enthusiastic way, his first encounters with bird species he had never encountered in his hometown of Amsterdam. The reader is thus invited to identify with the narrator's initial wonder at the richness of the island's bird life. What is striking in this charm offensive is the importance of the naming of the birds. As with his first encounter with the grey plover (*Pluvialis squatarola*):

> Along the water walked a number of birds the size of a lapwing, but with longer legs and their necks higher. They seemed like animals from another world. Neck and back silver grey with dark spots. I had never seen such birds in Amsterdam and so I was very pleased

> with these 'golden lapwings'. In the books they were called that, but we are in the process of forgetting this name and replacing it with *zilverplevier* [grey plover], a name that gives a better understanding of the appearance and relationship of those beautiful birds.[26]

Similar descriptions can also be found of the turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*) and the '*sprinkhaanrietzanger*' (grasshopper warbler, *Locustella naevia*). Thijsse noted they would have preferred to give the grasshopper warbler a different name:

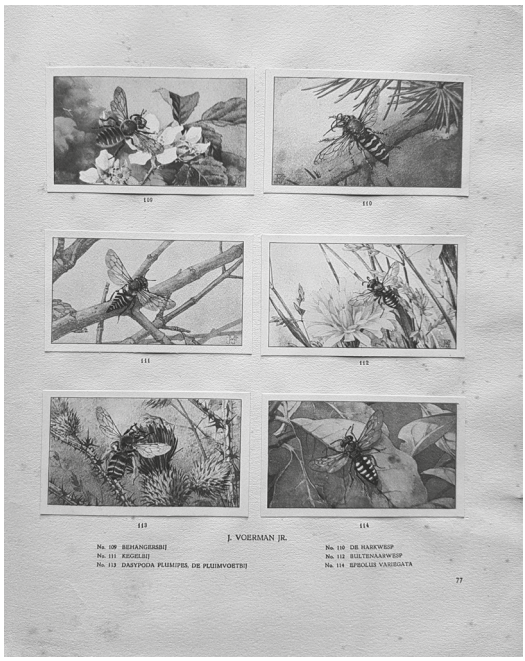
> [The Dutch biologist] Jan Verwey wanted to call him *Duinsnor* [*snor* is the Dutch term for *Savi's warbler*; *duin* signifies *dune*], which is a nice name, but the animal is also common in Brabant and Gelderland on the humid heathland. I came up with the name *Krekelzanger* [literally cricket warbler], but I do feel that it will not be used, perhaps because of Bilderdijk.[27] So it will remain five syllables.[28]

The black-tailed godwit (*Limosa limosa*) is assigned a string of adjectival qualifications: 'the long-necked, long-beaked, long-legged, noisy waders, who can scream so plaintively'.[29] Those animals that can be seen from the boat to Texel are also listed:

> Large seagulls glide here and there, and when we look over the railing into the water, we see the beautiful translucent large jellyfish, light green, blue and brown, carried by the current or moving with rhythmic tension and relaxation of their swimming bell. […] In the meantime we are also on the lookout for harbour porpoises. They are hardly ever missing on the Texelstroom, and it does not take long before we see a pointed dorsal fin cleave through the water, and soon the greasy shiny back turns above the waves.[30]

The animals described, and especially the birds, thus serve as an introduction to the somewhat drier enumerations of the plant world. The narrator also takes time to elaborate on animal behaviour, such as the strange courtship behaviour of ruffs (*Philomachus pugnax*) on their 'lek'. At the end of *Texel*, the narrative comes to a near standstill as the narrator settles into a sand pit and gives an enumerative description of the different bee and wasp species, 'a real natural insectarium',[31] which can be seen in the sand pit. It is these kinds of observations that inspired the young Tinbergen to conduct field research, and eventually his PhD research on the bee-wolf. From a rhetorical perspective, it is perhaps better not to start with such detailed descriptions, which might put off the reader. However, the 132 numbered illustrations, to which the text refers continuously, ensure that even the drier descriptions remain pleasantly readable.

The above thematic and narrative-rhetorical aspects can be found, often to a greater extent, in Tinbergen's *Eskimoland*, as is shown in the following paragraphs. The same fascination for the 'other world' of the far north,[32] so characteristic of



Jac. P. Thijsse, *Texel* (1925), p. 77. Illustrations of bees and wasps by J. Voerman Jr. Private collection.

Eskimoland, is noticeable, albeit implicitly, in *Texel*. This is especially true of migratory birds from the north – the previously mentioned grey plover and turnstone, but also the snow bunting (*Plectorophenax nivalis*), the shore lark (*Eremophila alpestris* ('they […] breed on the tundras, where they also resound their song'),[33] the bar-tailed godwit, and so on. Similarly on the mudflats, fascination is expressed for the 'Auks and Guillemots, a single Northern Gannet, Phalaropes, Gulls of all kinds and also many diving ducks and mergansers'.[34] It is these northern bird species, especially the snow bunting and the red-necked phalarope (*Phalaropus lobatus*), that play such an important role in *Eskimoland*.

Narrative rhetoric in *Eskimoland*

Although the content of *Eskimoland* differs enormously from that of *Texel*, there are remarkable similarities in their vision and rhetorical structure. The most obvious similarities lie in the chosen genre – the autobiographical travelogue – and in the age of both narrator-characters (in narratology known as the 'narrated I'): 25 years. Both cases concern a period that determines the rest of the authors' lives, although these periods are presented very differently in terms of narratology. In *Texel* the author goes back 37 years in his life. The story is thus teleological – the present is

explained from the past. However, *Eskimoland* deals with the very recent past, from which it is hardly possible to distance oneself. The travelogue, distilled from a diary of more than 300 typed pages[35] and put into writing immediately after arrival, can be interpreted as a self-positioning of the young writer in an uncertain future.

Just like in *Texel*, Tinbergen's travelogue starts with the boat trip to the north. Whilst Tinbergen is sensitive to the overwhelming character of the Arctic, as a biologist his attention soon turns to the area's wildlife. Thijsse's indefinable 'large seagulls' and porpoises are being replaced, as it were, by the spectacular representatives of Arctic fauna. The porpoises become whales, about which Tinbergen tells the following anecdote with his typical sense of humour:

> Sailing out through the narrow fjord we encountered large whales. We heard the 'spouting' on board and saw the grey-blue backs plough through the water in all their awesomeness. The chief mate, a former whaler, stood looking at it with a certain eager connoisseur's eye. When asked what species these whales belonged to, the answer was promptly: 'Finn Whales.' My innocent curiosity made me wonder how that could be seen so quickly. To this probably somewhat stupid question, the chief mate looked at me for a long time and finally only said, 'I *know* they are!'[36]

Naming is therefore important, but just like with Thijsse, the standard names of the animals are not immediately given. The reader is gradually introduced to ornithological naming. For example, certain birds are not immediately referred to by their official name, but first with a description: 'odd fat-headed *mallemoks* (fulmars)' (*Fulmaris glacialis*).[37] Often it remains unclear to a reader not well versed in ornithology whether an adjective, such as '*klein*' ('little', 'small', or 'lesser') and '*groot*' ('large', 'big', 'great') belongs to the standard name of the species or merely to the personal description of the specimens seen. This is the case, for example, with '*slanke kleine mantelmeeuwen*' ('slender little [or lesser] black-backed gulls'), the official species name is '*kleine mantelmeeuw*' (lesser black-backed gull; *Larus fuscus*); '*kleuterige kleine alkjes*'; and '*dwergachtige kleine alken*' (literally: 'toddler-like small auks' and 'dwarfish, little auks'), the official name being '*kleine alk*' – i.e., 'little auk' (*Plautus alle*). At one point, however, Tinbergen seems to tire of this popularising paraphrasing and gives a long list, with the correct standard names, of 23 bird species that are kept in the Copenhagen Natural History Museum because they are either European or North American vagrants in Greenland.

Before addressing the way in which the reader is taken into the more scientific aspects of the Greenland sojourn, it is important to look at how the initial encounters with the Inuit are described. In a strange way, this is reminiscent of Thijsse's first meeting with the Texel boys, albeit on a grander scale. The wild open-mindedness, the Texel boys' physical condition and their connection with nature, which the

narrator admires and with which he tries to compete, are all elements that come back in Tinbergen's descriptions of the Inuit.

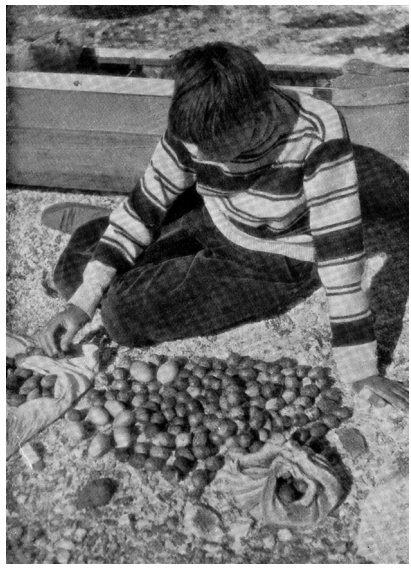
The Inuit are presented as '*dit vrolijke, vredige volkje*'[38] ('this cheerful, peaceful little people'), with '*hun onbezorgde leventje*'[39] ('their carefree little life'; one notes the use of the pejorative diminutive suffix '*-(t)je*' of the Dutch nouns), cheerful 'short brown fellows' with a 'good-natured disposition and […] innate cheerfulness of the little Eskimo people'.[40] However, this initial feeling of European superiority quickly turns into admiration:

> At first it seemed strange to us to see the Greenlanders roll over the deck like little children roaring with laughter, struggling for the pancake the cook threw them from the galley, but after living amongst these people for a few months we were so accustomed to their good-natured, in our view childish nature that we tended to find the attitude of Europeans blasé in such circumstances.[41]

Similarly, regarding their handiness with tools, and their disdainful attitude towards Western technology, Tinbergen states: 'The more we learned about the everyday life of the Eskimos, the more we were impressed by the wide variety of utensils, and their sophisticated efficiency, based on many generations.'[42] Indeed, Tinbergen continues at some length:

> All these objects were made by the hunters themselves. The European who thinks he can impress an Eskimo with a nice rifle, a beautiful pair of binoculars or a complicated camera, is sadly mistaken. The Eskimos, while appreciative of such marvels of engineering, the first thing they ask is, 'Did you make it yourself?' and when the answer is again in the negative on every occasion, the admiration turns, through amazement, into a kind of shrug of pity.[43]

In saying this, Tinbergen undoubtedly did unconsciously puts his own twist on the age-old *topos* of the *bon sauvage* that, through philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, goes back, amongst other authors, to Michel de Montaigne's chapter *Des cannibales* (1580). Montaigne, widely read in the Netherlands at the beginning of the twentieth century,[44] was impressed by the 'primitive' Brazilian Tupinamba, their connection with nature, their artistry and poetry, and their courage. He tried to speak to them (through an interpreter), collected their objects, and tasted their food and drink.[45] Montaigne's essay was widely read trough the ages. In the 1930s, in the same period *Eskimoland* was published, another young and soon to be world-famous scientist – the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who was deeply influenced by Montaigne – would arrive by boat in Brazil to conduct research amongst the same Tupinamba people.[46] Montaigne ends his essay with some examples of the 'wild' Indians' relativistic criticism of the 'civilized' Europeans. The



Lies Tinbergen collecting eggs. Photograph: Niko Tinbergen, in: *Eskimoland* (1935), facing p. 137. Collection Tinbergen Family/ Van Oorschot, Amsterdam.

critical attitude of Tinbergen's Inuit towards the 'odd inconsistencies in the way of life of the Europeans' seems to be almost a direct echo of Montaigne's Tupinamba: 'When the conversation turned to the conditions of the civilized world "where men and nations are always angry with one another" (as the Eskimos said with a sharp sneer), we had little better to do than to be ashamed.'[47]

Unlike Montaigne, Niko and Lies Tinbergen could of course not suffice with superficial tastings of indigenous food. They were forced to adapt as much as possible to the life of the Inuit and, to some extent, assimilate. They learned the Inuit language, dressed in seal fur, and ate seal meat, whale meat, fish, and birds. That said, there were limits to their assimilation. Niko and Lies reluctantly ate the bloody, foul-smelling 'raw frozen flesh' of a bearded seal, which their host had captured three months earlier and kept in the ground.[48]

Just as Thijsse went on an egg hunt with his Texel boys, so too did Tinbergen learn egg collecting. A photograph shows Lies display their bounty: 'eggs of terns, long-tailed ducks and mergansers', so the caption states.[49] Further, fishing for salmon (with a rifle!) is also photographed by Tinbergen ('Salmon shooting in Qingorssuaq, August 1932').[50] Tinbergen also accompanies the Inuit on a seal hunt – an activity that is also extensively described and photographed.

Tinbergen's fascination with the hunting aspect of Inuit life is noteworthy. The different fishing techniques and the hunting of polar bears, whales, and various species of seals are described in detail, sometimes from his own observations and with his own photographs, sometimes from the explanations of the Inuit themselves. Some of the details are quite gory and probably would have failed to gain the approval of the (then) emerging animal protection movement, which at the time mainly focused on the atrocities of the Arctic seal hunt.[51] I quote here a Dutch book review of an American book about seal hunting: Henry Wood Elliott, *An Arctic Province: Alaska and the Seal Islands* (1886), with passages addressing the endangered life of the Northern fur seal (*Callorhinus ursinus*). A Dutch reviewer

Inuit seal hunting. Photographs: Niko Tinbergen *Eskimoland* (1935)., facing p. 80. Collection Tinbergen Family/Van Oorschot, Amsterdam.

remarked: 'the slaughter of these animals is so horrible, that many a lady will wear no seal fur anymore, after reading this description in Elliott's book'.[52] Newspaper readers were horrified by the cruel details given by experts, such as the Norwegian Carsten Egeberg Borchgrevinck: 'It is easier to skin a seal which is half alive. In the utmost agony the wretched beast draws the muscles away from the sharp steel'.[53] Indeed, around 1900, Dutch readers as far away as in the colonies realised with a shock that seals were often skinned alive.[54]

The intended readers of these newspaper articles would certainly not be happy with Tinbergen's bloody description of the killing of a large Greenland shark:

> When the shark is well and truly on dry land, it is culled in a strange way. The many jabs through his brain do not make the movements much less, and soon one of the men takes a knife and cuts an opening in the skull; he grabs the brain with his hand and pulls it out with a large part of the spinal cord. Then the large fish is cut open, and the gigantic livers, for which it is especially popular, are immediately carried home on a sleigh.[55]

In this and other descriptions, two things emerge that are atypical of nature-educational writings of the time, including those of Thijsse. First, there is Tinbergen's fascination with the hunting techniques of both humans and animals. Indeed, in addition to the hunting techniques of the Inuit, Tinbergen focuses on the hunting techniques of gyrfalcons (*Falco rusticolus*) preying upon ptarmigans (*Lagopus mutus*), and one also thinks of his earlier research into the hunting techniques of the bee-wolf and the hobby (*Falco subbuteo*), and of his prey research into the long-eared owl (*Asio otus*), about which he published in German in international ornithological journals (*Ardea*, *Journal für Ornithologie*, *Beitrage zur Fortpflanzungsbiologie der Vögel*). Tinbergen himself later admitted that this research on hunting techniques, and also his predilection for bird photography, can be regarded as 'surrogate hunting'.[56]

A second point that emerges from the hunting descriptions is a certain objectification of the hunt: The Inuit feel no empathy with the animal hunted, and this absence of empathy is reported by Tinbergen without emotion. Indeed, Tinbergen and Lies feel little compassion towards the animals, except for a single moment, at the beginning of the travelogue. After they complained to the Inuit about the 'scarred dogs [that were like] walking skeletons', who had feasted on the bird skins that had been collected and prepared for the National Natural History Museum at Leiden, the animals were transferred by the Inuit to another place: 'Like pieces of wood, the unfortunate animals, too weak to walk properly, were thrown into the boat and brought home with great pleasure.'[57] Generally speaking, there is space in the numerous descriptions given for scientific curiosity about the animal, and often for the animal's beauty, but not for empathy with the animal.

This brings us to the educational component of the work, which is much less developed than is the case with Thijsse's rhetorical management of his readership. Tinbergen suffices with an apology in his foreword: '[I have] not failed to elaborate on a few biological subjects here and there; I have, however, endeavoured not to present too indigestible food to the non-biologically oriented reader.'[58] A little later, Tinbergen writes, more or less apologetically: 'During the whole winter I had a wonderful opportunity to indulge my biological lust for the sled dogs.'[59] There then follows a long, rather technical reflection on the pecking order in sled dogs. Incidentally, it is astonishing to note that, for reasons known only to himself, Tinbergen never developed this part, with innovative insights, into a scientific or popular scientific article.[60]

It is also striking that the reader is told only later (and rather unsystematically) the assignments for which Tinbergen had travelled to Greenland. As previously mentioned, he was tasked with the collection of bird skins for the Natural History Museum in Leiden, and artefacts for the Education Museum in The Hague (objects to which an exhibition was devoted in 1999, entitled 'Eskimoland').[61] According

to Kruuk, the plan was also to conduct research on the breeding behaviour of Greenlandic glaucous gulls compared with Dutch herring gulls (*Larus argentatus*), and some other research projects.[62] However, the book makes no mention of these ambitious yet unrealised research plans, which is of course perhaps wise for a book that seems to focus on self-positioning. Of the planned studies, only the territorial behaviour of the snow bunting was studied, and one gets the impression that the intensive three-week study into the breeding behaviour of the grey phalarope (upon which Tinbergen elaborates for several pages) was conceived whilst there. Be that as it may, these investigations, as was the case with Thijsse's *insectarium*, are only addressed towards the end of the book.

This brings us to a final point in which Thijsse and Tinbergen both resemble each other and differ, namely the use of illustrations. Illustrations play an important role in the narrations and descriptions of both authors and tempt the reader to read on. The black-and-white photographs, most of which were taken by Tinbergen himself, are perhaps less beautiful from the viewpoint of contemporary aesthetic standards than the beautiful Verkade watercolours, but they are much more intriguing: They make the reader curious and compel him to read carefully. There is a great variety of subjects, from the photographic portrait of Kârale[63] to the details of seal hunting and of the birds studied, for example, the snow bunting and phalarope. These illustrations also reveal what the text usually conceals, namely, the difficult circumstances in which Niko and Lies conducted their research. Only once, when Niko and Lies forgot to bring their mosquito masks, is there a complaint about mosquitoes, and once Tinbergen mentions a wrist infection, which made paddling difficult for him. This again reminds us of Thijsse, who also does not elaborate on physical discomfort, except when, sitting in his *insectarium*, he is stung by the common horse fly, which in turn leads to a brief consideration of this insect species.

Conclusion

Thijsse's sand pit brings us to the end of *Eskimoland*, and to the conclusion of our argument. Tinbergen is completely absorbed in his field research, just like Thijsse in his sand pit on Texel. Only at the end of *Eskimoland* does Tinbergen come out of his pit via a message from the outside world: 'While we were thus, gradually forgetting the world, paying all our attention to salmon, phalaropes and snow buntings, one day at the end of July we were suddenly surprised by the visit of a kayaker.'[64] It is as if Tinbergen awakens from a dream: This kayaker brings news from the Netherlands, thus heralding the beginning of the end of the Greenland stay.

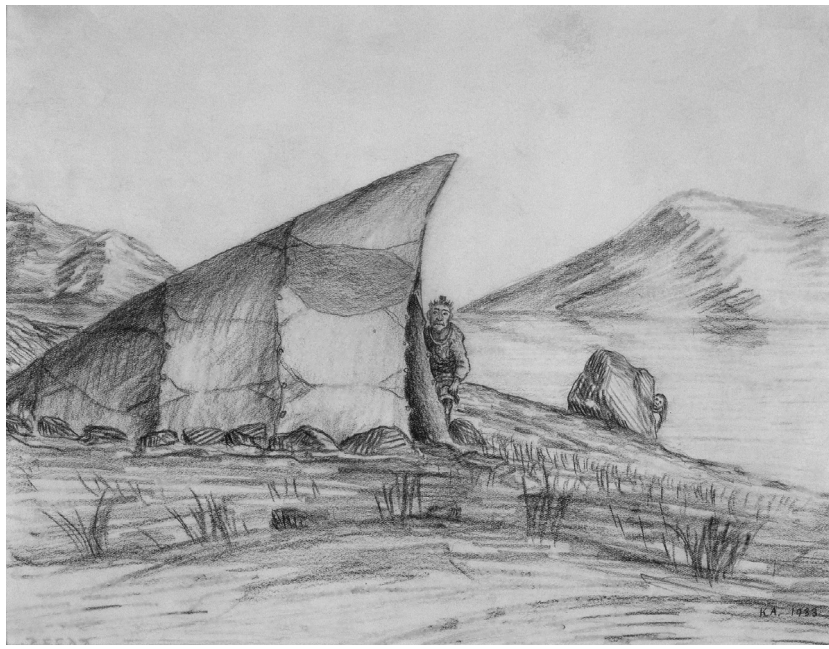
So what was Tinbergen trying to achieve with his travelogue? He probably wanted to position himself amongst as wide a readership as possible. Self-positioning, and subsequent self-fashioning, was of course essential for a young researcher who had just obtained a PhD, and who was absent from the Dutch academic world for a whole year. Academic self-positioning is also visible on the title page of the original 1934 edition, which bears his name and title: 'Dr. N. Tinbergen'. His travelogue can indeed be read as a scientific plea for field research as an essential element of research into animal behaviour. Without Tinbergen mentioning any names (he would later do so), this plea was directed against laboratory research with white rats or monkeys (such as the research of the American behaviourist J.B. Watson), or behavioural research on wild animals in captivity (for instance the very popular Dutch researcher Frits Portielje, another popular author of *Verkade albums*, who worked at the Amsterdam zoo Artis), or research on domestic animals (such as the research of Tinbergen's later fellow Nobel Prize winner Konrad Lorenz, with whom Tinbergen would become good friends). Moreover, he suggested, albeit without explicitly stating it, that the behaviour of humans and animals is comparable, and should therefore also be studied in a similar way. The fact that Tinbergen never explicitly expressed this idea in his travelogue has much to do with the taboo nature of the subject at the time. Only years later would this taboo be broken by Tinbergen's former student Desmond Morris. He also touched on problematic concepts, such as instinct and the nature-nurture relationship, about which he would publish extensively. Tinbergen seemed to be hedging his bets: With his book he profiled himself, not only as a scientist-to-be, but also as a nature writer, following the example of Thijsse. He showed that he had literary talent.[65] Above all, Tinbergen wanted to make his Dutch readers enthusiastic about all aspects of living nature in Greenland, and the place of humans in it. Yet reading between the lines one discovers a modern voice: awareness about the disappearance of what we now call biodiversity and indigenous culture, as could also be heard in Thijsse's *Texel*.

Appendix

Kârale Andreassen produced four original drawings illustrating the story of the *tupilaq*. Andreassen presented these drawings to Niko Tinbergen, who included them in *Eskimoland*, adding the explanatory captions given below. The drawings are now in the Museon in The Hague. I thank the Museon for the photographs and both the Tinbergen family and the Museon for their permission to publish them.

Drawing by Kârale Andreassen. Collection Museon, The Hague.

Caption by Tinbergen: 'The old woman in the foreground is jealous of the young couple, whose husband is a great hunter, and with whom she lives in the tent. The man is just coming back behind the kayak with three large seals and his wife is walking towards him from the tent. The old woman, seated at a child's grave, prepares two evil means: in her hand she holds a piece of flesh from the corpse, on the right is the skull that must serve for a tupilaq.'[66]

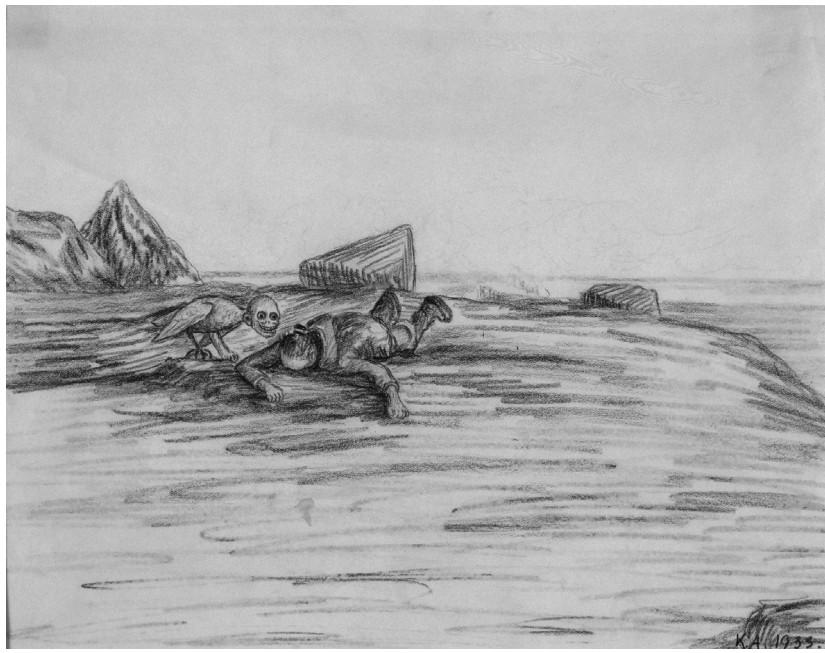


Drawing by Kârale Andreassen. Collection Museon, The Hague.

