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Ann KUMAR

A Swedish View of Batavia in 1783-4 : Hornstedt's Letters

Clas Fredrik Hornstedt ⁽¹⁾ was born in Linköping on 10th February 1758. His mother was Charlotta Ell and his father, at that time town secretary and later councillor and mayor, was Olof Hornstedt. Both his father and grandfather represented Linköping in different sessions of the Swedish parliament, his father in 1769. Clas was educated first by private tutor and then spent four years at Linköping primary school before attending gymnasium from 1774 to 1777. He then went to Uppsala university, taking the usual theological examination in 1780 and the Philosophy Candidates examination in December 1781. He was particularly interested in natural science and botany and during his university years made a trip to Lappmarken collecting herbaceous plants and birds. He subsequently journeyed as far as St. Petersburg. After nearly four years of C.P. Thunberg's lectures on anatomy, medicine, and natural science, Hornstedt defended his dissertation on 24 November 1782.

On the 15th of December he left Uppsala for the Indies, on Thunberg's recommendation, to classify the collection of the newly-founded Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences, an opportunity he owed to a well-established link between Sweden's outstanding natural scientists and the Dutch world of learning. As a young man, Linnaeus ⁽²⁾ had travelled to Lei-

den to meet Hermann Boerhaave (1668-1739), the «praeceptor totius Europae», who was among the first to recognise his remarkable potential. Thanks to Boerhaave's patronage Linnaeus spent two very happy and profitable years at Hartekamp, a country estate between Haarlem and Leiden, whose owner, the wealthy banker George Clifford, had established a botanical and zoological garden. Linnaeus refused Boerhaave's offer to arrange a tropical expedition for him on the grounds that the heat would be intolerable, but his student Carl Peter Thunberg⁽³⁾ entered the service of the Dutch East India Company and travelled extensively under its patronage, visiting the Cape of Good Hope, Java, Japan (where he compiled the classic *Flora Japonica*, published in 1784) and Ceylon. After nine years abroad he returned home and in 1784 was appointed Professor of Botany at Uppsala, succeeding the younger Linnaeus, a post which he held until his death in 1828 at the age of 85.

With Thunberg's patronage, it is not surprising that Hornstedt was generously treated: he received free passage on the ship *Sophia Magdalena*, and when he arrived in Batavia, was provided with free board, 15 *rijksdaalder* per month from the Governor-General (W.A. Alting) and 20 *rijksdaalder* from the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences. His patron at the Society was the President, J.C.M. Radermacher⁽⁴⁾. He also had a further 20 *rijksdaalder* a month from his stipend from the Royal Swedish Academy of Science (pp. 25b and 41a). The monthly allowance from the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences was eventually doubled, and he was elected *Medelid* (Associate Member) of the Society on 24 March 1784.

Hornstedt arrived at Anyer on the coast of Banten on 24th July 1783, and hired a Javanese *prau* and 20 Bantinese to take him to Batavia, where Radermacher initially found him lodging with a wealthy Frenchman by the name of La Clé, the secretary of the Batavian Society. He later moved into a room especially prepared for him in the Batavian Society's building, a healthy and convenient location for his work of cataloguing the Society's significant collection of natural specimens sent in from many parts of Asia (though Hornstedt remarks «one has been more collector than expert»; there were sometimes 20 to 30 examples of the same species: 30b).

He noted early in the piece: «It is not permitted for Europeans in the East to have anyone white... in their service, everyone must be served by slaves. After I supported myself a few weeks in this climate I found it necessary to buy myself one, in order to look after me» (marginal note, p. 27). He paid 800 *rijksdaalder* for his slave, commenting that «One prepares a bill of sale here for a slave, just as we would for a state acreage or house», and changed the slave's «long Javanese name» to Ali in this bill⁽⁵⁾. Ali used to run like a professional runner in front of the carriage provided for Hornstedt, calling out to the pedestrians to watch out, since the sandy surface

muffled the sound of the horses' hoofs (p.31b).

In Ali's company, Hornstedt made a number of journeys out of Batavia: along the north coast of Java (a «troublesome journey»), escorted by some Javanese soldiers, in November 1783; a trip by sea to the islands off Java's south west coast in April 1784; and a visit to the Tangerang district to see the coffee, sugar, pepper and indigo plantations from 29 May to 16 July 1784. On the 22 of July he left Batavia to return to Europe.

After spending some time in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Caen and Paris, he arrived home in early 1786 and after sitting his final examinations took out his medical degree on 7 September. His subsequent career was active and distinguished: election to a Berlin learned society (Gesellschaft Naturforschender Freunde), presentation to the King of Sweden (Gustavus III), whose nature-cabinet at Drottningholm he later organized; royal appointment as Lecturer in Medicine in his home town; election as Fellow of the Royal Academy; physician to the royal fleet during the war (against Russia) of 1788-90 and again (under Gustavus IV, who joined the anti-Napoleonic alliance) in 1796; Headmaster of the Linköping Gymnasium and member of the Uppsala University Council.

