A. Teeuw

The role of the Bijdragen in Dutch Indonesian Studies


This PDF-file was downloaded from http://www.kitlv-journals.nl
The role of Bijdragen in Dutch Indonesian studies

This volume is meant to celebrate the appearance of the 150th volume of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, and to assess *Bijdragen*’s role in the development of Indonesian studies over the past 140 years. However, to do full justice to the role of the journal, it must first be placed in the broader context of the tradition of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands. This article gives a brief survey of that tradition.

Scholarly interest in the world of Southeast Asia in the Netherlands is inextricably connected with the economic, religious and political role of the Dutch in that part of the world. It is no coincidence that the first scholarly publication was written by Frederick de Houtman, who joined his brother, the shipmaster Cornelis, on his second journey to the Indies in 1598. Frederick was taken prisoner by the Achehnese in 1599 and spent two years at the sultan’s court. He used this time to study the astronomy of the southern hemisphere as well as the Malay language, two essential tools for Dutch sailors and traders in Southeast Asia. His grammar and vocabulary of the Malay language laid the foundations for the study of this lingua franca for generations of Europeans to come.¹

During the two centuries of the VOC one can distinguish three main categories of interest on the part of Dutchmen working in the Indies. First, much information is contained in the many travelogues written and published by sailors, traders and other travellers. Many of these books were quite popular at the time, and can now be consulted in editions published by the Linschoten-Vereeniging. To this category also belong reports like *Hofreizen* by Rijklof van Goens, dealing with his travels to the courts of Central Java,² and the quite extensive *Notitie* by Cornelis Speelman, the Dutchman who subjugated the kings of Goa, which presents an ethnographic and socio-political description of southern Celebes.³

From the outset the VOC was interested in the Malay language, not

---

¹ De Houtman’s *Spraeck ende Woordboek* appeared for the first time in 1603. For a modern re-issue of it, with a lengthy introduction, see Lombard (1970) and Drewes’ discussion of it (1972, 1878).

² For a survey of these ‘Travel accounts’ we refer to the chapter devoted to such works in Coolhaas’ bibliography on Dutch colonial history (1980). For the *hofreizen* by Rijklof van Goens see the edition by H.J. de Graaf in the works of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (1956).

³ A publication of this *Notitie* by the late Dr J.Noorduyn is now being prepared. It will appear in the ‘Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën’.

*BKI* 150-IV (1994)
only because it served as the main language for trade in this part of the world, but also because it was adopted as the principal medium for propagation of the Christian religion, especially in the Moluccas. In this second category, quite a few Dutch missionaries published grammars and dictionaries of the Malay language, partly in preparation for the translation of the Bible into Malay. Melchior Leijdecker, the translator of the Bible, also produced a major dictionary; and G.H. Werndly’s grammar contains the first survey of Malay literature.

The third category was the early interest in the flora and fauna of the archipelago. From its foundation in 1587, the University of Leiden’s Hortus Botanicus sought the assistance of travellers to the Far East in collecting plants and other botanical material and information. The work of the botanist G.E. Rumphius deserves particular mention, with his Amboinsch Kruidboek, which has rightly been praised not only for its botanical precision but also for its literary qualities.

A remarkable compendium of what was known about the Indies at the time was written by the Dutch clergyman François Valentijn, with his Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië (1724-26), consisting of eight large volumes in folio format. Even though its quality has been rightly criticized, and the accusation of plagiarism is not unjustified, the fact that such a book could be written and published, and apparently found a readership in the Netherlands, is a remarkable indication that it was not just pepper, cloves and nutmeg that interested the people at home.