Caption by Tinbergen: 'The old woman puts a piece of flesh under the entrance of the tent, so that if the hunter enters, he must step on it, which will bring him bad luck, perhaps death. He himself, however, watches unnoticed from behind the stone on the right.'[67]

Drawing by Kârale Andreassen. Collection Museon, The Hague.

Caption by Tinbergen: 'The *tupilaq*, in the foreground, a creature made by the woman from a human skull, a seagull's body, with one raven's foot and one dog's foot. In the background, the young couple, who no longer feel safe here after the man's discovery, can be seen leaving. The small horn on the hood of the man's anorak means that he has certain *angakoq* [medicine man] qualities and thus has a certain power over supernatural beings, such as the *tupilait*. Because of this, the *tupilaq*, so the story goes, cannot see him and thus looks the other way.'[68]



Drawing by Kârale Andreassen. Collection Museon, The Hague.

Caption by Tinbergen: 'When a *tupilaq* encounters an opponent that is too strong, as is the case here, it turns against its maker, who is then irretrievably lost. Pictured here is the dramatic conclusion: the *tupilaq* killed the lonely old woman left behind.'[69]

Notes

1 Birkhead, *De fantastische Mr. Willughby*; Broberg, *Carl Linnaeus*; Mulder, *De ontdekking van de natuur*; Vonk, *Wie wat bewaart*.

2 Thoreau, *Walden.*

3 Thijsse, *Nu ga ik er eens op uit*.

4 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*. My references are to the 2017 edition. All translations into English are mine.

5 www.bnnvara.nl/vroegevogels/artikelen/eskimoland and https://nos.nl/artikel/2163746-hoe-bioloog-niko-tinbergen-een-beetje-eskimo-werd, last accessed 10 December 2021.

6 Morris, *The Naked Ape.*

7 De Waal, *The Age of Empathy.*

8 Thijsse, *Texel.*

9 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 15: '14 juli 1932. Eindelijk was het zover.'

10 Tinbergen, 'Über die Orientierung des Bienenwolfes'.

11 Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 56.

12 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 12: 'per boot in de zomer en per slee en ski in de winter'.

13 Leane, 'Animals', 305-317. See also the introduction to the present volume.

14 https://verfassungsblog.de/the-animal-turn-what-is-it-and-why-now/, last accessed 23 June 2022.

15 These research questions are known as Tinbergen's 'Four Whys', according to which the researcher should focus his research on the causation (mechanism), development (ontogeny), function (adaptation), and evolution (phylogeny) of animal behaviour. See Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 218; Tinbergen, 'On Aims and Methods of Ethology'.

16 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 191.

17 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 110.

18 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 120-121.

19 Michelet, *De vogel*, v: 'dat hij hier een werk voor zich heeft uit een vroeger tijdvak, een werk niet van wetenschap allereerst, maar van aandoening; openbaring van inzicht in de natuur, waarbij het gevoel en de verbeelding den schrijver leidden meer nog dan streng onderzoek, doch dat juist door die eigenschappen niet zal nalaten des lezers liefde voor de natuur aan te wakkeren en hem te boeien door de beschrijvingskunst van den dichterlijken prozaïst'.

20 Tinbergen, 'Over de waarde van het populariseren van de biologie'; see also Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 105, n. 95.

21 Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 44; Van Beusekom et al., *Het Vogeleiland.*

22 Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 27, 49-50.

23 Thijsse, *Texel*, 5: 'Mijn leven lang zal ik er mij over blijven verheugen, dat ik Texel had gekozen, en – al heb ik er maar twee en een half jaar gewoond, Texelaar zal ik blijven tot het eind.'

24 Thijsse, *Texel*, 6-7: 'Den volgenden ochtend ging ik naar die school toe en kwam net aan op het oogenblik dat de grootste jongen, een zestienjarige reus, een van de kleineren in de dakgoot zette, zoo lang was die jongen en zo laag die dakgoot.'

25 Thijsse, *Texel*, 7.

26 Thijsse, *Texel*, 12: 'Langs het water liepen een aantal vogels zoo groot als een kievit, maar met langer pooten en ze hielden hun hals hooger. Het leken dieren uit een andere wereld. Hun onderkant en keel en wangen waren pikzwart en daar ging een spierwitte streep doorheen. Nek en rug zilvergrijs met donkere vlekken. Zulke vogels had ik bij Amsterdam nog nooit gezien en ik was dus met deze 'goudkieviten' niet weinig in mijn schik. In de boeken heetten ze zoo, maar we zijn bezig dezen

naam te vergeten en hem te vervangen door zilverplevier, een naam die een beter begrip geeft van het uiterlijk en de verwantschap van die mooie vogels.'

[27] Thijsse's reference is to *Krekelzangen*, a collection of poems by the Dutch poet Willem Bilderdijk (1756-1831). Today, the name *krekelzanger* is used for a related species, the river warbler (*Locustella fluviatis*).

[28] Thijsse, *Texel*, 28: 'dien we liever een anderen naam wilden geven. Jan Verwey wilde hem Duinsnor noemen, wat wel een heel aardige naam is, maar het diertje komt ook veel voor in Brabant en Gelderland op de vochtige heiden. Ik heb den naam Krekelzanger bedacht, maar voel wel, dat die niet erin zal komen, wellicht wel wegens Bilderdijk. Zoo zal hij dan wel vijflettergrepig blijven.' Today the bird is called a '*sprinkhaanzanger*': four syllables.

[29] Thijsse, *Texel*, 15: 'de langhalzige, langsnavelige, langbeenige, luidruchtige steltloopers, die zoo klagelijk kunnen schreeuwen'.

[30] Thijsse, *Texel*, 22: 'Groote meeuwen glijden her en der en als we over de verschansing in 't water kijken, dan zien we er de mooie doorschijnende groote kwallen, lichtgroene, blauwe en bruine, meegevoerd door den stroom of zich voorbewegend met rhythmische spanning en ontspanning van hun zwemklok. […] Ondertusschen zijn we ook op den uitkijk naar Bruinvisschen. Die ontbreken haast nooit op den Texelstroom en het duurt dan ook niet lang of we zien een spitse rugvin in het water doorklieven en weldra draait ook de vettige glimmende rug boven de golven uit.'

[31] Thijsse, *Texel*, 89: 'een echt natuurlijk insectarium'.

[32] From the third quarter of the nineteenth century, this fascination for the far north is noticeable amongst the general public, both in Europe and in the Netherlands. This is apparent from an unpublished newspaper survey that I conducted on Dutch public opinion on the seal: Smith, 'Public Opinion on Seals in Dutch Newspapers 1725-1900'. I quote from this article: 'Frequent were the travel reports, often in feuilleton form, to northern areas (see for instance *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche courant*, 15 August 1883). There are detailed descriptions of seal hunting by the Inuit, invariably called "Eskimos" (*Rotterdamsch nieuwsblad*, 14 March 1887). The newspapers reported extensively on the great ethnological exhibitions, in which also seals were exhibited. These exhibitions were to be seen at Paris, Brussels, and Cologne, and had a huge success. It was stated that the Paris exhibition at the afternoon of All-Saints Day alone drew more than 20,000 visitors. *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 11 November 1877.'

[33] Thijsse, *Texel*, 47: 'zij […] broeden op de toendra's, waar ze ook hun lied laten weergalmen'.

[34] Thijsse, *Texel*, 47: 'Alken en Zeekoeten, een enkele Jan van Gent, Franjepooten, Meeuwen van allerlei soort en ook vele duikeenden en zagers'.

[35] Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 60.

[36] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 19-20: 'Uitvarend door de smalle fjord kwamen we grote walvissen tegen. We hoorden aan boord het "spuiten" en zagen de grijsblauwe ruggen in al hun geweldigheid door het water ploegen. De eerste stuurman, een oud-walvisvaarder, stond er met een zekere begerige kennersblik naar te kijken. Op de vraag tot welke soort deze walvissen behoorden kwam prompt het antwoord: "Finn Whales." Mijn onschuldige leergierigheid deed me vragen hoe dat zo gauw te zien was. Op deze waarschijnlijk enigszins domme vraag keek de stuurman me lang aan en zei ten slotte slechts: "I *know* they are!"'

[37] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 18: 'zonderlinge dikkoppige mallemokken (Noorse stormvogels)'.

[38] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 28; see also p. 167.

[39] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 12.

[40] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 29: 'korte bruine kerels', 'goedmoedige aard en […] aangeboren opgewektheid van het eskimovolkje'.

41 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 29: 'In het begin deed het ons vreemd aan te zien hoe de Groenlanders als kleine kinderen schaterend van de lach over het dek rolden, worstelend om de pannenkoek die de kok hun vanuit de kombuis toewierp, maar toen we enige maanden onder deze mensen gewoond hadden waren we zo gewend aan hun goedige, in onze ogen kinderlijke aard dat we een zekere neiging hadden de houding van Europeanen in zulke omstandigheden blasé te vinden.'

42 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 58: 'Hoe meer we het dagelijks leven van de eskimo's leerden kennen, hoe meer we geïmponeerd werden door de grote variatie van gebruiksvoorwerpen, en de op ervaringen van vele generatie berustende geraffineerde doelmatigheid ervan.'

43 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 58-59: 'Al deze voorwerpen werden door de jagers zelf vervaardigd. De Europeaan die meent een eskimo met een mooi geweer, een prachtige kijker of een ingewikkeld fototoestel te kunnen imponeren, vergist zich dan ook deerlijk. De eskimo's zijn weliswaar vol waardering voor zulke wonderen van de techniek, maar het eerste dat ze vragen is: "Heb je het zelf gemaakt?", en als het antwoord daarop dan bij elke gelegenheid weer ontkennend luidt, gaat de bewondering via verwondering in een soort schouderophalend medelijden over.'

44 See Smith, 'Traduire Rabelais et Montaigne aux Pays-Bas'.

45 See Smith 'Naked Indians, Trousered Gauls'.

46 See Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*.

47 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 123: 'als de gesprekken op de toestanden in de beschaafde wereld kwamen "waar de mensen en volkeren altijd boos op elkaar zijn" (zoals de eskimo's met een scherp spotlachje zeiden), hadden wij niet veel beters te doen dan ons te schamen'.

48 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 92.

49 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 179.

50 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 40.

51 See Smith, 'Public Opinion on Seals in Dutch Newspapers 1725-1900'.

52 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 03-04-1887.

53 *Rotterdamsch nieuwsblad*, 27-11-1899.

54 *Rotterdamsch nieuwsblad*, 27-11-1899

55 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 89-90: 'Wanneer de haai goed en wel op het droge ligt wordt hij op een zonderlinge manier afgemaakt. De vele prikken, dwars door zijn hersens, maken de bewegingen niet veel minder, en al gauw neemt een van de mannen een mes en snijdt een opening in het schedeldak; hij grijpt met de hand de hersens en trekt die met een groot deel van het ruggenmerg eruit. Dan wordt de grote vis opengesneden en de reusachtige levers, waarom het vooral te doen is, worden dadelijk op de slee naar huis vervoerd.'

56 Kruuk, *Niko's Nature*, 52.

57 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 36: 'Als stukken hout werden de ongelukkige dieren, die te zwak waren om behoorlijk te lopen, in de boot geworpen en onder groot plezier naar huis gebracht.'

58 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 12: '[Ik heb] niet nagelaten hier en daar over enkele biologische onderwerpen uit te wijden; ik heb er echter naar gestreefd de niet biologisch georiënteerde lezer geen al te onverteerbare kost voor te zetten.'

59 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 71: 'Gedurende de hele winter had ik een prachtige gelegenheid mijn biologische lusten op de eskimohonden bot te vieren.'

60 Except for the chapter 'Arctic Interlude' of his autobiographical work *Curious Naturalists*, 41-45, which gives an English abstract of the original Dutch text.

61 See Bettenhoussen & Kerkhoven, *Eskimoland.*

62 Kruuk, *Nico's Nature*, 64.

63 Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 38.

[64] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 201: 'Terwijl we zo, de wereld langzamerhand vergetende, al onze aandacht besteedden aan zalmen, franjepoten een sneeuwgorzen, werden we op een dag aan het eind van juli plotseling verrast door het bezoek van een kajakman.'

[65] Later he would write a much-read children's book, *Klieuw* (1948). The English version came out first: *Kleew: The Story of a Gull* (1947).

[66] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland,* 120: 'De oude vrouw op de voorgrond is jaloers op het jonge echtpaar, waarvan de man een groot jager is, en bij wie ze in de tent woont. De man komt juist met drie grote zeehonden achter de kajak terug en zijn vrouw loopt hem vanaf de tent tegemoet. De oude vrouw maakt, bij een kindergraf gezeten, twee onheilbrengende middelen gereed: in de hand houdt ze een stuk vlees van het lijk, rechts ligt de schedel die voor een tupilaq moet dienen.'

[67] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 120: 'De oude vrouw brengt een stuk vlees onder de ingang van de tent, zodat de jager, als hij binnengaat, erop moet stappen, wat hem onheil, misschien de dood, zal brengen. Hijzelf ziet echter onbemerkt toe vanachter de steen rechts.'

[68] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 121: 'De tupilaq, op de voorgrond, een wezen door de vrouw gemaakt van een mensenschedel, een meeuwenlichaam, met één ravenpoot en één hondenpoot. Op de achtergrond ziet men het jonge paar vertrekken, dat zich hier na de ontdekking van de man niet meer veilig voelt. Het kleine hoorntje op de kap van de anoraq van de man betekent dat hij zekere angakoq-eigenschappen heeft en dus een bepaalde macht heeft over bovennatuurlijke wezen[s], zoals tupilait. Hierdoor kan de tupilaq, zoals het heet, hem niet zien en kijkt dus de andere kant uit.'

[69] Tinbergen, *Eskimoland*, 121: 'Wanneer een tupilaq een te sterke tegenstander ontmoet, zoals hier het geval is, keert hij zich tegen zijn maker, die dan reddeloos verloren is. Hier is het dramatische slot afgebeeld: de tupilaq heeft de alleen achtergebleven oude vrouw gedood.'

Bibliography

Bettenhoussen, Peter & Ronald Kerkhoven, *Eskimoland: Verleden, heden en toekomst van de Groenlandse Inuit* (Abcoude: Uniepers/Museon, 1999).

Beusekom, Gerrit van, Frans Kooymans, Martin Rutten & Niko Tinbergen, *Het Vogeleiland* (Laren, A.G. Schoonderbeek, 1930).

Birkhead, Tim, *De fantastische Mr. Willughby, de eerste echte ornitholoog.* Trans. by Auke van den Berg, Olaf Brenninkmeijer & Rob Kuitenbrouwer (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2019).

Broberg, Gunnar, *Carl Linnaeus: De man die de natuur rangschikte.* Trans. by Ger Meesters (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020).

Kruuk, Hans, *Niko's Nature: A life of Niko Tinbergen and his science of animal behaviour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *Tristes tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955).

Michelet, Jules, *De vogel.* Trans. by Martha van Vloten (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkope Literatuur/Wereldbibliotheek, 1909).

Morris, Desmond, *The Naked Ape: A Zoologist's Study of the Human Anima* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967).

Mulder, Hans, *De ontdekking van de natuur* (Amsterdam: Terra, 2021).

Schilthuizen, Menno & Freek Vonk, *Wie wat bewaart: Twee eeuwen Nederlandse natuurhistorie* (Amsterdam/Leiden: Spectrum/Naturalis, 2020).

Smith, Paul J., 'Public Opinion on Seals in Dutch Newspapers 1725-1900' (unpublished).

Smith, Paul J., 'Naked Indians, Trousered Gauls: Montaigne on Barbarism', in: Maria Boletsi, Christian Moser (eds.), *Barbarism Revisited: New Perspectives on an Old Concept* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 105-122.

Smith, Paul J., 'Traduire Rabelais et Montaigne aux Pays-Bas', in: *RELIEF – Revue électronique de littérature française* 15 (2021) 1, 45-61.

Thijsse, Jac. P., *Texel* (Zaandam: Verkade's Fabrieken, 1927).

Thijsse, Jac. P., *Nu ga ik er eens op uit: Wandeldagboeken 1884-1898.* Ed. by Marga Coesèl (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 2021).

Thoreau, Henry David, *Walden, en de plicht tot burgerlijke ongehoorzaamheid.* Trans. by Anton Haakman (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2019).

Tinbergen, Niko, 'Über die Orientierung des Bienenwolfes (*Philanthus triangulum* Fabr.)', in: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Physiologie* 16 (1932), p. 305-334.

Tinbergen, Niko, 'Over de waarde van het populariseren van de biologie', in: *Vakblad voor Biologen* 22 (1941), 106-109.

Tinbergen, Niko, *Curious Naturalists* (London: Country Life Limited, 1958).

Tinbergen, Niko, 'On Aims and Methods of Ethology', in: *Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie* 20 (1963), 410-433.

Tinbergen, Niko, *Eskimoland* (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 2017).

Waal, Frans de, *The Age of Empathy: Nature's Lessons for a Kinder Society* (New York: Harmony Books, 2009).

CHAPTER 9

The Land of the Living Fossils

Animals in Travelogues for Dutch-Australian Emigrants, 1950-1970

Ton van Kalmthout

Abstract

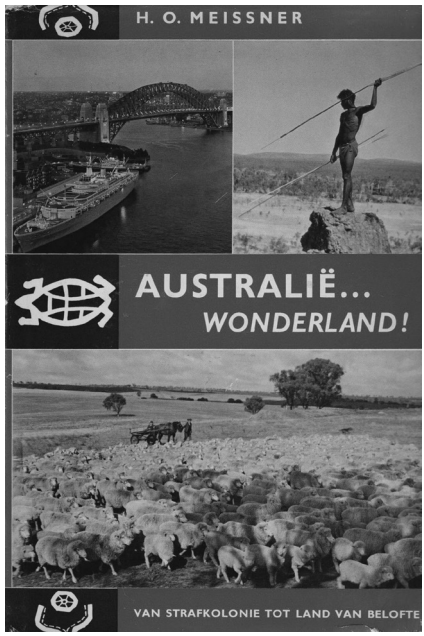
Dutch emigrants who moved to Australia after the Second World War were confronted with an exceptional animal world, if only in emigration literature, including travel reports. This article discusses to which Australian animals such reports paid most attention, and how and why they did so. On the one hand, it concerns animals the emigrants already knew from the Netherlands, albeit found in Australia in numbers unfamiliar to them. On the other, various previously unknown native mammals and birds are mentioned, all of which rendered it an exciting and exotic country. It is remarkable that indigenous Aborigines were often mentioned in the same breath as the native fauna. With their representation of people and animals, the travelogues made Australia an attractive wonderland for emigrants.

Keywords: Travelogues, Dutch-Australian emigrants, post-war emigration, Australia, livestock, wildlife

In its 1949 brochure *Australië: Een beschrijving van land en volk ten dienste van emigranten* (Australia: A description of the land and people at the service of emigrants), the governmental Netherlands Emigration Foundation states:

> The plant and animal world of Australia is most remarkable. Even to such an extent that botanists and zoologists often categorise the world in an Australian and a non-Australian one. On the one hand, the animals, trees and plants found in other parts of the world do not exist in Australia; on the other hand, there are species which elsewhere in the world are only found in fossilised form, in layers of the earth of hundreds or thousands of centuries old. Therefore, Australia has sometimes been referred to as 'the land of the living fossils'.[1]

In the coming decades, more and more Dutch people would be confronted with this exceptional plant and animal world. After the crisis and war years of the 1930s and 1940s, in the period 1950-1970, motivated by the fear of unemployment, war, and food shortages, a massive influx of emigrants from the Netherlands (as well as from



Front cover of H.O. Meissner, *Australië... wonderland! Van strafkolonie tot land van belofte* (1968). The jacket features a passenger ship docked in Sydney Harbour, an indigenous hunter, and a flock of sheep. Private collection.

other European countries) took place. Additionally, following Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945, many of the Dutch men and women living in the former Dutch colony were also looking for a safe haven – one that they did not envision in the battered Netherlands. At the same time, the Netherlands experienced a population explosion, causing the Dutch government to share the public's concerns. As a result, the government reached agreements with various countries willing to take on Dutch settlers, including Australia, which for military and economic reasons was in great need of substantial population growth.[2] More than 140,000 Dutch citizens moved to Australia to start a new life in the 1950s and 1960s.[3]

The flow of emigrants was accompanied by a number of publications for, about, and by emigrants. These texts, in which the government regularly had a hand with assignments for writing books, subsidies to finance them, and governmental prefaces, encouraged people to leave, or sometimes specifically wanted to prevent this. They provided information about the emigration trajectory itself and the country of destination and legitimised settlement on the other side of the world. Such literature was intended for emigrants and those considering doing so, but it was also aimed at other interested parties such as family members left behind, information officers, and officials. The readership could make use of a diverse corpus of texts for adults and young people, including poetry, short stories and novels, collections of printed letters and autobiographies, manuals, guides and propaganda material, as well as geographical descriptions and travel stories.[4] From this plethora of potential sources, I focus on the final genre, which in itself also encompasses a diversity of text types[5] and, similar to other emigration literature, was read both in its original form and in translation.[6]

Travelogues almost always exhibit an interweaving of truth and fiction, and in some instances it is this latter aspect that gains the upper hand.[7] In this chapter,

however, I exclude wholly or partly fictional travel stories, limiting myself to those that conform with John Zilcosky's conception of travel writing: 'a narrated account of a voyage (generally told in the first person) based on "actual travels undertaken"'.[8] More specifically, I base my analysis on a number of books published in the 1950s and 1960s. Two were written by Dutch journalists Huib Koemans (1910-1999) and Mathieu Smedts (1913-1996).[9] Four others are translations of travel reports by the British writer Colin MacInnes (1914-1976), the German writer Hans Otto Meissner (1909-1992), and their Australian colleagues Paul McGuire (1903-1978) and Bill Beatty (1902-1972) respectively.[10] Where relevant, I also refer to other contemporary emigration literature. In the travelogues mentioned, so-called 'vertical travelling' is often described, which means, in the words of Alasdair Pettinger, a 'temporary dwelling in a location for a period of time where the traveler begins to travel down into the particulars of place either in space (botany, studies of micro-climate, exhaustive exploration of local landscape) or in time (local history, archaeology, folklore)'.[11] Indeed, this is how such literature almost always reflects on Australia's flora and fauna – the natural world of a country that in its sheer size forms a continent of its own and for that reason alone necessitates travel to reach all its quarters. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it had functioned as a penal colony for British convicts and was further colonised. Nevertheless, Australia was still sparsely populated and considered largely uncultivated by settlers in the first decades after the Second World War.

In this chapter, I analyse the representation of Australian faunae in travel writing from the post-war period. Which species are discussed, what image of them is presented to the reader, and what may have been its intended effect? As I will show, initially two groups can be distinguished: those introduced to Australia by Europeans – sheep, cattle, rabbits, and horses – and those indigenous to the continent. An important note here is that I do not review all the species identified by travel writers, but rather focus on those that were given the most prominence. For example, they barely discussed the huge number of insects, such as ants, flies, and cicadas, even though they thrive in the often warm climate and were therefore a frequent horror for newcomers.

Sheep and cattle, rabbits and horses

Both in Australia and the Netherlands, emigration authorities and information officers tried to align themselves with the perceptions and preferences of those interested in emigration. At least initially, this was most often someone with an agricultural background. Thus, a substantial part of the information presented in emigration literature regarding Australian faunae deals with sheep and cattle,

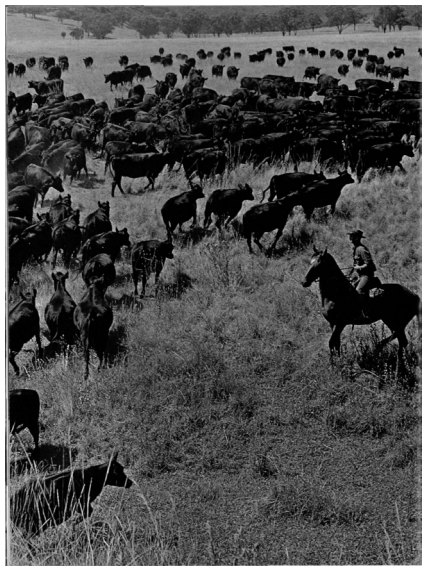
primarily those kept for dairy, meat, and wool production, but also, as in the Netherlands, as a source of leather and other animal products. However, livestock farming was conducted on a scale that was difficult for the Dutch to imagine. McGuire notes that, already in 1938, there were 13 million cattle and 111 million sheep in Australia.[12] Around 1950, the country was responsible for a quarter of the world's wool production which, alongside dairy and meat production, was one of its main exports.