During his year in Batavia Hornstedt wrote a number of letters to his patron Thunberg. In his letter of 26 August 1783 (pp. 26-31) he describes Batavia to Thunberg as competing with the cities of Europe in beauty, though the site is low and swampy, chosen more for its advantages in the transport of goods than for its healthy situation: in a later letter (1 March 1784, p. 49b) he claims that the annual mortality in the «bad monsoon» was 5,000, a figure which is based on his own observations⁽⁶⁾. He notes the wide, straight streets with their spacious, level sand-covered roads for the passage of wagons, sandstone footpaths and pleasant and much-needed shade from plantings of evergreen trees. The houses, he says, are of brick, with the rooms built around a courtyard, so that when the doors and windows (large sliding windows, «in the English style») are open a through draught is created, as necessary in this hot climate as the stove is in «our cold countries». He says that the rich use a lot of large mirrors in the lower rooms, but the mercury does not last long, running together and leaving long streaks like worm tracks after a few years. He lists the most noteworthy buildings: the new Dutch church⁽⁷⁾, consecrated in 1736, the old *Kasteelskerk* and the Lutheran church built in 1749⁽⁸⁾; the two Portuguese churches⁽⁹⁾; the beautiful townhall⁽¹⁰⁾; the widows house⁽¹¹⁾, spinning house⁽¹²⁾, town printery⁽¹³⁾, chemist⁽¹⁴⁾, post office⁽¹⁵⁾, public inn, and large number of warehouses. He estimates the European population of Batavia as close to 1500⁽¹⁶⁾, and says that the walled city is surrounded by quarters and villages that are called «campongs». Outside the Rotterdam gate, for instance, there is a quarter of about 700 native Christians with Portu-

guese names. This is a reference to the *mardijkers*, ex-slaves of Indian origin, from Bengal, Arakan, Coromandel and Malabar, and Christian religion⁽¹⁷⁾. The *mardijker* community flourished during the 17th century but in the 18th their number was first stationary and then in decline. In 1762 there were still an estimated 2000 men who could bear arms, but the number of *mardijker schutterij* (citizen soldier) companies declined markedly thereafter: the last was abolished in 1808. Hornstedt also notes a Moorish quarter of 760 houses⁽¹⁸⁾, and another 18 *kampungs* around the city, named after the nationality of their inhabitants – Buginese, Balinese, Ambonese, Butonese, Malay, Mandarese. The Muslim *kampungs* have, he says, a total population of 68,000⁽¹⁹⁾. Hornstedt notes also the markets, «called Pasars» which take place in Batavia's many squares: the Pasar ikan, where one can buy 20 to 30 different types of live fish, of which few are known in Europe, and the Pasar Senen and Pasar Tanabank (Tanah Bang) where one finds on Mondays an enormous variety of fruit and vegetables.

Outside the city, he says, are found mosques, pagodas, gunpowder works, artillery factories, *arak* distilleries, sugar mills, and slaughter-houses. About a quarter of a mile distant is the port, «considered as the most splendid in the world» and capable of accommodating all the fleets of the world. The Dutch send out about 30 ships⁽²⁰⁾ bringing what the European community needs from Holland and sending back pepper, nutmeg, coffee, sugar, rice, *arak*, indigo, and so on. Batavia also has a strong inland trade and a trade with Chinese junks and other ships, «their numbers fluctuating between 5 and 600» that come from Tonkin, Siam, Palembang, Trengganu, Cambodia, Banjarmasin, Persia, Ambon, Makassar, Ternate, Tidore, Burma, Sumbawa, Melaka, Padang, Bali, and the Javanese coast, to trade with her citizens. In this trade slaves from nearby islands are the most expensive item. About 4000 are imported (annually?) and the island of Bali provides them at a very good price⁽²¹⁾.

In contrast to the distance which separated him from the other ethnic groups of extra-mural Batavia, Hornstedt was often in contact with the Chinese. He says that 22,000 Chinese lived in 1300 houses in Kampung Cina⁽²²⁾, outside the Diest gate (letter of 26 August 1783, p. 29b). It is worth noting here that the Chinese had not always been concentrated in an extra-mural ethnic neighbourhood: before the Chinese massacre and uprising of 1740 they were scattered throughout the walled city, and Kampung Cina was not established until 1741, south of the Sirih- or Lijnwatersgracht, under the surveillance of the Dutch artillery.

On 12 September 1783 Hornstedt was invited to attend a Chinese celebration (see letter of 14 September, pages 32-5). He was taken by someone who from his name, Captain Joseph Guglielmie [sic] de Maranzeto, may have been a *mardijker* officer. They arrived at Kampung Cina at 8 p.m. and were

met by a Chinese by the name of Tuan Thomas, who spoke better Dutch than Hornstedt himself. Tuan Thomas explained that his brother, a stone-mason, had been «alderman» for the past year and now that his term of office was finished he was holding the celebration to give thanks to the god Joss for the good fortune of the past year. They travelled a short way (1/16th of a Swedish mile) from Kampung Cina and arrived at a temple courtyard⁽²³⁾ where tables were set out and all the stone-masons settled down to eat. A lot of other Chinese and Javanese had come to watch the celebrations. They went through the courtyard to a room containing three tables, one higher than the others, with images of gods. Tuan Thomas knelt beside another Chinese in mandarin dress; they leant to the left and then abased their faces to the ground, doing this five times. They then lit four incense sticks which were put down on a plate in front of the stone-masons' Joss⁽²⁴⁾. During this ceremony a «terrifying music on Chinese harps» was played, with much banging on metal instruments of «nearly the same shape and melody as our frying-pans». The ritual was repeated in the same form for the whole night until sunrise. Hornstedt asked for permission to draw the altars and this was freely given: Tuan Thomas asked him not to forget the beautiful cloth hanging beneath the closest table, which was embroidered in gold with a «terribly grim face with large moustaches and six horns on his forehead».