In 1778 an initial attempt was made to stimulate a more systematic and genuinely academic study of the colony, by the foundation of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, a learned society modelled after similar societies that sprang up all over the Netherlands in the eighteenth century. The Society, specifically inspired by the Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen in Haarlem, held scholarly meetings and published manuscripts, such as a Javanese history of Java, edited by Josua van Iperen, in the first volumes of the Society’s transactions. However, due to the political situation at the end of the eighteenth century and the financial troubles of the VOC, which led to its being

---

4 For a survey of such early linguistic publications, see Teeuw (1961), especially pp. 13-5.
5 On Leijdecker see Swellengrebel (1974, Introduction). On Werndly’s grammar, see also Gonda (1940, 1206).
6 On Rumphius, his life and his work (which covers much more than botany) we refer to Nieuwenhuys’s Oost-Indische Spiegel and the literature listed there (Nieuwenhuys 1972:55-60, 562-3). See also Sirks’s book on the history of the natural sciences in the Indies (1915), and Beekman (1981).
7 On Valentijn see Nieuwenhuys (1972:48-54) and also Coolhaas (1980).
8 For the history of the Bataviaasch Genootschap see the Gedenkboek by Der Kinderen on the occasion of its centenary (1878). The introduction to an analysis of the content of the Verhandelingen of the Bataviaasch Genootschap by The and Van der Veur (1973) gives an English-language summary of this history.
dissolved in 1795, there was little follow-up to this promising beginning.

It was the British who around the turn of the century gave a boost to academic research on the Indies. William Marsden's Malay grammar and dictionary (both published in 1812) signified a big leap forward. Thomas Stamford Raffles in particular, whose political activities in the area were combined with a broad interest in what was later to be called in Dutch *taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, opened up new vistas, together with such collaborators as John Crawfurd, John Leyden and the botanist Thomas Horsfield.9 Raffles' *History of Java* is a landmark in the field of Indonesian studies, even though recent studies have shown that Raffles too had predecessors in the study of Javanese literature and history.10

**The development of academic research**

After the colony was returned to the Netherlands in 1816, academic research by the Dutch slowly started to develop. In this early development two main streams can be distinguished, although they are not unrelated. The first was a continuation of the early pioneering work of Protestant missionaries and Bible translators. The colonial government, in contrast to the VOC, did not consider missionary activities its responsibility; on the contrary, from the beginning it was rather wary of them, for fear of conflict with the colony's Muslim population. The spread of the Christian religion was now taken over by missionary societies of various Protestant denominations, which began training and sending missionaries to various parts of the colony. These missionaries usually spent long periods of their lives among certain ethnic groups, and by the nature of their work developed a strong interest in the languages and cultures of the societies among which they worked. Many of them recorded their findings in reports, articles and monographs. The magazines of the missionary societies, although not primarily catering for a scholarly readership, often contained such contributions, which, while often amateurish and not without preconceptions, still retain their value as sources of data.11

More professional study of languages and literatures was undertaken by the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, founded in 1814, for which the translation of the Bible into the vernaculars of the colony was a primary

---

9 The story of the British occupation of Java, and its general impact on the development of Indonesian studies, has still to be written. However, much has been written on Raffles and others. F. de Haan gave a useful survey of *personalia* on British people involved in the British period on Java (1935, 1163). See also some essays in John Bastin (1961), and his article (1965). On Horsfield see John Bastin's introduction in Horsfield 1990.

10 See Ras (1992:302-4), and the article by Weatherbee, quoted by him (1978).

11 For a history of the Protestant missions in the Indies, see Van Randwijck (1981) and other works mentioned in his bibliography. For a useful survey of the hundreds of Protestant missionary magazines, see Jongeneel (1990).
The Society selected students for proper training and preparation and then sent them to various areas in the colony to prepare translations of the Bible. From the outset, the Board of the Society made it a matter of general policy for its Bible translators (taalafgevaardigden) to make a thorough study of the languages of the area in which they were going to work, if necessary preparing grammars and dictionaries, before embarking on the translation work proper. The first translator to be sent was J.C. Gericke, whose assignment was to work on translating the Bible into Javanese (1827). Around 1850 three more translators were appointed, each commissioned to work in one of the three major islands of the colony: H. Neubronner van der Tuuk was sent to the Batak area in Sumatra, August Hardeland was to translate the Bible into the Dayak languages of Kalimantan (Borneo), and B.F. Matthes was to work among the Buginese and Macassarese in southern Sulawesi (Celebes). Many more Bible translators were to follow these pioneers, and their scholarly work has made an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of languages, literatures and other aspects of culture and society of many ethnic groups.