Australian livestock was not only farmed in the fertile coastal areas, but also in the arid, inhospitable outback, where only salt bushes and a tough grass called spinifex grew. McGuire expresses great concern about the massive overgrazing of such areas. He notes that, in such instances, the vegetation no longer provides stability to the sandy soil on which it grew and, as a result, erosion occurs. The land can no longer support new plants, and thus becomes subject to desertification.[13] However, at that time, the problem does not seem to have been particularly acute. Australian sheep and cattle farmers had access to vast expanses of grassland – often thousands of hectares per farm upon which huge herds numbering hundreds of cattle, and thousands of sheep, were grazed. For shearing or slaughter, the animals were driven to the coastal areas by modern-day cowboys on horseback assisted by herding dogs – an image that to this day characterises Australia.

Another animal familiar to most Dutch migrants would have been rabbits. However, these too were – and still are – found in vast numbers in Australia. Unlike cattle and sheep, they are invariably presented in emigration literature as vermin – difficult to exterminate and impossible to control with fences. McGuire writes:

> During the periods of drought, the rabbits die by the millions and tens of millions at a time. In their frenzied flight to the food and water they sometimes lie against the fences in incredible masses, thus forming a bridge with their dead bodies for the survivors. At the end of a drought period, there are no rabbits anymore in the affected area. But when it rains again, the survivors reappear, producing millions of offspring in a single season.[14]

Introduced to Australia around 1800 alongside cattle and sheep, rabbits had multiplied to an estimated one billion by the Second World War. In such numbers they caused significant damage to the crops needed for farming and livestock. If only this could be prevented, it was suggested, the Australian sheep population could be twice as large. Hence, no means were spared to exterminate the animals, not only with traditional pesticides, but also via the construction of extensive physical barriers. Indeed, to this end, a 1,800 kilometre long, so-called 'rabbit proof fence', more than one meter high and made of iron wire was erected in Western Australia. The fence cut through forests, farmlands, gold fields, and deserts.



'On a cattle range in New South Wales: a herd grazes under the supervision of a drover. Endless, undulating plains, innumerable cows. This is one of the most fertile pasturelands in all of Australia.'[15] Photograph: David Moore, in: Colin MacInnes & the editors of LIFE, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland* (1965), p. 36. Private collection.

Mathieu Smedts learnt of the fence from the then seventy-year-old migrant Peer Meulemans from Antwerp who formerly earned a living, amongst other things, by hunting rabbits. Meulemans was also responsible for the maintenance of 500 kilometres of the fence in the sweltering north – a 'Chinese wall' sometimes undermined by the water from a cloudburst, then again by the theft of the wire by native 'savages'. Moreover, Meulemans affirmed, if rabbit corpses piled up against it, it was no longer effective.[16] However, an alternative to pesticide was employed from 1950 onwards: Myxomatosis, a virus deliberately spread with the help of mosquitos lethal only to rabbits. Smedts notes that 300 million rabbits have died in the past five years. 'The Australian is struggling to understand European outrage over the rabbit disease', he knows, 'Myxomatosis is the hope for his country'. Indeed, people were already talking 'about the time when Australia would have to be evacuated and left to the rabbits'.[17] How sustainable the control afforded by Myxomatosis would be, however, remained unclear at that time.

The final animal that would have been well known to Dutch emigrants – albeit one almost exclusively used for ceremonial, policing, and sporting purposes – is the horse. In Australia, horses were also found in feral herds that were hunted to prevent damage to farmlands and danger to traffic, or to tame the animals for agricultural and sporting uses. Around 1950, Australia had a successful horse breeding industry that was used to provide riding and work horses for export – a line of business that was already declining due to the mechanisation of agriculture. In addition, albeit on a smaller scale, the country also produced polo and racehorses. It had about 1.5 million horses at the time.[18] Traditionally, oxen were also used for the transport of people and goods, as well as camels in desert areas, such as the Northern Territory. Indeed, those working in such barren and vast regions, such

as Peer Meulemans, also travelled by camel.[19] For some time after the war, the horse remained a common means of transport in the countryside, also for children. McGuire reports in 1950: 'Apart from urban children, there are not many Australian children who cannot ride a horse. They grow up with it, and, on the long distances they have to travel to and from school, the horse is an indispensable means of transport.'[20]

In emigration literature, the horse as a mode of transport was portrayed significantly more often than other means such as cars. However, most often, migrants learnt of the use of horses in connection with horse racing – in Australia considered the national sport par excellence. The annual Melbourne Cup, held on the first Tuesday of November, was (and remains) a national holiday. 'Thousands come to Melbourne by train, by plane, by car, from a thousand, three thousand kilometres away', says Smedts: 'For a week, the guests stay to feast. The ladies have been saving for months for new hats and dresses which are described in great detail in the newspapers.' Even the apparent lack of hotel space was not a problem: 'whole tent camps are rising up wherever there is room during that week'.[21] Those who could not attend in person would be glued to the radio, whilst fanatical betting took place at the bookmakers. Smedts also illustrates the Australian love for racing with a story about a prized animal, also famous in New Zealand, Phar Lap (1926-1932):

> In their sermons, bishops spoke of Phar Lap's courage and modesty. Businessmen, wanting to get something done from their competitors, sent them tickets for the races in which it took part. Newspapers, who did not know what to do in the [so-called] silly season, told its life for the thousandth time, sure that it would be read.

When the animal's life came to an untimely end due to poisoning after a victory in America, the Australian press reported it 'as the event of the century', Smedts writes: 'When his corpse arrived in Sydney, the factories and offices were shut down and the whole city went out to pay Phar Lap its last respects. Immigrants are still taken to the museum by their Australian friends, where his remains attract numerous visitors.'[22]

However famous a racehorse like Phar Lap may have been, for Dutch emigrants, other animals they knew from Europe must have appealed more to the imagination. As previously mentioned, the travel writers of the time promised that they would find such animals in the country of destination in numbers unimaginable in the country of origin. In addition, their stories presented these animals as living in vast, often rugged areas, for which there was no Dutch equivalent. This expansive portrayal would have made Australia seem an adventurous country, not only in the eyes of farmers, but also in those of others. This effect was further enhanced by descriptions of indigenous animals.

Caricatures of ordinary animals

Against a background of acacia branches, the Australian coat of arms shows a kangaroo and an emu, flanking a shield with seals of the six states of the Commonwealth of Australia. Four of them also bear the image of an animal: New South Wales and Tasmania a lion (not found in Australia); South Australia a whistling shrike; and Western Australia a black swan. These two birds, together with the emu and the kangaroo, are part of the rich fauna inhabiting the country – a fauna that, as post-war emigration literature emphasises, is found hardly anywhere else. McGuire writes that Australia has 400 mammal species and about 700 bird species; however, he immediately adds that 'the 157 years of civilization has already caused some of them to die out'.[23] Travel literature mentions marsupials such as possums, wombats and echidnas, scorpions, geckos and other lizards, bellbirds, cranes, cockatoos, and parrots. Such exotic creatures clearly captured the imagination of the Dutch. Indeed, Smedts devotes a separate chapter to the 'miraculous animals of Australia', miraculous because of their peculiar appearance and behaviour: 'Nature has played a trick on the Australian animals. They are caricatures of ordinary animals.'[24]

The kangaroo, in all its many forms – e.g., the giant kangaroo, the wallaby, and the tree kangaroo – is, in both word and image, by far the most frequent to appear in travel literature aimed at migrants. To the Dutch, this strangely proportioned herd animal symbolises Australia like no other. However, as MacInnes warns his

Original drawing of Australia's Coat of Arms, 1912. Collection National Archives of Australia/Wikimedia Commons.

readers: 'Up close, the kangaroo is not such a friendly animal as one might think when seen jumping in the distance like a ballet dancer. It is very similar to a squirrel, and if it is not kindly disposed to you it can give you a hard kick with its hind legs.'[25] Koemans agrees that the kangaroo 'is not by any means the kind soul it seems to be': 'When he gets angry, he sits on his tail and, with his strong hind legs, easily and effectively tears open his victim from top to bottom.'[26] Smedts adds that the kangaroos themselves are threatened by hunting and motor traffic, although apparently, they are also extremely tough animals. After one was hit by a car, Smedts states, it seemed unconscious. The driver put the animal upright and jokingly dressed it with his jacket to take a picture of it. However, the animal regained consciousness and ran away, carrying the driver's wallet in its inside pocket. 'That's why, at the moment, a rich kangaroo is jumping around the desert, dressed in a sports jacket.'[27]

Yet easily tamed marsupials are protected. For example, endangered koalas are, according to McGuire, 'laughable, lovely creatures, who have served as models for the teddy bears of the children'.[28] Indeed, in common with small children they cry out when they hurt themselves. Others also mention the resemblance to teddy bears, although, according to Koemans, koalas have got an extraordinary 'strange nose'. He thinks they are 'weird jokers who perform the most amazing antics in a kind of clumsy slow motion'.[29] MacInnes warns that the koala, 'no matter how lovable it looks, could scratch your eyes out with its razor-sharp claws if not treated properly'.[30] A far more dangerous animal, however, is the wolf-like dingo. Smedts records the testimony of Peer Meulemans, who was also a dingo hunter:

> He had seen them at work near Alice Springs in Central Australia. Sometimes the farmers find twenty or thirty dead sheep there, slaughtered by a single dingo. 'They are true murderers, who are not satisfied until they have slaughtered an entire herd. They maul the young calves before the eyes of the cows, which can do nothing against the sharp teeth of the beast.'[31]

One last mammal, once again protected, is invariably presented as Australia's queerest: the platypus, 'duck, otter and reptile all at once', according to Meissner, who even calls it 'the rarest creature on earth'.[32] It is an amphibian mostly living in water, and with the webbed feet and beak of a duck, McGuire explains. It appears to have hardly any chances of survival in captivity: 'A single platypus was once taken to the New York Zoo, where it survived only a few weeks; hundreds of thousands of people came to see it and most of them thought it was a joke.'[33]

Even more so than for mammals, the travel writers present Australia as a paradise for birds. Iconic of this – as seen on the Australian coat of arms – is primarily the emu. A large flightless bird, nonetheless successful on the Australian continent, McGuire describes the emu as 'a dumb bird': 'Anyone who has seen him trot along a fence or run for miles in the headlights of his car will agree.'[34] Somewhat more

prestige is attributed to the lyrebird, which folds its lyre-shaped tail over its body whilst dancing and can imitate even the most diverse sounds. Smedts: 'It has happened that people looked up convinced that a fighter jet was on the way and then noticed that a lyre bird was joking.'[35] McGuire recounts how one specimen played hide and seek with him for hours:

> That afternoon it kept flying around me. Sometimes I pressed motionless against a clammy log for twenty minutes, while it kept popping up and disappearing again. There were moments when I could have sworn he was no more than four or five meters from me, and perhaps he was. When I crept up behind his mocking sounds, he started flashing from side to side and [from] front to back. I heard it brushing through the foliage, but I never got to see it. I don't know if there was one bird or twenty in those bushes, but at least there was one. […] When dusk began to fall and the mud was knee-deep […] I gave up. The moment I turned to go back it came running out of the bushes and it began looking for worms ten feet away under a moss-covered log.[36]

Similarly, the kookaburra, whose call is reminiscent of human laughter, is thought to be at least as smart. This bird, which is considered useful, approachable, and widely loved, is also protected and regularly chooses as its permanent residence the environment of a human home. 'It knows all the people belonging to the house very precisely', Meissner writes, 'and it certainly knows more about them than many would like. For with its sensible sharp eyes he sees everything and takes pleasure in it.'[37] It is also able to catch rodents and snakes, and forcibly render them harmless.

Compared to the Netherlands, snakes are relatively common in Australia; however, due to the availability of effective serums, the danger posed by snakebites was (and indeed remains) low.[38] Nonetheless, according to some travel writers, Dutch emigrants needed to exercise caution. McGuire describes the wild Mallee, an area northwest of Melbourne, as 'an awful land, flat, without variety and practically without water, a world of sinister grey-green, left entirely to the snakes'.[39] Koemans acknowledges that he has not visited such regions, and because of the snakes he does not regret it in the least. The mere sight of a dead one made him shudder. Koemans recalls the story of a fourteen-year-old boy in Koo Wee Rup, a town southeast of Melbourne, where many Dutch people settled in the early 1950s. The boy from Veenendaal told him that 'just when it raised its head and stuck out its forked tongue', he gave a snake 'a wallop with a piece of iron wire, to which the beast had no answer'. Laconically he added: 'And oh, you so often find those things under old planks, in a stump and so on, in these first days of spring, curled up next to its hole.' Although Koemans sees this attitude as evidence of the adaptability of the Dutch, it is questionable to what extent this was the case, even more so when it came to that other reptile that lives in Australia: the crocodile.[40] Reporting on the northern

saltwater crocodile, McGuire states: 'It grows up to six meters in length and is a man-eater.'[41] Particularly alarming to the emigrant must have been Beatty's remark that Australia has 'not enough hunters to deplete the ranks of the crocodiles'.[42]

Whilst, unlike other travel book authors, Beatty also focuses on whale hunting, his contemporaries share remarkably little about the many types of fish that occur in and around Australia, even though the country is surrounded on all sides by seas and oceans. Indeed, it is certain that, after the war, sharks, swordfish, salmon, mackerel, and tuna were fished, but Beatty is the only traveller who pays particular attention to fishing, or rather, to the capture, dissection, and processing of whales at a station in Tangalooma on the east coast of Australia.[43] Against the background of the history and myths relating to Australia's whaling industry, Beatty gives a detailed and, in more ways than one, shocking description: 'A deafening explosion, and the glittering steel shaft [of the harpoon] slides through the air and lands with a dull thud deep into the bowels of the mighty body.'[44]

Not only is Beatty the only travel writer to describe the violence of whaling, he also seems to take a certain pleasure from it. Notwithstanding this, with his colleagues, he shares a fascination with Australia's unique native wildlife, whether dangerous, cuddly, or skittish. Their travel reports show all kinds of exceptional creatures, which were often threatened and at the time becoming increasingly rare. Their representation gave Australia an extravagant and fairy-tale-like quality, evoked by living relics from times long past. For their contemporaries, it was but a short step to those that had populated Australia long before the arrival of Western settlers – the Aborigines.

The old people

In travelogues intended for migrants, Aboriginal peoples occupied a special place in relation to the animal kingdom, also literally. Indeed, they were regularly associated with each other, if only by drawing attention to animal representations in Aboriginal painting. The dominant discourse cultivated by Western colonial powers regarding the indigenous population of seized territories cited stereotypical, underdeveloped, and uncivilised 'savages' who were close to animals. This perspective was also foregrounded in the colonial literature of the time.[45] Settlers derived a sense of self-confidence from that perspective and, time and again, used it to affirm their own superiority, justifying the demarcation of indigenous people as 'colonised others' and the subsequent confiscation of their livelihoods, if necessary, with violence. This colonial mode of thinking was adopted by emigration literature well into the twentieth century, including in travel accounts about Australia – itself colonised by the United Kingdom until 1901.

'When natives in Arnhem Land settle near a white settlement, they quickly develop into excellent herders as they are familiar with animals',[48] in: H.O. Meissner, *Australië... wonderland! Van strafkolonie tot land van belofte* (1968), between p. 160 and p. 161. Private collection.

Remarkably often, such texts discuss Australia's indigenous people immediately after or simultaneously with the continent's faunae. The publisher of Beatty's *Kriskras door Australië* promises that the author 'recounts very vividly the beauty of the landscape, of the varied life in nature with its plants and animals, but also of the people living there'.[46] Some authors even include indigenous peoples and native animals in the same section or chapter. For example, Koemans' chapter 'Fauna' deals with both the Australian animal world and the original human population.[47] Other authors explicitly liken Aborigines to animals, as did the eighteenth-century explorer James Cook, who saw foraging wildlife in Australia's itinerant natives.[49] Similarly, McGuire calls naked Aborigines diving at the coast for pearls 'almost amphibians',[50] and according to Koemans, other natives, with their prowess in tracking, can be used 'as human sniffer dogs'.[51]

In Australian society, Aboriginal people formed a marginalised group in the decades after the Second World War, but in the interior they were sometimes used for herding livestock or for work on a farm, as they were supposed to be good with animals.[52] The image of the Aborigine, threatening the life of the white man, as can be seen in adventure novels of those days,[53] is not an issue in the travel literature discussed here. Rather, the writers cited in this chapter draw attention to the often hostile and condescending treatment of Aborigines, which is only slowly changing to the adoption of a more respectful approach. According to Koemans, it goes without saying that the study of the way of life of indigenous peoples is very worthwhile.[54] Some ten years later, MacInnes recalls that Australian anthropologists are now researching the 'primitive civilisation' of those 'prehistoric people' and the Stone Age life they lead, 'more or less as our own ancestors must have done tens of thousands of years ago'.[55] Tellingly enough, McGuire still finds it necessary to ensure that the Aborigine, 'however far he may be from our world and from our ways of thinking, is unreservedly a human being'.[56] Nonetheless, Aboriginal people remained in the eyes of the travel writers, like many Australian animals, 'living fossils'.

Conclusion

Before returning to the question which animals were represented in travel stories for Dutch-Australian emigrants, and how and why this happened, it makes sense to consider to what extent their authors and readers actually came into contact with Australia's animal world. Outside the urban environment, they undoubtedly found sheep, cattle, horses, and rabbits, whilst most of the native fauna, not least due to its often protected status, seemed easier to encounter in writing. 'The Dutchman who goes to Australia to settle in one of the big cities, or even in the more densely populated agricultural areas not too far from the coast, will probably not find many of the animals we mentioned on his daily walks', the Netherlands Emigration Foundation expected in 1949: 'Many a 20th-century Sydney resident would not have even seen a kangaroo or koala, other than in Taronga Park, Sydney's zoo, or Koala Park, way outside the city, where the otherwise extinct animal lives in freedom alongside other Australian animals.'[57]

McGuire and Meissner would confirm this in subsequent decades.[58] The latter not only reports on a visit to the aforementioned Koala Park, he also tells about the Healesville reserve in the Dandanong Mountains northeast of Melbourne, an imposing landscape with eucalyptus trees of 'unlikely' height. Behind a kilometre-long and three-metre-high fence lies 'an animal paradise such as none can be found in our own continent':

> Within this enclosure the animal world lives perfectly safe from the dangers of freedom and has become so accustomed to the many visitors that it no longer has any fear of humans. […] Wherever one looks, one sees contented animals without any shyness or fear. They have only got to know people from their best side and, as their behaviour proves, consider it excellent that these too belong to their natural environment.[59]

'Taronga Park is more than just a zoo. Although small, it is wonderfully situated and is rightly acclaimed for its wonderful natural habitats for both humans and animals. It is located right opposite Sydney Harbour. A little girl makes friends with a wallaby at the Children's Zoo',[60] in: Paul McGuire, *Zó is Australië. Land en volk* (1950), opposite p. 128. Private collection.

The latter remains to be seen, of course. It is true that the animals, which had become tame, can be petted and fed in the park, but Meissner also sees that, as a result, it is extremely popular amongst the residents of Melbourne who, especially on weekends, go there with whole families to spend a few days. They can use tables and benches, play areas and shelters, and there are restaurants and picnic areas with fireplaces and free firewood for those who want to prepare their own meals. Meissner is very pleased with it, as well as with the visitors' exemplary manners: 'Healesville is truly a paradise, where even the young people behave like angels.'[61] In any case, it is much more cultivated than Flinders Chase, a wildlife sanctuary described by Beatty that covers about a third of Kangaroo Island off the coast of Adelaide. The sanctuary is home to both more common and rare species such as the koala, the platypus, the Cape Barren goose, the Mallee fowl, and the bush turkey. Visitors to the sanctuary can observe the various animals that live there, but there is no question of any physical approach, and the shyer animals are usually absent as 'a few remote places in the forest only reveal their secrets to the toughest trappers'.[62]

In practice, Beatty, Meissner, and McGuire seem to suggest, there was little chance that Dutch migrants would encounter Australia's special faunae in the wild. Yet, as this chapter has shown, the Dutch-Australian travel literature of the time paid it significant attention and did so for various reasons. Even if the travel writers discussed had not seen the animals personally, they could, at the very least, show how well informed they were. Emigrants from the Netherlands and other people involved in their emigration were thus able to learn much about the Australian animal world. On the one hand, it concerns animals they knew already from the Netherlands, but the scale and environment in which they might encounter them in Australia made them impressive. On the other hand, it involves animals virtually unknown to the Dutch and, historically, only found in Australia. The description of both groups of animals, well known and lesser known, contributed significantly to the portrayal of Australia with its eccentric, exotic, or idyllic features – a land of limitless possibilities, a fascinating wonderland, tempting for emigrants.

This image surely played a role in the way in which Dutch emigration literature functioned after the Second World War. It was not just about entertainment. The travel texts discussed above contributed not only to the dissemination of information that prepared the Dutch for what they could expect in Australia, but also to promotional campaigns aimed at persuading potential emigrants to settle there (and perhaps the true reason the nuisance from insects was usually kept out of sight).[63] The idea of ample opportunities for large-scale livestock farming appealed to farmers with too little career prospects in the Netherlands, whilst the Arcadian and exciting features with which the travel stories characterised much of Australia's faunae must also have been inviting, especially for those with an adventurous spirit. However, by mentioning this animal world in the same breath

as the Aboriginal population, travel writers *en passant* seized the opportunity to present the Westerner as inherently more civilised. This undoubtedly justified – albeit not in so many words – that the habitat of the Aborigines was 'cultivated', just like that of the native animals.[64]

Notes

1 Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland, *Australië*, 27: 'De planten- en dierenwereld van Australië is hoogst merkwaardig. Zozeer zelfs, dat plant- en dierkundigen dikwijls de fauna en flora van de wereld plegen in te delen in een Australische en een niet-Australische. Enerzijds bestaan in Australië niet de dieren, bomen en planten die men in de andere werelddelen aantreft, anderzijds bestaan er juist soorten die men overigens in de wereld slechts in versteende vorm in aardlagen van honderden of duizenden eeuwen oud vindt. Men heeft Australië dan ook wel eens "het land der levende fossielen" genoemd.'

2 On post-war emigration from the Netherlands to Australia and the related government policy, see: Obdeijn & Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, esp. section 5.5; Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, esp. 162-168.

3 This number is based on the overviews 'Emigratie naar enige landen van bestemming 1945-1996' (Emigration to some countries of destination 1945-1996) and 'Buitenlandse migratie van Nederlanders met de specifieke emigratielanden naar geslacht 1948-1997' (Foreign migration of Dutch people with the specific emigration countries by gender 1948-1997), which Statistics Netherlands (CBS) made available to me.

4 See Van Kalmthout, 'At the Edge of the World and Other Stories'.

5 See Holland & Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, 8-9; Zilcosky, 'Writing Travel', 7.

6 Cf. Ní Loinsigh, 'Translation', 259.

7 Lean, Staiff & Waterton, 'Reimagining Travel and Imagination', 15; Zilcosky, 'Writing Travel', 8.

8 Zilcosky, 'Writing Travel', 7.

9 Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht… en… bij nader inzien* (Australia at first glance… and… on second thought); Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland* (Australia new fatherland). On both books and the preceding voyage, see: Van Kalmthout, 'At the Edge of the World and Other Stories', 301-302.

10 MacInnes & the editors of LIFE, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland*; Meissner, *Australië… wonderland! Van strafkolonie tot land van belofte* (Australia… wonderland! From penal colony to promised land); McGuire, *Zó is Australië: Land en volk* (That's Australia: Country and people); Beatty, *Kriskras door Australië* (Crisscross through Australia).

11 Pettinger, 'Vertical Travel', 277.

12 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 329.

13 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 318-324.

14 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 324: 'Tijdens de perioden van droogte sterven de konijnen met millioenen en tientallen millioenen tegelijk. Bij hun waanzinnige vlucht naar het voedsel en het water liggen ze soms in ongelofelijke massa's tegen de omheiningen op, en vormen zodoende met hun dode lichamen een brug voor de overlevenden. Aan het eind van een droogteperiode is er in het getroffen gebied geen konijn meer te bekennen. Maar als het weer gaat regenen, komen de overlevenden weer tevoorschijn, die in één seizoen millioenen nakomelingen voortbrengen.'

15 'Op een veefokkerij in Nieuw-Zuid-Wales: een kudde graast onder toezicht van een veeknecht. Eindeloze, golvende vlakten, ontelbare koeien. Dit is een der vruchtbaarste weidelanden van heel Australië.'

16 Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 50-51.

[17] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 35-37. Quotes on p. 36: 'Chinese Muur'; 'wilden'; 'De Australiër heeft moeite om de Europese ontsteltenis over de konijnenziekte te begrijpen'; 'Myxomatose is de hoop voor zijn land'; 'over de tijd, dat men Australië zou moeten ontruimen om het over te laten aan de konijnen'.

[18] Van der Laan, *Australië, land van vele mogelijkheden*, 83.

[19] See Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 52-53. In the course of time, however, use of the animals waned in favour of trucks. As late as 1990, the Dutch travel story writer Cees Nooteboom noticed yellow road signs in the MacDonnell Mountains in the Northern Territory warning against crossing camels, but in this case it presumably involved feral camel herds. See Nooteboom, *Australië*, 46.

[20] McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, caption to image opposite p. 145: 'Er zijn, afgezien van de stadskinderen, niet veel Australische kinderen die geen paard kunnen rijden. Ze groeien er mee op en op de lange afstanden die zij af moeten leggen van en naar school, is het paard een onmisbare vervoersgelegenheid.'