The table furthest back was the smallest and highest, on this sat Joss and his servant «Sattan». The good god's face was painted white with red cheeks and blue cheek-bones, and the bad one's black⁽²⁵⁾. On the opposite side of the good god sat four smaller servant gods and two large candles; by his feet were three porcelain cups filled with *arak*. The second smallest table was somewhat longer and wider. In the middle of it stood a covered porcelain incense pot flanked by two «unshapely figures» resembling «some grim animal's head made of tree roots» beside which burnt two large candles. On each end of the table were two large porcelain dishes, one with Chinese flowers and the other with ripe fruit. The third table was the lowest and largest. On it sat the stone-masons' own Joss, with two servant gods on each side, and beside these 12 tea-cups filled with candied sugar and fruit. In front of this Joss stood an incense bowl of Japanese cups in which the burning incense sticks were set down in the ash of the burnt-out ones left as a sacred relic. On either side of the incense bowls stood another made of porcelain and filled with ash. In front of these were three porcelain cups with tea (without milk or sugar, Hornstedt notes), and in front of these, five cups with *tjau*, a drink made of rice and *arak*. At the ends of the table lay four stones used for divination, with one convex and one concave side: when they are thrown in front of Joss the way in which they fall predicts

good or ill ⁽²⁶⁾. On either side of this last table stood a pyramid with candles.

Outside the altar-room in the courtyard four tables were set in a square for the stone-masons' meal. Hornstedt records that over 30 courses were served without satisfying him : at midnight he was still hungry and moreover nauseated by the spices used in the Chinese food. But after the banquet they were served with a variety of fruit, which he liked.

During the entire meal an entertainment was provided on a specially raised stage – though the Chinese and Javanese seemed to derive more amusement from seeing the Europeans eat, with more than a hundred «Indians» standing around the table with the utmost attention. First there was a «symphony» and then a Chinese girl sang a solo. When she went off, another girl came in in rather an elaborate costume with four white wings on her back and accompanied by four girls carrying fans. The girl who had sung the solo came back and joined the group, which was accompanied by a «clanging» orchestra of drums and a type of trumpet. Then eight black costumed performers came in, four with swords and four with wooden staves. They danced and capered and did some somersaults, and pointed the wooden staves at all four points of the compass. Seven of the eight then exited, leaving one to demonstrate his individual expertise; when he was tired he was replaced by another. Now another man came in and with unbelievable skill balanced two staves thrown in the air. Back came two men and staged a battle : the loser retreated and was replaced by another, and so on. While this was going on the singer began a «pantomime» : Hornstedt did not like her singing and did not hear much difference between one song and the next. He also says that half the Chinese did not understand what she was singing : when he asked them what the piece was about, he always got the answer that they couldn't hear. Hornstedt comments rather unfavourably on Chinese theatre as having little regard for probability and predicts that it will not develop from its immature state because the Chinese never budge from their ancestral customs. He and his friends left at 3 a.m., but the festivities continued until around 6 a.m., when the Chinese went to their work without any sleep (pp. 32-5).

On another occasion Hornstedt bribed himself into a Chinese comedy ⁽²⁷⁾, and also into the inside room, where the actresses change, «a place Europeans are never allowed into». He saw their musical instruments, weapons, clothes, etc., and addressed himself to a young actress, who read her role out of a manuscript which Hornstedt persuaded her to sell him (He comments that when one talks to women «on the right side», one can get almost anything one wants from them; though he later says that she spoke quite fast Malay, which he couldn't always understand, but she understood his *rupiahs* much better). He says that these comedies are now translated into Malay by a Chinese he got to know well, and that he intends

to translate the manuscript from Malay into Swedish himself (letter of 4 November 1783, pp. 42b-43a).

The third Chinese gathering which Hornstedt describes was the burial of one of the leaders of the community (letter of 10th December 1783, pp. 44b-47b). He was Gouw Puansieu (or Poansoeij) whom Hornstedt describes as «leader of the Chinese Council of Java», appointed Chinese Lieutenant by the Hoge Regeering ⁽²⁸⁾. The funeral procession, in which there were 2000 Chinese, left Kampung Cina for the Chinese cemetery ⁽²⁹⁾ on 7th December at 9 a.m. The procession ⁽³⁰⁾ was headed by a mandarin, followed by Chinese pyramids, towers, lanterns and portchaises made of bamboo ⁽³¹⁾ covered with painted Chinese paper, so thin that the slightest breeze tore it. Next was carried the dead man's portrait, in a glass frame ⁽³²⁾. Then fruit of various kinds and more paper constructions; followed by a colossal image, dragged along on wheels, about 30 feet high and thick in proportion, made of bamboo and cane covered with painted paper : the face was large and ruddy with five big eyes, two above the normal ones and the fifth in the middle of the forehead ⁽³³⁾. Next a mounted Chinese ⁽³⁴⁾ and after him some musicians, followed by more lamps and lanterns, fans, and streamers on long bamboo poles, everything painted and gilded. Next came the corpse in a black wooden coffin carried by 40 men ⁽³⁵⁾. Beside the coffin walked the dead man's two sons ⁽³⁶⁾, bowed down with covered faces. The coffin was followed by 12 priests («bonzers») wearing grey coats that looked from a distance like lutheran priests' vestment ⁽³⁷⁾. They were all beardless and wore black caps. The rest of the procession walked in no special order but all were clad in white, some wearing white cloths around their heads and some wearing caps of fine raffia ⁽³⁸⁾.

