Pieter Elberveld: The Modern Adventure of an Eighteenth-Century Indonesian Hero¹

William Bradley Horton


Kemudian sebuah tombak ditancapkan pada batok kepalanya dari bagian leher hingga tembus ke ubun-ubun. Selanjutnya kepala bertombak itu dipasang di atas sebuah tembok sebagai peringatan kepada penduduk Batavia agar tidak mencoba-coba melawan Kompeni. Terakhir tengkorak kepala itu disemenkan pada tembok.²

¹ Special thanks are due to Dias Pradadimara, who located a videotape of the 1981 TVRI program as well as several newspaper reviews and the 1970 publication, and to Didi Kwartanada, who found a series of references, articles, and pictures of the monument. Comments from Benedict Anderson, Kaoru Kochi, Tom Williamson, and Mayumi Yamamoto have been particularly useful, while comments on various drafts from many others have provided valuable input. A. Heuken’s kind permission to reproduce photographs from his book, and the invaluable editorial assistance of Deborah Homsher are greatly appreciated.

² Opening section of “Perlawan Pan Pieter Erberveld,” Jakarta Tempo Doeloe (Jakarta: Metro Pos, 1988), p. 35. According to the publication information page, this was “translated and recompiled” from J. J. de Vries,
Pieter Erberveld was born, lived, and experienced a horrific death in Batavia nearly three hundred years ago. Despite his death, he lives on, occasionally being referred to as Pangeran Pecah Kulit for the manner of his death and sharing his posthumous nickname with an area in northern Jakarta. Son of a German (Westphalian) burger and a Siamese Christian woman, this Erberveld was accused by the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) authorities of plotting to revolt with Javanese assistance, slaughter the European community, and establish an Islamic state. Consequently, Erberveld and a small number of other individuals were arrested shortly before the revolt was to begin, tortured to obtain confessions of their crimes, and finally executed in April 1722. While the baptisms of Pieter and his siblings, corruption charges against his father, and conflict with VOC authorities over his inheritance have left marks in the archives, it was a monument constructed by VOC authorities that sealed his position in history books and in local Batavian folklore, leaving a visual reminder of the revolt in the form of a whitewashed skull. Nonetheless, the inapplicable categories of Indonesian nationalisms and Dutch colonialism make the heritage of a rumored conspiracy, led by a non-Indonesian, non-Dutch, Eurasian native of Batavia in the name of Islam, and this man’s betrayal to VOC authorities by native Indonesians both fraught with problems and full of discursive possibilities.

Among the most substantive examinations of these events are a standard historical study by L. W. G. de Roo published in 1866 and another less traditional 1938 study written by G. B. J. van Heuven, which explicitly engaged the fictional elements of a mid-nineteenth-century Dutch-language story by W. L. Ritter. Biographical dictionaries, academic journal articles, and encyclopedia entries primarily composed during the colonial era have also contributed to the availability of historical knowledge on this topic in print, although textbooks undoubtably played an even more important role in circulating knowledge to a certain portion of the Indonesian public. One important
example is the textbook on Netherlands Indies history co-written by F. W. Stapel and A. J. Eijckman in 1917, which remained in print until at least 1939; the 1939 edition was even translated into Japanese in 1942 with the addition of photographs, including of the Erberveld monument. This textbook was aimed at MULO and HBS secondary schools, thus for a highly educated group of Dutch speaking students, and included around one page on Erberveld’s revolt. Other contemporary Dutch-language works include F. de Haan’s *De Priangan* (especially volumes one and three, published in 1910 and 1912), the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, the publications of E. C. Godee Molsbergen and F. W. Stapel, and the *Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch Indië*. Although Erberveld rates brief mentions in more recent English-language scholarship, such that of C. R. Boxer, S. Abeyeskere, and M. C. Ricklefs, a serious re-exploration of Erberveld has been hindered by the loss of archival documents ‘used in the mid-1800s to reconstruct a history of the events of 1721. Given the general lack of well-organized libraries and substantial bibliographical knowledge in Indonesia, these works are all potentially significant in providing source materials for new generations of writers and information to a shrinking Dutch-reading population.

Focusing exclusively on such works not only neglects Malay and Indonesian language materials, but it shows us little about materials circulating to different Indonesian readers, or even more significantly, which works were meaningful or useful to those individuals. According to a census compiled at the high point of Dutch colonial power, in 1930 around 7.4 percent (3,746,225 people) of the native population were counted as “literate,” but a mere 0.30 percent (187,708 people) were counted as capable of writing in Dutch. If Dutch language literacy has gradually decreased since 1942, how have Indonesians

---


8 For more information about the *Meer Uitgebreid Lagere Onderwijs* (More Extensive Elementary Education) and the *Hogere Burgerscholen* (High Schools), see Paul W. van der Veur, *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia I*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asian Series, no. 12 (Athens: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1969).


11 On the other hand, 75.2 percent (180,504) of those classified as European were counted as literate, with 72.4 percent (173,089) able to write in Dutch, while 28.9 percent (344,147) of the Chinese population were counted as literate and 3.4 percent (40,095) were able to write Dutch. See *Volkstelling 1930*, vols. VI-VIII (Batavia: Department van Economische Zaken, 1933-1936).
learned about Pieter Erberveld or other historical subjects? Dutch-language texts might have been critical in addressing a narrow elite, but they could not have been as instrumental in reaching a wider, more diverse audience. A very few works on Indonesian history do address this general issue, including H. A. J. Klooster’s study of the development of Indonesian history writing, a study which is surprisingly inclusive of non-academic works in its description of history writers, subjects, and texts, but which does not consider the readers. More suggestive in this respect is Oshikawa Noriaki’s exploration of the legends of Tan Malaka and the Malay language “Patjar Merah” novels of 1938–1941. Oshikawa suggests that some of the novels were surprisingly consistent with Tan Malaka’s autobiography, written almost ten years later, and that these novels helped to create and sustain a popular understanding of Tan Malaka that provided his primary source of political support in the 1940s. On the other hand, Margareet van Till’s otherwise informative article on the nineteenth-century bandit and folk hero, Si Pitung, unfortunately skirts the issue of reproduction of popular knowledge. Schools can play a role in spreading popular knowledge, as is apparent in the work by Liesbeth Dolk on Multatuli’s novel Max Havelaar. In her studies, Dolk calls attention to the shifts in how Max Havelaar was presented to society; from its use as a constructive criticism of colonial policy in mid-nineteenth century Netherlands, to its use as an illustration of literary innovation in colonial schools, and to use of its descriptions (as anti-colonial or anti-feudal tools) in Indonesian nationalist literary and historical studies. While these varying interpretations of the novel may not invariably match students’ own perceptions, Dolk’s study is an important contribution to the literature concerning popular understandings about Multatuli and Max Havelaar.

Most Indonesian children do not grow up knowing about Pieter Elberveld in the same way that they know the Javanese wayang stories, nor does every adult read a single influential “fundamental” text on Elberveld. As is the case for many other stories—historical or not—Indonesians cannot be exposed to information about Pieter Elberveld through the medium of masterly, classic texts, since there are none that are that well known. A survey of major Indonesian publications shows that, in fact, substantial Indonesian national histories almost entirely exclude reference to Erberveld, and none of the works discussed by Klooster focused on his revolt, which makes the question of the reproduction of stories about Elberveld loom even larger. Therefore oral tales, fragmentary

16 On the idea of a fundamental text and the disperse knowledge of wayang, see the introduction in Laurie J. Sears, Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).
17 See Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, for example, where a one-volume discussion of the forms of traditional states gives way to a discussion of the well-established colonial state of the nineteenth century in the next volume. This change in the organization of the multi-volume history results in the disappearance of the eighteenth century entirely, and a neglect of the VOC and the seventeenth century as well.
discussions in school or Indonesian-language textbooks, newspaper or magazine articles, pictures, guidebooks, novels, TV dramas, and even minor references must constitute the main sources. Only some of these leave clear traces for the historian, and fewer still leave consistent conscious memories, but if consumable texts in Indonesian continue to be recycled in print, they are presumably reproduced—perhaps imperfectly—in the minds of Indonesians.

This article seeks to trace out the lines of development of Malay and later Indonesian language representations of Pieter Elberveld with one eye aimed at historiographical practice and the use of a textual heritage, but with the other eye on the elusive Indonesian- or Malay-language audiences—what they might have read, learned, or understood of this material. By accounting for some of the consumable texts published at various points in Indonesian history, as well as accounting, even indirectly, for Indonesian audiences and their understandings of history, this work can hopefully contribute to the construction of a more sophisticated history of modern Indonesia. By understanding how texts like these functioned as biographies or histories, for example, the historian can better comprehend the popular conceptions and classifications of what we call historical knowledge, as well as other popular "truths" about the world, and can see how this knowledge is introduced into society and reproduced. The work of constructing a society and history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries out of the raw materials of archival documents, monuments, and romantic stories is of primary importance here, but it seems that consciously or unconsciously writers of Elberveld's story must have also contributed to the development of the practice of Indonesian history writing and helped to establish customary practices—at least in the minds of an ever-widening public. Thus, an exploration of the marginal Pieter Elberveld may open new opportunities in presenting a more troublesome, but striking, picture whose image—or at least that of Erberveld's reproduced skull—has reappeared in colonial Netherlands East Indies, Japanese-occupied Java, and independent Indonesia.

1889: The Birth

Pieter Elberveld may have made his first Malay language appearance in the Batavia newspaper *Sinar Terang*, in a serialized story published on January 7, 9, and 11, 1889. This took place in a transitional period in Indonesian history that provided the context for more well-known developments during the twentieth century. Not only were novelties like electric lighting introduced into a few urban communities during the 1880s, but communication between distant areas of Java and beyond was improved. Most significant was the ever-expanding railroad network, which spread rapidly after the first twenty-five km. section was opened for use in 1867, a development that eventually made distribution of printed materials feasible and important. The year 1882 marked the beginning of Steam Tramway service in Batavia as well, accelerating contact within Batavia itself, and may have already brought passengers down the Jacatraweg of North Jakarta. The ravages of the world economy and coffee plant diseases were also shaking the Indies economy, and it was precisely in the period of 1887-1889 when Chinese opium tax farm consortiums began to collapse, reflecting the widespread rural distress. The Malay press was relatively small in the 1880s, but was gradually growing with the Chinese entrance into journalism and the publishing business. The consumption of narrative texts was changing as well. Henri Chambert-Loir has asserted that reliance on professional storytellers was declining.
in the late nineteenth century, but an audience of literate individuals eager to read stories had not yet developed; studying a Batavian manuscript-lending family, he found most manuscripts were borrowed by people known to the authors and read aloud to audiences. Readers of newspapers probably included both modern-style individual readers and those who read newspapers aloud to an audience.

_Sinar Terang_ was a largely Chinese newspaper, first published on June 25, 1888 by a Chinese man named Yap Goan Ho, and edited by a Eurasian named W. Meulenhoff, who had formerly been a clerk in the Department of Public Works. Published Monday-Saturday, the first two pages of each four-page issue were devoted almost entirely to advertisements, although sometimes a brief story was included on page two. Substantial space was devoted to correspondents' reports about robberies, arrests, scandals, and other local events from different places throughout Java and even occasionally overseas. While the readership of _Sinar Terang_ was probably located primarily in Batavia, there were agents selling the periodical throughout Java and in Padang (West Sumatra). Eleven of twelve regional agents were Chinese, suggesting that the readership may have been primarily Chinese. Other publications by the same publisher were widely distributed to mostly Chinese readers all over the Indies, including some on Ambon, Sulawesi, and Sumatra. The content of the paper also suggests a large number of Chinese subscribers, as even on the three pages containing the Elberveld story there were a number of stories or news reports on China. In addition, the paper documented the removal and appointment of distant local native and Chinese officials, the “police roll,” and local reports (some written by correspondents with Javanese names). Based on Ahmat Adam’s discussion of newspaper publishing, we can conclude that Eurasians, some Dutch and some “natives,” may have subscribed, but that the native readership would have been very elite, a conclusion which makes sense given the nearly complete absence of Western education for native Indonesians outside of the training schools for traditional elite administrators and _doktor Java_. The paper’s circulation must have been relatively large.