[21] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 105-106: 'Per trein, per vliegtuig, per auto komen duizenden naar Melbourne, duizend, drieduizend kilometer ver'; 'Een week lang blijven de gasten van buiten om feest te vieren. De dames hebben maandenlang gespaard voor nieuwe hoeden en jurken, die in de kranten tot in de kleinste finesses worden beschreven'; 'hele tentenkampen rijzen op, overal waar er ruimte is in die week'.

[22] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 104-105: 'Bisschoppen spraken in hun preken over de moed en de bescheidenheid van Phar Lap. Zakenlieden, die van hun concurrenten iets gedaan wilden krijgen, zonden hun kaartjes voor de rennen, waaraan hij deelnam. Kranten, die in de komkommertijd geen raad wisten, vertelden voor de duizendste keer zijn leven, zeker, dat het gelezen zou worden'; 'als de gebeurtenis van de eeuw'; 'Toen zijn lijk in Sydney aankwam, lagen de fabrieken en kantoren stil en de hele stad liep uit om Phar Lap de laatste eer te bewijzen. Nog altijd worden de immigranten door hun Australische vrienden meegenomen naar het museum, waar zijn stoffelijk overschot steeds talloze bezoekers trekt.'

[23] McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, caption opposite p. 321: 'de 157 jaar van civilisatie heeft er voor gezorgd, dat sommige daarvan al aardig beginnen uit te sterven'.

[24] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 156-157: 'De wonderlijke dieren van Australië'; 'De natuur heeft de Australische dieren een poets gebakken. Zij zijn caricaturen van de gewone dieren.'

[25] MacInnes, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland*, 11-12: 'Van nabij blijkt de kangoeroe niet zo'n vriendelijk dier als men zou denken wanneer men hem in de verte als een balletdanser ziet springen. Hij lijkt veel op een eekhoorn, en als hij u niet vriendelijk gezind is kan hij met zijn achterpoten een lelijke trap toedienen.'

[26] Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 77: 'lang niet de goeierd is van zijn uiterlijk'; 'Wordt hij kwaad, dan gaat hij op zijn staart zitten en scheurt met zijn sterke achterpoten zijn slachtoffer eenvoudig en doeltreffend van boven naar onder open.'

[27] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 157-158: 'Zo springt er op het ogenblik een rijke kangoeroe door de woestijn rond, gekleed in een sportjasje.'

[28] McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 292: 'lachwekkende, aanvallige wezentjes, die als model hebben gediend voor de teddybeertjes van de kinderen'.

[29] Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 77: 'vreemde neus'; 'rare grapjassen, die in een soort onbeholpen slow motion de wonderlijkste capriolen ten beste geven'.

[30] MacInnes, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland*, 12: 'hoe aanminnig hij er ook uitziet, u met zijn vlijmscherpe klauwen de ogen kan uitkrabben als hij niet goed wordt behandeld'.

[31] Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 48: 'Hij had ze in Midden-Australië in de buurt van Alice Springs aan het werk gezien. Soms vinden de boeren daar twintig, dertig dode schapen, afgemaakt door

een enkele dingo. “Het zijn ware moordenaars, die niet tevreden zijn, voordat ze een hele kudde hebben afgemaakt. De jonge kalveren verscheuren ze voor de ogen van de koeien, die niets kunnen doen tegen de scherpe tanden van het beest.”’

32 Meissner, *Australië… wonderland!*, 41-42: ‘eend, otter en reptiel tegelijk’; ‘het zeldzaamste wezen ter aarde’.

33 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 292: ‘Eén enkele platypus heeft men eens naar de New Yorkse dierentuin gebracht, waar hij slechts enkele weken in leven bleef; er kwamen honderdduizenden mensen om er naar te kijken en de meesten dachten, dat het een grap was.’

34 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 293: ‘Iedereen die hem langs een hek heeft zien draven of hem kilometers lang heeft zien rennen in de koplampen van zijn auto, zal dat beamen.’

35 Smedts, *Australië nieuw vaderland*, 157: ‘Het is voorgekomen, dat mensen naar boven keken overtuigd, dat er een straaljager op komst was en dan merkten, dat een liervogel een grapje maakte.’

36 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 291: ‘Die middag vloog hij steeds om me heen. Ik drukte me soms twintig minuten lang bewegingloos tegen een klamme boomstam aan, terwijl hij steeds tevoorschijn schoot en weer verdween. Er waren ogenblikken, dat ik had durven zweren, dat hij niet meer dan vier of vijf meter van me af was, en misschien was dat ook wel zo. Als ik achter zijn spottende geluiden aankroop, begon hij van links naar rechts en [van] voor naar achter te schieten. Ik hoorde hem door het gebladerte strijken, maar ik kreeg hem nooit in het oog. Ik weet niet of er één vogel of twintig in die struiken zaten, maar één was het er in elk geval. / […] Toen de schemering begon te vallen en de modder me tot aan de knieën zat […] gaf ik het op. Op dat ogenblik dat ik me omdraaide om terug te keren, kwam hij de struiken uitrennen en begon op drie meter afstand onder een met mos begroeide boomstam naar wormen te zoeken.’

37 Meissner, *Australië… wonderland!*, 45: ‘Alle personen die bij het huis horen kent hij heel precies’; ‘en hij weet beslist meer van hen dan menigeen lief is. Want met zijn verstandige scherpe ogen ziet hij alles en beleeft er zijn plezier aan.’

38 Cnossen & Apperloo, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland*, 60.

39 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 253: ‘een ontzettend land, vlak, zonder afwisseling en praktisch zonder water, een wereld van sinister grijsgroen, dat geheel aan de slangen was overgelaten’.

40 Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 76: ‘net, toen hij zijn kop oprichtte en zijn gespleten tong uitstak een opzaniker met een stuk ijzerdraad had gegeven, waarvan het beest niet terug had’; ‘En, och, je treft die dingen zo vaak onder oude planken, in een boomstronk en zo maar, in deze eerste lentedagen, opgerold naast het hol.’

41 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, caption opposite p. 273: ‘Hij wordt wel tot zes meter lang en is menseneter.’

42 Beatty, *Kriskras door Australië*, caption between pp. 64 and 65: ‘niet genoeg jagers om de gelederen der krokodillen uit te dunnen’.

43 See e.g., Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland, *Australië*, 32.

44 Beatty, *Kriskras door Australië*, 87-93. Quote on p. 87: ‘Een oorverdovende explosie, en de glinsterende stalen schacht [van de harpoen] glijdt door de lucht en belandt met een doffe plof diep in de ingewanden van het geweldige lichaam.’

45 See Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, 75-85.

46 Beatty *Kriskras door Australië*, inside cover: ‘verhaalt zeer levendig van de schoonheid van het landschap, van het rijkgeschakeerde leven in de natuur met haar planten en dieren, maar ook van het volk dat daar woont’.

47 Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 76-79.

48 ‘Als inboorlingen in Arnhemland zich in de buurt van een blanke nederzetting vestigen, ontwikkelen zij zich snel tot uitstekende veehoeders, daar zij met dieren vertrouwd zijn.’

49 McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 81.

[50] McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 354.

[51] Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 78. About the exceptional Aboriginal track sense, see also: McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 339-340.

[52] Lodewyckx, *Australië waarheen?*, 68.

[53] E.g., in Prins' children's book *Jack en Sheltie*.

[54] Koemans, *Australië op het eerste gezicht*, 78.

[55] MacInnes, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland*, 12: 'primitieve beschaving'; 'praehistorische mensen'; 'ongeveer zoals onze eigen voorouders dit tienduizenden jaren geleden gedaan moeten hebben'.

[56] McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 342: 'hoe ver hij ook van onze wereld afstaat en van onze denkgewoonten, zonder enig voorbehoud een mens'.

[57] Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland, *Australië*, 30: 'De Nederlander die naar Australië gaat om zich te vestigen in één der grote steden, of zelfs in de dichter bevolkte landbouwstreken niet te ver van de kust, zal wel niet veel van de dieren, die wij noemden aantreffen op zijn dagelijkse wandelingen'; 'Menig 20ste eeuwse bewoner van Sydney zal zelfs geen kangoeroe of koala hebben gezien, anders dan in Taronga Park, Sydney's dierentuin, of in Koala Park, een eind buiten de stad, waar het elders uitstervende diertje in vrijheid leeft, naast andere Australische dieren.'

[58] See McGuire, *Zó is Australië*, 292; Meissner, *Australië… wonderland*, 90-97.

[59] Meissner, *Australië… wonderland*, 37-38: 'een dierenparadijs zoals er in ons eigen werelddeel geen een te vinden is'; 'Binnen deze omheining leeft de dierenwereld volkomen veilig voor de gevaren der vrijheid en ze is zo aan de vele bezoekers gewend geraakt dat zij geen vrees meer heeft voor mensen. […] Waar men ook kijkt, overal ziet men tevreden dieren zonder enige schuwheid of angst. Zij hebben de mensen alleen van hun beste zijde leren kennen en vinden het, zoals hun gedrag bewijst, uitstekend dat ook deze tot hun natuurlijke omgeving behoren.'

[60] 'Taronga Park is meer dan een dierentuin. Hoewel klein, is het prachtig gelegen en wordt [het] terecht geprezen om zijn prachtige natuurlijke verblijfplaatsen zowel voor de mensen als de dieren. Het ligt recht tegenover Sydney Harbour. Een klein meisje knoopt vriendschap aan met een wallaby in de Kinderdierentuin.'

[61] Meissner, *Australië… wonderland*, 39: 'Healesville is werkelijk een paradijs, waarin ook de kleine mensen zich als engelen gedragen.'

[62] Beatty, *Kriskras door Australië*, 58-59: 'enkele afgelegen plekken in het bos slechts aan de gehardste woudlopers hun geheimen prijsgeven'.

[63] See about these features of travel literature: Armstrong, 'Reading', 211-212; and about the corresponding functions of Dutch emigration literature: Van Kalmthout, *Een sprong in het duister*, 15.

[64] I would like to thank Marijke van Faassen for her comments on an earlier version of this contribution.

Bibiliography

Armstrong, Catherine, 'Reading', in: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley & Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London: Anthem Press, 2019), 211-213.

Beatty, Bill, *Kriskras door Australië*, with 13 photos and a map [translation by J.E.L. Stoffers of: *Beyond Australia's Cities* (London/Melbourne: Cassell, 1956)] (Utrecht/Antwerp: Prisma-boeken, 1959).

Boehmer, Elleke, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Cnossen, T. & M. Apperloo, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland* (Wageningen: Gebr. Zomer en Keunings, 1954).

Holland, Patrick & Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998).

Koemans, H.M., *Australië op het eerste gezicht… en… bij nader inzien* (Hoorn: West-Friesland, 1954).

Lean, Garth, Russell Staiff & Emma Waterton, 'Reimagining Travel and Imagination', in: Garth Lean, Russell Staiff & Emma Waterton (eds.), *Travel and Imagination* (Farnham, Surrey: Asgate, 2014), 9-22.

Lodewyckx, A., *Australië waarheen?* (Meppel: Boom, 1963).

MacInnes, Colin & the editors of LIFE, *Australië en Nieuw-Zeeland* (Amsterdam: Het Parool, 1965).

McGuire, Paul, *Zó is Australië: Land en volk* [authorised translation by J.L. van Tijn of: *Australian Journey* (London: The Travel Book Club, 1948)] (The Hague: Heinemann, 1950).

Meissner, H.O., *Australië… wonderland! Van strafkolonie tot land van belofte*, authorised translation and adaptation by Eibert H. Bunte [of: *Das fünfte Paradies: Australien. Menschen, Tiere, Abenteur* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1965)] (Den Haag: Ad.M.C. Stok/Forum Boekerij, 1968).

Ní Loinsigh, Aedín, 'Translation', in: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley & Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London/New York, Anthem Press, 2019), 259-261.

Nooteboom, Cees, *Australië* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2021).

Obdeijn, Herman & Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan: Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008).

Pettinger, Alasdair, 'Vertical Travel', in: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley & Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London/New York: Anthem Press, 2019), 277-279.

Prins, Piet, *Jack en Sheltie*, with 14 illustrations by Jaap Kramer (Groningen: De Vuurbaak, 1966).

Smedts, Mathieu, *Australië nieuw vaderland* [Preface by His Excellency Alfred Stirling, Ambassador of Australia to the Dutch Court, with 27 photos] (Voorhout: Foreholte/Antwerp: 't Groeit, 1955).

Stichting Landverhuizing Nederland, *Australië: Een beschrijving van land en volk ten dienste van emigranten* (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij- en Uitgeverijbedrijf, 1949).

Van der Laan, J.J., *Australië, land van vele mogelijkheden* (Amsterdam: Holland, 1950).

Van Faassen, Marijke, *Polder en emigratie: Het Nederlandse emigratiebestel in internationaal perspectief 1945-1967* (Phd Thesis, University of Groningen, 2014).

Van Kalmthout, Ton, 'At the Edge of the World and Other Stories: Dutch-Australian Emigration Literature, *c.* 1945-1990', in: Theo D'haen (ed.), *Dutch and Flemish Literature as World Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 295-311.

Van Kalmthout, Ton, *Een sprong in het duister: Nederlandse emigratieliteratuur 1946-1992 […]* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2021).

Zilcosky, John, 'Writing Travel', in: J. Zilcosky (ed.), *Writing Travel: The Poetics and Politics of the Modern Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 3-21.

CHAPTER 10

A Lesson in Happiness

Animals and Nostalgia in the Travel Stories of Leonhard Huizinga

Esther Op de Beek

Abstract

This chapter focuses on the function of animals in nostalgic discourse in modern Dutch travel stories, particularly those of writer Leonhard Huizinga (1903-1980). In his travelogues, Huizinga depicts himself as a misanthropic traveller who prefers the companionship of animals to that of humans. Travelling with animals reminds him of an unspoiled past. The question, both posed and answered, is to what extent the animals he describes constitute a form of nostalgia that not only serves the narrator, *or* are central to a more reflective form of nostalgia that serves the relationship between human and non-human species. In answering this question, attention is paid to Svetlana Boym's theoretical insights on nostalgia and to the dynamic tension between text and image in Huizinga's travel stories.

Keywords: Nostalgia, travel writing, animals, Dutch literature, Leonhard Huizinga

'Whoever travels with the animals, will never be alone.'[1] This is the title of a collection of travel stories by the Dutch writer Leonhard Huizinga (1906-1980) from 1977. In these stories, Huizinga, who is probably best known in the Netherlands as the author of the picaresque novel *Adriaan en Olivier* (1939), and as the son of the renowned historian Johan Huizinga and Mary Vincentia Schorer, assigns an intriguing role to animals. Huizinga depicts himself, the narrator of the stories, as someone who shies away from people and prefers to travel alone through nature with only the company of animals. The birds, monkeys, and horses he encounters, prevent him from feeling lonely and remind him of an unspoiled past. Huizinga's relations with animals seem to serve the self-image of a melancholic and nostalgic traveller who avoids the ugliness of modern life and longs for the lost paradise of his younger days.

In recent research on travel writing, much attention has been paid to the discourse of nostalgia. Many modern travel writers share a sense of displacement, a way to characterise themselves as individuals who are at home, neither in the destinations they visit, nor in the places they have left behind.[2] Political anthropologist

Leonhard Huizinga, 1945. Photograph: Piet van der Ham. Collection Anefo/Nationaal Archief.

Debbie Lisle illustrates how, at a time when there is no area left to discover, contemporary travel authors produce a nostalgic discourse to counter the structural inconvenience with this dishonourable, almost embarrassing role.[3] They are, in her words, 'belated travellers', in the sense that they arrive too late for the exotic, unexplored, or adventurous, which turns them into the worst thing imaginable, namely: tourists. Having missed the authentic experience once offered by a world that was already disappearing, they react by expressing anti-tourist attitudes and behaviour.

Up to now, no attention has been paid to the function that animals can play in both the narrative construction of a nostalgic discourse, and the experience of being 'belated'. Yet several roles are imaginable. Animals can be part of the lost world that is longed for, or part of the complicated or disappointing present that stirs a longing for the past. Their role in travel stories may serve the construction of desire. Indeed, as the other contributions to this volume make clear, they remind one of a time when horses were still a significant form of transport, when unknown areas were yet to be 'discovered' by adventurers, and animals and their environments were seen as 'exotic' – to name but a few. At the same time, they can be found and encountered in modern environments that are westernised, commercialised, and somewhat disappointing, all due to human intervention, and in which the animals themselves are not complicit. One way or another, these functions will complement those proposed by Elizabeth Leane, who in her chapter on animals in *The Research Companion to Travel Writing,* mentions – as also referred earlier in this book – the animal as quest object, as instrument of travel, and as companion.[4]

The question I want to answer in this contribution is to what extent we should think of the animals that populate nostalgic discourse in Leonhard Huizinga's travel stories as instrumental to a form of nostalgia that serves the narrator, *or* as central to a more reflective form of nostalgia that serves the relationship between human and non-human species. In answering this question, I will also consider the effect exerted by the dynamic tension between text and image in the later travel stories.

I will use Svetlana Boym's literary theoretical insights on nostalgia to answer these questions.[5] In accordance with Lisle, Boym sees nostalgia as 'a mourning

for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an "enchanted world" with clear borders and values'.[6] However, where Lisle points to the intrinsic harmfulness of nostalgia as a discourse, Boym shows that nostalgia also carries a critical and empathetic potential, depending on which narrative structure that nostalgia follows. Boym elaborates this view by making a distinction between 'restorative' and 'reflective' nostalgia.[7] In this chapter, Boym's ideas of the narrative structure of 'reflective nostalgia' enable an analysis of the role of human-animal relationships in the construction of a nostalgic discourse.

In this contribution, I want to focus on two collections of stories by Leonhard Huizinga that can be regarded as fitting the category of travel writing. The first is *Marokko, het land van het dode paard* (Morocco, the land of the dead horse), published in 1972. Some stories from this collection have been reissued in the second collection to be analysed: *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen* (Who travels with the animals is never alone), published five years later in 1977. As the subtitle – *Avonturen vandaag beleefd, verlucht met gravures van een eeuw geleden* (Adventures experienced today, illuminated with engravings from a century ago) – makes clear, the latter book is a rather curious work: an intriguing mix of autobiographical travel stories and engravings of adventure trips, expeditions, or hunting scenes in Africa, dating from a century earlier.

For several reasons, Huizinga's travel stories offer a perfect case study via which to explore the functions of animals in nostalgic discourse. First, these rather unknown stories are teeming with animals. This is rather exceptional for the domain of Dutch travel writing of this period, which was mostly published in popular magazines, such as the glossy magazine *Avenue* and the weekly *Elsevier*. In these more journalistically oriented travel reports, a wider range of topics – from politics and city life, to culture and local habits – is discussed, and thus the focus on animals is less decisive than in Huizinga's work.

The animals in Huizinga's stories are always involved in the reflection on, and the experience of, time and place. His work thus offers us our second opportunity, this time to complement international reflections on nostalgia in travel writing – a discourse that is characteristic of modern travelogues – with a focus on animals.[8] Huizinga published his travel texts in the 1970s, a period of increasing prosperity and leisure time, and hence of increasing mass tourism in the Netherlands. Characteristic of travel texts of this period is the depiction of both the positive aspects of travelling – how it brings new perspectives and knowledge, and gives a sense of freedom and pleasure – and the negative effects of tourism and globalisation.[9] This tension causes discomfort to journalists or travel writers, who typically regard themselves as curious, open-minded beings. They explicitly distance themselves from mass tourism or its promotion.[10] At the same time, however, these travel writers realise that, by the mere act of writing about their experiences abroad, they unavoidably contribute to

Front cover of Leonhard Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen* (1977). Private collection.

the negative effects. This tension can be seen in all Western travel writing of this period and is often tackled with self-relativisation and self-mockery, but also with nostalgic longing.[11] In that respect, Huizinga's work seems to be typical, not only of his time, but also of modern travel writing more generally.

A third reason to choose Huizinga's texts concerns the generic peculiarity of these relatively unknown travel stories. Some are published, as previously mentioned, in an unusual combination with historical engravings. This combination arouses curiosity: How should we interpret this juxtaposition of actual travel experiences and adventurous scenes from the past? What desires, comments, or ambivalences are expressed in the combination of text and image? Last, my analysis will bring the work of Leonhard Huizinga from oblivion, and possibly nuance his image as the author of only one popular work of fiction (and its sequels), namely *Adriaan en Olivier*.

I first introduce this and other work by Huizinga. I then elaborate the theoretical perspective throughout my analysis in two phases: Initially, I analyse Lisle's conceptualisation of nostalgia in the first collection of Huizinga's travel stories. I then explore the possibility of a more reflexive nostalgia by focusing on the combination of text and images in the second collection of travel stories.

Leonhard Huizinga and his travelogues

After completing a bachelor's degree in law at the University of Leiden, Leonhard Huizinga started to travel at the age of 21. He travelled throughout Persia and the Soviet Union, worked on a farm in Morocco for half a year, and worked as a tea and rubber planter on Java, in the Dutch East Indies. In the mid-1930s, he returned to the Netherlands and started a career as a journalist and writer (both fiction and nonfiction). He worked for the newspaper *De Telegraaf* and published several books for commercial companies, such as Shell.

Huizinga owed his great popularity mainly to his book *Adriaan en Olivier*, an ironic-humorous picaresque novel.[12] Between its first publication in November 1939 and 1941, three more editions of *Adriaan en Olivier* were published, although further reprints were banned during the German occupation. Immediately after the war, the book proved increasingly popular: Three subsequent reprints, and even a jigsaw puzzle depicting the main protagonists – Adriaan en Olivier – followed. From 1963, *Adriaan and Olivier* was included in the Dutch Salamander series and was reprinted many times, followed by several (less successful) sequels.

Yet, in the more prestigious literary domain, Huizinga received little appreciation and recognition during his life, and until now, his work received little if any attention in academic circles. Notwithstanding this lack of recognition, Huizinga published a number of interesting and curious literary texts. In 1945, for instance, his diary *Zes kaarsen voor Indië* (Six candles for India) appeared. The diary, which contains a nostalgic description of the Dutch East Indies, consists of six chapters, symbolically referred to as 'candles'. The book was released by the underground magazine *Ons Volk* (Our people) during the Second World War and was commissioned and written for the Australian Overseas Information Committee. In 1952, Huizinga gained a rather large audience with his ironic history of the Dutch and their so called 'civilised' society in *Zo schreed de beschaving voort* (That is how civilisation progressed). In *Bezeten wereld* (Haunted world, 1963), Huizinga offered a travel omnibus of the art of travelling through space and time. The book ironically deals with the mores and habits of tourists. Its title resonates with a well-known quote from Leonhard Huizinga's internationally renowned father, Johan Huizinga, from 1935: 'We live in a haunted world and we know it. It would come as no surprise to anyone if madness suddenly broke out into a frenzy, leaving this poor European humanity in stupor and bewilderment, engines still running and flags still flying, but the spirit gone.'[13] Leonhard Huizinga published his *Herinneringen aan mijn vader* (Memories of my father) about his childhood in 1963.

As may have already become apparent, the selection of material for the present analysis is based on dual criteria: that the collected stories can be counted as travel writing and that they involve animals. The latter can be determined quickly in Huizinga's case, if only because as indicated in the subtitles of the two texts, they revolve around travelling with animals. However, whether all the stories in the collections chosen here can actually be called travel stories, and whether there are no other travel stories in other collections, is more difficult to answer. Generally, travel literature cannot be easily demarcated from other genres. In this context, Jonathan Raban's reflection on the genre is often quoted when he observes that travel writing is a 'notoriously raffish open house where very different genres are likely to end up in the same bed'.[14] Travel writing as a genre accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note, and polished table talk, as he argues, 'with indiscriminate hospitality'.[15] Like much travel writing,

Huizinga's travel stories are a hybrid mixture of travel accounts, autobiographical reflections, fiction, columns, and satire. Paying attention to the hybrid appearance in these two collections of Huizinga, which quite obviously meet the two criteria, helps us to chart the generic breadth of modern Dutch travel writing, and the way in which it produces nostalgic discourse.

Travelling with the animals

In the travel stories in *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, the 'incorrigible adventurer' Huiziga, as the cover text ironically states, returns to the land of his eternal homesickness: Morocco. The stories describe that journey and his encounters with jackals, vultures, storks, and eagles, but also with various travelling companions and people along the way. The subtitle of the collection is: 'I travel with the animals'. As we will see, Huizinga explains in detail what he means by this, and makes an effort to encourage his readers to start travelling with the animals as well, which he calls 'a lesson in happiness'.[16] I first give an impression of the way in which animals are at the centre of the storyline, and then describe their role in the traveller's search for a lost time.