The body was put down on a mound a little distance from the grave and the dead man's mother, wife, and daughters came forward ⁽³⁹⁾, followed by 20 (professional? ⁽⁴⁰⁾) female mourners, crying and lamenting and throwing themselves on the ground. The dead man was laid in the grave, which had an east-west orientation, with his face to the east ⁽⁴¹⁾. In front of the grave the deceased relatives and the mourners, all dressed in white, sat on the ground. They continued their vigorous lamentation while music played, breaking off when they were served with food and drink. About 15 paces from the grave a bamboo structure was erected, over a table on which were paper and brushes for the priest to write «passes» for the dead ⁽⁴²⁾, and a bowl with travel money ⁽⁴³⁾. Small tables were placed around with offerings of fruit, as well as a goat and a pig on poles.

As the morning proceeded and the day became hotter Hornstedt was plagued by a strong thirst. He saw a bowl of grapes on a table and began to eat them. A Chinese shouted in Malay : «God! How do you dare eat of the

dead's food!» to which Hornstedt replied «Because we were such good friends» commenting that if he had shown any fear he would surely have been pursued further, but as the Chinese in Java are held fairly well in check by the Dutch they would not dare to break out if they were met with any resistance.

Hornstedt then went into the pagoda where the Chinese council – the Captain and the Lieutenants – were gathered⁽⁴⁴⁾. He was served with *arak*, preserved ginger and mangoes. Mats were spread with dishes of fish, meat, chicken boiled and fried, boiled rice, many types of *kue* («que») or pastries, fruit and preserves. The pagoda was bare except for images of Joss and his servant «Settang». There were no priests present : Hornstedt conjectures that they would have been too timid to come in in the presence of the Chinese council, since «bonzers or priests are regarded by the Chinese as worse than barbarians, who otherwise are the most contemptible of people»⁽⁴⁵⁾. After their meal, Hornstedt and the Chinese council went to the grave to witness the paper decorations and the huge image from the procession being burnt. The Chinese present ate and drank of the food served on the ground all day long.

Hornstedt concludes his account of the funeral by remarking that the widow of the dead man should cry for forty days since according to Chinese belief the soul of the dead remains in the house for this amount of time. It is also necessary to burn silvered paper, to burn incense, and to keep fruit on a table for the dead for the same period. He remarks that the funeral he has described is exceptionally costly because of the enormous amount of food – for perhaps a thousand people over a whole day – and paper decorations provided : poor Chinese are buried without much ceremony in a yellow coffin, perhaps with someone walking in front with incense. He concludes once again with the comment that the Chinese «never change their ancestors' customs at all in foreign lands»⁽⁴⁶⁾.

On 29 May 1784 Hornstedt set out on a Whitsuntide visit to the property of the secretary of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, La Clé (letter of 20 June 1784, pp. 62b-65a). They proceeded via Kampung Cina and Anke, where the Company had a post, and then travelled up the Cidani river, which rises in the mountains of Banten and enters the sea at Untung Jawa : the Mokervaart canal joined it to the Anke, which flowed west from Batavia. The party travelled in a large covered sampan which was pulled by 16 slaves : Hornstedt comments that he had never travelled in so much comfort in Java. Mrs La Clé served a meal of 16 plates to the four ladies and four gentlemen on board. They arrived at Tangerang, a fortified post of the Company on the border with Banten, and went to the La Clé's stone house, which was only a few hundred paces from the river, along which

lay other estates and stone houses belonging to Company officials and free citizens of Batavia. Hornstedt describes the estate as having the most beautiful coffee and pepper plantation in Java, «I dare say». He gives a description of the coffee and pepper plants (pp. 63b-64a). After staying here for a few weeks hunting and shooting (a wild pig) and collecting plants, Hornstedt returned with the party to Batavia. Hornstedt himself made a detour to inspect one of the 20 *arak* distilleries (he does not say which one) that lay around the city.

He says that only the Chinese operate the *arak* distilleries : it is an invention brought from China, which they enjoy warm with every meal and festivity, drunk out of small porcelain cups. He describes the complex process of fermentation and distillation by which *arak* is made : one begins by boiling the rice and adding a mixture of Chinese sugar, aniseed, and rice flour. The mixture is twice left to ferment for 24 hours, after which river water is added, and when a third fermentation is completed, *tuak* or coconut juice is added and the mixture is put into smaller clay vessels called *tampayang* (*tampayans*) for a further fermentation of 48 hours. Then it is all poured into a large pan for the process of distillation. The product of the first distillation is called *tsiewu* and it is this which the Chinese drink, rather than the stronger *arak* which is the product of the second distillation. There are different qualities of *arak* : *arak api kapala*, first quality *arak*, which is made only for the government to export to Holland, and which it is strongly forbidden to make and sell without permission; and two qualities for local consumption, *arak api*, and «Company *arak*», called by the Chinese *tuj-sio-tsiewu*, made by mixing 2/3 *arak api* with 1/3 *tsiewu*, which is used in households in Java «like snapps with us». Hornstedt concludes with some calculations regarding the financing of the *arak* distilleries and concludes that the profits are small for the capital invested, though a large number of people gain the livelihood from making *arak*, and the viability of the sugar plantations and mills is substantially dependent upon it⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Clearly Hornstedt is no very expert witness on Batavia : better descriptions of the city and fuller statistics are available elsewhere. This is not surprising, when we remember that he was a foreigner, primarily preoccupied with his scientific work, who spent only a year in Batavia and would have arrived with little background knowledge or linguistic equipment. The interest of his account is just in this lack of preconception, particularly in his material on the Chinese community and its relationship with the Dutch. We see clearly how close together the two communities still were, four decades after the expulsion of the Chinese to a separate quarter outside the walls. Hornstedt's experience reveals that the Chinese were middlemen in the fields of science and belles-lettres as well as in commerce. The *Dag-bok* contains a list of medicinal plants identified with Chinese characters