---

19 E. U. Kratz, “Running a Lending Library in Palembang in 1886 AD,” _Indonesia Circle_ 13 (June 1977): 3-4. Chambert-Loir, “Malay Literature,” also suggests that it is possible the authors of the Faldi family manuscripts obtained material directly from newspapers or other publications, thus indicating they may have been within this select group.
20 Meulenhoff had previously edited and published (1885-1887) another Malay language newspaper, _Pembrita Betawi_, along with Lie Kim Hok. See Ahmat B. Adam, _The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian Consciousness_ (1855-1933) (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1995), pp. 65, 68. See also the more detailed discussion in Tio Ie Soei, _Lie Kimbok, 1853-1912_ (Bandung: Good Luck, 1958), pp. 51-55. Tio Ie Soei claims that W. Meulenhoff was also the founding editor of _Hindia Olanda_ (pub. 1887-1897), but he seems unaware of _Sinar Terang_.
21 Adam, _The Vernacular Press_, pp. 68-69.
22 According to Claudine Salmon and Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the publisher published primarily translations of stories from China. See the discussion of printers, publishers, and booksellers in Claudine Salmon, _Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: A Provisional Annotated Bibliography_, Études Insulindiennes-Archipel 3 (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981) and in Pramoedya Ananta Toer, _Tempo Doeloe_, p. 7.
perhaps reaching five hundred to a thousand people\textsuperscript{23} at a time when the population of Batavia was approximately 100,000, of which approximately nine thousand were “European” and 27,000 were Chinese.\textsuperscript{24}

It is unclear how much popular knowledge about Pieter Elberveld was available to either readers of Sinar Terang or to the population of Batavia and the Dutch Indies at that time. There must have been at least a few people who knew of him, considering the presence of a monument where his house had stood along the Jactraweg, with its cement skull mounted on an iron spike as a warning to the citizens of Batavia. As this monument was located along the electric tramway that began service in 1925, it probably was also visible from the earlier steam tramway, whose passengers would have glimpsed it in passing every day. An inscription on the monument in Dutch and Javanese made the purpose clear to people literate in either of these languages. This section of old Batavia was also called Pecah Kulit, virtually insuring that local residents, literate or not, would have known something of Elberveld’s story. We can also assume that, as the monument was located near the old Portuguese church, it was occasionally seen by Batavia’s rare nineteenth-century tourists. As mentioned earlier, there had even been a Dutch language history about “The Conspiracy of 1721” published in Batavia in 1866.\textsuperscript{25} This would have been available to fluent Dutch readers with access to good book collections, but the academic style would have restricted its readership. Potentially more important was a story by W. L. Ritter\textsuperscript{26} published in a collection of his writings.\textsuperscript{27} Simply entitled “Pieter Erberveld,” this was either directly or indirectly the source of the 1889 Malay language story, as the author apparently adapted (or translated and abridged) Ritter’s text.

The approximately 2,700-word Malay-language story was entitled “Pieter Erberveld. Kepala pertemenan soempa djahat di Betawi” (Pieter Erberfeld. Leader of an Evil Sworn Association in Betawi) and was written by someone identified as P. Bh., apparently a correspondent for Sinar Terang who resided in Central or East Java at the time.\textsuperscript{28} The form

\textsuperscript{23}This is my guess, based on figures and estimates about other newspapers provided in Adam, The Vernacular Press, pp. 48-49. Pramoedya suggests that circulations of newspapers around 1900 never exceeded 1,500 copies (Tempo Doeloe, p. 2). This suggests that a circulation of 500-1,000 is a reasonable estimate.


\textsuperscript{25}L. W. G. de Roo, “De Conspiratie van 1721.”

\textsuperscript{26}Willem Leonard Ritter (1799-1862) was an active writer of novels, story books, and “coffee table books” about the Indies during the 1840s-1860s. A former military surgeon, from the mid-1820s Ritter was an administrator on the west coast of Borneo and then the west coast of Sumatra until dismissed for financial irregularities in 1837. He is best known for being a founding editor of the Batavia newspaper Java Bode from 1852-1860; he returned to the Netherlands in 1860. For more information, see H. F. Joël, Honderd Jaar Java Bode: De Geschiedenis van een Nederlands Dagblad in Indonesië (Djakarta: De Unie, 1952).

\textsuperscript{27}W. L. Ritter, “Pieter Erberveld,” in Indische Herinneringen, Aantrekkingen en Tafereelen uit Vroegeren en Lateren Tijd (Indies memories, notes, and pictures from earlier and later times) (Amsterdam: J. C. van Kesteren, 1843).

\textsuperscript{28}Two notes written by P. Bh. and published in Sinar Terang (“Balepandjang” and “Djokdjakarta,” Sinar Terang 488, February 10, 1890) show a fair degree of sophistication in Malay language ability (with a range of “high” literary Malay and less self-conscious Malay) and a strong interest in administrative affairs. In these notes, the author commented on the new Resident of Jogjakarta and the native appointments during his first six months, offered and sought information about peasant welfare and rice prices, and
of the 1889 publication resembles a history, but does not fit what we might expect from a biography; in fact, it was written as a story of the events of 1721. It did, however, provide more bio-data about Pieter Elberfeld than a mere story would have offered, and provided a sense of what he was like, what significant things he did, and why he did them. This information was definitely more than would have been available orally to most Batavians and may have reinforced their interpretations of the events. This version also had the advantage of being in print, which meant readings would have been nearly identical and likely gave the story some authority vis-à-vis orally transmitted tales, as did other features like the mention of specific dates, specific information about governor-generals, references to specific locations known to residents of Batavia, lists of places probably unknown to many Batavians, a transcription of the inscription on the monument, etc. Being placed between reports from regional correspondents and government notices gave the text even more authority and softened the distinction between fiction and non-fiction. The author was also in a position of authority with respect to his subject, addressing Pieter Erberfeld on a first-name basis and dropping the aristocratic title from Raden Cartadrie’s name. It was a convincing story, more complete in its explanation of why certain events took place and much more entertaining than Dutch language histories.

A description of and praise for the Governor-general, as well as a description of the situation in Java, frames the story, which can be roughly summarized as follows:

On December 28, 1721, a Javanese nobleman (Raden Cartadrie) and his entourage came to the house of Pieter Erberfeld. A slave woman named Samita let them in. They then went to the courtyard to meet Erberfeld.

Pieter Erberfeld was old, toothless, white haired, big, tall, and not very good looking (an indication of Erberfeld’s mixed Javanese/German parentage). Erberfeld was well-dressed, with a cunningness about his eyes. Erberfeld had long since been upset that the VOC would not hire him because he was too wealthy. He had thus slighted the VOC and a merchant named van der Schuur had insulted him in return. Following that incident, he longed for revenge on the Europeans.

Pieter and Cartadrie discussed their plans to kill all Europeans (women and children specifically included), with reference to a letter sent to the Sultan of Banten asking for assistance. Their conversation was interrupted by trumpets accompanying the departure of the Assistant Resident of Ngawi and the requisite sale of his belongings. Another article in Sinar Terang (Sinar Terang 466, January 13, 1890) on miscellaneous items of local interest in Surabaya is signed P. Bhr.

Henri Chambert-Loir’s interpretation of news literature emphasizes the lack of descriptions of characters, along with the presence of descriptions of actions and names. I feel that while the characters in this story are not fully developed, there is substantial information on them, although more on the fictional characters than on the historical figures.

In accordance with the 1856 laws regulating the press, the authors, editors, and printers were legally liable for the content of their publications, and from the 1880s there were a substantial number of cases involving the Malay press. See Adam, The Vernacular Press, pp. 47, 151-5. This inspired writers to be somewhat conservative, which could conceivably increase faith in the published word. One of the reports surrounding the first episode of “Pieter Erberfeld” was about a man named Alie who assaulted a woman on the island of Penang. The sensational tone of the Penang account does not differ much from that of “Pieter Erberfeld.” Also noteworthy is the presence of syair in reports from regional correspondents, a literary flourish not present in the prose narrative of P. Bh.
the territory they would rule when they succeeded in killing all the Europeans. He made reference to having left Christianity for Islam, then noticed that it was *megrib*, which the author explains is "6:00 prayer."31 This prayer was to be led by Goeroe Hadji Abas.

After they left to pray, two people who had been eavesdropping stepped out of their hiding places. Sarinah was a slave girl and a daughter of Pieter Erberfeld, while Alie was just a slave. The two were in love, and both very frightened by their master’s terrible plan. Alie asked Sarinah to run away and marry him, but she rebuffed his proposal because Erberfeld had always treated her so well. Alie left, and Sarinah rushed to tell Erberfeld that he was in danger. Erberfeld refused to believe there was any danger . . . no one would believe a slave. Sarinah was not reassured by his confidence and was sent to her mother (who is otherwise absent from the narrative).

That night at 10:00, the governor-general received a message in Arabic script from the Sultan of Banten warning him about the conspiracy. Moments after he started to weigh this news, the prosecutor entered to tell him of the plot, which he had learned of from Alie. They agreed that the Sultan of Banten was probably innocent and not a threat to Betawi since he had warned them. Soldiers were sent to surround Erberfeld’s house, and late at night they broke in, much to the surprise of Erberfeld and the twelve leaders staying there.

Erberfeld was taken off, and despite Sarinah’s repeated appeals to the prosecutor, was executed in a painful manner along with his co-conspirators, Cartadrie, fourteen other men, and three women, on April 22, 1722. A monument was erected with writing in Dutch, Malay and Javanese warning citizens against such treason.32 Sarinah died in grief and was buried.

A comparison of this narrative with some of the Dutch language studies mentioned earlier yields some interesting differences. First, most Dutch scholars specifically identify the unnamed mother of Pieter Erberveld as a Siamese woman (Elisabeth Cornelis). She may have been classified as a “native” Christian, although marriage to a European brought European status, and then described in subsequent legends or in documents as such, which could explain why our nineteenth-century writers assume that she was Javanese; it would have been difficult for most readers to imagine a Thai woman. Second, Dutch biographies and histories are preoccupied with Pieter Erberveld’s background—his birth and baptism, family members, the pasts of his parents, and so forth. This Malay-language story was focused instead on Pieter Elberveld’s life, centered around the fatally important events of his last year. (The initial paragraph does present a glowing description of the reigning governor-general, Hendrik Zwaardecroon, but otherwise the story largely concentrates on the protagonist.) Elements of Elberveld’s personal background—for instance, the fact that he had a child born of a slave woman—were integrated smoothly into the narrative. In all likelihood, details of this sort would have been remembered by readers even if they were relatively inconspicuous. The Dutch studies

31 This story must have been intended at least in part for non-Islamic people who did not know much about Islam. The author clearly expected Chinese and Eurasians to make up the majority of readers.

32 This is an interesting mistake, since there were two distinct inscriptions: the Dutch-language inscription at the top and a Javanese inscription at the bottom. This story could not be accompanied by a photograph due to the lack of such technology, at least in the Indies, but it was also not illustrated with an engraving, which was the most common, but still expensive, means of illustration in the nineteenth century.
present a very different picture; usually these works discuss Erberveld’s background at length in the first section, with the events of the last few years concentrated into the second part.