Both the motivation for the trip to Morocco and the direct incentive to actually leave are attributed to an animal – a horse and a blackbird respectively. The narrator explains how he is bothered by the call of a blackbird:

> Endlessly the same tune, the same haunting question that I could not understand. The repetition became an obsession for me. […] 'Tuu-de-tu-tu-do-toe-toe?…' As soon as I translated his question into sounds for the first time, the riddle was solved. Incessantly, he asked: 'Are you coming with me to Morocco?… Are you coming with me to Morocco?… Are you coming with me to…' Anyway, the answer was simple: 'No, I'm not going to Morocco. I have no money. I do not have time. I don't feel like…' That last one was a reckless observation. Don't feel like going to Morocco?… What a sad excuse!… What a dirty lie!… Wasn't it somewhere in Morocco, that my little stallion, to whom I had said goodbye 43 years ago in the green mountains of the Rif, was buried […]?[17]

This passage shows that the narrator tells himself, and his readers, that he is guided by animals and that he is able to communicate with them. Although in reality such a feat seems impossible, the ironic description of conversations such as these always embrace a certain 'unworldliness' and express a form of projection, supposed to express kinship – a theme to which I return later.

Both the atmosphere during the journey and the mood of the traveller are described by references to animals. Animals prove to be a remedy for the loneliness

that can overtake the traveller: 'The weak moments, even for the traveller who has gratefully and consciously chosen solitude, are the hours '*entre chien et loup*', when the joys of the day are over and the peace of the night has not yet conquered the world.'[18] If one travels with a group, one is subject to its corresponding slavery, Huizinga jokes – the tone of the text is generally corny – and if one travels in pairs, every situation may turn into an argument. For the narrator, travelling solo means travelling in freedom, although that freedom can be limited by the pressure of loneliness, especially when night falls:

> There is only one group of travellers – not to mention the good ones in my life – that never bores and deepens all the joys of travel: those are the animals. Whoever keeps eyes, ears and heart open for the animals while travelling will never really be lonely. Moreover, he will enjoy more deeply the things that others also see, but which are clothed for him by the animals because he has learned to LOOK. […] In fact, if one has also met the wrong human group, it need not be bothered. […] One only looks and listens to the animals around. Even between between dog and wolf [at twilight].[19]

This preference for animal over human companionship is a performative act of distinction from other human travellers. It is a strategy for presenting oneself as the anti-tourist. Modern tourism, as Tim Youngs states, is a *broadly accessible* form of leisure travel no longer based in the overt class and gender prerogatives of the 'Grand Tour'.[20] The more travel becomes available to everyone and the less it is a privilege, the greater the fear amongst travel writers that mass tourism will kill something precious. This fear leads, Young continues, to intensified efforts to distinguish themselves from tourists, both in travel practices and in travel stories:

> The tourist is an unwelcome reminder, to self-styled 'travellers', of the modern realities that dog their fleeting footsteps […]. Abroad, the tourist is the relentless representative of home, […] the so-called traveller seeks authenticity through a difference from home. The genuine is sought in a flight from modernity; from machines, money and, often, from urbanization, too. The idea is that the traveller will respect difference whereas the tourist will bring about a transformation that will diminish it.[21]

This image of the traveller applies quite literally to Huizinga's self-presentation.

The horse, mentioned in the title of Huizinga's book, is Kasjgai, who accompanied Huizinga during an earlier visit to Morocco. The narrator is afraid that a new trip will turn out to be a disappointment and doubts if he wants to go at all: Perhaps his beautiful memories should not be confronted with a modern reality and thus remain carefully intact. In terms of narrative structure, Huizinga tells the reader how the new trip to Morocco went and what memories it has evoked.

He vividly shares these memories with the reader as well, of which Kasjgai is an important ingredient. He recalls, for instance, the conversations he claims to have had with the horse about the latter's stubborn nature: '"I have not learned to trot", he told me one of the first days. This turned out to be correct […]. It didn't affect our friendship.'[22] When the young Huizinga loses his patience and slaps the horse, the narrator reflects: 'Another horse would have kicked back or gone out. Kashgai stood dead still, looked back and gently said: "To beat a defenceless horse…"'[23] The horse is thus presented as the wiser and calmer of the two, and, thus, a rather 'civilised' version of a horse. Huizinga is at least honest about his bad behaviour, revealing him not to be a totally evil person. Of course, this strategy is simply intended to relieve his (justified) feelings of guilt, as is the forgiveness by the horse.

The breakup with Kasjgai is rather painful. One morning, Huizinga finds Kashgai injured. His plan to travel to Holland with him must be cancelled; he gets another horse and has to leave Kashgai behind – something about which, even forty-three years later, the narrator still feels ashamed. He has not yet been able to forgive himself the maltreatment of his companion; he carries an old, perhaps unrepayable debt.

When the narrator shares his feeling of guilt about Kashgaj with his new (human) travel companion, Manus, the latter accuses him of digging 'old horses from the ditch' (a pun on the Dutch proverb 'don't dig up old cows from the ditch', which means about the same as 'let bygones be bygones'):

> Since you didn't go south with that stupid animal half a century ago, now you feel the urge to make it up to him by still going south. It's not as crazy as it sounds at all. There is no time in the desert. There you can imagine again that you are a young male and that your horse is not dead, or to put it differently, that you can make up for everything you have done wrong in your life…[24]

Manus stresses the superior position of the human traveller who uses animals and projects his own thoughts and sentiments on them, but he also mentions the possibility of the travel writer to create an extra-temporal world in fiction, in which debts might be repaid. Although this possibility is judged to be hypocritical by Manus, the possibility is imagined and performed in the text as well, which creates a metafictional layer in the story. Furthermore, the narrator himself also reflects on the fact that he interprets the thoughts of animals, and thus shows (self) awareness of the human ability to imagine the non-human experience, for instance in this short passage:

> For a long time, man has arrogantly reserved thinking and feeling for himself. Animals only would have 'instincts' and inherited 'behavioural patterns'. More and more researchers are coming to the conclusion that the world of thought, or what passes for it, of humans

> and animals is more similar than humans are comfortable with. The animal has one advantage over us, unless one wants to say: it is far behind us in a certain sense: it does not know the concept of death, and therefore does not know the fear of death that destroys so much human joy.[25]

In *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, the reader is thus confronted with a rather ambivalent relationship between the narrator and the animal. It was used for the benefits of the traveller, both during the trip and, by presenting the relationship as a close friendship, in writing about it, as well as for the construction of a beneficial self-image.

Before I relate the implied superior position of the traveller – superior to animals, but also to locals and tourists – to nostalgia in Huizinga's account of his trip down memory lane, I want to elaborate upon the concept of 'restorative nostalgia'.

Nostalgia in Morocco…

In the last chapter of *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (2006), entitled 'Looking Back: Utopia, Nostalgia and the Myth of Historical Progress', Debbie Lisle describes how, in travel literature, a discursive construction of a foreign country is always accompanied with a discursive regulation of temporality.[26] Geographical hierarchies such as civilised-primitive, safe-dangerous, or home-away gain shape via their attendant historical dimensions. In other words, travel is not simply about attractive destinations, but also about past desires ('past-as-it-never-happened') and dreams for the future ('present-yet-to-come').[27] Lisle uses the image of the historical queue, as conceptualised by Doreen Massey, to describe how travel literature divides the world through a historical timeline that is linear, evolutionary, and progressive, placing certain destinations further back in time than others. The timeline determines which destinations are regarded to be 'developed' – which basically means that they conform to Western values – and who is eligible to write travel texts:

> It is only the most historically 'evolved' – the most sophisticated, civilized, and experienced subjects – who are able to map their own progress retroactively, and judge the progress of others through a linear, plotted history. […] this is how power operates here: space, time and identity are all mapped according to Western notions of progress and evolution – which means that Western subjects are always at the front of the queue.[28]

According to Lisle, travel literature reproduces the historical queue in the sense that writers choose their destination because it allows them to go back in time as well as far away. This is a way of escaping the inconveniences of globalisation

'into an imagined past where everyone knew their place within the hierarchies of Empire'.[29] Through the use of a nostalgic discourse, innocence can be restored and retroactively situated in the past, 'which in turn allows […] to secure a utopian future and alleviate the anxieties of the present tense'.[30] The colonial power relations that are anchored in this evolutionary model of history and that continue to have a problematic effect in the present become addressable through nostalgia, with one foot in the past and the other in the future. Nostalgia, Lisle concludes, should be thought of as escapist and by no means innocent. In this view, the discourse of nostalgia in travel literature is a disguised revival of a colonial vision, in which nostalgia transposes the inherited colonial power structures to, and hides behind, an innocent past.[31]

The restoration of a lost paradise?

Now let us look at the way in which Huizinga deals with his longing for the past in his stories. In a chapter entitled 'Vos' (Fox), Huizinga describes a trip through the mountains around Marrakesh, a trip that strongly disappoints him. The modernity of the city fills him with horror: 'The new town, artificially red as the old town is naturally red, looks like a painted part of the suburb of Paris, the old town an international clown festival of tourists.'[32] The traveller wonders whether he will return bitter and disappointed from his trip, after the disillusionment of a dream. Once he moves into the mountains, however, 'Morocco instantly becomes itself', by which he means that it suddenly fits his memories of unspoiled nature again. To his surprise, the traveller returns to 'a wild and ancient land', 'a world that is no different from two, three or five hundred years ago', where only the asphalted road could disrupt that illusion.[33] 'Here', the traveller argues, 'the redemption from all that might otherwise afflict him can be found. Here he is outside of himself and therefore more than ever himself. There is nothing that disturbs, disfigures, or distorts reality. Here, he is liberated from all fears and worries.'[34] We can clearly discern a restorative discourse of nostalgia in these fragments, in which the natural environment enables a way of escaping the inconveniences of the present.

Yet how do animals feature in this narrative? When, in the mountain scene described, a descending plane drops out of the clouds and Huizinga's idyll of the 'different world' is broken, the traveller realises – startled – that he has not paid attention to the animals surrounding him. He thinks this is a shame because they would certainly have deserved his attention. Just before he reaches Taroudant – the inhabited world – he watches a fox as it just slips away 'and disappears via the asphalt of the 20th century into gardens and wildernesses that have been there for hundreds of years, have lain unchanged for years'.[35] The traveller is grateful: 'This

makes my day. Tomorrow I will be even closer to the nostalgia of my childhood. […] That fox before Taroudant promised me so.'[36] The animal thus embodies the promise of the restoration of paradise. Watching and following the animals enables his escape to the past and the happiness of childhood memories.

This longing for a restored past, which also means escaping the discomfort that is caused by guilt (in this case, for the maltreatment of the horse, or for the effects of modernisation on the environment), is rather painfully reinforced by orientalist descriptions of people and Moroccan culture in other chapters, using the geographical hierarchy between 'primitivism' and 'civilisation' that Lisle considers part of nostalgic discourse. As Maria Boletsi points out, far from static, these are malleable categories 'meant to solidify a hierarchical opposition' that is defined by standards such as class, gender, or wealth.[37] Whenever the opposition is threatened or weakened, 'the civilizational machine can shift the defining standards of the self in order to slightly redefine the self and the barbarian without changing the terms'.[38]

To give just a few examples, when Huizinga and his companion Manus are in the desert near Tangier, the narrator remarks, with satisfaction, that the day brings nothing but emptiness: 'And so the day goes. What happens here, is that unheard miracle in the civilized world: nothing happens at all.'[39] However, Huizinga, without any reflection on his privileged situation, is then annoyed by several beggars who spoil the purity of the desert with their begging. To proclaim the emptiness of a land (or culture) is a strategy described by Mary Louise Pratt as part of the typical colonial gaze.[40] It is a strategy used by the 'civilised' modern, urban, or rich people used to describe the 'barbarian', the 'not yet modern', rural, or poor people. By presenting these differences in terms of civilisation, the narrator legitimises superiority. Furthermore, by presenting these traits as essential to the identities of self and others, and not as an effect of the unequal circumstances, he evades any responsibility for, or complicity in, those circumstances.

In another story, a young boy, a poor inhabitant of a small village, approaches the Western travellers, because he wants to sell them a bird's nest with eggs. To the narrator's reassurance, Manus sends the boy away. The narrator states that the poor inhabitants, like this boy, think of them as millionaires and adds: 'Yet there is no envy or suspicion in them, no xenophobia or envy. They are too simple and too proud for such feelings.'[41] The rest of the day, with a sense of relief, the narrator is able to spend birdwatching, which he sums up as: 'No one bothers us anymore.'[42] What we see here is the complete neglection of the superiority that is implied in the judgment of others as 'too simple and too proud'. The narrator does of course experience discomfort when he is confronted with the rather obvious inequality, however, he merely rationalises it by contributing essential traits to the inhabitants (they simply feel no envy) or by escaping the confrontation. Spotting birds, far away from tourists and people who spoil this beautiful nature, might seem an innocent

thing to do. This way of claiming innocence whilst consolidating control, however, is reminiscent of what Pratt has called the 'anti-conquest'.[43] By presenting the self as the harmless observer of others and their environment, the presence (and negative effects on those others and their environment) is legitimised. The Moroccans, the surroundings, and the animals (such as the fox) all become subservient to the traveller's desire to find happiness in an undisturbed experience of a lost past, which ironically comes about by watching animals. The fantasy of its restoration is projected on them.

Restorative and reflective nostalgia

Yet, as previously discussed, in this collection of travel stories, a metafictional level of self-reflection can also be found. Huizinga for instance also represents Manus' voice and his critique of the narrator's hypocritical gaze. Furthermore, the final section of the book, particularly the small chapter entitled 'Dear Reader', is highly self-reflexive and self-mocking ('God, he finally stops talking about himself. I still don't understand what he meant by this book').[44] Simultaneously, discomfort with the dominant human perspective is thematised, and neutralised by this self-reflection.[45] Huizinga claims that he has been trying to share a certain way of travelling with his readers, to give them an impression of 'the happiness that is continually experienced for he who travels with the animals'.[46] For himself, travelling with the animals is all about a heightened awareness of other living beings. He concludes: 'I'm bold enough to want to teach you something as common as LOOKING. Start looking at the animals next to the works of man.'[47] The tourist, Huizinga argues, can appreciate the Acropolis, but the ruin will become much more impressive if he spots a small wheatear every morning. By looking at the animals, learning about them, knowing their names and habits, life will remain an eternal journey of discovery. In other words, travelling with the animals offers a respectful solution to the drama of the modern traveller – that there are no more discoveries to be made.

Although in *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, the exploitation of animals is not concealed, and despite the self-legitimising strategies employed, and the clear presence of a restorative discourse of nostalgia, a positive, constructive way of approaching animals and relating to nature can be discerned. Huizinga aims to offer an opportunity to discover its beauty again and again: 'the lesson in looking and listening, which means: a lesson in happiness'.[48] When it comes to the presented narrative, the 'reflexive' possibilities remain mainly at the level of metafiction and self-reflexivity.

To judge whether this self-reflective character, due to the combination of texts and engravings from the nineteenth century in the second collection, affects the

type of nostalgic discourse that is produced, I will first turn to the conceptualisation of 'reflective nostalgia' by Svetlana Boym. Like Lisle, Boym considers nostalgia a modern phenomenon: a relatively new understanding of time and space.[49] Boym also agrees with Lisle's characterisation of nostalgia as a mourning for a lost world. In the appreciation of nostalgia, however, Lisle and Boym seem to differ. Whilst Lisle points out the intrinsic harmfulness of nostalgia as a discourse, Boym shows that nostalgia also harbours a critical and empathic potential, depending on which narrative structure nostalgia follows:

> Restorative nostalgia stresses nostos (home) and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives on algia (the longing itself) and delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately. [...] Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt.[50]

In terms of narrative structure, one could say that reflective nostalgia does not follow a single plot, but explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones. It does not pretend, Boym argues, 'to rebuild the mythical place called home'.[51] Instead, it is ironic, inconclusive, and fragmentary: 'It reveals that longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another, as affective memories do not absolutely withdraw one from compassion, judgment, or critical reflection.'[52]

Adventures experienced today, engravings from a century ago

As mentioned previously, the second object of analysis, *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, is a rather remarkable publication. The book, in A4 format, with no less than 178 pages, contains 58 travel stories, some of which had been previously published. Whilst they do not form an overarching narrative, some do come from earlier collections, such as those about the trip to Morocco analysed above, in which this originally was the case. They are called 'adventures', although this appears to be an ironic description of the actual content of the stories, in some of which nothing really happens. Yet the stories are accompanied by 64 truly adventurous images, comprised mostly of nineteenth-century wood engravings of heroic scenes, albeit without captions, names of artists, or source references whatsoever.[53]

Some of these accompanying engravings can be traced back to their earlier publication in *Tour du monde*, a French weekly travel journal first published in

January 1860.[54] Thus, not only do they hail from a different time; they also come from a different context or medium, and were aimed at a different audience. In *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, they have been stripped of these contexts. The bringing together of non-related stories and non-related images (from different stories) form a collage that transcends time and space boundaries.

During the nineteenth century, engravings such as these were mass produced, mostly for magazines. They could depict all kinds of objects and events, from domestic scenes to imaginary events, from everyday objects to fashion and art. In the time of their original publication, it was often not mentioned or known who made the engravings. Sometimes, the more famous illustrators are mentioned, but there were only a few well-known illustrators and woodcarvers in the nineteenth century, such as Gustave Doré, a French draftsman who illustrated the works of Lord Byron and an influential new English version of the Bible. A huge number of epigones worked after his example. Many engravings concern travelling, depicting events or objects from journeys and travel expeditions, sometimes based on drawings that were made whilst travelling, and only subsequently turned into wood or copper engravings. Whilst such representations of historical travel scenes often served the curiosity for places, cultures, and peoples, they also legitimised a colonial ideology and contain colonial tropes and stereotypes.[55]

Every travel story in *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen* is accompanied by at least one illustration. The captions to the images are single sentences from the story, which are italicised in the text. The relation between the text, the captions, and the engravings seems to be completely arbitrary. In the travel story 'Dag dier' for instance, the phrase 'Hello animal' refers to bird spotting, yet the narrator knows neither the name nor the type of animal he is observing and describes his thoughts as follows:

> I try to 'identify' the animals I encounter. I want to know who I am dealing with, but I do not want to see the animal only in connection to nature. The happiness of animal observation lies there, in the open field, not in the number of species that one records truthfully or not. If I can't decide whether I am looking at a Reed Warbler or a Black-headed Reed Warbler, I'll leave it at that. I just say: 'Hello ANIMAL'.[56]

The story is accompanied by a print of an African hunting scene. It depicts the Zambesi River, in which a huge hippo attacks a seemingly fragile boat. With an alienating, ironic effect, the original inscription is omitted, and replaced by 'Hello animal' – a ridiculous comment to attribute to a scene depicting such a dangerous moment in an adventurous journey. This effect is also mentioned, and thus underlined, by the text on the rear cover of the book, which states that 'Illustration is not the right word' for the combination of text and image. Huizinga's choice was based

Ange Louis Janet, 'Chasse à l'hippopotame sur la rivière Sainte-Lucie' (Hippopotamus hunting on the St. Lucia River), in: *Le Tour du Monde* 8 (1863). Collection Wikipedia Commons.

on engravings that often have such a distant connection with the text that it has to be found in a single sentence. That sentence has been chosen in such a way that the print often stands in direct contrast to the text.[57]

The content of the stories themselves, and the role of animals within them, is comparable to those in *Marokko, het land van het dode paard,* although their narrative structure differs profoundly. In *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, there is no overarching narrative of a search for a lost past and paying of old debts. Again, the narrator often turns away from people or urban places in order to withdraw into nature, alone with the animals. In the story 'Wadi', for instance, he travels away from the tourist crowds in Jerusalem to Wadi Amoed – a gorge with an indescribable charm. He contrasts his experience of the gorge with that of the old city and concludes: 'The strange thing is that it is precisely there [in Wadi Tamoed] that you get the feeling that you have arrived in the Old Testament paradise.'[58] Again, the traveller is filled with happiness to have found this 'unbelievable perfect' place, with rock pigeons, eagles, the Palestine Sunbird, the Smyrna Kingfisher, the Bulbul, and the king of birds, the Griffon Vulture. The accompanying wood engraving depicts a ruin of a Roman Temple (which would probably give tourists an experience of some lost ancient civilisation as well), several people, and a bird

Ange Louis Janet, 'Le Lion me heurta à l'épaule' (The lion bumped me on the shoulder), in: *Le Tour du Monde* 8 (1863). Collection Wikipedia Commons.

in the sky above the ruins. The sentence from the story that functions as its caption – 'The royal corpse-eater with a domain from India to the Black Sea and Egypt'[59] – is difficult to reconcile with the image.

A similar storyline, but an even more absurd combination with the engraving, can be found in the story entitled 'Recept' (Recipe). The narrator sets out to a quiet place near a forest, where he first has a meal alone, and then spends some time spotting animals. He watches a roe-goat, 'beautiful and unreal like a wood nymph of ancient Hellas'.[60] In the reference to the ancient civilisation, we can discern a penchant for nostalgia, which nevertheless favours nature over culture. The narrator refers to his trip as a *Dejeuner sur l'Herbe* (Lunchtime meal on the grass), an oil painting by Édouard Manet from 1863. The print accompanying this story, however, presents something quite different: In the African wilderness, a lion is devouring a human in the evening light, with bystanders who watch this 'dejeuener' in horror.

With these dramatic scenes or allusions to the greatness of the ancient civilisation, Huizinga seems to link the heroism of earlier times, particularly the nineteenth-century colonial adventures, to his own, whilst disqualifying both at the same time. However, as Tim Youngs has shown, this nineteenth-century 'heroism' too should be thought of in terms of the 'modern heroes' and the summoning of even older heroes. The growth of Empire had led to a new pantheon of explorer-heroes

– many of them explorers of Africa – and to the resurrection of earlier heroes. When Huizinga uses these prints, depicting dangerous hunting scenes, unknown tribes, or territories, simply to illustrate his (mostly jovial) trips and encounters with friendly domesticated animals, or those being watched from afar, Huizinga does not seem to advocate or romanticise a return to an earlier heroism. Instead, he creates a Chinese box structure ('droste-effect') with accumulating references to the past that draw 'heroism' or the superiority of the great discoveries into the realm of the absurd.

Animals and self-reflection

The self-presentation that emerges from the stories about the trip to Morocco – the narrator being an innocent bystander, rich and morally superior, but not as harmful and negligent as tourists – must give way in this second collection to the image of a traveller who, in comparison to the great explorers of a century earlier, feels small, fearful, or other-worldly in his rich fantasy and love for animals. Partially, this self-presentation again can be seen as a strategy of false naiveté, and the contents of the stories, which are sometimes the same as in the previous collection, still give reason to do so. Nevertheless, not only the reflections of the narrator, but also the combination of text and image, are more reflective. In *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, Huizinga once again reflects on human-animal relationships, in the chapter 'Woord' (Word). The narrator states: 'If you look at an animal long enough, you will always end up identifying yourself with that animal.'[61] This identification, also known as anthropomorphism, seems dangerous to him, not because humans tend to animalise themselves, but because they are in danger of humanising the animal when in reality, it will never behave like them. At the same time, the narrator notices that we cannot help but use language – words sprouted from the human imagination – to characterise animals with traits such as 'pride', 'patience', or 'imperiousness'. To 'think' an understanding between the different species unavoidably evokes language. When the traveller philosophises about the instinct of birds, their urge to migrate, and his own 'lust for travel', he concludes that language can never be adequate, despite its beauty: 'I smile at the way the value of the word becomes relative, as soon as it starts wavering between man and animal.'[62]

This reflection on the relationship between human and animal goes beyond the feelings of guilt for the horse in *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, or the fascination for birds, both originating from a form of self-interest. Here, the narrator draws our attention to a different way of looking – not only at the animals, but also at ourselves.

Conclusion

How best might we characterise the nostalgic discourse in Huizinga's travel stories, partly expressed via the interplay of text and image? As restorative, or as a more reflective form of nostalgia? Furthermore, what role do animals play?

In *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, the narrator, Huizinga, tries to replace the present Marokko with the Marokko he remembers, thereby avoiding feelings of guilt and the ethical inconveniences of the confrontation with poverty, the negative effects of tourism, and globalisation. We can certainly relate these strategies to a restorative form of nostalgia, which Lisle considers characteristic of all modern travel writing. Animals are used to facilitate that escape, or even embody an unspoiled past. In their company, without any other humans, the narrator can imagine himself in the paradisiacal past. However, the narrator's restorative-nostalgic perspective in the first collection of stories is countered, both by the travel companion Manus and by self-mockery, which leads to a more multivocal, reflective view, yet not to a narrative structure reminiscent of reflective nostalgia.

I have argued that, in the second object of analysis, *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, the fragmented collage and the alienating effect of the combination of text and image alludes to this more reflective form of nostalgic discourse. Animals are not only presented as friends with which to talk, as companions, or as fascinating beings to watch; they are also portrayed as dangerous and violent creatures, of whom we would be wise to be wary. This idea is also explicitly put forward in the text. In this way, beneath all the corny humour, a deeply felt, serious connection with, and respect for, nature can be discerned. In *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, Huizinga certainly does not advocate a return to the past; he does not want anything to be restored, although he fictionalises a traveller who longs deeply for such a return. This kind of nostalgia thrives on the longing itself that will always remain part of the modern traveller; it dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging, and manifests exactly as one of the contradictions of modernity. These fragmented stories, in this peculiar combination of text and image, do not follow a single plot, but explore – most explicitly in the combination with the engravings – ways of imagining different time and space zones at once.