After the Indies became a colonial state in 1816, there arose a need for more knowledge of the colonial subjects, for the purpose of administration and economic development, particularly with the introduction of the Cultivation System in Java after 1830. The Java War (1825-1830) was a further incentive to learn more about the people of Java. These developments gave rise to a second stream of studies. As in the case of religious activities, two types of researchers can be distinguished – amateurs and professionals – although here too the dividing line is not sharp. The amateurs included civil servants and others working in the colony in different fields and on various levels, such as lawyers and military and medical personnel, who often acquired knowledge about the ethnic groups among whom they worked. They recorded such information in reports and articles, or even in books, published or unpublished, thereby making available a lot of data of the most diverse nature. Especially the Memories van Overgave, written by civil servants when transferring their work to a successor, have proven an invaluable source of information. In the course of time the educational level of civil servants gradually rose, finally becoming a full-fledged academic training. This also raised the standard of their writings, and many dissertations and other publications of civil servants are quite meritorious.

12 For the history of the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap during its first century see Gronemeijer (1914).
13 The two volumes of Swellengrebel’s study In Leijdeckers voetspoor on the history of Bible translation in the Netherlands East Indies contain a wealth of information on translators and their work (Swellengrebel 1974, 1978). For Gericke and general aspects of his stay in Java see also Fasseur (1993).
14 On the training of civil servants throughout the colonial period Fasseur has written the standard work (1993).
The professionals included scholars called taalambtenaren (government linguists). In the 1840s the government started regularly commissioning experts to carry out research, specifically to compose grammars and dictionaries, and to prepare editions of texts in indigenous languages, primarily Javanese. Early government linguists were C.F. Winter and J.A. Wilkens; many more were to follow. The title which these civil servants were given is remarkable: it shows how essential Dutch colonial authorities considered knowledge of languages to be. Further professionalization of this corps followed in 1876, in which year the University of Leiden acquired four chairs for Indonesian studies (two of them for languages!), while at the same time a degree in Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde was added to the academic curriculum. A few years later a degree in this field was made a requirement for appointment as taalambtenaar.15

This emphasis on language studies is a characteristic which distinguishes Dutch studies on their colonies and inhabitants from the French and the British scholarly traditions.16 The focus on language may have had several causes: first, the dominance, from the very beginning, of the Protestant missionary tradition, with its emphasis on the reading and study of the Bible by the individual believer; second, the wealth of Indonesian languages, which could not fail to draw the attention of people working among local ethnic groups; third, the system of indirect colonial rule, which made communication with native rulers and administrators in their own languages essential; fourth, the lack of national pride in the Dutch language, which may have been due to the fact that the Netherlands was a small country with a strong international orientation; fifth, the aversion of the Dutch to propagating their own language in the colony, whether for political or racial reasons.17

Yet the word taalambtenaar, government linguist, should not suggest that the work of these officials was restricted to the study of language and literature. Many government linguists published in Islamic studies, archaeology, history, anthropology and other social sciences. And their publications on particular ethnic groups often dealt with all aspects of culture and society.

It is not surprising that, especially in the beginning, Dutch publications in Indonesian studies were predominantly of a factual nature, often

---

15 For many details regarding the taalambtenaren see Fasseur (1993), although the information on this subject is scattered throughout the book. For a short paper specially devoted to this group of colonial officials see Teeuw (1973).
16 It is true that the British, right from the beginning, developed a strong interest in the Sanskrit language. However, this was a learned language for the Indian elite, which perhaps drew as much foreign attention for its crucial position in the comparative study of Indo-European languages as for its function in Indian society proper. In any case it was hardly a means of communicating with the people of India at large.
17 This point is thoroughly demonstrated in a recent book by Kees Groeneboer on the role of the Dutch language in Indonesia (1993).
consisting of collections of data and materials or descriptive works on languages and literatures, history, culture and society. Many publications, including those in *Bijdragen*, were of a non-professional nature, and arose primarily from personal interest of workers or visitors in a certain area, who noted down what they happened to see or experience, without bothering about academic method or discipline.