Comparisons of the Malay story with Dutch publications also reveal that the character Sarinah, and probably the characters of Alie, van der Schuur, and Hadji Abas, have no historical basis and seem to have originated in the imagination of the author. These characters are important for maintaining both a coherent story and a “biography” of Pieter Elberveld. Among other things, they make him human by giving him a beloved and loving child, and they explain the reasons behind his decision to kill the Dutch and his subsequent capture. Without these characters, the story would be an uninteresting, meaningless list of events. Some of them are relatively simple, such as van der Schuur, who caused Erberfeld to betray the Europeans/Christians and even to see himself as alien to their community. Other characters seem to be introduced in order to reshape other characters who commonly figured in Dutch histories; thus Hadji Abas takes the role of the fanatical religious teacher. The Dutch accepted that Islam and fanatical Islamic leaders were involved in any revolt in the Indies, as recent events in Banten (an uprising in July 1888) and the ongoing war in Aceh had demonstrated. Only after the introduction of a religious leader into the narrative could Cartadrie become a secular Javanese leader, a revision that suggests the increasingly secular native government officials of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Another character, the slave Alie, helps explain how Erberfeld is captured and contributes to the development of the loyal daughter, Sarinah. Both Molsbergen and Eijkman and Stapel mention that slaves reported the plot to the government, but aside from these references, there is precious little to indicate the existence of someone like Alie. A reader’s sympathy for this character is limited not so much by Alie’s betrayal of his master as by the fact that Alie is mistaken in his jealousy of Erberfeld, who he thinks desires Sarinah sexually. Sarinah is the most interesting character, both because of her position as the one major female character and her importance to the development of her father’s character. Her love and loyalty to her father reflect both the humanity and vanity of Erberfeld. Sarinah is seemingly “native,” but with enough European blood to be exceptional in beauty and character. Like her father, she is marginal to both the European and native groups, but she pulls Pieter closer to the native group in which she is more at home. Her love for Alie helps provide tension to the story, and her fate would be as important to the reader as Pieter Erberfeld’s fate. In fact, her death closes the story.

This story also presented the late-nineteenth-century reader with a wide range of information about life in the days of the Company (VOC). One issue which was well represented is inter-racial relationships. Slaves, who presumably should be “native,” were common in the household of Pieter Erberfeld and served a Eurasian master who was the

---

34 Molsbergen, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, p. 78; and Eijkman and Stapel, Leerboek der Geschiedenis (9th rev. ed.). Molsbergen cites a report by the advisor on native affairs, Reykert Heere, stating that he had received reports from a seven- to eight-year-old girl and an underage youth who had been given by their parents to Karta Dria to serve him. This is probably what Eijkman and Stapel refer to as “slaves,” a reference which could have provided readers with additional confirmation of the story during the period in which this textbook was in use, 1917-1942.
father of one of the slaves. In this story, being biologically Eurasian did not ensure a higher status than being Javanese, but if the secretly Eurasian Sarinah was forbidden to marry a native slave, then she was clearly of higher status than her peers. However, on the whole her racial background was far less important than her role as the subject of the romantic tragedy encapsulated within this story. While the Dutch were clearly in control, intelligent, and able, Eurasians and Javanese were still capable of threatening the regime. Yet it was only when a Eurasian denied his European-ness and turned “native” by joining with the Javanese and practicing Islam that he became a danger to the state; the Javanese per se were not dangerous to the state. “Javanese” like the Sultan of Banten could be controlled and were judged to be loyal. The social organization of VOC Batavia was thus characterized as having a European-(Eurasian)-Javanese hierarchy, with that hierarchy complicated by slavery. Erberfeld seems not to have belonged to a special Eurasian category, but at times to be an impure and inferior member of the European class and at other times to be a leader of the Javanese. In fact, in this narrative Erberfeld is represented for the most part as an individual rather than as a representative of a particular social group. Thus, although his character could have been seen in several different ways, he did not really represent a subversive Eurasian class. This version of the story of Pieter Erberfeld did, however, reinforce an image of absolute European power vis-à-vis other groups, the treachery of Islam and potentially natives under its influence, and the importance of racial purity.

Many other issues were addressed in the story by bits of information. For example, Javanese, Eurasians, and Dutch lived within the city of Batavia and included non-Christians. The lack of European women in the story is striking, as Erberfeld has no apparent wife, although Dutch records show he was married to a woman of European status. Samita, Sarinah, and the native mother of Sarinah were the only women mentioned, implying that Eurasian and Javanese men could not have had access to European women. While this may have been a fair representation of the eighteenth-century past, it would have had a very different meaning in late nineteenth-century Java as it was experienced by the author and his readers. The absence of women also suggests that rebellion was concentrated almost entirely in the male sphere, despite acknowledgement that three women were executed for their roles in the conspiracy. That information is so marginal, however, that most readers would have quickly forgotten it and assumed only men were involved, especially as even Erberfeld’s daughter was not punished. All of this material was part of this history and so was available to subscribers of Sinar Terang in 1889 to read, retell, enjoy, and learn.

35 The slaves of Batavia originated in a variety of places throughout Asia and Africa, but not from Java itself—a fact that was probably not known to readers of this story. The lingua franca of many slaves, like many other residents of Batavia, was Portuguese. Alie’s name and unmarked language use (suggesting Malay to readers) give the impression that Alie was from somewhere in the Indonesian archipelago.

36 As Jean Taylor has shown, VOC officials sought to have their daughters marry other VOC officials, thus creating an essential local family network for the otherwise “new” personnel. Erberfeld’s actions in this story are not inconsistent with common practice at this time, though fathers’ involvement in their daughters’ marriages was more generally restricted to officially acknowledged daughters. See Jean Gelman Taylor, The
1924: Adulthood

Pieter Elberveld next appeared to Malay-language readers in 1924 in a short novel written by Tio Ie Soei. While histories of events in 1721 and biographical notes were published in the interim period, they appeared as formal Dutch studies and English stories that would not have been easily accessible to the Indonesian public, especially to those who read or wrote Malay histories. For example, a distinctive nineteenth-century English story about Elberveld was published in an English-language reader edited by a teacher in the HBS section of the Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia in 1905. This would have reached a small number of elite students, mostly of European backgrounds. De Haan's Priangan (1910-12) and the second edition of the Encyclopaedië van Nederlandsch Indië (1917-) were expensive but broadly distributed Dutch reference books that included some information on Erberveld, Governor-general Zwaardecroon, and the revolt, but the most widely read Dutch language material was undoubtably the Eijkman & Stapel textbook for middle schools first published in 1917. These publications did influence late-twentieth-century writings about the events, however Tio Ie Soei went back to Ritter's 1843 collection of stories for inspiration in writing his history.

Tio Ie Soei was a peranakan Chineseman born in Batavia in 1890, one year after "Pieter Erberveld" appeared in Sinar Terang. He was educated in a private Dutch school, but probably did not reach secondary school. In addition to Malay, Tio Ie Soei is said to have learned Dutch, English, German, French, and Chinese, which certainly would have provided him with the chance to read works written in a more formal style than was used in the Malay press. By 1905, he was working for newspapers in Batavia (including Perniagaan), and although he moved around Java and Borneo, he remained in that business until around 1958. His publications ranged from novels to formal biographies (particularly notable is his 1959 biography of the nineteenth-century writer Lie Kim Hok). He also translated stories and biographies into Malay from Chinese and Western languages. His last works resembling novels were published in 1926, making Pieter Elberveld one of his later stories, one probably written during a five-year period of vegetable farming and writing in Pengalengan near Bandung.
Tio Ie Soei based some stories on very recent events ("news literature")—for example his 1925 publication, *Hikajat Pemboenoehan Doorman* (The Story of the Killing of Doorman)—but of his stories dealing with more remote history, this novel is most able both to reach an audience and to leave some impression of the events and characters making up that history. The name Elberveld would have meant *something* to many potential readers in the 1920s—whether due to orally transmitted stories or knowledge of the monument—which would make this novel more interesting to its audience. The *Sin Po Wekelijksche-editie* of July 7, 1923 (p. 216) had published a picture of the monument, with the skull and much of the Dutch and Javanese inscriptions clearly visible, and accompanied by a simple explanation in Malay. In addition, as previously mentioned, some Dutch history texts from at least 1917 also discussed Pieter Elberveld. The fact that Tio Ie Soei had made a name for himself as both an author and an editor of a Batavia newspaper would have also helped to attract an audience.

The audience for this publication may have been constituted of about half Chinese readers and half "native" residents of major cities in Java, especially Batavia. There are several reasons to suspect that the book attracted a mixed readership. The number of Chinese in Java was small, but a relatively high percentage received some form of primary education, so that a comparatively higher percentage of that group would have been literate in Malay, Dutch, and Chinese, and would have also earned relatively high incomes; they could afford to buy and read books. On the other hand, the number of "native" residents was much larger, and many received some primary education. This is reflected in the statistics on native literacy offered in the 1930 census, which suggest that in 1920 around 6.5 percent of adult, and 3.2 percent of juvenile, males on Java and Madura were literate in some writing system, and that 0.5 percent of adult, and 0.6 percent of juvenile, females were literate. For 1930, the census suggested that 11.4 percent and 7.6 percent of the native males, and 1.3 percent and 1.6 percent of the native females, were literate. Thus there was a rapidly growing and relatively young potential readership among native Indonesians. Admittedly, the Malay press had developed an ethnic Chinese component that had separated, to some extent, from the Eurasian and "native" press since the late nineteenth century, but the content of this particular story seems to have been aimed at both Chinese and non-Chinese readers. Some prospective native readers might have been hesitant to purchase or read a book by a Chinese author, but the appealing title should have overcome their reluctance. When this novel entered lending libraries, it probably would have reached many Chinese and native Indonesian readers.

---


42 Another of these stories, also written under the pseudonym Tjoa Piet Bak, told the story of the half-Japanese daughter of Jacques Specx (VOC Governor-general, 1629-1932). Along with her lover, Sara was punished for a pre-marital love affair by Governor-general Jan Pieterzoon Coen shortly before his death and the arrival of Sara’s father from the Netherlands. See Tjoa Piet Bak, *Sara Specx (Satoe Kedjadian jang Betoel di Betawi di Djeman Pamerentahannja Jan Pieterssoen Coen dalem Taon 1629)* (Bandoeng: Economy, 1926). For inspiration, Tio Ie Soei again turned to a publication by W. L. Ritter, "Sara Specx. Batavia in 1629,” in *Nieuw Indische Verhalen en Herinneringen uit Vroegeren en Lateren Tijd*, vol. I (Batavia: Bataviasch Genootschap, 1845).

43 *Volkstelling 1930*, vol. V, chapter VIII, p. 83 and vol. VIII, chapter IX, p. 31. See Hendrik Maier, "From Heteroglossia to Polyglossia: The Creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies,” *Indonesia* 56 (October 1993): 37-65, for an interesting discussion of the problems with the literacy figures in the 1930s census.
literately in Malay and provided their only substantial basis of knowledge concerning this history, supplemented by stories their elders may have told them.

If the reader had not been exposed to Dutch scholarship, which was the case for most Malay readers in the 1920s, this work would surely impress him as authoritative and credible, despite its obvious novel form. The impressions of Pieter Elberfeld for readers of primary level education in the 1920s, whether lasting or not, would have been based primarily on their interpretation of this novel. Although Tio Le Soei apparently did not question the colonial order in his acceptance of Elberfeld's conspiracy as evil (djahat), this frame would have been very familiar to all readers. Additionally, while things like tone (opinion) are very subjective, minimally a little of the biographical story and relationships between characters might have stuck in the minds of the readers. This knowledge could be passed on by reading the story to others, retelling the story, or reusing the knowledge created in the novel in an entirely different context.44

44 These observations apply to the 1889 version as well as oral retellings, which may have been even more common at that time. Pramoedya, in Tempo Doeloe, for example, mentions that there were newspaper subscribers who couldn't read themselves and had to have others read aloud to them.
Tio Ie Soei adapted his text from Ritter’s Dutch-language story, meaning that he produced a work very similar to P. Bh.’s 1889 version, though it was longer, filling sixty-one (not-very-dense) pages. Some details were changed (like the age of Governor-general Zwaardecroon in 1718) and some parts rephrased, perhaps due to the author relying on a bad copy of Ritter’s story, the author not understanding the earlier text fully, or a desire to “modernize” the logic to fit current expectations. For instance, the two versions differ in describing van der Schuur’s insulting of Elberveld, an incident which provides the rationale for Elberveld’s break with the Dutch. Tio Ie Soei did not effectively explain why the incident takes place, while the 1889 version explicitly states that it took place because Elberveld was deemed insufficiently respectful towards the VOC.