Although the critical self-reflection of the narrator is much more profound in *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*, I think it goes too far to conclude that Huizinga's reflective nostalgic discourse, and the role animals play in it, functions in the service of a progressive politics. After all, it remains a somewhat ambivalent strategy to reposition the engravings, with the blatantly stigmatising images of animals, people, and environments. The images are both beautiful and problematic, in their dominant colonial perspective. At the time they were published, they reproduced a 'historical queue', in which the depicted areas – barbarian zones

with exotic people and animals – were seen as 'backward' from the perspective of a more 'civilised' present.[63] Nevertheless, the exceptional, clearly absurd combination of the stories and the arbitrarily chosen engravings does create an explicitly extra-temporal, critical dimension that escapes a restorative nostalgic discourse. The analysis that I performed here – to read these hybrid forms of travel writing, the nostalgic discourse travel writers use to legitimise themselves, and the way in which animals and their environments function in it – perhaps *does* encourage the kind of reflection that can contribute to a progressive politics in which our own planetary presence is critically examined.

Notes

1 Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen*.

2 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 79.

3 Lisle uses the concept of 'discourse' to refer to 'a set of images, vocabularies and material conditions that expresses prevailing truth claims about the world and positions subjects and objects accordingly'. Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, 12.

4 Leane, 'Animals', 306-307.

5 I thank the students of the Leiden University course on Dutch Travel Literature, Pien 't Hart in particular, for their explorations of the work of Debbie Lisle and Svetlana Boym.

6 Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 12.

7 Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 12.

8 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 60.

9 See for instance: Meeuwsen, *De betekenis van reisreportages in Avenue*; Wagenaar, *Reisverhalen in het tijdschrift Avenue*.

10 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 60.

11 Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 207.

12 Welsink, 'Adriaan en Olivier in 360 stukjes'.

13 Johan Huizinga, 'In de schaduwen van morgen', 315: 'We leven in een bezeten wereld en we weten het. Het zou voor niemand onverwacht komen, als de waanzin eensklaps uitbrak in een razernij, waaruit deze arme Europese mensheid achterbleef in verstomping en verdwazing, de motoren nog draaiende en de vlaggen nog wapperende, maar de geest geweken.'

14 As cited in Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 2.

15 As cited in Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 2.

16 Huizinga, *Marokko, het land van het dode paard*, 103.

17 Huizinga, *Marokko*, 9: 'Eindeloos hetzelfde deuntje, dezelfde dreinerige vraag die ik nooit versta. Die herhaling is mij een obsessie geworden. […] "Tuu-de toe tuu-doe-toe-toe?…". Zodra ik zijn vraag voor het eerst voor mijzelf in klanken had vertaald, was het raadsel opgelost. Hij vroeg zonder ophouden: "Ga je mee naar Marokko?… Ga je mee naar Marokko?… Ga je mee naar…" Enfin, het antwoord was simpel: "Nee, ik ga niet mee naar Marokko. Ik heb geen geld. Ik heb geen tijd. Ik heb geen zin…" Dat laatste was een roekeloze constatering. Geen zin om naar Marokko te gaan?… Wat een trieste uitvlucht!.. Wat een vuile leugen!… Lag niet ergens in Marokko mijn kleine hengst begraven van wie ik op de kop af 43 jaar geleden, afscheid genomen had in de groene bergen van het Rif […]?'

[18] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 15: 'De zwakke momenten ook voor de reiziger die dankbaar en bewust de eenzaamheid heeft gekozen, zijn de uren 'entre chien et loup', wanneer de vreugden van de dag achter de rug zijn en de vrede van de nacht de wereld nog niet heeft veroverd.'

[19] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 15-16: 'Er is maar één reisgezelschap – de goeden uit mijn leven niet te na gesproken – dat nooit verveelt en alle vreugden van het reizen dieper maakt: dat zijn de dieren. Wie ogen, oren en hart op reis open houdt voor de dieren, zal nooit werkelijk eenzaam zijn. Hij zal bovendien dieper genieten van de dingen die anderen ook zien, maar die voor hèm gestoffeerd worden door de dieren omdat hij heeft leren KIJKEN. […] Het is zelfs zo dat als men ook eens het verkeerde menselijke reisgezelschap heeft getroffen, daar geen last van hoeft te hebben. […] Men kijkt en luistert alleen naar de dieren rondom. Zelfs tussen hond en wolf.'

[20] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction*, 58.

[21] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction*, 58.

[22] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 94. 'Draven heb ik niet geleerd, zei hij mij tijdens een van de eerste dagen. Dat bleek juist. […] Aan onze vriendschap deed dat niks af.'

[23] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 95. 'Een ander paard zou achteruitgeslagen hebben of er tussenuit gegaan zijn. Kasjgai bleef doodstil staan, keek achterom en zei zachtjes: "Een weerloos paard te slaan…".'

[24] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 98-99: 'Omdat je een halve eeuw geleden niet met dat stomme dier naar het zuiden gegaan bent, moet je het nu goed aan hem maken door wel naar het zuiden te gaan. Het is helemaal niet zo gek als het klinkt. In de woestijn bestaat geen tijd. Daar kun je je weer verbeelden dat je een jong mannetje bent en dat je paard niet dood is, of om het nou maar eens helemaal te zeggen, dat je alles goed kunt maken wat je in je leven verkeerd het gedaan…'

[25] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 35: 'Lang is denken en voelen door de mens in zijn hoogmoed voor hemzelf gereserveerd. Dieren hadden alleen "instincten" en vererfde "gedragspatronen". Meer en meer komen de onderzoekers tot de conclusie dat de gedachtenwereld, of wat daar voor doorgaat, van mens en dier meer gelijkenis vertoont dan de mens aangenaam is. Het dier heeft één ding op ons voor, tenzij men zeggen wil: staat in een bepaald opzicht ver achter ons: het kent het begrip dood niet en daarom ook niet de angst voor de dood die zo veel menselijke vreugde vergalt.'

[26] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 203. Note that Lisle discusses 'popular travelogues written in English' after 1975. The conclusions she draws cannot simply be applied to Huizinga's texts, but I think her remarks about nostalgia in travel literature do apply.

[27] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 210.

[28] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 204.

[29] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 204.

[30] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 208.

[31] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 209.

[32] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 33: 'De nieuwe stad, kunstmatig rood zoals de oude stad natuurlijk rood is, lijkt een geverfd stuk voorstad van Parijs, de oude stad een internationaal clowns-festival van toeristen.'

[33] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 33.

[34] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 34: 'Hier is de verlossing van alles wat hem anders zou kunnen kwellen. Hier is hij buiten zichzelf en daardoor meer dan ooit zichzelf. Hier is niets dat stoort, ontsiert, of de werkelijkheid vervalst. Hier is de bevrijding van alle angsten en zorgen.'

[35] Huizinga, Marokko, 34.

[36] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 34: 'verdwijnt via het asfalt van de 20e eeuw weer in te tuinen en wildernissen die daar al honderden jaren onveranderd gelegen hebben.' […] 'Mijn dag is goed. Morgen zal ik nog dichter bij het heimwee van mijn jeugd zijn. […] Die vos vóór Taroudant heeft het mij beloofd.'

[37] Boletsi, *Barbarism and Its Discontents*, 67.

[38] Boletsi, *Barbarism and Its Discontents*, 67.

[39] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 55: 'En zo verloopt de dag. Er voltrekt zich dat in de beschaafde wereld ongehoorde wonder: er gebeurt helemaal niks.'

[40] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 194.

[41] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 38: 'Toch is er geen afgunst of argwaan in hen, geen vreemdelingenhaat of nijd. Zij zijn te simpel en te trots voor zulke gevoelens.'

[42] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 38.

[43] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 39.

[44] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 102: 'Godlof, eindelijk houdt hij eens op met over zichzelf te praten. Ik snap nog altijd niet wat hij met dit boekje heeft bedoeld.'

[45] This attitude is similar to the one Elizabeth Leane describes when she discusses Robert Louis Stevenson's relationship to his donkey: 'Similarly, the hyperbole of Stevenson's initial reduction of Modestine to a mechanical object […] can be read both as a form of self-mockery and a means of distancing – an ironic admission of his overly Cartesian attitude towards the animal that also serves as an excuse for his behaviour.' Leane, 'Animals', 312.

[46] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 102: 'het geluk dat hij die met de dieren reist, bij voortduring deelachtig wordt'.

[47] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 103: 'Ik ben zo brutaal om u iets zo gewoons te willen leren als KIJKEN. Kijken naar de dieren naast de werken van de mens.'

[48] Huizinga, *Marokko*, 103: 'de les in kijken en luisteren, hetgeen betekent: les in geluk'.

[49] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 8.

[50] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 13.

[51] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 13.

[52] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 15.

[53] The collection is dedicated to Joop van Coevorden, 'to whose helpfulness the author owes the illustrations of this book' ('aan wiens hulpvaardigheid de schrijver de illustraties van dit boek te danken heeft'). Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 4. Although it cannot be established with certainty, it appears to relate to the owner of the later publishing company Davaco, which dominated the field of monographic publications devoted to Dutch artists for nearly forty years since 1981.

[54] The magazine also bore the name of *Le Tour du monde, journal des voyages et des voyageurs* (1895-1914). Its full subtitle was: *Nouveau journal des voyages publié par la librairie Hachette sous la direction de M. Edouard Charton et illustré par les plus célèbres artistes*.

[55] Peter Dowling, 'Truth and Art in in Nineteenth Century Graphic Journalism', 110.

[56] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 9-10: 'Ik doe mijn best om de dieren die ik tegenkom te "determineren". Ik wil graag weten met wie ik te doen heb, maar ik wil het dier niet alleen leren kennen in verband met de natuur. Daar ligt het geluk van de dierenwaarneming in het vrije veld, niet in het aantal soorten dat men al of niet waarheidsgetrouw noteert. Lukt het mij niet om uit te maken of ik een Rietzanger of een Zwartkoprietzanger tegenover mij heb, dan laat ik het er verder bij zitten en zeg alleen: "Dag DIER".'

[57] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, cover: 'Leonhard Huizinga komt hier met iets geheel nieuws, een vondst. Hij heeft voor de illustratie van een groot aantal korte schetsen over dieren teruggegrepen op de magnifieke prentkunst van een eeuw geleden. Illustratie is daarbij niet het juiste woord. Huizinga's keuze is uitgegaan naar platen die dikwijls een zo verwijderd verband met de tekst hebben, dat deze in één enkel zinnetje gezocht moet worden. Dat zinnetje is zo gekozen dat de prent vaak in lijnrecht contrast staat tot de tekst.'

[58] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 114: 'Het vreemde is dat je juist daar [in Wadi Tamoed] het gevoel krijgt in het oudtestamentische paradijs beland te zijn.'

[59] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 114: 'De vorstelijke lijkenvreter met een domein van India tot de Zwarte Zee en Egypte.'

[60] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 136: 'schoon en onwezenlijk als een bosnimf uit het oude Hellas'.

[61] Huizinga, *Wie reist met de dieren*, 11: 'Het is altijd weer hetzelfde: als je lang genoeg naar een dier kijkt, eindig je er mee dat je je met dat dier gaat vereenzelvigen.'

[62] Huizinga, *Wie reis met de dieren*, 12: 'Ik glimlach om de betrekkelijke waarde van het woord, zodra dit aarzelt tussen mens en dier.'

[63] Lisle, *The Global Politics*, 203.

Bibliography

Boletsi, Maria, *Barbarism and Its Discontents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

Boym, Svetlana, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

Dowling, Peter, 'Truth Versus Art in Nineteenth-century Graphic Journalism: The Colonial Australian Case', in: *Media History* 2 (1999), 109-125.

Huizinga, Johan, 'In de schaduwen van morgen', in: *Verzamelde werken* VII (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink & zoon, 1950), 313-428.

Huizinga, Leonhard, *Marokko het land van het dode paard: Ik reis met de dieren* (Amsterdam: De Lage Landen N.V., 1972).

Huizinga, Leonhard, *Wie reist met de dieren is nooit alleen: Avonturen vandaag beleefd, verlucht met gravures van een eeuw geleden* (Baarn: Forum Boekerij; Zuid-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1977).

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Research Companion to Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Lisle, Debbie, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Meeuwsen, M. *De betekenis van reisreportages in Avenue: Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van Avenue's reisreportages voor het blad zelf, op het gebied van fotografie en binnen het aanbod van Nederlandse tijdschriften* (MA Thesis Media en Journalistiek, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2006).

Wagenaar, E., *Reisverhalen in het tijdschrift* Avenue: *Een analyse van postkoloniale discoursen in reisverhalen in de jaargangen 1967-1968 en 1993-1994 van het tijdschrift* Avenue (MA Thesis, Leiden University, 2019).

Welsink, Dick, 'Adriaan en Olivier in 360 stukjes', Literatuur Museum, 28 September 2018, https://literatuurmuseum.nl/artikelen/adriaan-en-olivier-in-360-stukjes.

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

CHAPTER 11

Noble Horse and Lazy Pig

Frank Westerman and Yvonne Kroonenberg in Quest of Domestic Animals

Lucie Sedláčková

Abstract

This chapter analyses the narratives constructed by two popular Dutch writers who undertook travels in search of rarely seen domestic animals: *Dier, bovendier* (2010; trans. *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 2012) by Frank Westerman and *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt* (2009; Everything but the squeal is used) by Yvonne Kroonenberg. It investigates how domestic animals – Lipizzaner horses and Dutch farm pigs respectively – are represented and how their selective breeding and (mis)use are argued – both for, and against. The analysis utilises the framework of human-animal studies, including concepts from related domains (e.g., social psychology), such as animal welfare, animal rights, inherent value, animal labour, the erasure of animals, speciesism, carnism, cognitive dissonance, and the meat paradox.

Keywords: Animal rights, animal labour, speciesism, carnism, Lipizzaner horses, pigs

Today, in the era of extensive tourism, it is no longer difficult (or indeed particularly exclusive) to observe or even touch an elephant or other species of charismatic megafauna. In contrast, many other animals – those quite common in the lives of people until recently – have been erased from the everyday experience of the majority of contemporary Western urban humans. Therefore, even domestic animals have become interesting quest objects.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two popular Dutch writers undertook travels in search of rarely seen domestic animals. However, their journeys had different motivations and aims. Between the years 2007 and 2009, the journalist and non-fiction writer Frank Westerman embarked on a quest across Central Europe (the former Habsburg monarchy), which was subsequently described in his travel book *Dier, bovendier* (2010, translated in English as *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 2012). Westerman uses his examination of the history of the Lipizzaner horse as the backdrop for his reflections on the modern history of mankind. At approximately the same time, the psychologist and writer Yvonne Kroonenberg travelled through the Netherlands to give an up-to-date, prosaic, and, where possible, realistic

account of the situation of twelve million Dutch pigs in her book *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt: Biografie van een varken* (Everything but the squeal is used: Biography of a pig, 2009).[1]

These two works were chosen as they focus on two radically different kinds of domestic animals. One is a unique breed of individuals with a highly regarded pedigree, the other an enormous mass of anonymous livestock used as a food industry resource. This chapter investigates how domestic animals – Lipizzaner horses and Dutch farm pigs – are represented and how their selective breeding and (mis)use are argued, both for and against. To what extent and on what grounds are they anthropomorphised or objectified by the narrators and their guides? Considering the different status of these two animals, are there corresponding differences in the representations? As neither text is a travel narrative in the traditional sense as characterised by Leane, it will be important to consider, not only the specific aims of their two narrators, but also to explore the role played by the animals themselves. In answering these questions, it will be useful to examine the discourses that are employed by the narrators and their guides. The analysis will also utilise the framework of human-animal studies, including concepts from related domains (e.g., social psychology), such as animal welfare, animal rights, inherent value, animal labour, the erasure of animals, speciesism, carnism, cognitive dissonance, and the meat paradox.

Travels, narrators, and guides

The books analysed do not only focus on domesticated animals with a different status; they also differ significantly in genre and form. To what extent, then, can these two books be considered 'typical' or 'traditional' travel narratives? In general, Frank Westerman is a recognised travel writer. Indeed, by the time he started to work on *Dier, bovendier*, he had already amassed significant travel experience thanks to his work as a newspaper correspondent. Yet his decision to make a book about horses had a personal motivation. As he recalls in the book, when he was a young boy, in the area of Assen, he got to know a Lipizzaner and became fascinated by the breed. He spent two and a half years travelling for, and working on, his book. During this period he also drew from his earlier experiences – his study (agricultural engineering at the University of Wageningen), and his work (in Russia and the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s). According to Tim Youngs, it is practically impossible to agree upon a clear definition of travel writing, although there are some widely accepted prerequisites: The travels actually took place, and the author/narrator stays as an outsider in the visited places.[2] Using such metrics, Westerman complies both with the criterion that the author must have travelled to

the places they describe and, as a narrator, Westerman maintains a 'visitor' status: He stays a (cultural) outsider in his account.

As Youngs points out, travel writers 'draw on the techniques of fiction to tell their stories. Plot, characterisation, and dialogue all play their part'.[3] All of these can be found in Westerman's book, which reads like a novel, including its nonlinear narrative. The book is a fusion of the narrator's recollections, excursions to Central-European destinations and archives, records of interviews with experts, descriptions of artefacts (such as paintings and movies) related to Lipizzaners, and sketches of scientific research in the fields of genetics, selective breeding, evolution, etc. In view of these traits, the book can best be characterised as a travelogue, which allows 'for a non-chronological or episodic (re)arrangement of memory'.[4]

Yvonne Kroonenberg is a less typical travel writer than Westerman.[5] She became popular in the 1990s thanks to her humorous columns and stories thematising partnership and marriage. Additionally, she wrote a series of children's books, with girls and horses as the main characters. The reason she started to travel in search of Dutch pigs was that she had become one of the ambassadors of the Dutch pig welfare organisation Varkens in Nood (Pigs in need) in 2002. Although the account in *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt* does not carry the features of a typical travel narrative, it complies with the two basic criteria: Kroonenberg really undertook the travels and, although she does not cross the borders of her mother country, she remains an outsider in the settings she visits. Kroonenberg's account approaches travel journalism, as it resembles a series of travel reportages in combination with interviews. However, Kroonenberg does not present herself as a traveller in the book; she is more a writer of places.

Neither Westerman nor Kroonenberg produce a travel narrative in the traditional sense.[6] Whilst their books do not present exotic or extraordinary places, they do offer original personal perspectives that foreground the narrator. As suggested above, Westerman's book resembles a mosaic, the common thread being the history of the Lipizzaner breed, from its origins in the village of Lipica (present-day Slovenia) in 1580 to the present day, with the horses now scattered throughout Europe and elsewhere. Westerman concentrates on the movement, transfer, or even escape of the horses across Europe, often as a direct result of political situations and/or military conflicts. Both human political history and the development of scientific knowledge are always present and often come to the foreground. His stories focus on several hundred unique horses, who were quite often considered more valuable than any human and therefore protected at any cost. Apart from his recollections, the narrator physically traces the horses through Central Europe. He starts in Vienna, where the Lipizzaner mecca, the Spanish Riding School, is based, and goes on to Lipica, to the archives of the Lipizzan stud farm at Piber (Austria), and to two present-day Czech towns: Hostouň, which was instrumental

in the rescue of Lipizzaners during the Second World War; and Brno, which is linked to the founder of modern genetics, Gregor Johann Mendel (1822-1884). In the final section he finds himself in the town of Lipik, where, after a controversial and long-standing evacuation/abduction to Serbia, the return of Croatian Lipizzaners is celebrated.

Whilst Westerman travelled to more distant places, Kroonenberg went to harder to reach places, even if sometimes only several of kilometres away. She chose a very simple and straightforward method of operation: In each chapter she describes a single place, and the places are, for the most part, arranged according to the life cycle of a Dutch farm pig. Thus, she starts with an excursion to a boar farm specialised in the production of sperm, goes on to explore the farrowing barn, and so on. She finishes the cycle by visiting two well-known Dutch slaughterhouses. She also shows the parallel worlds of the grower pigs,[7] the factory farm, in contrast (in the subsequent chapter) to an organic farm. Kroonenberg also visits the headquarters of the Albert Heijn supermarket chain. There are also several extra excursions, set apart from the pig's life cycle, for example, a trip to the Binnenhof in The Hague, where she speaks to several Members of the Dutch Parliament. The text comes to a climax in the chapter entitled 'The Paradise', which describes a pig sanctuary. The places that Kroonenberg visits are scattered across different provinces throughout the Netherlands, from Groningen to Limburg.

The assertion that Kroonenberg and Westerman remain cultural outsiders during their travels is supported by the fact that personal guides are present in both of their accounts. First, there are those who accompany them during their travels. Kroonenberg is provided with an expert-assistant, Leontien, who has been fighting for animal welfare for a longer period and is equipped with more experience and knowledge. Westerman embraces the help of a few insiders from Central Europe who provide him with information or take him to places that are more difficult for an outsider to reach. These insiders take the form of horse experts, such as the Viennese Hans Brabenetz, who takes him on excursion to Lipica, and interpreters who help him to communicate in situations in which he does not speak the language of those he is meeting.

Second, there are those 'real' insiders who deal professionally with pig farming and horse breeding, who act as the real source of information, in addition to the personal experiences and the 'reading list' of the narrators. In addition, both Kroonenberg and Westerman rely on the information of 'eyewitnesses', who supply information that has previously been kept from the public. These are very important guides since they can shed light on the 'legitimate' discourse of the professionals. It is important to realise that in both books, apart from the narrators' voices, the reader is confronted with several, sometimes contradictory

A Lipizzaner at the Spanish Riding School, Vienna. Photograph: Wurliburli, Pixabay.

discourses. This applies especially to Kroonenberg's narrative. Whilst Westerman's book gives the overall impression he was welcome at all the premises he chose to visit, Kroonenberg states she was not always welcome. She was sometimes refused access, and some of the professionals about whom she wrote were displeased, either with the way she depicts the farm in question, or how she interprets the visit in her book.[8]

Movement is one of the basic elements of any travel narrative. However, this does not necessarily mean that there is a correlation between the dynamism of the story and the activity of the narrator. Overall, Westerman's book is full of motion, not only because of the Lipizzaners it depicts, but also because his travels give a more dynamic impression. Moreover, Westerman chose a diachronic point of view. Kroonenberg's book, by comparison, could be considered more static. She chose a synchronic point of view: Her book describes pig husbandry at a given moment (around 2008) and changes towards better welfare are only wishful thinking. Apart from a pig transport in which she takes part, the life of a farm pig is a static one: Most pigs inhabit so little space they can hardly walk, or even turn around. However, it is Kroonenberg who takes up a more dynamic role. Westerman may be a detective, but he does not intervene, remaining instead faithful to his role of observer. Kroonenberg is a modest traveller, but has a clear mission: She wants to expose the reality behind the walls of factory farms and slaughterhouses. She is a fervent debater and her struggle takes part mainly on the level of discourse.

Noble horse

First, we will focus on the role of Lipizzaners in Westerman's story. To what extent is the book a quest for the horses themselves and to what extent for the history of selective breeding? Does the narrator represent selective breeding in a positive or negative way, and how does he justify it? We will explore the representations of horses as given by Westerman in the light of the concepts from the field of animal rights, especially that of animal labour.

Westerman chose Lipizzaners as the main motif of his book because of their uniqueness, and that of their history.[9] In Dutch, the book is called *Dier, bovendier* and the prefix '*boven-*' here clearly refers to Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of '*Übermensch*'.[10] In the English translation, this reference is omitted, due to its association with the Nazi ideology of '*Übermenschen*' and '*Untermenschen*' – superior and inferior races – as the anglophone public is more sensitive to direct references to Nazism and the Holocaust.[11] In English, an alternative title, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, is used. Hence, the principal reference is not linked to the Second World War and Nazism, but to another topic that is frequently explored in the book: that of genetics (and possibly also eugenics, of which, more later, as the word 'perfect' refers to selective breeding). The title is challenging, not least as Gregor Mendel had nothing to do with horses: He experimented on pea plants. Mendel's intriguing story is one of Westerman's starting points from which to investigate the scientific and pseudo-scientific debates on *nature versus nurture* that have raged throughout the twentieth century.

Westerman gives numerous examples of animals, plants, and humans who have been subjected to experiments by the adherents of both Mendelism (i.e., the belief in *nature* – genetics) and Lamarckism (i.e., the belief in *nurture* – adaptation to the environment). Although all of the experiments that attempted to perfect humans (which were not only limited to dictatorial regimes such as the Third Reich and Stalinist Soviet Union) are now generally recognised as despicable, the selective breeding of animals is accepted as a matter of fact, or, as in the case of the Lipizzaner, is looked upon with the highest admiration and respect. All full-blooded Lipizzaners get a pedigree, a lofty name, and corresponding treatment, to the point that they can be seen as aristocrats amongst other horses/animals. Indeed, in Westerman's book, they are described as noble, elegant, refined, graceful, or sublime. This kind of discourse is borrowed from his guides and the texts that Westerman paraphrases in the book, but he also uses it himself, for instance when he describes Lipizzaners in a painting:

> Whether those horses were saddled and decked out with braids in their mane or whether they posed completely 'naked', the impression was always one of elegance and refinement, the horse as the epitome of grace. A haughty stallion captured in the midst of a controlled levade was civilization incarnate – the acme of what human culture could produce.[12]

In the above quote, the horses are anthropomorphised by using aesthetic features relevant to humans, but at the same time they are objectified: The horses are represented as a (cultural) product. Moreover, the border between the artefact and the portrayed animal is blurred. This paradox occurs several times: Westerman writes about the 'human content' of a Lipizzaner,[13] and the presenter of the performance for tourists at the Spanish Riding School even calls these horses '"human beings like us" [...] without irony'.[14] At the same time, however, Westerman sees the Lipizzaners as a 'human creation', by which he objectifies them.[15]

Westerman's story shows that the Lipizzaners are and were primarily a valuable form of property – i.e., an object: They can be used as a gift, as prey in warfare, a valuable investment, or the realisation of an ambition. Their lives were even considered more valuable than that of humans. The highly regarded US General Patton risked human lives to rescue Lipizzaners at the end of the Second World War, who would have otherwise fallen into Russian hands (despite being allies, the Russians were considered barbaric in their treatment of horses, and would probably kill and eat them). This episode also clearly shows that not everyone recognises the 'nobleness' of Lipizzaners – it is only a form of cultural agreement.