(p. 59f); the *Resa* informs us that Chinese theatrical pieces were being translated into Malay, revealing the beginnings at this early period of a Chinese input into a Batavian Malay culture that was not limited to the pidgin of the *pasar*. The Chinese were linguistically well equipped to play this role : they maintained their own schools, they were acquiring, as Hornstedt testifies, both Malay and Dutch (and also, in different settings, Javanese). De Haan remarks that «without Chinese nothing of importance would ever have been achieved by our company in Java»⁽⁴⁸⁾, though other Dutchmen, even when they were actually heavily dependent upon the services of the Chinese, had unsuppressible misgivings about their treatment of the native population. Certainly the relationship between Dutch and Chinese was not without obvious tension : hence Hornstedt's remark that the Dutch keep the Chinese pretty well in check, and that, as a European, one did well not to show fear. The Chinese were not always in check, however. Hornstedt's patron and leading figure of the Batavian Enlightenment, J.C.M. Radermacher, left Batavia during Hornstedt's stay there (p. 49b) : unknown to Hornstedt, he was murdered at sea by Chinese sailors⁽⁴⁹⁾.

In contrast to the Chinese, the Javanese are described (pp. 58-60), and not for the first time, last of all the races the traveller sojourning in cosmopolitan Batavia will meet. Where the Chinese provide the exotic culture, the exciting encounters, the information on previously unknown natural phenomena so much a part of the European experience in colonial cities, the Javanese provide the rural backdrop. And an idyllic scene it is : the bamboo dwelling, surrounded by the beauties of nature, which the Javanese farmer builds by his own labour and which, among its palm trees, presents a more beautiful sight than «our splendid castles»; the honest toil of the farmer cultivating his fields for his family; the moderation which forestalls many of the diseases that plague Europeans, though the Javanese know no other doctor than nature⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Idyllic as this picture is, it would be wrong to assume that in Hornstedt's time the Javanese had almost no part in urban life. There were other cities, which Hornstedt did not see, in which the Javanese played a much stronger and more visible role : the other cities of the north coast, cosmopolitan like Batavia, but with a different mix, in which Arabs and Indians were prominent alongside Javanese, and in some of which Javanese successfully maintained a commercial dominance against Chinese competition until a much later period⁽⁵¹⁾; and the royal cities of the interior, not cosmopolitan but very dominantly Javanese, in which the political and military surveillance of court intrigue maintained by the Dutch and the economic role of the Chinese were both pursued within a general conformity to Javanese aristocratic moeurs for at least another century, where Dutch officials were expected to be competent, if not skilled, in Javanese literature

and fine arts. Hornstedt is not an exception to the overwhelming emphasis on Batavia in European accounts, but his lack of preconceived ideas and official responsibility gives his letters a particular freshness. His others writings also invite more attention than they have received in the first two centuries of their existence.

NOTES

1. Two manuscripts by Hornstedt are preserved in the Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket. They are UUB W 165, Hornstedt's *Resa till Ostindien*, «Journey to the East Indies» (sometimes listed as *Resa till Java*), and UUB W 166, Hornstedt's *Dagbok på Java*, «Javanese Diary». The bio-data given here are taken from the *Resa*, as is the material on Batavia. Besides an account of Hornstedt's voyages out and home, it contains a series of letters to Hornstedt's Professor, the famous naturalist Carl Thunberg (see note 3 below), the first from Gotheberg, dated 27 December 1782, and the last from Paris some time in August 1786. Pages 26 to 65 of the 106 page manuscript contain nine letters from Batavia over the period August 1783 - June 1784. Hornstedt's *Dagbok* is 157 pages long and is not so much a personal diary as a natural scientist's notebook. It contains his notes on flora and fauna and climate, including thermometer and barometer readings, as well as extensive astronomical observations made on the voyages out and back. Pages 150-55 contain a list of Malay manuscripts. The *Dagbok* is very extensively crossed-out, overwritten, and smudged, problems also present to a lesser degree in the *Resa*. After this article was completed, the author learnt that a selection of Hornstedt's letters was published in the *Skrifter utgijma av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland* vol. 10, 1888. This journal is not available in Australia.
2. On Linnaeus, see Heinz Goerke trans. Denver Lindley, *Linnaeus*, New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 1973, and Wilfrid Blunt with assistance of William T. Stearn, *The Compleat Naturalist : A Life of Linnaeus*, London, Collins, 1971.
3. On Thunberg, see Goerke pp. 153-5 and Blunt pp. 190-2.
4. Radermacher was not only President but founder of the Society. He was a man of wide interests, ranging from humanitarian issues such as the abolition of torture and capital punishment to the study of tropical flora and fauna. On Radermacher's career as a leader of the «Batavian Enlightenment», see Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia : European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983, pp. 85-7.
5. This raises some interesting questions : was Ali really Javanese, and did Hornstedt really pay so much for him? There was an official prohibition on the enslavement of Javanese, springing, like the prohibition forbidding the Javanese to wear krisses and their expulsion from the city in times of perceived danger, from a fear which dated back to the Javanese attacks on Batavia in its early days. In Hornstedt's time, the term «Javanese» was used very loosely, and «Ali» may have come from some other ethnic group. As for the price, Lekkerkerker gives 90 *rijksdaalders* as a high price at the end of the 18th century : see C. Lekkerkerker, «De Baliërs van Batavia», *Indische Gids* vol. 40 Pt.I (1918) p. 425.
6. It is hard to estimate the reliability of this figure, since overall mortality figures are difficult to construct. Even for hospitals there is wide variation : Heydt claims that 30 to 45 deaths occurred daily in the Binnenhospitaal in the 1730s, whereas a government