Tio Ie Soei’s narrative would likely have been as authoritative as the 1889 version had been in its representation of an historic event. While not sandwiched between newspaper articles, the book version still framed the story with a recognizably masterful display of historical knowledge. Two changes in form may have helped as well: the expansion of the latter portions of the story, specifically to include some gory details about Dutch execution techniques, and inclusion of the monument inscription in a different format and font so it stood out on the page like a plaque on the monument itself. Finally, the cover of the book presented a spooky grayish blue photograph of the monument with the spiked skull. This distinctive photograph undoubtedly served both to attract attention and to provide further evidence of the story’s truth.

The 1920s was a period of intense activity by the government, politically oriented newspapers, and the activists who managed them. Some of the more radical newspapers were frequently confiscated and its publishers arrested. Strikes had been common for several years, but were increasingly frustrated by the Dutch. The tension must have been apparent to Tio Ie Soei and many potential readers, even if the Chinese press was to some extent isolated from this struggle. Such tensions would have made this tale about a revolution against the Dutch immediately relevant and interesting, especially after the remnants of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) launched a revolt against the Dutch colonial government in 1926-27. In this context, the racial make-up of characters could be important, depending on the identity of the reader and how they chose to interpret the story. The existence of the category “Eurasian” was significant in such a context. For example, the two people who betrayed Pieter Elberveld were Javanese, but since Elberveld was Eurasian (though legally European) and portrayed negatively, the Javanese could be absolved of their treachery. At the same time, Elberveld was Islamic and anti-Dutch, qualities that he shared with Javanese, thus forming a link between Eurasians and Javanese. With a lot of effort, the negative bias could be ignored, creating a radical nationalist history of the type which the PKI and the Indische Partij at least might have

---

45 Although unlikely, Tio Ie Soei may have had access to Sinar Terang or a later Malay-language version of the story. Besides the professional need as an editor and writer to follow other newspapers, he conducted research on the development of the Dutch East Indies press. While this research was published much later, it suggests a long-term interest in older periodicals.

46 Both P. Bh. and W. L. Ritter claimed that Zwaardecroon was fifty-eight years old at the time of his installment as Governor-general on November 13, 1718. Zwaardecroon was born on January 26, 1667, making him fifty-one at that time, and fifty-four at the time of the Pieter Elberveld incident. T. J. Bezemer, *Beknopte Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* ([Leiden]: E. J. Brill, 1921).

47 These details were put in quotation marks and referred to as the verdict.
endorsed. This sort of complexity offered critical readers in the 1920s ways of seeing moral and racial judgements not possible in 1889, and made Pieter Elberveld a dangerous historical character.

Questions concerning the story’s effect on Indonesian society is difficult to address, but there are indications that it was indeed significant. One of C. R. Boxer’s popular histories and an article by Jusuf Nur Arif (Nio Joe Lan) have noted that the Eurasian community had requested the dismantling of this monument during the 1930s, but that the colonial government had denied this request. Perhaps significantly, a Dutch-language biographical dictionary that was published beginning in 1910 finally, in 1930, found Pieter Erberveld important enough to include in the eighth volume. The sources for this entry included an important book published in 1910 (de Haan) and little newer material, indicating that its inclusion in this volume was because the editors now found him important. Several other histories of the Indies published in the 1930s and 1940s also devoted a few pages and a picture to Pieter Erberveld, his revolt, and his monument. Not surprisingly, drivers-cum-guides, like the Batavian Ahmat in 1934, took their customers

48 C. R. Boxer, Jan Compagnie in War and Peace 1602-1799, pp. 67-8; and Jusuf Nur Arif, “Kisah Pieter Erbervelt-Kasus Rencana Makar di Zaman Penjajahan,” in Batavia: Kisah Jakarta Tempo Doeloe (Kumpulan karangan dari Majalah Intisari 1963-1988), (Jakarta: Gramedia, nd.). This article was originally published in 1968. Without a clear citation, Boxer also claimed the monument “remained until 1941,” a date which is obviously incorrect.

to the monument and were able to relate some version of the "unfortunate" traitor's story. Finally, some exiles to Boven Digul, the Dutch internment camp for Indonesian political prisoners, were not only aware of Pieter Elberveld, but also considered him a freedom fighter; in 1929, a certain Puradisastra talked about him in a speech commemorating the death of a prisoner killed by police.

Curiously, the most substantial publication on Pieter Elberveld in the 1930s, while never mentioning Tio Ie Soei or Indonesian knowledge about the event, cut to the core of the authority of Tio Ie Soei's history. De Indische Gids in 1938 published two-part article entitled "'t Erberveld-proces" by G. B. J. van Heuven, which clearly identified the "story"—as opposed to the historical—elements of the Ritter version. While some of the article's information is wrong (such as Ritter's profession: "if we are not mistaken, a priest"), still its direct quotations of Dutch documents, its complaints about missing archival documents needed to check the story (sources which are thus only represented in de Roo's 1866 history), and its inclusion of a large amount of detailed information make this a powerful counter-argument to the Indonesian reader-friendly Tio Ie Soei version. It is thus tempting to see this as a direct response to the Tio Ie Soei/Ritter narrative and a testament to the success and popularity of the drama as it was shaped by those authors. Van Heuven's article was relatively hard to read and was located in a colonial journal where only highly educated readers would see it. Coincidentally, perhaps, this article has been forgotten, even by well-educated, Dutch-trained scholars.

A Rebel without a Monument, 1940s-1960s

Despite requests of the Eurasian community, it was not until the victorious Japanese army took control in Indonesia that the monument was removed. The demolition, which probably took place in mid-1942, was reportedly accompanied by the ceremonial burial of the skull by Japanese troops and followed by occupation of the land by local residents. The Japanese military authorities, whose permission would have been essential for any publication concerning Pieter Elberveld during the Occupation, had rather ambivalent feelings about him, as Mayumi Yamamoto has shown. This ambivalence stemmed, in part, from the Japanese regime's desire that Indonesians forget the Dutch, as reflected in a short article on the use of books in the schools of Probolinggo. This article stated that "similarly, if those books that are used have words or phrases that might make students remember the Dutch government they should be eliminated. This should be

51 Molly Bondan, Spanning a Revolution (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1992), p. 128. Puradisastra got the details wrong, placing the revolt of the half-Dutch, half-Javanese hero in around 1745, during the tenure of Governor-General Valkenier (whose shortened term in office was actually 1737-41). Interestingly, the details of the execution (a prominent feature of both the 1939 Molsbergen book and the Tio Ie Soei novel) and of the location of the monument were more accurate.
done in an appropriate manner by the teachers." This is undoubtably one reason why Elberveld rarely appeared in Indonesian publications of that period—and in fact only one mention of him has been identified.

A photograph of Pieter Erberveld being honored, with his skull and the inscription covered by an extended Japanese flag, flanked by large flower bouquets, with a table for incense and ceremonial offerings, all bathed in warm sunlight, appeared in a special issue of Pandji Poestaka commemorating the first anniversary of the Netherlands East Indies' surrender to Japan. This picture was accompanied by a characteristically grim, washed-out photo of the monument in the pre-war period—undoubtedly copied from a pre-war publication—meant to contrast Dutch disregard with Japanese respect for Elberveld. Nowhere was it noted that the monument had been or would be demolished.

---

The visual impact of the pictures is striking, however the text accompanying the brighter picture is as important. Entitled "Opposing the Dutch," it reads:

Approximately two hundred years ago, a few sons of Mataram, helped by an Indo-German named Pieter Erberveld, along with his friend Karto Drijo, attempted to topple and seize power from the Dutch in Djakarta. Unfortunately this attempt did not succeed. Pieter Erberveld and his friends were arrested and sentenced to death. Pieter Erberveld's head was impaled and stuck into a wall in a place in Djakarta by the Dutch government to make [him] into a sign of the fate of those who dare to revolt against Dutch power. Now, in this period of change, Pieter Erberveld's service receives appropriate respect.

As one of the very few representations about Elberveld during this period, this picture would have had a significant impact on its readers. The readership of Pandji Poestaka had expanded dramatically due to restrictions on other publications and efforts to increase Indonesian language literacy; it was thus minimally in the tens of thousands. However, distribution was largely limited to Java (the area administered by the Japanese 16th Army), and, judging from library collections today, it appears that few copies of the periodical survived the war and revolution.

The new nation achieved independence in 1945-1950 without a monument to Pieter Elberveld. Nonetheless, references to his failed rebellion continued to appear after independence, including one from the early 1950s framed as a discussion of the historical origins of the name Pecah Kulit. Phoa Kian Sioe's story, published early in 1951, is very different from previously published narratives. It appeared in a large-format Sunday magazine filled with discussions of politics and social issues (such as elimination of polygamy or preparations for war destroying American education), as well as film and entertainment. This story covered two full pages, and included a picture of the original monument which it described as Elberveld's "grave." The introduction mentioned that the Dutch government covered the skull with plaster (kapur) to eliminate the stench—at least according to stories people used to tell. According to Phoa, the Japanese government’s destruction of the monument was intended to prevent people from remembering events which had taken place hundreds of years earlier. Phoa noted that "the Japanese People" forgot that a history (satu riwajat) cannot be permanently eliminated because people will recompile that history (sejarah itu) which they find useful.

Phoa Kian Sioe’s version of the story begins with the incarceration of Erberveld’s father for corruption. When young Pieter and his mother, a strongly Islamic Bantenese woman,

---

56 According to Balai Poestaka Sewadjarjana 1908-1942 ([Batavia: Balai Pustaka, 1948]), p. 31, the number of subscribers during the occupation grew to around twenty thousand and would have expanded further but for the limitations placed on it by the Japanese military authorities.


58 Phoa Kian Sioe was a writer active in the Jakarta area from 1949-1956, with an active interest in history and music. His writings not only appeared in Sunday Courier, but also in periodicals like Pantja Warna and in monograph form, e.g. Sedjarahmija: Souw Beng Kong, Phoa Beng Gan, Oey Tamba Sia (Djakarta: Reporter, 1956).
went to visit him in prison, his father asked Pieter to seek revenge for him someday. After serving half of the six-month sentence, Pieter Sr. died, and subsequently Kijai Tubagus Kartaderia, the elder brother of Pieter Sr.’s widow, came to Batavia to cheer up his sister. Kartaderia eventually brought his wife and daughter to Batavia, where he provided Islamic instruction to a number of people, including Lt. Untung Surapati and Pieter Jr. According to this narrative, Pieter Elberveld became a renowned teacher of Islam by age twenty and was a “fanatic” Muslim, despite his Christian schooling. One day, a slave named Tombok, who was jealous of Raden Untung Surapati’s relationship with Kartaderia’s daughter, Nji Bagus Sukarningsih, confronted her, threatening unnamed consequences if his love was not returned. Shocked, she told her aunt and uncle (Pieter Elberveld), who had the household’s chief slave beat Tombok. Tombok later slipped out and reported Elberveld’s conspiracy to a Dutch officer who provided money and a promise of the rank of sergeant if the plot were foiled.