For a long time, the Dutch tradition of scholarly studies with respect to the colony could best be termed what is now called area studies. From the beginning there was no clear distinction according to discipline, and the constituent elements of the commonly used term *taal-, land- en volkenkunde* should be read conjunctively, not disjunctively. This field of study comprised the whole of what would now be called humanities and social sciences, and the research and publications of a single scholar often dealt with a wide variety of subjects. Outstanding examples of this area studies approach, based on a broad knowledge of the languages, the peoples and the cultures of the area, are C. Snouck Hurgronje's *De Atjehers* (1893-94), and Adriani and Kruyt's standard work *The Bare'e sprekkende Toradja's* (1914), although in the latter case we notice the beginnings of a disciplinary specialization, the Bible translator N. Adriani being the expert on languages and literature, while the missionary A.C. Kruyt would now be called a social anthropologist.

It is also remarkable that major works on which a scholarly tradition was based were sometimes published by scholars who had not done fieldwork themselves. An early example was the famous professor Taco Roorda, who never visited Java, but nevertheless wrote the first major grammar of the Javanese language. Similarly, H. Kern, the leading contributor to *Bijdragen* for forty years (1875-1914), never carried out research in Indonesia. P.J. Veth's four-volume *Java*, with the telling subtitle *Geographisch, ethnologisch, historisch* (1875-84), is based on library study only. The study of traditional indigenous law, or *adat* law as it was called, developed into a major Dutch specialization, thanks primarily to the work of Leiden law professor Cornelis van Vollenhoven and his students, many of them Indonesians, and successors. His major compendium was the fruit of research carried out in his study in Leiden. A more recent example is Utrecht professor J. Gonda, a famous scholar of Sanskrit and Indian religion, but also important for his work in Old Javanese philology and the leading contributor to *Bijdragen* in the thirties, forties and fifties in the field of Indonesian linguistics – he never travelled farther east than Istanbul!

Another characteristic of Dutch Indonesian studies was that they often had a somewhat parochial nature, in the sense that scholars rarely gave

---

18 On Van Vollenhoven, see Holleman (1981). The KITLV during the period 1911-55 published a series of 45 *Adatrechtbundels*, containing primarily data of the most diverse type on many Indonesian ethnic societies.
The role of Bijdragen in Dutch Indonesian studies 659
evidence of being familiar with international developments in their fields of research, in particular with theoretical approaches. This is understandable for people who did research in the field, where access to such work was not so easy as in a university town in Holland. And even in the case of scholars with more than mere descriptive interest in the study of language, literature and culture of the Indonesian peoples, this interest was mainly of a historical and comparative nature, in accordance with the nineteenth-century tendencies in these disciplines. The outstanding representative of this approach was Hendrik (J.H.C.) Kern, professor of Sanskrit in Leiden, who developed a strong interest in Old Javanese language and literature in their relation to Sanskrit, and in the comparative study of Malayo-Polynesian languages. His Verspreide Geschriften, altogether 15 volumes, are a monument to his many-faceted scholarship.

This Dutch focus on historical and comparative studies was also reflected in the academic curriculum for Indonesian studies, which comprised a compulsory three-year study of Sanskrit, Arabic, Islam and Indian classical culture as an introduction to Indonesian studies proper. On the one hand this thorough training in classical mainland Asian studies and the most important Asian religions was a great asset for the study of written literatures (Old Javanese, Javanese, Malay), archaeology, ancient history, religion (Islam as well as Hinduism and Buddhism) and cultural studies in general, for instance on Bali. In fact, this academic tradition gave Dutch researchers, with their direct access to sources not only in Indonesian languages but also in Sanskrit and Arabic, a significant edge. Scholars from other countries, with a comparable breadth of background and approach, have been few and far between; outstanding examples are W. Aichele, G. Coedes, L. Damais and, more recently, D. Lombard.

On the other hand, the predilection for historical and comparative studies had as its consequence that new developments in the international academic world often escaped the attention of Dutch scholars working in the Indies. The most notable exception of a Dutch scholar playing a leading role in the theoretical aspects of his field of studies was the anthropologist J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, who also inspired his PhD students to do pioneering work.