- estimate from 1768 gives an annual mortality rate of only 1500 for the same hospital : see [F. de Haan] *Oud Batavia : Gedenkboek uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen naar aanleiding van het driehonderdjarig bestaan der stad in 1919*, Batavia, G. Kolff, 1922, vol. I, p. 334. In his *Dagbok* (pp. 33-4), Hornstedt has drawn up two tables of deaths in the Chinese and Muslim communities in 1783 and 1784, based on information from the Bataviaasch Genootschap. For 1783, deaths in the Chinese community totalled 975 – 847 men, 77 women, and 51 children – and among the Muslims 943 – 344 men, 333 women, and 266 children : these widely differing sex and age ratios presumably reflecting the much greater number of single Chinese males. For the Chinese, the five months of lowest mortality are July to November, and for the Muslims April to August. The table for 1784 is incomplete : only the April figures have been entered.
7. The occasion for the building of the new Dutch church was the arrival in 1732, after a decade of waiting, of an organ from Holland which was so gigantic that de Haan describes it as a white elephant. By the end of the century the defects in the construction of the church were quite obvious and Daendels sold it for demolition; its ruins were still to be seen in 1820 (*Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 297-301).
 8. On the Kasteel, see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, Ch. IV (the location of the Kasteelskerk is shown in the plan on p. 148). Work began on the Lutheran church in 1747 and the inaugural service was held in 1749. By 1835 flood and earth movements had made it unusable, and the building of the Willemskerk which replaced it was begun : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 309-312.
 9. The first of these was the Binnenkerk, a stone building on the west side of the river north of the beginning of the Utrechtschestraat, opened in 1673 for the use of native Christians. Services were held in Portuguese and Malay. Because of the decline of the *mardijker* community in the 18th century, it reverted to use as a rice warehouse in 1801, but in 1807 was used as a church again, this time for the Dutch congregation. It burnt down in 1808. The second was the Buitenkerk, the construction of which began in 1692, located in the *mardijker* settlement opposite the Gelderland bastion of the east wall of the city. On these two churches see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 301-9.
 10. The Stadhuis, dating from 1707. For a description of this building, see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 280-90.
 11. Hornstedt seems to be under some misapprehension here, since there was no institution specifically for widows. The two charitable institutions that he does not mention are the Armhuis (poor-house), mostly occupied by *mardijkers* and male Company workers who had been dismissed, and the Weeshuis (orphanage) which housed as well as orphans a few mentally disturbed European women. These two institutions were next door to each other, situated along with the Spinhuis (see following note) in the so-called «Kampong Miskin» : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, p. 312ff.
 12. The Spinhuis on the Spinhuisgracht north of the Utrechtschestraat. It dated from the early 1640s and was a place of correction for light women or for wives whose husbands found their behaviour unsatisfactory. Once committed, they earned their living by spinning. By the end of the 18th century it was no longer much used for its original purpose and its rooms were then used to house mental cases from the Chinese hospital, which was only separated from the Spinhuis by a Company school. The Spinhuis was demolished in 1821 : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 293-5.
 13. On the City Printing House, see H.J. de Graaf, *The Spread of Printing : Eastern Hemisphere : Indonesia*, Amsterdam, Vangendt and co., 1969, pp. 21-2. In Hornstedt's time it was run by the Dominicus family.
 14. The chemist (*apotheeck*) had his house and shop on the Binnennieuwpoortstraat, a private business in a building provided by the company, in which he dispensed European medicines : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 335-7.