Only after this event is described does the narrator inform the reader that Kijai Tubagus Kartaderiahad recently traveled to Banten not to teach, but to recruit people for a revolt. Recruits were given a red cloth with an arabic inscription as a jimat (amulet) to insure invulnerability. On November 1, 1721, fifteen people recruited by Elberveld and fifteen people recruited by Kartaderia in Batavia, ostensibly “to found a Langgar [Islamic school]” in the back yard of the family’s house. However, on November 10, Tombok discovered 120 people and learned from a friend that they were fasting for forty days before beginning a “holy war.” He promptly reported this news to the Dutch officer, who repeated his promise and gave him more money. On the night of the revolt, Elberveld’s house was surrounded by VOC troops, but somehow Surapati’s troops were able to approach it and join Elberveld’s men as promised. A battle ensued, and after Kartaderia was shot and killed by a Dutch soldier, his students fled. Surapati entered the house, rescued Nji Bagus Sukarningsih, and took her to Banten. Elberveld continued the battle, fighting until his strength was gone and he was captured. The Dutch officer in charge gave the order to immediately punish the resisting Elberveld, so he was tied to several horses and torn to pieces.

In what seems to be characteristic of many of the colonial-era writings, the protagonist and other characters are not portrayed as either ideal heroes or despicable villains. The author—and perhaps his readers—seems not to have required that Pieter Elberveld Sr. be faultless in order to want or deserve revenge, thus he is not condemned in the story when he asks his son to seek retribution. Pieter Elberveld Jr. also seems to have been understood

59 The Balinese Surapati, brigand and VOC soldier in the Batavian area, fled to Central Java in 1684 after attacking a VOC detachment. In central Java, he was the leader of the famous slaughter of Captain Tack and his men near the court, after which he fled to east Java, remaining a major figure until his death in 1706. M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia c. 1300 to the Present* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), p. 79-82, 87. Surapati’s involvement in this story is anachronistic, as the last time he was in Batavia, Pieter would have been around eight years old. Surapati’s death in 1706 also presumably precludes his involvement in the Elberveld conspiracy, but the anachronism conveniently links these two figures and gives seniority to the aristocratic, Bantenese Kartaderia. Phoa probably was inspired by links to Surapati’s descendants which are occasionally mentioned in Dutch sources. According to Dutch interpretations of Lay Ek’s confession, the Javanese Kartadriya was sent to Batavia by a son of Surapati, Ingabei Passar. See Ricklefs, *War, Culture and Economy*, p. 382, n. 69.

60 The author then cited a history of Indonesia by van Rykevorsel which contradicts this, stating that Elberveld was beheaded and buried in front of his house.
and accepted by the author, while the Governor-general, the protagonist’s enemy, is portrayed as a good man.

In 1964-65, Tio Ie Soei’s version of Pieter Elberveld was republished in serial form, with only linguistic revisions. These changes made the text much more readable for a popular audience, but did not significantly alter the meaning of the text itself. However, both the placing of the story in a newspaper adjacent to other articles and stories, and the new context of the 1960s, did change the potential meanings of the Pieter Elberveld story. The leftist Jakarta newspaper that reprinted it, Bintang Timur, published a Lentera page devoted to the arts in each Sunday edition. Besides the republication of older stories to make them more accessible, this page frequently included informative articles on literature and sharp “scholarly” attacks on other literary figures. Generally, the Lentera page served as a forum for individuals close to Pramoedya Ananta Toer, one of Indonesia’s more important literary figures from the late 1940s.

While Tio Ie Soei’s “Pieter Elberveld” became more available and more readable in the 1960s as a result of its republication in Bintang Timur, we cannot confidently identify its reading audience. Certainly, in the 1960s, the vast majority of Indonesians could read Indonesian, and Bintang Timur’s circulation would have been very, very high in comparison to newspapers in the nineteenth century. A substantial number of people were also involved in producing the Lentera page, and they would almost certainly have read “Pieter Elberveld.” However, the page’s strident attacks on famous figures and the implicit interest in “art” may have alienated some potential readers, leaving an audience made up of those with more conscious interests in the arts and the requisite political views. There were also significant numbers of Chinese-Indonesian readers for this publication, although almost certainly not a majority. Chinese-Indonesian writers were published in the Lentera pages, and stories related to China could have attracted other ethnic Chinese readers. Significantly, peranakan Chinese contributions to Indonesian culture were not ignored by Bintang Timur. Taking such facts into account, we can conclude that readers were likely to have numbered in the thousands.

Tio Ie Soei’s “Pieter Elberveld” now became more significant as a statement about early twentieth-century literature and society than as a historical report on the eighteenth-century rebel, Pieter Erberveld. That was certainly the orientation of those who published the story in Bintang Timur, since they were primarily interested in literary and political figures in the late-colonial period. The more sophisticated readers would have felt this, especially since serialized literature was a regular feature of Lentera and Bintang Timur in general. However, as Lentera’s rendition of the story was virtually identical to the 1924 publication, the text still would have spoken strongly in presenting its version of the events of 1721–2. Even if readers in the 1960s knew comparatively little about Elberveld, which seems likely, the impact of this story on readers’ understanding of Indonesian history would have been significant. Race was not such a sensitive issue at this time, since the Dutch had left Indonesia fifteen years earlier, although the confrontation with the Dutch over West Irian a few years earlier might still have resonated, and Eurasians were still being stereotyped as gangsters, hustlers, and whores.61 It is difficult to judge to what extent non-European ethnicity would have been important to this audience, but racial

---
61 Thanks to Benedict Anderson for bringing this point to my attention.
ambiguity probably did not play a major role in making Pieter Elberveld a dangerous figure in 1965. Issues of loyalty—for example the disloyalty of Pieter Elberveld to the VOC—may have been more important to readers at this time. On the other hand, Dutch power may have seemed suspicious to readers, providing sympathy to Sarinah and her father.

The reappearance of this story immediately preceded a period of violent unrest. At the time of publication not only was Bintang Timur filled with violent language, but President Sukarno had declared 1964-5 to be “a year of living dangerously.” Tension was in the air. Not only did the story’s violence fit the prevailing mood, but the execution of Pieter Elberveld could have served as a warning to those who dared betray President-for-life Sukarno and/or the Indonesian masses. The resolution of the tension was again not favorable for Indonesian leftists. In the months following a coup attempt on October 1, 1965, or at least what was made out to be a coup attempt, hundreds of thousands of people were killed and a new government led by General Suharto took control. As a result, Pramoedya Ananta Toer was exiled from Java, Bintang Timur banned, and back issues in the National Library locked up away from all readers lacking permission of BAKIN (Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara, State Intelligence Coordination Agency).

The New Order and the Re-establishment of History

A few years after the left-oriented Sukarno government was replaced by the more rightist Suharto government, the Jakarta Regional Government’s Museum and History Service published what was apparently the first self-conscious “historical note” about Pieter Erberveld in Indonesian. The author, Drs. S. Z. Hadisutjipto, drew on several of the most famous Dutch scholars who dealt with Erberveld, but the principal source of inspiration and information was Tio le Soeil’s 1924 novel. Hadisutjipto sought to understand who Pieter Erberveld was, his personality, actions, and reasons for those actions. This effort made the work interesting and readable, while the influence of Tio le Soei made it a very strange formal history.

Despite interest in those matters, Hadisutjipto’s primary focus was the issue of national hero status. His introduction urgently raised the following questions: “What is our characterization of Pieter Erberveld now? Is it proper that he be described as an Indonesian national hero, while he was not an Indonesian...?” (p. 3). This formal problem reflects a conscious effort to identify and secure the histories of Indonesian

---

63 Sudibjo Z. Hadisutjipto was born in Pemalang on August 17, 1936. A teacher at one time, he became the head of the Central Museum’s manuscript section for ten years and the director of the Gedung Kebangkitan Nasional for six years. In 1991, he was the head of the Balai Pustaka manuscript division, and was teaching at Universitas Indonesia. His publications include histories as well as a larger number of translations or retellings of historical stories, both from Dutch and Javanese originals. S. Z. Hadisutjipto, Misteri Rara Jonggrang (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1991).
64 The only sources mentioned in the text were a piece by Barchewitz (1730) and Tio le Soeil’s book. An attached list of “reading material” listed five items, including de Haan’s previously mentioned book, de Roo’s 1866 article, Tio le Soeil’s book, a publication by J. A. van der Chys on Kapitein Jonker (who died in 1689!), and the facsimile and discussion of the inscription by A. B. Cohen Stuart.
national heroes on paper and in the minds of the citizens of Suharto's New Order Indonesia. The writing of this history was essential because, as noted in the forward by G. A. Warmansjah, BA, the acting head of the Museum and History Service, knowledge "would gradually erode, become foggy, and finally be completely lost from people's memory if there was no effort to inform [the people] or retell the events which took place in that area 250 years ago." This parallels New Order attempts to control memories of the events of 1965-6 as well as memories of the PKI and historical figures from earlier periods—only government historians could properly preserve memories.

This publication addressed primarily academic or administrative audiences interested in history, and would have been available to anyone with access to a large number of libraries, yet it was probably rarely read. Government publications are not known for being exciting, popular works, but they are available to those that seek them. In fact, we know that this publication was read by at least a few people, including the authors of a TV screenplay and a review of the TV drama. Later editions may have been intended for use in schools as well, and if used for that purpose would have reached a more substantial audience.

The structure of the paper was intended to make the conclusions authoritative to an audience with exposure to academic scholarship. For example, the background of Pieter Erberveld and his family are discussed first, paralleling Dutch biographical studies. Where this paper becomes unusual is in Hadisutjipto's use of Tio Ie Soei's 1924 novel. Hadisutjipto carefully cites Tio Ie Soei's suggestions that Elberveld hated the Dutch because of van der Schuur and that Elberveld's "guru besar dan pembina jiwa" (teacher and spiritual guide) was a certain "Hadji Abas." In neither case is the accuracy of Tio Ie Soei's information questioned, despite the absence of references in the Dutch sources listed in the bibliography. In this work, Tio Ie Soei thus figures as an equal or superior source of information compared to Dutch scholars or archival documents. The two reasons Hadisutjipto suggests for the Dutch discovery of the planned revolt are drawn from Tio Ie Soei's work as well (the betrayal of Elberveld by the Sultan of Banten and Ali). Rather than questioning this information, or even the very existence of a plot, Hadisutjipto explains at great length why the Sultan of Banten was forced to behave in the way he did.

Tio Ie Soei's text is used in even stranger ways in later parts of Hadisutjipto's text. After explaining that a certain dialogue between Kartadria and Elberveld was a product of Tio Ie Soei's imagination, for two pages he quotes the novel, then states that "based on the dialogue above, it can be ascertained that at the moment that Ali gave his report to Captain Cruse [the Governor-general's assistant], the revolt planned by Pieter Erberveld was only two or three days away." The contradiction implicit in Hadisutjipto making this and subsequent conclusions on the basis of an excerpt he himself identified as "imagination" is fascinating. The questionable existence of Ali is not even problematic for this author. After another four page quote, Hadisutjipto lapses into his own voice, then

65 This text was republished several times, with a second edition being published in 1971 and the "third edition" in 1994. The 1994 edition seems to carry the introduction from the 1971 edition, as it is significantly different from the introduction to the 1970 edition. This new edition has leading words of the following page noted at the bottom as an aid for reading aloud.
gradually shifts to a close paraphrase of Tio Ie Soei’s novel, including conversation. All this is without citation or quotation marks. It is just the history of Pieter Elberveld.66

While Hadisutjipto’s text clearly shows sloppiness and a lack of critical thinking, these weaknesses do not fully explain the author’s ideas and intentions in composing the text nor how readers might have seen this publication. This study effectively took Tio Ie Soei’s Pieter Elberveld and gave it a new coat and new authority. The real audience addressed was clearly restricted, but republication in 1971 and 1994 ensured its continued availability. Significantly, the highlighted parts of the 1924 story are the very elements that Ritter had created from his imagination in the 1840s because they provided information which interests readers, among them some historians.