The nature of Dutch research

The brief survey above endeavours to sketch the academic context in which the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, after its foundation in 1851, played its role in the development of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands. The KITLV (initially established in Delft, where the academy for the training of civil servants was also located, and transferred in 1866 to The Hague) and the Bataviaasch Genootschap were in fact the main publishers in this field, major works being subsidized by the Dutch or colonial governments, although private publishing houses such as E.J. Brill in Leiden and Martinus Nijhoff
The studies resulting from Dutch research were published primarily in innumerable monographs: there appeared a large number of grammars and dictionaries; editions of texts in many languages, with translations, including oral material; fundamental studies on Indonesian Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism; vast numbers of historical studies; ethnographic monographs on many societies all over the archipelago; geographical studies, including atlases; a whole set of studies on adat law, inaugurated by Van Vollenhoven’s magnum opus; a variety of works on archaeology and ancient history, with Krom’s classic works on ancient Indonesian history (1931) and ancient Hindu-Javanese art (1923) as its apogee, along with the monumental monograph on Borobudur by Krom and Van Erp (1920, 1931).

The journals published by the Bataviaasch Genootschap and the KITLV were another important avenue for publishing research data and results of scholarly work. The 150 volumes of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie (BKI)* and the 85-odd volumes of *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (TBG)* are an impressive demonstration of the Dutch tradition in Indonesian studies, with their broad scope, their non-professional editorial approach, their predominantly area-oriented character, and the fact that the contributing authors were nearly all Dutchmen (men indeed; the first Dutch woman to have an article published was L.M. Coster-Wijsman in 1933 (1134)) writing in Dutch. However, taken by themselves, these journals do not by any means tell the whole story of Dutch Indonesian studies. Phrased in modern terms, they can be said to represent the spin-off of many large-scale scholarly research projects, the results of which are primarily to be found in monographs.

There was a kind of natural division of labour between the two journals: *TBG* was the first option for researchers in the field, whereas *Bijdragen* offered its pages primarily to scholars in the Netherlands. This situation explains why scholars like J.L.A. Brandes and Van der Tuuk, who spent most of their lives in the colony, hardly ever published in *Bijdragen*, whereas the long-standing Dutch university professors Kern and Gonda are rarely represented in the pages of *TBG*. This is another reason why *Bijdragen* cannot be said to reflect Indonesian studies in its entirety.

Moreover, there were other publication outlets. One of them was the journal *Djawa* (1921-1941), published by the Java-Instituut in Surakarta.

---

19 The first issues of both *Bijdragen* and *TBG* were published in 1853. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap (VBG)*, which combined monographs with issues containing a number of articles, was published for the first time in 1779.

20 The first woman ever to see her work appear in *Bijdragen* was Raden Adjeng Kartini, although her paper was published under the name of her father Raden Mas Adipati Ario Sasraningrat (1899, 615).
The role of Bijdragen in Dutch Indonesian studies

the heartland of Javanese culture. A good example of the Dutch tradition, it was characteristically area-oriented, in this case towards Java and Bali, and it combined thoroughly scholarly contributions on languages, literature, culture and society with popular, sometimes amateurish papers and simple collections of data with no pretension to scholarship. Like TBG and Bijdragen, Djawa strictly avoided discussions of colonial policy and administration.

Other magazines were not as wary of politically ‘hot’ and controversial issues. Two examples are Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië (1838-1902), founded by W.R. Baron van Hoëvell, and Indische Gids (1879-1941). More specialized journals came into being too, such as Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur, founded by the well-known journalist P.A. Daum (1887-1917), Koloniaal Tijdschrift (1912-1941) and Koloniale Studiën (1916-1941), which dealt primarily with problems of colonial policy, Indisch Tijdschrift voor het Recht (1915-1942) and its predecessor Het Regt in Nederlandsch-Indië (1849-1914) for legal studies, and many more.21

Indonesian studies after World War II

After World War II the character of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands changed fundamentally, and these changes are reflected in KITLV publications. The political transformation of the Nederlands Indies colony into the independent Republic of Indonesia meant a break in the traditional 
drieslag, or triple jump, of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands: academic study in the Netherlands, a period of work in the colony, in whatever capacity, followed by retirement, usually at a relatively young age, which made possible the third stage, a new active period in the Netherlands, either as a university teacher or as a researcher working up materials collected during the period in the field.22 During 1942-1970 it was very difficult, if not impossible, for a new generation of Dutch researchers to work in Indonesia, due to the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), followed by the Indonesian revolution (1945-1949) and a long period of strained political relations between the two countries. Consequently, interest in Holland in Indonesian studies dwindled to a bare minimum. It was only after 1970 that a new wave of interest developed, and research facilities became available. In the past 25 years one can indeed speak of a revival of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands, although this ‘natural’ (but in other respects quite unnatural), pre-war, three-stage career of people being trained in the Netherlands, followed by a long period of active work in the colony, and rounded off by participation in research or training of a new

21 A survey of journals and magazines dealing with the Netherlands East Indies can be found in Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (second edition, 1921), Vol. IV, s.v. Tijdschriften en periodieken.