15. Located in the Werf, on the river opposite the Kasteel : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, p. 350.
16. This seems reasonably accurate : Raffles gives a total of 543 Europeans and 1,485 descendants of Europeans born in the colony : see Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, London 1817, p. 246.
17. On the *mardijkers*, see *Oud Batavia* vol. I, pp. 512-20.
18. The «Moors» were Indian Muslims, often traders in textiles and other goods, who lived in the quarter of the city known as the Pakojoan, which was centred around the mosque in Sirihstraat, also known as «Gang Kojah» : see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 486-8. Like the other ethnic communities of Batavia, they were governed by their own head, a Captain, after 1774 a Major. Raffles, however, counted only 119 Moors, besides 318 Arabs. (*History of Java*, vol. II, p. 246).
19. Hornstedt simply lists the ethnic *kampungs*, and does not expand on other notable features of extra-mural Batavia, e.g. the variety of regional housing styles. It is clear that he had no contact with their inhabitants, and in view of Company policy, which was to leave these ethnic groups alone to look after themselves as far as possible, all population figures are based on the roughest guesswork. Hornstedt's 68 000 is over 20 000 in excess of the total population of Batavia and its suburbs according to Raffles, however (*History of Java*, vol. II, p. 246).
20. This figure seems to reflect the situation earlier in the century : in the early 1780s the average figure was less than 20 : see J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schoffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Century*, vol. II, *Outward-bound voyages from the Netherlands to Asia and the Cape (c. 1595-1794)*.
21. The trade in Balinese slaves was conducted largely by Chinese, and many thousands were indeed imported annually : see S. Abeyasekera, «Slaves in Batavia : Insights from a Slave Register» in Anthony Reid ed., *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, Queensland U.P. 1983, p. 292.
22. On Kampung Cina, see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 494-5. Hornstedt's figure of 22,000 Chinese seems much too high : Raffles gives the figures of 11,249 Chinese and 605 *peranakans* (*History of Java* vol. II, p. 246).
23. Hornstedt does not name this temple. Professor Lombard suggests it may have been the Lu Ban gong temple which was in existence at the end of the 18th century and is devoted to the god of carpenters but also of building workers in general : for a description of this temple, see Claudine Salmon et Denys Lombard, *Les Chinois de Jakarta : temples et vie collective*, Cahier d'Archipel 6, S.E.C.M.I., Paris 1977, pp. 134-6.
24. Joss, which is probably derived from Portuguese *deos*, is a generic term for a Chinese divinity, though some European writers use it as if it were a proper name (see e.g. Tombe's account in Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, p. 275). Here the «stonemason's Joss» is presumably Lu Ban, the patron saint of construction work, himself.
25. These two gods are probably Guan Di (also known as Guān Gōng) and his companion Zhāng Fēi. Guan Di is usually described as the god of war, though his portfolio is much larger than that : patron of the military, the Ching emperors, restaurants, pawn-shops, curio dealers, brotherhoods, secret societies, and in certain aspects of wealth and literature. He is a very popular god among the Southeast Asian Chinese. His companion Zhāng Fēi was a butcher and a wine-seller by trade. Cf. Jonathan Chamberlain, *Chinese Gods*, Long Island Publishers, Hong Kong 1983, p. 57 : «A man of immense appetites, impetuosity and extravagant emotion, he is the embodiment of the fiery, unyielding upholder of justice». Hornstedt seems to have assumed that his black face indicated that he was a bad god, but this is not necessarily the case : see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, pp. 41 and 47 for examples of black-faced forms of revered figures. Nevertheless, in character and representation (wide eyes stare out of a black face with a bristling beard and ferocious expression) Zhāng Fēi is a ferocious character and he is said to have been murdered by his subordinates while in a drunken stupor : Chamberlain, *Chinese Gods*, p. 62.

26. Divination in this fashion is described in an account of the Chinese in Java from the mid nineteenth century, though with pieces of wood rather than stones: two pieces of wood were used, and if they both fell on the rounded side it was a bad sign, and a very good one if they both fell the other way; if one fell on the rounded and one on the flat side, it meant that the undertaking in question would succeed, but not as soon as one might hope: see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, pp. 283-4.
27. According to de Haan (*Oud Batavia*, vol. I, p. 507), the 18th century was a time when Chinese theatre flourished and rich and expensive costumes were the rule. This was not maintained, and the cheaper Javanese *ronggeng* dancers later replaced theatrical performances in the Chinese community. European accounts from the early 18th century are in conflict on the question of the sex of the performers at this period: de Bruijn says he was told that the actors he saw were actually all girls, but Valentijn says the actors of the Chinese wayang were young men and women from the poorer levels of Chinese society (see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, p. 264 and p. 269). It is very interesting to note that Chinese comedies were already being translated into Malay in the 1780s: cf. Claudine Salmon, *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: a provisional annotated bibliography*, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris 1981, p. 39.
28. The «Chinese Raad», first officially recognized in 1747, though its existence goes back to the 17th century. It had six Lieutenants appointed by the government: see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, pp. 500-1. Gouw Poansoeij was appointed Lieutenant in October 1772 and held office until his death: see B. Hoetink, «Chineesche Officieren te Batavia onder de Compagnie», BKL 78 (1922) pp. 120-22.
29. Hornstedt does not name the cemetery, but it must have been the «new cemetery», «Sien Thiong», later popularly known as Sentjong, of Gunung Sari, abutting the Drosserpad.
30. Hornstedt's description of the component parts of the procession and their order corresponds very closely to that given in J.J.M. de Groot, *De Lijkbezorging der Emoy-Chineezen*, 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1892, pp. 76-105, which describes the custom of the well-to-do Chinese of Amoy, the port through which so many emigrants left for the Indies, in the late 19th century.
31. On the different types of lanterns used and their significance see de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, p. 78. The lanterns serve to show the soul the way to the grave, and the words painted on them keep it in the right procession. On the «guest pavilions» or «help pavilions» contributed by relatives, friends, and acquaintances, see *ibid.* pp. 81-2.
32. This seems likely to have been an innovation under European influence. It is not mentioned in de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, for funerals of a later period in China.
33. This figure was intended to frighten away evil spirits. De Groot also notes that these bamboo and paper constructions were sometimes of enormous size, though the ones he saw had only three eyes as against the five in Hornstedt's description (*Lijkbezorging*, p. 79).
34. De Groot's description of the funeral processions of men of rank in Amoy notes the appearance at this juncture of a military mandarin escorting a banner proclaiming the official rank of the deceased (*Lijkbezorging*, p. 84). Presumably the mounted man here was performing the same function for the dead man, who held an important official rank, Lieutenant, in the Chinese community of Batavia.
35. According to de Groot (*Lijkbezorging*, p. 91), there were usually 16 or 32 coffin-bearers.
36. The coffin was followed immediately by the sons of the deceased, and then the other male relatives (grandsons, brothers and so on) in prescribed order (de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, p. 87).
37. Other European observers describe Buddhist monks wearing robes of violet silk, in one case with a top robe of violet brocade richly embroidered with gold: see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, pp. 275 and 283.