Readers had more sources of information available to them, however. The historical picture book Djakarta Djaja Sepandjang Masa, by R. Mohamad Ali S. S. and F. Bodmer,67 published a large one-page photo of the monument and a short explanation. More significantly, an article in the popular magazine Intisari, which appeared in 196868 provided a rather different picture, focusing on the question of whether this was a story of betrayal (of the Dutch) or an unfair legal process. Based almost entirely on a 1939 work by “Prof. Dr. Godee Molsbergen,” Junus Nur Arif (Nio Joe Lan) suggested that the confessions of Erbervelt and Kartadriya were obtained through torture and were largely concocted to please the torturers. No other major character of the Ritter-Tio Ie Soei version appeared in his discussion, and Erbervelt’s hatred of the Dutch was said to have resulted, in large part, from a dispute over his inheritance. Junus Nur Arif was not only able to read and write fluently in Dutch, but was an important critic of Chinese-Indonesian literature, and his 1962 book on the subject had briefly mentioned Tio Ie Soei’s novel.70 By sticking close to Dutch sources, however, he implicitly suggested that the Tio Ie Soei novel was literature and not history. Such a view would have been obvious to readers of Bintang Timur who had seen the 1964-5 serialized story in or who had carefully read Nio Joe Lan’s 1962 book.

Developments during this period are of special importance because the monument seems to have been rebuilt by the Jakarta History and Museum Service at this time.71 It is not clear whether this reconstruction was part of the commemoration of the founding of the city, part of the evolving “project mentality” of New Order Indonesia, or part of a
reconceptualization of history into symbols under their control—whether in the form of a monument, publications, or scholarship in general. However, the presence of a monument in Pecah Kulit certainly would have affected the understandings of residents and visitors to North Jakarta by giving Pieter Elberveld a visual presence.

In 1977, the Jakarta Regional Government’s Museum and History Service published a version of the Tio Ie Soei story which differed significantly from the 1924 original. This publication helps illuminate how the government of Indonesia attempted to deal with a story created for a different audience. Tio Ie Soei is listed as the author of “Raden Kartadria and Pieter Elberveld: A Story Which Took Place in the City of Betawi,” and no reference is made to textual revisions, except for brief praise for the person conducting the “research” leading to publication.

Two differences between the texts are apparent from the title itself. First, in the 1977 version, Raden Kartadria suddenly receives equal billing. The contents do not illuminate his life in the least, however; his role remains just as minor as in the original version. Rather, Kartadria’s responses become short and crisp, more authoritative (occasionally as if he were explaining things to a child), and completely devoid of the verbal or visual tokens of respect which are so prominent in the original. Consequently, Elberveld is transformed into an uninteresting leader with a very efficient Javanese military officer taking care of his affairs. Second, the word “truly” (betoel) was omitted in the rephrasing of the title. This seems to undermine the authority of the text to speak about the people and events in the novel, but also eliminates the antique feeling of Tio Ie Soei’s original subtitle. In actuality, the source of authority is shifted to the publisher, whose title “Museum and History Service” is prominently placed on the cover. The publisher’s ability to rediscover this lost work and to stamp it “historical” is what provides readers with a believable text, or, perhaps more accurately, provides evidence that there is an authority (the Museum and History Service) on which Indonesians can rely to deal with the past in an appropriate manner. Readers are thus excused from all responsibility to think critically about the subject or to ask how government historians come to know something.

Significant sections of the original story were cut to make this booklet, while changes are apparent everywhere. Just as this text is unconvincing as a biography, it does not function well as another type of history. The insults of Elberveld are still present, but the description is shortened, and the reason for his revolt is less clear than in previous versions. In the end, this publication becomes a bland record of boasts and arrests that evokes little empathy for or understanding of the protagonist. The most significant alteration is the near disappearance of Ali; all but three references to him are deleted, and Ali no longer figures as Elberveld’s betrayer. Only the final reference explains that he was the “friend for life” of Sarina. Since pivotal scenes with Ali have been deleted, Sarina is made to seem somewhat crazy, if devoted, when she runs in to apologize to Elberveld, yet

---


73 Tio Ie Soei grew up at a time when “respect” or hormat was both a feature of daily life and frequently condemned in the radical native press. Undoubtedly, hormat was part of his vision of the past, but the editor of the 1977 version may have felt that this “feudal” image was not one that the audience could share. Nonetheless, it seems likely that there was a desire to put Raden Kartadria and Pieter Elberveld on more equal footing, and so show the Javanese more respect.
actually has nothing to say. The other character eliminated was the Sultan of Banten. Thus, the reason for Elberveld’s arrest, which in all previous versions was explained as betrayal by two Javanese (including the 1924 version supposedly being reprinted), vanishes. Elberveld’s treason is discovered because the Governor-general compiled facts out of thin air (the ultimate goal of police states like the late Netherlands Indies and the New Order government of Suharto). Some information about material goods is presented, and a military efficiency posited for the eighteenth-century. In the end, Tio Ie Soei’s history is converted into a list of confirmed facts with shallow nationalists challenging the Dutch and being cruelly executed, while the VOC state is an incomprehensible monolith which can neither be understood nor defeated.

It is unclear whether this text had any intended audience. When the editor got around to inserting quotation marks (after five to six pages), the use of such punctuation marks was erratic at best, making it very unclear who is speaking. Single-paragraph speeches were divided into a number of new paragraphs, complicating reading, while certain offensive parts (for example, symbols of respect or descriptions based on skin color) were deleted in a way that renders some sentences incomprehensible. Other linguistic changes similarly seem to have made the narrative more difficult to understand. Finally, with the elimination of Ali, not only do actions of the Governor-general and Sarina seem erratic, but the romance is gone. This would not have added to the appeal of this story.

If there was no intended audience for the History Service’s publication, or at least no effort invested to encourage people to read this “Pieter Elberveld,” why publish the story? One reason is that the government was publishing biographical works about heroes of Jakarta for the 350th anniversary of the founding of the city by the Dutch. An unreadable story may be as effective as a readable one for the purpose of filling such a quota. As various print versions of the story had appeared in previous years, surely this story had been absorbed into the collective memories of Jakarta’s inhabitants; if the History Service was to present itself as the sole authority on Jakarta’s history, Pieter Elberveld could not be avoided. (If the monument had indeed been reconstructed before 1977, then that would have made Elberveld even more unavoidable.) Additionally, there might also be a need to bring Elberveld into a proper nationalist history, as the undomesticated story could seem dangerous to a government presenting “the history” of Indonesia or Jakarta, since that story was written by a “non-Indonesian” (a Chinese-Indonesian) and showed a Eurasian about to launch a revolt against Dutch rule in the capital itself being betrayed by two Javanese. This might have seemed especially significant since nationalist historiography could no longer feature the 1926 revolt against the Dutch, since it had been launched by the PKI and was now interpreted as evidence of PKI duplicity. Publication of this story with “modern” post-1972 spelling could address all these concerns easily.

Perhaps we miss the point when we attempt to read a text that was not actually intended to be read by audience. In her work on Javanese literature, Nancy Florida suggests that the “New Order Javanese elite have invented a vision” of an elite Javanese cultural peak when literature had reached a point where it passed beyond the ability of

---

By 1994, the apparently rewritten introduction to Hadisutjipto’s version of Pieter Elberveld (1994, dated Djuni 1971) shifted the focus to the “Hari Djadi Kota Djakarta jang ke 444.”
merely mortals to understand. The power of the literature came to be located in unread, but known, texts. In a different way, perhaps, particular meanings were created or supported by having only the title page of “Pieter Elberveld” readable. The text of the story could be safely disregarded, but understood to concern an eighteenth-century hero and his Javanese aristocratic hero-friend who were executed by the Dutch. Because of the way in which this document was published, Tio Ie Soei himself became the author of this mangled text now replacing the old (1924) text, which might otherwise have appealed to a limited audience. New Order efforts either to erase pre-1972 writings from the consciousness of Indonesians or render them old-fashioned and obsolete through application of a new spelling convention also would have helped assure that readers would not have searched beyond this republication and examined the original. Thus, the meaning of Pieter Elberveld changed substantially, and the independent authority of Tio Ie Soei’s story coopted. Tio Ie Soei’s death in 1974 could only make the appropriation of his novel easier.

In the same year, another book was published by the Jakarta Museum and History Service. Written by Drs. Uka Tjandrasasmita, this book covers a wide period of Jakarta’s history, from prehistoric times up through 1750. While the main discussion is divided into (first) topical divisions such as “The Growth and Development of Government” and (second) into different periods, the final six sections deal with specific historical events, one of which is “The Planned Revolt of Pieter Erberfeld Fails.” This section provides general information about Pieter Elberveld, his wife Margaretha, and their daughter Aletta, as well as about problems with Erberfeld’s inheritance, presumably from the de Roo and de Haan publications listed in the bibliography. Information about van der Schuur is presented as if it originated from these same sources, but was actually taken from the Hadisutjipto publication cited in the bibliography. Tio Ie Soei, misspelled as Tiolle Soei, is cited in the text as the source of information about Erberveld’s conversion to Islam, possibly because the author encountered conflicting information. However, Tio Ie Soei is not cited for six paragraphs that clearly originated from his novel and must have been obtained through Hadisutjipto’s 1970 publication. These paragraphs summarize the Tio Ie Soei story, centering on the roles of Ali, Sarina, and Captain Cruse in the events and exposure of the revolt. Through this adoption of Tio Ie Soei’s narrative, the story became a more integral part of the government history of Indonesia, while Tio Ie Soei’s badly mangled name was marginalized but still utilized.

Unlike some of the other books published by the Museum and History Service, this book was reasonably well written, and presents what seems to be a stable, well-researched historical narrative. Reassuring high-quality printing, a good mix of Indonesian- and Dutch-language bibliographical references, combined with strategic use of in-text citations, all supplement the role of the Government publisher in reassuring the reader that this is indeed a reliable history. The contextual presentation of the early history of Sunda

---


76 Thanks to Benedict Anderson for bringing this to my attention.

Kelapa and Batavia allows readers to imagine this failed revolt as part of a larger Indonesian history, a picture reinforced by the relatively long discussions of Kartadriya’s role and by the list of other Indonesians involved in the revolt. There is little emphasis on the European character of Pieter Erberveld, although his parentage is clearly mentioned. Instead, the author presents the Surapati revolts and the Trunayaja rebellion of the previous century as backdrop to this instance of Indonesian and Islamic resistance against Dutch control.

A Star is Born

In 1981, Pieter Erberveld became the subject of a TV drama produced by the national TVRI Sentral station in Jakarta. “He Tried to Reach the Stars,” written, directed, and starred in by Zainal Abidin, presents a very different picture from earlier versions of Pieter Elberveld’s drama, although Zainal Abidin depended on the 1970 historical note and perhaps the 1977 version of Tjo Ie Soe’s novel.78

The story opens with Ali wandering in a daze, as music reminiscent of science-fiction films plays in the background. Before Ali arrives at Erberveld’s house, we see Erberveld being dragged behind two horses by a Dutch soldier. Ali’s emotional monologue is then followed by the main story, beginning with Ali and another slave chatting in recognizably Jakartan dialect about Ali’s chances with Sarina. Erberveld has a daughter by his wife (now dead and buried in Amsterdam), but he has never acknowledged Sarina, the daughter of his nyai, as his own child. Sarina had been told that her father was executed by the kompeni for rebellion, a detail that foreshadows Erberveld’s own fate. Accordingly, she is confused by the affection of the still-Christian tuan besar, Erberveld, yet she burns with patriotic anti-Dutch passion. The story begins to develop when soldiers are shown laughing about Erberveld’s Thai and German parentage. While it is unclear whether this flashback is meant to represent the insult by van der Schuur text that was mentioned to Nyai by Pak Haji, the taunts do lead Erberveld to become Islamic and seek revenge on the kompeni. Conflict with his legal daughter Aletta occurs when Aletta asserts that her father’s introduction of a native woman into the house destroyed his marriage to her mother. Aletta subsequently demands to be allowed to “return” to Amsterdam.