22 On this 
drieslag see Uhlenbeck (1967, 1734; 1986).
generation at home, was not revived. After 1970, most Dutch students who managed to carry out research in Indonesia, for example for preparing a thesis, were not able to find jobs that would enable them to continue working in Indonesian studies. The time of taalambtenaren, working twenty years or so in the colony, is definitely over.

A second major change after World War II, not unconnected with the first one, was that Indonesian studies, until 1950 the undisputed domain of the Dutch, became internationalized; important scholarly activities were undertaken in the USA, Australia, France, Japan and other countries, not to mention Indonesia itself. This automatically meant an internationalization of the language of communication: in Indonesia, Dutch was replaced by the national language bahasa Indonesia, whereas internationally, Dutch was replaced by English.

A third related change was the gradual shift from area studies to discipline-oriented research.\footnote{See the publications by Uhlenbeck mentioned in note 22.} Within Indonesian studies this shift is discernible in linguistics and philology, and more recently to some extent in the study of literature; similarly, anthropology and sociology began to adopt modern theoretical approaches. In the field of history there was a shift, also under international influence, from traditional colonial history to an Indonesia-centred approach, with more emphasis on socio-economic aspects. Adat law studies in the old Dutch sense of the word have practically disappeared or have been absorbed by modern sociological or law studies.

In these respects too, Bijdragen reflects the development of Indonesian studies in the Netherlands and abroad – but again it by no means tells the whole story. It is quite remarkable to observe how KITLV editorial policy has adapted to the new situation, and, by doing so, has maintained, through its post-1950 publications, an internationally leading role in Indonesian studies. The adoption of English as the predominant language of its publications, and the fact that the KITLV's various monograph series were also opened to non-Dutch authors, have been instrumental in maintaining this leading position. The dominant role of the KITLV is evidenced by innumerable monographs in series such as Verhandelingen (VKI), Translation Series, Bibliographical Series, Bibliotheca Indo-

nesica, by the project of publication of a number of major dictionaries of Indonesian languages, and by the Indonesian studies abstracts journal, Excerpta Indonesica. However, this is not the place to go into the present-day role of the KITLV as a major publishing house in Indonesian studies; this should be left to a future historian, who hopefully will publish the history of the KITLV on the occasion of its 150th anniversary in 2001.\footnote{Jaquet (1976) gives a good survey of the KITLV's total publishing output during the first 125 years of its existence.}
REFERENCES


Fasseur, C., 1993, De Indologen; Ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825-1950, Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.


Gronemeijer, C.F., 1914, Gedenkboek van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1814-1914, Amsterdam: Bijbelhuis.

Horsfield, Thomas, 1990, Zoological researches in Java, and the neighbouring islands; With a memoir by John Bastin, Singapore: Oxford University Press. [First published 1821.]


Kinderen, T.H. der, 1878, Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen gedurende de eerste eeuw van zijn bestaan 1778-1878; Gedenkboek, Deel I, Batavia: Ernst. [No second vol. has appeared.]


Nieuwenhuys, Rob, 1972, Oost-Indische spiegel; Wat Nederlandse schrijvers en dichters over Indonië geschreven hebben vanaf de eerste jaren der Compagnie tot op heden, Amsterdam: Querido.


Sirks, M.J., 1915, Indisch natuuronderzoek; Een beknippe geschiedenis van de beoefening der natuurwetenschappen in de Nederlandsche koloniën, Amsterdam: Koloniaal Instituut.


Veth, P.J., 1875-84, Java; Geographisch, ethnologisch, historisch, Haarlem: Bohn. 3 vols. + separate index. [Second edition 1896-1907.]

Vollenhoven, C. van, 1918-33, Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië, Leiden: Brill. 3 vols.