38. cf. de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, p. 74 on the white linen mourning robes and headcloths worn by the bereaved.
39. Here the custom evidently differed from that of late-nineteenth century Amoy, where female family members never went with the procession to the grave. De Groot notes however (*Lijkbezorging*, pp. 88-9), that Chinese writings from earlier periods abundantly demonstrate that women used to do so, and this earlier situation, before women were confined to the house, must be reflected in late eighteenth-century Batavia.
40. Cook's account, of 1771, notes the custom of hiring a considerable number of women for this purpose: see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, p. 271.
41. The direction in which the coffin should be laid was determined *in situ* according to the calculations of a geomantic expert (see de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, p. 97 on the role of this «professor» or «wind-and-water master»).
42. This seems to be a reference to the crucial role performed by the mandarin in inscribing pen stipples on the soul-tablet of the deceased while uttering certain ritual formulae, in order to bind the soul to the table (see de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, pp. 99-101). In his description of the procession Hornstedt does not mention the carrying of the soul tablet, which would have come after the monstrous figure and before the man on horseback. After the funeral, the soul-tablet was taken home.
43. At this juncture it was the custom to strew paper money to ward off evil spirits: see de Groot, *Lijkbezorging*, pp. 95-6.
44. This would have been the Wan-Jie Si temple: see Salmon et Lombard, *Chinois de Jakarta*, pp. 110-19.
45. A mid-nineteenth century account elaborates upon this: priests were paid a fixed emolument from the incomes of the temple which was so small as to condemn them to abject poverty, and they were not allowed to undertake any other work. In addition, because of their obligatory celibacy they were generally suspected of «immorality»: see Salmon and Lombard, *Les Chinois*, p. 284.
46. cf. de Haan: «That Chinese customs and habits are subject to little alteration, is generally known. But still, when one compares what our old travel writers note about them with what one has known and verified oneself, then e.g. the clothing of the Batavian Chinese in the Company Time was much more Chinese than e.g. 25 years ago [i.e. at the end of the 19th century]»: *Oud Batavia*, p. 506.
47. In contrast to the number of sugar mills, which declined in the 18th century, the number of *arak* distilleries increased from 12 in 1712 to 20 in 1793. The highest production was 600 *leggers* (a measure of 400, later 388, litres) per distillery. In the last quarter of the 18th century, competition from distilleries set up in Ceylon and Bengal had a serious effect on the Batavian production, which rapidly declined, though the number of distilleries remained the same for a long time. This is probably the reason for Hornstedt's remark on the small return on capital. By 1827 there were only 8 distilleries left, plus one at Bekasi. Batavian *arak* retained its reputation as superior product, however, and Raffles presented some to George IV: see *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, p. 425.
48. *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, p. 497.
49. See Mr. W. van Hogendorp, *Geneeskundige Propagandageschriften*, Rijswijk 1921, p. 100.
50. Hornstedt also comments upon the food of the Javanese – very spicy – and their dress: everyday clothing for men includes a kris, but the upper body is bare, while for special occasions they wear a kabai, a shirt of red or blue cotton that covers the whole body. The hair is bound up in a kerchief. Women are very similarly dressed and twist their long hair over their crown in a knot that is fastened with a long pin of copper or gold. One sees among the women beautiful features and eyes of just as sweet and tender outlook as any, once one overcomes the prejudice against a black skin. The men, who are allowed to take more than one wife, are, he says, extremely jealous and ready to murder for ima-

gined wrongs. The girls marry and have children before they are twelve years old : most spend nearly all their lives without menstruation. The children are brought up in complete freedom and never chastised, one never hears uproar and tears. Everybody, from the youngest to the oldest, washes twice daily in the cold water of dams and streams, a practice which is highly beneficial to their health, and both sexes are strong swimmers. Hornstedt links their cleanliness to their Mohammedan faith. He claims that the Javanese speak two languages, «mountain speech» and that which is spoken along the coast.

None of these remarks betray personal contact with any Javanese, but in his letter of 4 May 1784 (pp. 60b-62a), Hornstedt describes a *ronggeng* performance that he attended at an (un-named) *pasar*. He describes the slow, sensual movements, the extreme youth, lively expression, and burning eyes of the dancers, their ability to be seductive without being indecent. He has transcribed the song they sang, very inaccurately : it has seven verses in Malay *pantun* form, and Hornstedt says one could understand that it was a love-conversation even without knowing Malay. He also saw cock-fighting at the *pasar*, a sport on which, he claims, the owner of the cock might stake his whole fortune; and admired the variety and craftsmanship found in the sun-hats, mats, and basketware of plaited palm-leaf.

51. Kudus, for example : see Marcel Bonneff, *Pérégrinations Javanaises : les Voyages de R.M.A. Purwalelana : une vision de Java au XIXe siècle (c. 1860-1875)*, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme/Etudes Insulindiennes/Archipel 7, Paris 1986, pp. 191-2.