In a series of meetings, Pieter Erberveld, Pak Haji, Lay Eek (a Chinese Muslim), and Kartadria plan to expel the Dutch from Batavia. In response to Erberveld’s demand that all Dutch be killed, women and children included, the others insist that innocent people not be harmed, arguing that their goal was merely to win independence by expelling the Dutch. Later, the same debate is repeated between Erberveld and female fighters from Cirebon. In a more private meeting, Nyai announces that “this is the time,” and Erberveld tells Sarina her true parentage. Sarina’s ambivalent reaction to the discovery that her father is a European intensifies her patriotism, even resulting in a conflict with the pragmatic and happy-go-lucky Ali, who does not endorse the revolt. She accuses Ali of being a coward, and indeed during the final preparations Ali runs to inform the VOC because he fears their patrols. Kartadria is subsequently instructed to escort Sarina away to safety, and although initially she resists, she is persuaded by her father’s insistence that she must live to continue the struggle. The battle with the Dutch led by Pieter Erberveld,

78 “La Coba Meraih Bintang,” drama broadcast by TVRI on June 20, 1981.
Nyai, and the other leaves all the insurgents dead except Erberveld (who is taken away and later killed). When Kartadria and Sarina return, Sarina then kills Ali for betraying the revolution and announces that from this day forward she will embark upon a new struggle for freedom. The film ends with a close-up of her determined face.

Islam is a dominant feature of this film. Not only does every significant Islamic character object to Erberveld’s vicious plan to kill “even newly born babies,” exemplifying Islam’s fairness as well as the distinction between Pieter Erberveld and true Indonesians, but there is a lengthy scene during which Erberveld and Pak Haji discuss conversion (his melodramatic conversion is shown later), and an extremely long scene that shows Pak Haji teaching women to read the Koran, thus emphasizing the Islamic nature of the resistance. Even the Chinese Lay Eek, a Sumbawan in Dutch histories, is Islamic in this film. This emphasis on Islam may have been related to the relatively self-conscious Islamic component to Jakarta and West Java identities, or perhaps to the role of Islam in the original 1889-1924 stories, and the need to draw a clear line between good revolutionaries and the Dutch. In this rendition of the Elberveld story, Islam was turned into the signifier of “native,” while Christianity became implicitly foreign or Dutch. This dichotomy was muddled only in Pieter Erberveld, who not only cooperated with Pak Haji and the others before converting to Islam, but also demonstrated both a loyalty to the struggle and an improper desire for revenge.

The struggle for independence is also of primary importance, and Erberveld’s desire for revenge is directly challenged by other characters. From the beginning, Sarina declares her patriotic intentions, and the numerous patriotic women in this drama are similarly outspoken. This makes the story about the struggle for independence, as Hadisutjipto intended, a struggle involving both men and women. On the other hand, Kartadria is converted into a minor character as Pak Haji, Lay Eek, and Pieter Erberveld take on leadership roles. As a Javanese aristocrat, Kartadria is the ideal partner for Sarina as she continues to fight for independence, and Sarina thus plays the central role in the drama and survives the end of the story.

Curiously, many of the features that provided authority to previous versions were changed in the film. For example, the mention of VOC governor-generals’ names and dates of rule had usually framed the story, providing part of the factual introduction. In this production, Zwaardecroon’s name is mentioned by soldiers as they arrest Pieter Erberveld, but their heavy accents emphasize the foreignness of both the ruler and of Erberveld, rather than confirming the truth of the story. The monument is not mentioned, and the means of execution no longer discussed, leaving the impression that Erberveld was killed by being dragged by a horse.

Viewers were probably expected to empathize with the extremely patriotic characters and to accept the setting as realistic and as part of their own world. When female characters are shown learning to recite the Koran, and Pak Haji is shown interacting with other characters, for example, the drama provides a familiar “realistic” setting for viewers (which would simultaneously reinforce good middle-class Muslim behavior). Similarly, the film’s representation of the colonial period is clearly guided by popular historical memories. Sarina, daughter of a native Indonesian and a man of European standing, is assumed to be the daughter of a nyai, that is a concubine or “house-keeper.” Other types of relationships were apparently inconceivable, and Sarina’s mother plays the role of nyai
with authority. In fact, Nyai does not resemble an eighteenth-century slave in any respect. Their large house, with its surrounding high wall, probably dates to the nineteenth century, while Erberveld’s clothes, both a black and white colonial suit, as well as his more informal outfits, complete with suspenders, recall photographic images of the late-colonial period and twentieth-century dress. While the film inaccurately represents the eighteenth century, it doubtlessly impressed most viewers as realistic. However, the film’s reliance on popular images of the past made this seem like just another historical story made up for television, not a dramatization of an actual historical event. Along with the absence of the haunting monument, this makes the TV drama rather unmemorable.

One important function of the film was to remind Indonesians of Pieter Elberveld and to stimulate discussion. An article published in the Sunday edition TV section of Kompas following the broadcast illustrates one type of popular perception of the film. The article, “Kill Ali not the Company,” discussed the production as a historical drama, not as a history. The critic focuses on the story (a romantic drama between Sarinah and Ali), the main characters and actors, and the weaknesses of the film. In choppy language, he attempts to outline the plot, but notes the difficulty due to the repetitions and flashbacks.

In another article, the screenplay and resulting drama were criticized by a prominent Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat, who obviously did not know where this story originated. The most important feature of the article was its inclusion of information about Pieter Erberveld, but more generally Koentjaraningrat attempted to bring the old Dutch histories and biographies back into the tale. Citing various sources, including a Dutch source from 1730, the writer identifies three types of “mistakes” in the drama. First, he notes that the story was set in 1772 rather than 1721, an essential distinction affecting costumes and furniture. Second, he points out that Pieter Erberveld was a Eurasian of German and Thai descent, was hard to get along with, and tended to quarrel with friends. For that reason he was evicted from several hundred hectares of land in 1708, an injustice that motivated his plan for revenge. Koentjaraningrat also notes the absence of Sarinah, her mother, and Haji Abas in Dutch sources, and the role of Karta Drie (Cartadrie) as the religious leader in these Dutch histories. Finally, he complains that the costumes and furniture were modeled after those of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with Elberveld dressed as an early nineteenth-century Dutch military officer. Koentjaraningrat’s points emphasize how the film carried the militarization in the 1977 Tio Ie Soei republication visually a step further, and the high point of Dutch colonialism backwards from the early twentieth to the eighteenth and presumably the seventeenth centuries.

Another article published in Kompas a few days later introduced more facts and pointed out that the story was adapted from Tio Ie Soei’s novel. The main purpose of this article, however, was still to revise and correct the depiction of Elberveld’s life that

81 The same source was cited in Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek, v. 8, p. 493.
82 Koentjaraningrat was not wrong, as Dutch sources do suggest something similar. According to one historian there was a conflict with the Governor-general over land, and the existence of a plot was questionable.
83 “Silang-Siur Tentang Pieter Erbervelt,” Kompas.
had just been seen by many Indonesians, and to bring their understanding back in line with more conventional Dutch writings about Erberveld.

The film was undoubtably effective in reaching a large audience, including people not addressed by print publications, since this media makes literacy or the desire to read irrelevant. According to the Central Bureau for Statistics, in 1981 48.9 percent of the population of DKI Jakarta above-age-ten read newspapers, but 87.5 percent watched TV. Given the limited viewing choices, it is possible that more than 10 percent of the over-age-ten population in Jakarta alone (almost 500,000 people) saw the film. As "La Coba Meraih Bintang" was broadcast throughout Indonesia, the audience would surely have been much larger. The ambiguity between fact and fiction and the presentation of news, factual stories, and announcements via the same media may again have provided authority to the images presented. The government was even more involved in this version, as the national TV stations (then under monopoly control) both produced and broadcast this film. However, as the medium of TV is also ephemeral, it did not allow the repeated viewing that might have facilitated incorporation of this film into Indonesian understandings of history. Review articles are slightly less ephemeral, but still would have only reached a small and relatively elite audience of Kompas readers who were interested in the arts.

Illustrations from A. Heuken, *Historical Sites of Jakarta* (Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 1982), showing the monument before demolition by the Japanese and the reconstructed monument. Reprinted with permission.

85 The same observations would be valid to varying degrees for other articles, for example, the article by Herling T. in *Monitor Radio & Televisi* no. 21 preceding the broadcast. Cited in Koentjaraningrat, "Pieter Erbervelt."
Decades of Contention: 1980s –

In 1982, Pramoedya Ananta Toer included this story in a collection of turn-of-the-century stories he was editing entitled *Tempo Doeloe*. Inclusion of “Pieter Elberveld” in this anthology is particularly strange, since its original publication date was almost twenty years after those of the other stories in the collection. Pramoedya may well have decided to include it in response to the government-sponsored “Pieter Elbervelds” of 1970, 1977, and 1981. As noted above, Pramoedya had been at least partially responsible for the publication of “Pieter Elberveld” in *Bintang Timur* in the 1960s, and had only recently been allowed to return from exile on the island of Buru.

The 1982 version is virtually identical to the original 1924 version, except that endnotes have been added to explain different words, an introduction points out that Sarina does not appear in the historical record, and a list of Tio le Soei’s publications is presented with a bibliography. The publication of this anthology effectively makes Tio le Soei’s *Pieter Elberveld* available once again to readers, after having been half-buried in partial adaptations in 1970, 1977, and 1981. *Tempo Doeloe* was banned within a few

---

86 Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Tempo Doeloe*. Pramoedya’s organization of the anthology indicated an interest in representations of the anti-colonial struggle in different periods, thus this story fit nicely into the eighteenth-century slot and the date of publication was of secondary importance. However, his characterization of the anthology as a collection of turn-of-the-century works, the twenty-year gap in publication dates noted above, and Pramoedya’s reference (p. 23) to the failure of the TV drama to acknowledge the origin of the script in Tio le Soei’s novel all suggest that Pramoedya consciously selected this work as a corrective to versions of the story that had been influenced by the New Order’s agendas and had moved further way from Tio le Soei’s “original” publication.
years of its publication, seemingly to harass Pramoedya; however, the government’s action probably also indicates contention over whether the understandings of history which were present in the 1900s, 1920s, 1960s, or 1970s should be allowed to exist, and in what forms.

The year 1982 also saw the first edition of A. Heuken’s English-language guide, *Historical Sites of Jakarta*, a book which was not only repeatedly revised and reissued in English (6th edition, 2000), but also issued in Indonesian (the 1997 Indonesian edition was adapted from the 1995 English edition). The fact that it was published in Jakarta and covered a range of subjects which could be easily appropriated by journalists and other writers who lacked either the time or ability to peruse other sources, made this publication singularly important. In fact, this book was used in a number of writings about Erberveld in the 1980s and 1990s, making it a critical starting point for contemporary writers, and thus merits some consideration.87

Heuken sought to explain the historical backgrounds of various sights around Jakarta, and thus discussion of Pieter Elberveld is located next to entries on the Portuguese Church and Hendrik Zwaardecroon, who was buried in the graveyard of the church he patronized. Once the reconstructed monument was removed, Heuken changed his narrative to state that it had been located near the church “as recently as” 1986 and provided directions for those who wish to see the replica.88 In addition to this information, the third edition includes other significant changes as well. Heuken, a priest professionally concerned with morals and an individual concerned with the preservation of historical artifacts, was clearly outraged that the monument had been moved to the Taman Prasasti out of a “lack of historic consciousness and greed for what money could be made out of the last piece of land available.” His anger is reflected in his description Pieter Erberveld, whom he portrays as the victim of machinations of a “governor-general, known for his ruthlessness” who “may have been personally interested in disposing of Erbervelt.” The portrait presented here bears a striking resemblance to Suharto, whose New Order officials had the replica removed. Heuken speculates that the monument might have been built “years later [after Ebervelt’s death], when people no longer remembered or did not want to remember all the ghastly details”—conceivably a veiled reference to the reconstruction of the monument in the 1970s or the many commemorations of the events of 1965-6.