Generally, the position held by horses is very specific. They are not primarily production animals like cows and pigs, nor are they typically companion animals with whom humans share their homes. Indeed, a horse may be anything: companion or vehicle, instrument of sport or food, equine therapist or lab animal. What is it then that makes Lipizzaners more 'noble' than other horses and domestic animals? In the manuals for breeders, this is defined quite precisely: Every feature of the Lipizzaner is strictly and clearly prescribed. It is a list of features defining the animal's exterior: its measurements, form, and colour. This means that, in practice, the 'nobility' of the unique horse can be quite easily quantified.

Thus, it is a human agreement that makes one animal more valuable than another – something that goes against their *inherent value*. The idea of inherent value was conceptualised and defined by Tom Regan, one of the founders of contemporary animal ethics, in the ground-breaking work *The Case for Animal Rights* (1983).[16] Regan based his theory on Kant's 'deontology', but raised objections to his concept of 'subject-of-a-life', which was limited only to human beings.[17] According to Regan, not every human is a rational, autonomous being, for example, new-born babies and those with a serious mental handicap. Conversely, adult mammals can certainly have their own interests, emotions, recollections, and expectations – in short, a self-consciousness. Their own life matters to them, meaning they are all subjects-of-a-life. All such lives have an inherent value and this carries with it moral consequences that can be seen as a basis for animal rights.[18] Animals with an inherent value are called *moral patients* (as opposed to *moral agents*, i.e., adult people) as they possess rights, but not duties. Consequently, Regan argues that

Lipizzaners at the Spanish Riding School, Vienna. Photograph: Peter Oertel, Unsplash.com.

animals are not to be killed for food, hunted, trapped, or experimented on. There is no doubt that these human activities do harm to animals, who are today generally considered to be *sentient beings*.

There are, however, other uses to which animals may be put, which may not harm them physically, but which are still incompatible with the natural interests of the animal itself and may cause harm in other ways. In his book, Westerman talks much about the history of the Lipizzaner and its lineage. He cites some extraordinary events from the twentieth-century history linked to them or talks about artefacts that depict them. He also describes Lipizzaner training (as done by his Dutch friend Piet Bakker), and a performance for tourists in the Viennese Spanish Riding School. Westerman is able to describe both in detail, as he is not only personally fascinated by them, but he is also familiar with the techniques and terminology of dressage. However, what does the real life of the Lipizzaner, or for that matter any other 'noble' horse, actually look like? To this question, Westerman does not provide a clear answer.

In reality, that 'everyday life' hardly meets the natural needs and interests of the horse, as Natalie Corinne Hansen, a literature and feminist studies scholar specialised in human-horse relations, shows. In her article, she describes the everyday

life of a fictive horse, Damien, 'a high-priced six-year-old dressage horse from a prized lineage':

> He will spend 20-22 hours a day in his 14 x 14 foot stall for the next 10 to 15 years of his performance and active breeding career. During the other two to four hours a day, he will take part in highly programmed training exercises designed to develop his strength, stamina, and skill at producing the movements required of dressage horses. The bars of his stall prevent him from making direct contact with the horses in adjacent stalls, but he is able to lean his head into the barn isle to greet the human team who appears like clockwork at dawn to start the day.[19]

The Lipizzaners' main 'purpose' is to perform in classical dressage (apart from other 'functions', such as carriage horses). This means that they work hard for the entertainment of people, whilst being forced to behave and move in a way unnatural to other (domestic and free-living) animals. It becomes clear in Westerman's book that he is a great admirer of classical dressage, yet he admits that it is 'in truth an unnatural activity'.[20] However, neither he, nor the guides and professionals in his book give a moment's thought to the ethical consequences of the use of animals for human entertainment. This raises inevitable questions regarding the justness of dressage in particular, and animal labour more generally.

Lipizzaners and other purebred horses are, for the greatest part, used in the entertainment industry (including sports). Today, many areas, such as horse racing and circus acts, have become problematic, both for animal welfare activists and animal rights activists. Animal welfare activists tend to be most concerned about injuries, cruel treatment, discomfort, and/or stress, whilst animal rights activists categorically refuse any kind of use of animals, as non-humans are not given the chance to express consent or dissent. Both groups have expressed concerns about the (ab)use of animals in circus acts, which has resulted in bans being placed on the use of (at least some) animals in circuses in numerous countries worldwide.[21] Interestingly, in many countries, including the Netherlands, this ban applies only to so-called wild animals. Nonetheless, it seems that the circus of the future will be animal-free, as some countries have already banned animal circuses completely.[22]

Westerman is fascinated by classical dressage, which is presented, both by him and his guides, as a noble activity. However, the question here is why he fails to mention that Lipizzaners are used in circuses as well, or in (travelling) performances akin to circus acts (i.e., touring shows). A possible explanation might be that this form of entertainment, devoid of connotations of 'nobleness', reveals more about the human abuse of animals. Indeed, if animal circus acts are perceived as increasingly contemptible, more questions will surely arise over the use of animals for human entertainment (including classical dressage) more generally.

These issues are linked to the question of animal labour. As Lipizzaners (and lots of other horses) are primarily bred and kept for entertainment and making profit, they must be seen as working animals. However, as Charlotte E. Blattner, Kendra Coulter, and Will Kymlicka suggest in *Animal Labour* (2020): 'For many people, the idea that animals are workers is incomprehensible, since labour is seen as a distinctly human activity or practice.'[23] Following the animal turn in the humanities and social sciences, the question has already arisen if animals should be seen as engaged in work.[24] Indeed, several concrete examples prove that it is already possible to do so. In general, dogs and horses (police and military dogs and horses, and therapy animals) are recognised as workers more easily than other sorts of animals. Nevertheless, even if animals are recognised as workers, this does not imply they would no longer be seen as objects and instruments. This point is explicitly addressed by Blattner, Coulter, and Kymlicka, when they shed light on a thus far little-known topic within the domain of animal studies:

> A quick look at existing practices would suggest that recognizing animals as workers can coexist quite comfortably with their instrumentalization. In fact, there is a long history of factory farms, labs, and circuses describing animals as willing partners and workers. The vivisection industry in particular is known for these kinds of euphemisms […]. Any realistic approach to animal labour needs to recognize this danger. […] The idea of animal labour risks being used as further justification for industries that objectify animals, rather than prompting changes that would treat animals as subjects who have their own experiences, desires, and relationships, and a right to live according to them.[25]

The problem, as described above, lies in the human discourse. When an animal is called a 'partner', the relationship is perceived as more amenable, and thus easy to accept. In the following passage, Westerman describes how his friend Piet trains his Lipizzaner, called Nobila:

> I tell Piet that I have never seen him on a horse's back, and ask why it is he opted for the long reins.
> 'It's more equal this way,' Piet answers. 'There's no other interaction between man and animal that comes this close to the ideal of two equal partners.'
> Unlike Primula in his day, Nobila wears a snaffle, a bit without a shank. Physically, therefore, Piet can only hold him in check with the soft noseband to which the reins are attached. Without an iron shank at the corners of the mouth, which rests on the stretch of exposed jawbone between the front and back teeth, the animal is harder to handle. But it also gives him a more autonomous air. Within classical dressage, which is in truth an unnatural activity, Piet strives for a maximum of naturalness. He has come to use the crop

> like a conductor's baton. 'I advise young riders to use a birch switch. A birch switch breaks as soon as you lose your self-control.'[26]

Piet's discourse shows that noble expressions ('interaction between man and animal', 'ideal', and 'equal partners') still do not mean the horse is treated as a subject, or an agent. The use of instruments such as the reins, the snaffle, and the crop makes it impossible to imagine such an interaction would be acceptable if the roles were reversed. There is a clear division of roles: the power in human hands and the subjugation of the non-human. The horse is never treated as a real partner: There is an 'autonomous air', but that does not mean he is autonomous; he is not an agent, as he is not given the chance to leave the partnership or give consent to collaboration.[27] The work of animals may be seen as morally justifiable when saving the lives of others or improving the welfare of humans and non-humans, but the moral justification of animal work that is done merely for entertainment and the profit of humans remains profoundly doubtful. Westerman's book shows that the Lipizzaners were 'made' by humans in order to do this kind of work perfectly. This is a widespread justification of the exploitation of domesticated animals: They were made (i.e., selectively bred) to meet human needs. Alasdair Cochrane, a political scientist who specialises in animal rights, states:

> To an extent, these claims are right: domesticated animals have been selectively bred over centuries in order to possess traits and perform tasks that serve human ends. In this way, these traits and tasks are in some way 'essential' to these animals. However, that does not mean that the use and development of these traits and tasks are good for the animals themselves.[28]

This surely applies to the Lipizzaner breed, which has been the subject of prolonged and intense selective breeding. If the same were to be applied to humans – a process known as eugenics – it would be considered abhorrent and perverse. Westerman is clear about the contemptibility of eugenics when applied to humans, however, he does not take a clear moral stance towards the way in which horses are treated, used, and objectified by humans. As stated above, Westerman usually adheres to his stance of the neutral observer, yet occasionally, he does reveal his fears regarding how far the modern science of eugenics and DNA modification might go when applied to people – even in the democratic world. He does not believe that globalisation will put an end to discrimination amongst people, resulting in the rise of a 'cosmopolitan human', or a 'uniform human'.[29] Indeed, he shows that even contemporary research can be found to be discriminating, even racist, if the differences between different ethnic groups are measured.

A pig in the Dutch farming industry. Photograph: Varkens in Nood (www.varkensinnood.nl).

So how can we justify that eugenics (i.e., selective breeding), when applied to non-human animals, is not discriminatory? Does it not discriminate a certain species if it is selectively bred in order to be used for human entertainment, or in order to accelerate muscle growth (for the production of meat)? Eugenics, a term reserved for humans, is commonly considered a racist and discriminatory practice, whereas selective breeding – the term being reserved for plants and (mostly domestic) animals – is a flourishing branch of science.[30] Westerman's book is, in reality, a mosaic of both, albeit one in which he never raises the question of our speciesism towards animals. Speciesism – discrimination based on biological species – refers to the idea that humans consider themselves automatically superior to all non-humans, whilst at the same time not considering animals equal to one another. This discrimination is based on numerous criteria (a horse is more popular than a pig, a bee is more popular than a wasp).[31]

Lazy pig

Speciesism forms the bedrock upon which animal husbandry is built. The title of Kroonenberg's book is inspired by the aphorism 'everything but the squeal is used', which she heard from one of her professional guides – the PR manager of a leading Dutch abattoir and meat-processing company.[32] It comes from the typical discourse of the pork industry (not only in the Netherlands).[33] The sentiment expressed in the well-known soundbite can be traced back to Upton Sinclair's 1905 novel *The Jungle*. Nothing gets wasted: All parts of the dead body of a pig are used for human benefit. In other words, it stresses the efficiency of the whole process. In the following section, we will focus on the representation of the pig in Kroonenberg's book and on the use of different discourses, especially that of her professional guides. We will investigate how she responds to them and how she employs other discourses – those of the animal welfare movement, or possibly, of the animal rights movement.

As stated above, Kroonenberg collaborated with the Dutch organisation Varkens in Nood. According to their website, their vision is a future without intensive farming, with people living instead on plant-based diets. In their quest, Varkens in Nood adopts a step-by-step approach, trying to reveal and eliminate the abuse of pigs under the current conditions. Although they are in fact a vegan organisation, they represent the approach of a 'slow transition'.[34]

Many animals become erased from our consciousness. For example, as most pigs are kept indoors, in a very real sense they become physically eliminated from our lives. That is probably the reason Kroonenberg pays significant attention to the description of the setting and the functioning of the enterprises visited. She represents the farms and slaughterhouses as a series of sterile, sombre, and oppressive places. The outdoor enterprises (an organic farm and a sanctuary) provide contrast, receiving an unambiguously positive connotation in the book. The only time that Kroonenberg really physically travels in the book is when riding with a pig transport from a farm to a slaughterhouse. In doing so, she really follows the 'travels' of a Dutch pig.[35] For pigs, unlike for humans, travelling is an incredibly stressful affair and is usually kept firmly behind closed (transporter) doors – a point clearly represented in the book. Indeed, outsiders are not often welcomed as witnesses of the transports. The same applies to other parts of the pork industry. Although situated in or near our environs, it is less accessible to outsiders than a tropical jungle.

Westerman's main focus was selective breeding. In the case of Lipizzaners, he presented it almost as an artform. By contrast, Kroonenberg considers selective breeding in a solely negative light (when applied to pigs) and calls it literally 'messing with food and genes': The animals are in fact degenerate and malformed.[36] Awareness of such problems leads to widespread concern over animal welfare.[37] However, realising its growing ill repute in the public eye, the pork industry has developed its own discourse. For instance, when Kroonenberg asks how long the boars live, her professional guide answers that fifty percent of the population is replaced every year.[38] As Arran Stibbe states, the 'discourse of the pork industry can be characterized as scientific and technical'.[39] The pork production industry takes the form of 'a huge animate being whose life depends on making a profit, with pigs rendered collectively vital but individually dispensable cells making up this larger being'.[40] Another common discursive technique employed is to create 'confusion between living animals and meat'.[41] This can be illustrated by the statement of one of Kroonenberg's guides at a slaughterhouse: '"We transform animals in meat products, […] and the quality of that product depends on our treatment of the animals. We take the responsibility."'[42] This 'responsibility' is for the product, not for the living being, however, it can be read in two ways. Kroonenberg reveals how the pork industry uses terms that objectify or eliminate living beings.

Kroonenberg travels to Dutch pig farms because she wants to contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of the animals. There are several recurring motifs in her disputes with the professionals, which can be considered the most burning wrongs against which she fights. The arguments for and against both the castration of boars and tail docking without anaesthesia run as a common thread through her disputes.[43] Her opponents tend to blame others. If they do not improve the conditions for the pigs, they claim it is only because they are *forced* to do it a certain way. The most frequently used mantra is that they do not want to castrate the male pigs, but it is necessary because 'the market' / 'the customers' / 'the Germans', etc., demand it (in order to prevent boar taint).[44] The main obstacles to improving welfare are economic. Whereas Westerman's book focuses mainly on recent (human) history, a significant portion of Kroonenberg's book is concerned with economics, specifically, the economic considerations concerning the effectivity of the pork industry. All of the farmers and managers think in numbers – amounts, kilograms, prices – and every cent counts. Kroonenberg, however, tries to empathise with the pig – to see and appreciate the individual before her. For instance, in the same way that we are used to perceiving our pets, she asks whether they have names. However, in the pork industry, they have only numbers. Thus, thinking in (huge) numbers, is another technique used to erase the individual animal from discourse.

In the Netherlands, many farmers, managers, and workers in the pork industry have religious leanings (traditional voters of the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA], or other Christian parties). Kroonenberg and her assistant are received by a farmer in the reception room of his farrow-to-finish farm:

> It is strikingly clean here. Only a fly is circling above the table. The farmer takes a swatter and smacks it.
> He is a member of the Christian Union, as he told me.
> 'Thou shalt not kill,' I say.
> 'Oh really?' he laughs, 'if I do nothing against them, there will be clouds of flies within no time. But I don't use any poison.'[45]

For the farmer, dogmatic notions like the superiority of humans above animals are a matter of fact. Kroonenberg takes a neutral, a-religious stance, although sometimes she is also critical and ironic. She shows that this farmer constantly oscillates between his personal beliefs and economic considerations:

> Pig farmers are always looking for methods to make their pigs more profitable. This farmer once tried to wean piglets earlier than at four weeks of age. But the experiment failed because the sow did not react well to it. The uterus was not healed sufficiently for another pregnancy. I look at him disapprovingly while he tells me that.

> 'If you believe in God, shouldn't you show a bit more respect for the Creation?'
> 'I have mainly respect for the Creator,' he replies.[46]

For the religious farmer, it is, for example, intolerable that sows are slaughtered whilst pregnant, as it is considered an 'abortus provocatus'. According to their belief, it is seen as a kind of murder. However, that does not apply to the killing of the mother herself, nor to young piglets who are weaker than the others and thus given no extra nutrition or veterinary support. The same farmer who considers abortus provocatus intolerable, states, without any doubt, that it is pointless to help the weak and ill piglets, and he kills them easily by hitting their heads against a hard surface.[47] As justification, he states that 'in nature, they die as well', although his farming has, in all other aspects, nothing to do with nature.

Kroonenberg usually (albeit sometimes inconsistently) discerns these kinds of discourses (eliminating living beings, blaming others, using technical terms and numbers instead of referring to the animals themselves, and religious dogmas) and regularly warns about, or reacts to, them. Yet Kroonenberg is not a categorical opponent of killing pigs for meat. When visiting an organic farm, she is satisfied with the assurance that the pigs are slaughtered in small numbers at a nearby abattoir. However, 'organic slaughterhouses' simply do not exist. Thus, whilst the organic pigs may live a bit longer than their non-organic cousins, it is still a fraction of their expected life expectancy (which is up to fifteen years). When visiting a large-scale slaughterhouse, Kroonenberg is assured by her guide (a PR manager) that '"the slaughter proceeds in the most humane way," […] "we had it checked by the University of Bristol"'.[48] Whilst she disputes at some length the ways in which the pigs are paralysed during slaughter, she does not problematise the term 'humane slaughter' itself. Humane slaughter is a legal term (which stipulates that the animal must be rendered unconscious before being killed), but if we transcend the limits of speciesism, then it is an oxymoron, a contradiction in terms. 'Humane' is supposed to mean 'kind', 'compassionate', 'sympathetic', but you would not speak of humane 'murder'/ 'killing', when applied to people. The word 'slaughter', which is reserved for animals, acquires a different expressivity when used to refer to people. Jill Jepson, an American scholar in anthropological linguistics, investigated attitudes to killing animals through a linguistic lens, 'slaughter' being one of the items in her corpus. Jepson states that the terms that are used for killing humans acquire connotations of compassion and mercy when used for killing animals. Conversely, terms used for killing animals (such as 'slaughter') acquire a connotation of brutality, when applied to humans. She concludes that her findings 'reflect assumptions about the human "right" to take animals' lives while serving to ameliorate the negative feelings such killings evoke'.[49]

Most of the farmers Kroonenberg visits do have at least a basic notion of ethology and acknowledge that pigs are social, clean, clever, and curious animals.[50]

Thus, they do not stick to the traditional picture of a filthy, stupid, untidy, etc., pig.[51] However, this does not mean they see them as subjects. Indeed, even if they do try to see the world through pigs' eyes, they tend to patronise them: '"A pig lives in the present. The life is as it is. Pigs don't dream about a future."'[52] Additionally, some farmers still employ stereotypical images of pigs in their discourse, for example, their laziness. Unsurprisingly, Kroonenberg contests such prejudice, not least because the natural behaviour of a pig is very different: 'In nature, pigs are not lazy. In nature, they root all day long in search of food and they travel huge distances.'[53]

Pigs have been selectively bred to such an extent that they are extremely susceptible to disease. A result of this increased susceptibility is that they are usually no longer allowed to venture outside. Thus, the pig has been effectively erased from the countryside – far more so than other forms of livestock. In fact, Kroonenberg sees pigs outside on only three occasions: in a transport to the slaughterhouse; at an organic farm; and at a pig sanctuary, which is also the only place where pigs can spend the rest of their lives without being killed. Although Kroonenberg considers the sanctuary to be a perfect place, she does not claim that all pigs deserve such a life and does not explain how to make an ethical choice between those pigs who deserve to live such a life and those who will end up as bacon. As she states in her afterword, she hopes that her book will make people 'meat-fearing', in the same way the pious are God-fearing. Furthermore, she states that it is difficult for the average customer to make responsible choices if he or she is always bombarded by bargain offers. Indeed, she admits that it is also difficult for her : 'I am a housewife. It took me years before I stopped buying the cheap stuff and started – if I happen to buy meat – putting the expensive organic products in my shopping cart.'[54]

So, why does she still buy pork? Can she not live without it? She describes in her book how extremely difficult it is to change the conditions in factory farming systematically. She supports a flexitarian diet (primarily vegetarian diet with the occasional inclusion of meat) and organic farming. However, she cannot be so naïve to believe organic farming would be able to provide pork (and meat in general) for the ever-growing population. She presents in her book clear data about the influence of meat consumption on the loss of nature and on the increase of greenhouse gases. However, she does not use this environmental discourse when arguing with the professionals, concentrating instead on animal welfare. As the linguist and discourse specialist Guy Cook demonstrates in his article on the current polarised standpoints towards animals, animal welfare has become part of mainstream establishment discourse as now even the farming industry itself makes use of welfare arguments.[55] However, as set out below, animal welfare discourse is itself not free from speciesism and carnism.

(In)edible animals: The problem of carnism

Kroonenberg wants to make people 'meat-fearing' – in common parlance one might use the expression 'flexitarian'. Yet Kroonenberg is still a 'carnist'. Carnism is a term coined by the social psychologist Melanie Joy, meaning the belief that, in a certain culture, some animals are considered edible or usable (e.g., for leather or fur). It is a conviction that eating certain animals is normal, natural, and necessary, otherwise known as 'the myth of the three Ns' (or the three Ns of justification).[56] According to Joy, most people believe (1) that eating meat is normal because it is a part of socially constructed norms; (2) that it is natural because people have eaten it for at least two million years; and (3) that it is necessary in order to survive and to stay in good health. These three myths are supported by the illusion of free will (the belief that we are completely free to eat whatever we want).[57]

Kroonenberg represents eating pork and using pig products as normal and natural. She does not promote a strict plant-based diet. According to her, vegetarians have no idea that pig ingredients are 'necessary' for a whole range of products. She is influenced here by a scientist, Hans Hopster from the Animal Sciences Group, who tells her 'something remarkable, an economic fact, which will truly confuse vegetarians: the profit made by slaughterhouses is not so much generated by sausage, ham and pork chops. The big money is earned in the division that does not produce any meat. Gelatine and pig bristles, those are the really profitable products! Thus, by eating tofu, you will not save any pigs.'[58]

It is probable that the final remark about tofu is Kroonenberg's, illustrating that she is being ironic and sceptical about the possibility of replacing industrial meat production with plant-based products which, in fact, could be easier and faster than her slow struggle for improving the conditions in factory farming. Kroonenberg illustrates her stance citing a long list of products with 'pig ingredients' (soap, antifreeze, collagen, brushes, etc.). However, she does not mention that these products can be replaced by animal-free alternatives in the same way meat protein can be replaced with plant-based protein. Her remark about confused vegetarians 'eating tofu' seems to be based on the assumption that vegetarians and vegans are ignorant and ill-informed about the products they buy when, in reality, there are several labels that guarantee the product is vegetarian- or vegan-friendly, not only in the case of meat substitutes, but also clothing, shoes, cosmetics, etc. Kroonenberg is also ironically critical about the plant-based meat alternatives available in the supermarket: 'I know those [vegetarian] products. They are called a veggie patty or broccoli burger. They contain a bit of soy and three peas and cost as much as a beef steak.'[59]

Kroonenberg suggests that replacing meat products by tofu and plant-based burgers is a blind alley. In her discourse, her ironic tone towards vegetarian

possibilities can be read as an alibi for maintaining the livestock industry. Whilst Kroonenberg is somewhat sceptical about replacing meat by plant-based products in her 2009 book, by the time of writing (2021), it has become generally accepted that plant-based products are on the rise and investors now believe in their ever-growing potential.[60] Nowadays, the shift from meat to protein alternatives is mainly seen as understanding the relationship between our food choices and natural resources.[61] Care for water, land, and the climate turns out to be a stronger argument for abstaining from meat than the animal welfare discourse employed by Kroonenberg.

The eating of horse meat reveals even more about the double standards some hold regarding the consumption of animals. Both in the United Kingdom and the United States, horses are considered inedible, their consumption either considered a cultural taboo or banned in law. In the Low Countries, horse meat is available, although lots of people avoid it.[62] Westerman states in his book that after he started to visit the riding school, horse meat became inedible for him: 'Although I never for a moment considered becoming a vegetarian, I stopped eating smoked horse meat.'[63] This is the only time he mentions his food preferences. Thus, he continues to exhibit both carnism and speciesism: He has transferred his positive experience with a small number of horses to all members of the species, but not to other grazing animals, all mammals, or indeed to all other 'edible' animals. He does not go any deeper into his food preferences, as he would probably end up with a meat-related cognitive dissonance. According to the social psychologist Hank Rothberger, it is an ambivalence manifested 'in the frequent misalignment between expressed attitudes and behavior toward animals. Numerous studies show that while individuals want farmed animals to be humanely treated, they simultaneously eat meat derived almost entirely from factory farms documented for their abysmal treatment of animals […]. That individuals love animals and wish them no harm yet simultaneously eat them has been termed the *meat paradox*'.[64]

In Westerman's book, we can find another illustrative instance of the double standards people employ towards animals. In the final chapter, the rescue of Croatian Lipizzaners is celebrated. During the war they were 'evacuated' by a casino boss to Serbia, and lived in atrocious conditions, together with forty dogs. Eyewitnesses described hungry dogs attacking and eating the Lipizzaners, a shocking image: 'With his own eyes, Mato Čačić had seen dogs gnawing on the jawbone of a Lipizzaner.'[65] When the remaining horses are safe and well back home, the rescue by a youth organisation is celebrated by a festive meal: Chicken bouillon in a huge silver soup tureen is served, with lamb as the main course. 'During the main course – a leg of lamb so tender that the meat falls steaming from the bone – the tone of the conversation changes.'[66] After discussing the atrocious misfortunes of Lipizzaners being devoured by starving dogs, those in attendance start a lively conversation

with the mayor. Any resultant cognitive dissonance between the discussion of the horses and the dogs, and the meal now set before them is (automatically) avoided by using very different language. On the one hand, bestial expressions such as 'gnawing on the jawbone', 'strips of intestine', 'muzzles dripped blood', 'work like jackals', and 'circling their prey' are used if horses are eaten by dogs. On the other hand, cultivated culinary expressions like 'bouillon', 'silver tureen', 'tender', and 'steaming' are used when other (edible) animals are eaten by humans. Even though little lambs may be considered even cuter than foals, according to the cultural norm, they fall into the category of 'edible', and it is the practice (slaughtering made invisible), ritual use (lamb as a festive meal, not necessarily linked to religion), and discourse that helps to avoid the cognitive dissonance for present-day Westerners.

Conclusion

According to Leane's classification, domestic animals in travel narratives have typically played the role of either an instrument of travel, or a companion, whereas the quest objects were typically wild animals.[67] This chapter began from the assertion that in the West, animals are erased, both physically and mentally, from our collective consciousness. This can be said even about domesticated animals (apart from pets) who used to be an integral part of people's everyday lives. Thus, it was challenging to explore the possibilities of representation that emerge if the quest objects are domestic animals.

Frank Westerman and Yvonne Kroonenberg started their travels and wrote their books with substantially different aims, although both were motivated by their fascination for a certain animal species (the horse, and the pig, respectively). Yet, neither account is a typical travel narrative in the traditional sense. As shown above, the style is adapted to their aims.

Westerman writes a travelogue, a more literary narrative, combining personal and adapted life stories with scientific treatises. Westerman's attitude is that of an observer who uses the motif of selective breeding as a means to illustrate the twentieth-century history of humans and several scientific topics, some of which bear no relation to the horse. He does not transcend the limits of speciesism and portrays the (Lipizzaner) horse as a 'human creation', an artefact, a precious property, without asking about his or her animal self. Lipizzaners were chosen for the book as a superior animal, but in fact, only their owners emerge as in a way superior, thanks to their scarcity and wealth. In the same way as Westerman followed the traces of the Lipizzaners, who were moved from one place to another, sold, stolen, rescued, or used as gifts, he could have followed precious works of art or technical inventions. Although he obviously warns against eugenics – and its

lying at the base of racism and discrimination – he does not ask the same questions relating to non-humans, i.e., selective breeding, carried out purely for the benefit of humans. Furthermore, he does not ask any questions about the moral justification of breeding the horses for entertainment and of contemporary animal labour.

Kroonenberg, to the contrary, chose a more prosaic style and gave her story a form resembling a series of journalistic travel reportages. She started her travels as an enthusiastic activist, in order to plead for a better treatment of pigs in the Dutch farming industry. She became a member of the animal welfare movement, and in her book, she attempts to persuade her reading public to adopt a flexitarian approach – i.e., to make them buy less meat and prefer organic products. She does not oppose carnism per se and uses mainstream establishment discourse in her book as she adapts to her mainstream reading public. As shown above, she does not present vegetarianism and veganism as realistic options.[68]

However, Kroonenberg's quest, following the life cycle of a conventional Dutch pig, is caught in a vicious circle of arguments and pseudo-arguments, one blaming the other. Every improvement she suggests is argued against and most discussions end up in a cognitive cul-de-sac – as seen in animal husbandry, and in factory farming in particular, animals always remain inferior to the interests of humans. If the whole system of industrial farming is wrong, then it makes little sense to try to improve it. For example, once pigs have been created who are extremely susceptible to diseases, the only option is to keep them indoors. Although Kroonenberg briefly mentions the environmental impact of industrial farming in her book, she does not foresee the strength of climate-change discourse (as it manifests itself later) and she does not use these scientific and objective arguments in her disputes with the farmers and politicians. Her account shows that many animal welfare arguments have become empty clichés within mainstream discourse (think here of 'humane slaughter'), which is based on human exceptionalism. It must be added that some improvements have been achieved since Kroonenberg published her book, but the welfare organisation Varkens in Nood still lists no less than 120 areas of concern in the pig farming industry.[69]

If carnism and speciesism are not transcended, there is no way out. For the time being, the 'superior' horse and the 'inferior' pig are both primarily considered as human creations and treated accordingly. Even if these two domestic animals play the role of quest objects in the narratives, they have not lost their instrumental role: They are represented both by the guides and the narrators as instruments for the production of entertainment and meat, respectively.[70]

Notes

1 As this book has not been translated into English, all subsequent quotations are translated by the author of this text.

2 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 5-7.

3 Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, 4.

4 Cooke, 'Inner Journeys: Travel Writing as Life Writing', 22.

5 In her later career, Kroonenberg did, however, publish a more 'typical' travel narrative: *God in Amerika* (2016).

6 Westerman's book fits better in the author's oeuvre, which consists of highly valued and often translated non-fiction works combining the features of a travelogue, essay, and scientific treatise, with personal impressions. Conversely, Kroonenberg's book differs significantly from the rest of her oeuvre: It is evident it was 'made to order'. It is closely linked to the situation in the Netherlands at a given point in time, and it carries some of the (often negatively connotated) features of a pamphlet. This may also be the reason this book is not suitable for translation.

7 The term 'grower pig' refers to any pig between weaning and sale, or transfer to the breeding herd, sold for slaughter or killed for rations.

8 There is a certain discrepancy in her method of operation. On the one hand, Kroonenberg takes on the role of an activist, whilst on the other, she proceeds in cooperation with those she wants to portray as wrongdoers. It must be clear to her from the beginning that she can never get to see the greatest wrongs of the meat industry.

9 All subsequent references to Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse* include locations, not page numbers, in a Kindle edition.

10 Interestingly, Westerman cites the Dutchman Herman Bernelot Moens, who proposed the 'crossing of a Negro male with a female chimpanzee' in 1905, in order to create a 'higher type of human, the Übermensch, […] who looks down upon contemporary humanity as we do upon the ape-man'. Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 1594.

11 English publishers employ so-called sensitivity readers in order to discover sections in manuscripts that could be offensive for a part of the reading public. See, for instance, the comment of the translator M. Hutchinson about him not translating a joke about Hitler in a Dutch novel. Bouman, 'Hoofdpersoon Jas heet ook in het Engels gewoon Jas'. Most of the foreign translators/publishers avoid direct reference to the Nazi ideology (English, German, Spanish, Croatian, Hungarian). Only the Czech and Slovenian translations are literal. In some other languages (Italian, Polish, Slovak), the title is not a literal translation, but still with a reference to the Aryan ideology: *Pure White Race* (*Pura razza bianca*; *Czysta biała rasa*; *Čistá biela rasa*). (Information on the translations has been taken from the database of the Dutch Foundation for Literature.)

12 Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3484-3485.

13 Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 730.

14 Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 430.

15 Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 577.

16 According to Verdonk, Regan is the Immanuel Kant of animal rights. Although he is generally considered one of the founders of animal rights, he is also criticised by the representatives of the emerging field of posthumanism because he does not transcend the limits of anthropocentrism and the Enlightenment. Verdonk, *Dierenrechten*, 70. Verdonk states, however, that this new perspective does not give clear answers to many ethical questions surrounding human-animal relations. Verdonk, *Dierenrechten*, 74-77.

[17] Regan, *The Case for Animal Rights*, xvii.

[18] The theory was further built upon by Gary Francione, as only mammals were mentioned by Regan. In the meantime, other animals have been granted rights, too, on grounds of sentience. Verdonk, *Dierenrechten*, 73. This chapter will not address the proceeding discussions, since it concentrates on only two mammals – horses and pigs.

[19] Hansen, 'Dressage', 132.

[20] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 746.

[21] Most European countries have already banned using wild animals in circus acts. Four Paws International, 'Bans on Circuses', www.four-paws.us/campaigns-topics/topics/wild-animals/world-wide-circus-bans, last accessed 19 June 2021.

[22] In Europe: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Greece, and Malta (situation in 2021).

[23] Blattner, Coulter & Kymlicka, *Animal Labour*, 1.

[24] Blattner, Coulter & Kymlicka, *Animal Labour*, 2.

[25] Blattner, Coulter & Kymlicka, *Animal Labour*, 9-10.

[26] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 741-748.

[27] 'If animals do have broad interests in self-determination, then the basic principle that workers cannot be forced to work, and are free to enter and exit work, must also apply to them.' Blattner, 'Animal Labour', 99.

[28] Cochrane, 'Good Work for Animals', 52.

[29] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3511, 3513.

[30] In some languages, the terminology for selective breeding carries a positive connotation by using words such as the Dutch '*veredelen*' (i.e., to 'ennoble').

[31] The term was introduced in 1970 by Richard Ryder, in a leaflet later reprinted in Ryder, 'Speciesism Again'.

[32] All subsequent references to Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt* include locations, not page numbers, in a Kindle edition.

[33] For more information on the discourse of the pork industry, see the chapter 'As Charming as a Pig' in Stibbe, *Animals Erased*.

[34] *Varkens in Nood*, 'Missie en visie', www.varkensinnood.nl/missie-en-visie, last accessed 4 June 2021.

[35] Most of the Dutch farm pigs described in the book are Dutch Landrace (Landras) pigs.

[36] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 358: 'Geknoei met voeding en genen'.

[37] Cook, '"A Pig Is a Person"', 589.

[38] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 147.

[39] Stibbe, *Animals Erased*, 40.

[40] Stibbe, *Animals Erased*, 41.

[41] Stibbe, *Animals Erased*, 46.

[42] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 1166-1168: '"Wij transformeren dieren tot vleesproducten, […] en de kwaliteit van dat product is afhankelijk van hoe wij omgaan met die dieren. Die verantwoordelijkheid nemen wij."'

[43] Kroonenberg's book describes the situation in 2008. Since 2009, male pigs are no longer castrated without anaesthesia in the Netherlands.

[44] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 169-180.

[45] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 403-407: 'Het is hier opvallend schoon. Alleen een vlieg maakt rondjes boven de tafel. De boer pakt een vliegenmepper en slaat hem dood.
Hij is lid van de ChristenUnie, heb ik mij laten vertellen.
"Gij zult niet doden," zeg ik.

"O nee?" lacht hij, "als ik niks tegen die vliegen doe, heb je hier binnen de kortste keren wolken vliegen. Maar ik gebruik geen gif."'

[46] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 458-462: 'Varkensboeren zijn altijd op zoek naar middelen om meer winst uit varkens te halen. Deze boer heeft ooit geprobeerd de biggen eerder te spenen dan na vier weken. Maar dat experiment mislukte, omdat de zeug er niet goed op reageerde. De baarmoeder is dan nog niet voldoende hersteld om een volgende zwangerschap te volbrengen. Ik kijk hem afkeurend aan als hij dat vertelt.
"Als u in God gelooft, zou u dan niet wat meer respect voor de schepping aan de dag leggen?"
"Ik heb vooral respect voor de Schepper," antwoordt hij.'

[47] Stibbe explains that in the pork industry discourse, such common techniques are labelled with euphemisms such as 'humane euthanasia'. Stibbe, *Animals Erased*, 45.

[48] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 1211-1212: '"Hier wordt op de meest humane manier geslacht," […], "we hebben het laten controleren door de Universiteit van Bristol."'

[49] Jepson, 'A Linguistic Analysis of Discourse on the Killing of Nonhuman Animals', 127.

[50] The places where pigs are probably treated in the worst way are not described in the book, as Kroonenberg was not welcome there, as she states. Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 144.

[51] Stibbe analyses the image of 'pig' in general discourse in the United Kingdom. Stibbe, *Animals Erased*, 35-40. The mostly negative and pejorative expressions he lists can also be found in Dutch and other European languages.

[52] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 308-309: '"Een varken leeft in het heden. Het leven is zoals het is. Varkens dromen niet van een toekomst."'

[53] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 380-381: 'In de natuur zijn varkens niet lui. Daar zijn ze de hele dag aan het scharrelen om aan de kost te komen en leggen ze grote afstanden af.'

[54] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 1332-1333: 'Ik ben huisvrouw. Het heeft mij jaren gekost om de goedkope troep te laten liggen en – als ik al vlees koop – de dure biologische producten in mijn winkelwagen te leggen.'

[55] Cook, '"A Pig Is a Person"', 594.

[56] Joy, *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs and Wear Cows*, 96-113.

[57] Joy, *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs and Wear Cows*, 96-113.

[58] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 635-638: '[…] iets opmerkelijks, een economisch feit waar vegetariërs erg van in verwarring zullen raken: de winst die slachterijen maken, komt niet eens zozeer uit de worst, de ham en de karbonades. Het grote geld wordt vooral verdiend in de divisie die géén vlees produceert. Gelatine, varkenshaar, dat zijn pas winstgevende producten! Met tofu eten, red je dus geen varkens.'

[59] Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 1272-1273: 'Ik ken die [vegetarische] producten. Ze heten groenteschijf of broccoliburger. Er zit een beetje soja in en drie doperwten en ze kosten net zoveel als een biefstuk.'

[60] Nieuwenhuize, '2030'.

[61] Marquis, 'Plant-Based Foods Are Our Future and Entrepreneurs Are Helping Us Make the Shift'.

[62] Nowadays, the Dutch prefer not to knowingly eat horse meat. Apart from a couple of specialties, supermarkets do not offer products with horse meat. However, Dutch people still consume it regularly, unaware, or as if unaware, in snack bars, pubs, and restaurants (in meatballs, ragout snacks, etc.). See, e.g., Pesie, 'Nederlanders onbewust grootconsumenten van Argentijns paardenvlees'.

[63] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 214. (Avoiding smoked horse meat does not mean he did not eat horse meat in other products, such as meatballs. See previous note.)

[64] Rothberger, 'Meat-related Cognitive Dissonance', 1.

[65] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3655. Other examples: 'Bukinac fed the cadavers to his dogs, that gnawed on strips of intestine until their muzzles dripped blood.' Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3808. 'The dogs only moved in on [horses] that were too exhausted to stand upright. They went to work like jackals, circling their prey first and then attacking from behind. "First they would eat the juiciest parts, the anus and the vagina, where the meat is softest."' Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3819-3821.

[66] Westerman, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*, 3674.

[67] Leane, 'Animals', 306-307.

[68] Although she mentions 'strict and partial vegetarians', by which she probably means lacto-ovo vegetarians and flexitarians, she does not mention vegans at all (even though the term was coined as early as in 1944). Kroonenberg, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt*, 1122.

[69] Varkens in Nood, 'Misstanden in de varkenshouderij', www.varkensinnood.nl/misstanden, last accessed 19 June 2021.

[70] This work was supported by the European Regional Development Fund project 'Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World' (reg. no.: CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/0000734).

Bibliography

Blattner, Charlotte E., 'Animal Labour: Toward a Prohibition of Forced Labour and a Right to Freely Choose One's Work', in: Charlotte E. Blattner, Kendra Coulter & Will Kymlicka (eds.), *Animal Labour: A New Frontier of Interspecies Justice?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 91-115.

Blattner, Charlotte E., Kendra Coulter, & Will Kymlicka, *Animal Labour: A New Frontier of Interspecies Justice?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Bouman, Hans, 'Hoofdpersoon Jas heet ook in het Engels gewoon Jas', in: *De Volkskrant*, 21 August 2020.

Cochrane, Alasdair, 'Good Work for Animals', in: Charlotte E. Blattner, Kendra Coulter, & Will Kymlicka (eds.), *Animal Labour: A New Frontier of Interspecies Justice?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 48-64.

Cook, Guy, '"A Pig Is a Person" or "You Can Love a Fox And Hunt It": Innovation and Tradition in the Discursive Representation of Animals', in: *Discourse & Society* 26 (2015), 587-607.

Cooke, Simon, 'Inner Journeys: Travel Writing as Life Writing', in: Carl Thompson (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2015), 15-24.

Hansen, Natalie Corinne, 'Dressage: Training the Equine Body', in: Matthew Chrulew & Dinesh Joseph Wadiwel (eds.), *Foucault and Animals* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 132-160.

Jepson, Jill, 'A Linguistic Analysis of Discourse on the Killing of Nonhuman Animals', in: *Society and Animals* 16 (2008), 127-148.

Joy, Melanie, *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs and Wear Cows: An Introduction to Carnism* (San Francisco: Conari Press, 2011).

Kroonenberg, Yvonne, *Alleen de knor wordt niet gebruikt: Biografie van een varken* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact, 2009). Kindle edition.

Leane, Elizabeth, 'Animals', in: Alasdair Pettinger & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2020), 305-317.

Marquis, Christopher, 'Plant-Based Products Are Our Future and Entrepreneurs Are Helping Us Make the Shift', in: *Forbes*, 2 March 2021.

Nieuwenhuize, Rianne, '2030: Wereld staat bol van de plantaardige voeding', in: *Foodbusiness*, 16 August 2021.

Pesie, Sarah, 'Nederlanders onbewust grootconsumenten van Argentijns paardenvlees', in: *Dier en Recht*, 29 December 2020.

Regan, Tom, *The Case for Animal Rights* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Rothberger, Hank, 'Meat-related Cognitive Dissonance: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding How Meat Eaters Reduce Negative Arousal from Eating Animals', in: *Appetite* 146 (2020), 1-16.

Ryder, Roger D., 'Speciesism Again: The Original Leaflet', in: *Critical Society* 2 (2010), 1-2.

Sinclair, Upton, *The Jungle* (Project Gutenberg Etext, 1994).

Stibbe, Arran, *Animals Erased: Discourse, Ecology, and Reconnection with the Natural World* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2012).

Verdonk, Dirk-Jan, *Dierenrechten* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

Westerman, Frank, *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse: Man and Beast in an Age of Human Warfare*. Trans. by Sam Garrett (London: Harvill Secker, 2012). Kindle edition.

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Notes on the Contributors

Peter Altena (1956) is an independent researcher in the field of eighteenth-century Dutch literature. In 2012, his PhD thesis *Gerrit Paape (1752-1803): Levens en werken* was published. In 2021, he made an edition of Betsy Perk's feminist novella *Strijd binnenshuis* (first published in 1905). His current research is focused on the life and works of Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747).

Arnoud Arps (1990) is a lecturer in modern Dutch literature and culture at Leiden University, and a lecturer in Film Studies at the University of Amsterdam. His research examines the position of media and popular culture within the fields of media studies, cultural memory studies, and postcolonial studies with the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia as his main research topics. Recent scholarly publications include a book chapter on Augusta de Wit's *Orpheus in de dessa* in *De postkoloniale spiegel* (2021) and a journal article on the Indonesian animated film Battle of Surabaya in *Southeast Asian Media Studies* (2020).

Judith E. Bosnak (1973) works as an assistant professor Indonesian Language and Culture at the National Chengchi University in Taipei, Taiwan. Her research interests include travel writing, tourism and cultural studies related to Southeast Asia. Together with Frans Koot she is volume editor (translator and annotator) of the Hakluyt Society publication *The Javanese Travels of Purwalelana: A Nobleman's Account of His Journey's Across the Island of Java* (2020). She is affiliated with LUCAS, the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society, as an (overseas) guest researcher.

Rick Honings (1984) is Scaliger Professor Special Collections at Leiden University and a specialist in nineteenth-century Dutch and Dutch-Indies literature. In 2018 he published *Star Authors in the Age of Romanticism: Literary Celebrity in the Netherlands*, the international edition of his monograph *De dichter als idool: Literaire roem in de negentiende eeuw* (2016). In 2021, he co-edited *De postkoloniale spiegel: De Nederlands-Indische letteren herlezen*. Currently, he works with a research team on the NWO Vidi project *Voicing the Colony: Travelers in the Dutch East Indies, 1800-1900.* He is editor-in-chief of the journal *Indische Letteren.* More information: www.rickhonings.nl.

Ton van Kalmthout (1960) is a senior researcher in Literary History at the NL-Lab research group of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam and endowed professor of Dutch Literature at Leiden University. His research concerns various forms of cultural transmission in national and international contexts, including the import of foreign literature in the Netherlands and the worldwide circulation of Dutch literature. His publications include *Doing Double Dutch: The International Circulation of Literature from the Low Countries* (co-edited with Elke Brems and Orsolya Réthelyi, 2017), and *Een sprong in het duister: Nederlandse emigratieliteratuur 1946-1992* (2021).

Johannes Müller (1980) is an assistant professor of German and Literary Studies at Leiden University. His research focuses on migration, global connections, and information transfer in the early modern world. Publications include *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt* (2016), *Memory before Modernity* (co-edited 2013), as well as articles in *Modern Language Review, German History, German Studies Review, German Quarterly, Diasporas,* and other journals.

Esther Op de Beek (1979) is an assistant professor in Modern Dutch Literature at Leiden University. Her research examines modern Dutch travel literature, literary criticism, and the circulation of happiness narratives in literature. She is a member of the editorial board of *Nederlandse Letterkunde* and delivered *Cees Nooteboom. Avenue – 15 jaar wereldliteratuur* (2013) and, together with Jos Muijres, *Op de hielen: Opstellen over recente Nederlanse en Vlaamse literatuur* (2014).

Paul J. Smith (1953) is Emeritus professor of French literature at Leiden University. His research focuses on sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and twentieth-century French literature and its reception in the Netherlands. He also publishes on early modern natural history. Prominent publications include *Het schouwtoneel der dieren: Embleemfabels in de Nederlanden (1567-ca. 1670)* (2006), and *Réécrire la Renaissance, de Marcel Proust à Michel Tournier* (2009). He recently co-edited *Langues hybrides: Expérimentations linguistiques et littéraires (XV^{e}-début XVII^{e} siècle)* (2019), *Early Modern Catalogues of Imaginary Books* (2020), and *Ronsard and Du Bartas in Early Modern Europe* (2021).

Lucie Sedláčková (1980) is an assistant professor at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague. She completed her PhD with a dissertation investigating the phenomenon of globalisation in contemporary Dutch and Flemish fiction. She teaches Dutch and Flemish literature, literary theory, literary translation, and the culture of Dutch-speaking areas. Her research focuses mainly on the representation of globalisation in literature; cultural transfer between the Netherlands and the Czech Republic (circulation of Dutch theatre in the Czech lands, intercultural authors); and the representation of animals, vegetarianism, and ecology in literature.

Achmad Sunjayadi (1973) is an assistant professor in history and Dutch studies at the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia. His research interests include colonial history, especially the issue of tourism in Indonesia. A recent publication is *Pariwisata di Hindia-Belanda 1892-1942* (2019). He is also a co-author of the chapters 'The Downfall of the Dutch-Language-Press in Indonesia 1950-1957' and 'Dutch Language in Education in Post Sovereignty Indonesia 1949-1950s' in *On Language, Education, Politics, and Identity: A Cross-Linguistics Perspective* (2021), and author of the book chapter 'Daya Pikat Sang Naga di Nusantara: Masyarakat Tionghoa dalam Pariwisata di Indonesia Masa Kolonial' in *Tionghoa dan Budaya Nusantara* (2021).

Mikko Toivanen (1989) is an assistant professor at the University of Warsaw. He specialises in global and colonial history, with a focus on the British and Dutch empires in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia. His research interests include the development of urban public spaces in colonial contexts, the culture and practices of leisure travel, and the history of Nordic colonial entanglements. Toivanen defended his PhD on early colonial tourism in Southeast Asia at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy) in 2019. Amongst other publications, he is the author of *The Travels of Pieter Albert Bik* (2017).

Claudia Zeller (1986) studied Dutch Literature and Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam. She was a doctoral candidate at the Dutch department at the University of Vienna and has worked as a lecturer at Sorbonne University and Utrecht University. Recent publications include articles on eco-criticism and the Anthropocene in recent Dutch poetry (in the journal *Internationale Neerlandistiek*) and on the use of Russian pseudonyms by Dutch authors from the early twentieth century (in the journal *Dutch Crossing*).

Index