Immediately following the discussion of Erbervelt, Heuken briefly mentions the execution of twenty-six low-ranking Europeans in 1722 who had been involved in “corruption and theft of the Company’s goods.” He explains that this type of drastic anti-corruption action by the VOC happened “only once and only against the ‘small fishes,’” and that no protest followed the event. What could better describe Indonesia from a middle-class perspective in the late 1980s? The fact that this edition of Heuken’s book was published in Singapore may have allowed the author to sharpen his description of Erberveltso that it became a political and social critique. Subsequent versions in English and Indonesian were available in Indonesia, and thus Heuken’s initially straightforward description of Erbervelt’s actions, followed by expressions of doubt concerning his guilt, 87 Unfortunately, as the Indonesian translations have not been available, the English publications have to represent the Indonesian translations as well.
allow readers to imagine him as victim, as rebel, or, cynically, as both simultaneously. Heuken’s book also includes pictures of the monument and the “tomb locally regarded as that of Raden Kartadria,” as well as references to a few Dutch works that can be cited from his text or looked up, references that provide later authors with a handy tool for superficially researched reportage.

Although Heuken’s book came to be quite significant for both Indonesian- and English-language writing about Indonesia, other traditions continued to be reproduced. In 1988, for example, the History and Museum Service of DKI Jakarta published another history of Jakarta, this time by Sagimun M.D. A solid-looking, 522-page volume, it devoted more than two pages to Erbervelt in the context of resistance against despotic VOC power. Apparently drawing on Uka Tjandrasasmita’s 1977 book, the author chose to highlight Ali’s role, with the slave Sarinah’s refusal of his love duly noted. The possibility that there was no plot against the Dutch, which would mean that the Governor-general was truly acting in an arbitrary, self-interested manner, was curiously omitted. Unlike in the film, here it is noted without fanfare that the majority of Erbervelt followers were Islamic. Unlike some of the “formal histories,” this book also mentions the monument and its destruction in 1942, but still does not discuss the reconstruction and subsequent relocation to another government museum in around 1986. This book and its narrative fall into a newly created tradition of government-published official histories (1970-), which may have been widely distributed in official circles but were probably not sold to the general public. With their smooth integration of elements of Tio Ie Soei’s narrative, they became the new custodians of Indonesian history.

A distinctly different story about Raden Kartadria was also published around this time in a collection of folk tales collected in Jakarta in 1980-81 by the Museum and History Service. This tale focuses on Kartadria’s good character and on the fortune teller who predicted that he would either have a tragic life or would have to abandon people who needed help. Raden Kartadria goes to Batavia and meets Elberveld, helps defend the people, and so is executed by the Dutch. In narrating the story of Raden Kartadria, no “factual” information about his life is provided, yielding a mere assertion that he did exist and was a wonderful, kind person. Unfortunately, it is hard to tell how accurately this narrative represents the tale told by the storyteller and whether its inclusion was coincident, representative of folk tales in circulation or one of a list of popular “legends” the compilers wished to include. Despite substantial differences, this version is still consistent with the trend of other government publications in its emphasis on Kartadria and other things not in Dutch historical records.

89 Through the late 1990s and the early 2000s, there have been a number of articles about Elberveld in Jakarta’s newspapers, most working from Heuken’s book. See for example, Ida Indawati Khouw, “Tale of Jl. Pecah Kulit more than skin deep,” The Jakarta Post, Saturday, April 8, 2000; and “Pengadilan Rekayasa di Batavia,” Republika Online edisi, June 23, 1998, http://www.republika.co.id/9806/23/11300.htm. Most are written in English and aimed at a foreign audience.


A second unusual version is presented in a book of essays originally written in English by Willard Hanna, and published in Indonesian translation in 1988.92 Because “events cannot be reconstructed with full confidence,” Hanna chose to present “the most melodramatic” version of the story, the English-language version written by W. B. d’Almeida in 1864. The story itself conventionally opens with a mention of Eberfeld’s German father and Javanese mother, and notes that Eberfeld’s hatred of the Dutch resulted in his plotting with others who wanted to revolt, namely influential Chinese, royal refugees from Central Java, mardijkers, slaves and fanatical Muslims. This story features Eberfeld’s daughter Meede, who loves a Dutch officer (an unacceptable relationship to her father); after overhearing the conspirators, she informs her lover of her father’s plot to seize control of the whole island of Java. Eberfeld was to become Bin Hamid bin Abdul Sheik al Islam, while a Sultan of Jakarta and a new Susuhunan were to be appointed. In this version, the sentence and punishment of Eberfeld and his co-conspirators is treated at greater length than the story. Hanna finally notes that the smelly monument filled an important public need, serving as a public toilet until it “disappeared during the Japanese Occupation.” It was later rebuilt for tourists, but “is no longer used for public needs that are still demanded by the city.”

A final distinct version is a discussion of Pieter Erberveld by Ridwan Saidi published in 1987.93 Ridwan Saidi cites the Tio Ie Soei publication for a translation of the monument’s inscription and as evidence of the way the story has remained alive for the public. Dutch historical sources are used: a 1730 publication used by Koentjaraningrat, an article by the historian de Graaf published in the journal Tong-tong, and the Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek. His emphasis mirrors the Dutch histories in discussing the background of Pieter’s father and other family members, the origin of the name “Pecah Kulit,” a critical discussion of the plot, as well as descriptions of the torture and prosecution of Pieter Erberveld. In the end, his essay diverges from his sources, mistakenly asserting that local residents prevented the Japanese from removing the monument, and hinting about a connection between the Erberveld monument and Toyota Astra’s bankruptcy following their building a showroom on that site. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this book has been used by other authors.

Conclusion

This article has sought to trace out the lines of development of Malay- and Indonesian-language representations of Pieter Elberveld, in order to follow the developing historiographical practice of Indonesians and the use of a textual heritage, but also to attempt a study of elusive Indonesian- or Malay-language audiences—what they might have read, learned, or understood of this material. In fact, these stories did not simply objectively inform their readers about the events of 1721-22 or merely provide them with somewhat macabre entertainment. While Elberveld has rarely occupied the political and historical spotlight, he was never of no importance, and thus rather than becoming the

symbol of colonial power, Indonesian nationalism, Islamic belief and identity, Eurasian identity, or the omnipotence of the state, he has been one of the symbolic building blocks that different people have used to construct or apprehend Indonesia. The proposed demolition of his monument in the 1930s, the Dutch refusal of that request, the Japanese demolition, and the New Order reconstruction and incarceration of the replica in a government museum all provide evidence of this marginal importance. Even when merely translated or introduced into new contexts, the Elberveld narratives could form a picture that was familiar to readers, laced with potentially usable information, and imbued with an allegorical message. However, readers also undoubtedly read the stories from their own perspectives, referring to their own concepts and categories, and potentially yielding very different results. It is not unlikely, for example, that many twentieth-century readers have looked back at an unchanging colonial society built out of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century experience, overlooking the substantial changes in social structure, historical context, and government structure that have taken place during the preceding two hundred years. In other cases, readers' anti-colonialist or nationalist understandings of history and society allowed or even required a reinterpretation of which characters held most responsibility for the events of 1721–22, as well as reinterpretations of Elberveld and other associated characters in this drama.

The continuous reappearance of Elberveld demonstrates that interest has not subsided. Each history varied somewhat in form and content, changes which suggest that Pieter Elberveld is very much alive in Indonesian society. The intensity of publication since the 1960s (including the TV production) implies that the meaning of “Pieter Elberveld” was being contested, most particularly in the 1980s-1990s when there were clearly conflicting traditions. Questions about which stories and messages might be appropriate for particular audiences seem at times to have been at the center of that struggle. However, those who sought to reshape the Elberveld story seem also to have been concerned with readers' conceptions of the past in general, and with obvious similarities between past events and present situations, which provide opportunities for veiled social and political critiques. We can conclude that what may have been true in 1968 is no longer the case.94

“After the statue of the skull along with the decree were removed from the Pecah Kulit field, the story of Pieter Erbervelt is now conserved in the museum and in the memories of the elderly who relate it for generations.”

In the absence of any other production of knowledge about Pieter Erberveld and “the conspiracy of 1721” in Malay or Indonesian, more popular and by our standards less conventional historical materials ultimately provided a substantial portion of the basis for both the Indonesian historical writings and more critically popular understandings of Pieter Elberveld and his revolt. Dutch language studies would have been important for a very few members of the elite, but simply would not have been accessible to most Indonesians. Information from these sources has filtered into Indonesian discourse, but some streams of historical retellings continue to display resilience. Nonetheless, as can be seen from the selection of story elements, what “really” happened in 1721, what life was “really” like in the eighteenth century, and the “real” characteristics of Pieter Erberveld may have very little relevance for many contemporary Indonesians; rather the contemporary context is of singular importance for writing and reading. The social truths going into, but more importantly deriving from, these publications (and the TV drama) are

---

the understandings which contribute to popular conceptions of history and popular Indonesian world views. These are “truths” which we need to explore in order to understand modern Indonesian history, and consideration of audiences is therefore of critical importance.
"Pieter Erberfeld: Leader of an Evil Sworn Association in Batavia,
by P. Bh., Published in *Sinar Terang* (January 1889)

Notes on the Transcription and Orthography:

Minor changes have been made in the Malay text to eliminate typographic mistakes which would not have disturbed the nineteenth-century reader, but might interfere with a reader today. Thus a few extraneous periods have been removed and missing periods added, a few obvious misspellings corrected (for example Cartadria's name), and so forth. Idiosyncratic spellings on the whole have been maintained, and inconsistencies remain; they were a feature of the time and may have affected interpretations. Other more substantial changes, made only where absolutely necessary, are noted either with brackets or in endnotes.

The story is reproduced here in three parts, as individual sections show significant differences. For example, the second section is more poorly typeset than the first, and probably was typeset by a different person. In addition, note also the difference in orthography, not just "Sarinah/Sarina," "Cartadrie/Cartadria/Kartadria," and "Alie/Ali," but also "ija" or "ja" rather than "ia" which was used in the first section. There are also many more apparent mistakes in the language, with run-on sentences, misspelled words, etc. which make interpretation more difficult. We can thus assume that *Sinar Terang* depended on more than one typesetter, and that the coherence of any article or story depended to a large extent on the consistency of those typesetters. It also reduced ethnic distinctions in print language, in contrast to many twentieth century publications in which very clear linguistic markers appeared, identifying the author as a Chinese or native.

Thanks are due to Benedict Anderson whose comments have helped to correct a few of the worst mistakes.

**Pieter Erberfeld.**

*Kepala pertemenan soempa djahat di Betawi.*


Sabermoela pada 28 December 1721 hampir malem kaloewarlah sa-orang Djawa dari pada pintoe bahroe di Betawi, maka ia laloe djembatan Jassan, laloe gredja Portugis dan menoedjoe djalan Jakatra. Adapoen orang Djawa itoe berbangsa, roepanja berhormat, tingginja sedang, oemoernja 30 tahoen.
Pieter Erberfeld: Leader of an Evil Sworn Association


“Sai dapet titah hei Raden! djangan barang sa’orang mosoek tetapi saia harep toewan Raden boleh masoek.

Toewankoe ada diblakang roemah pada tempat boenga, teroes djoega maka toewan aken dapet toewankoe disama. Maka metinsaslah Raden pelantara-an pandjang itoe hingga ia kloear roemah besar itoe dimana ia dapet toewan roemah itoe. Adapoen toewan roemah itoe sa-orang toewakoe poetih giginja tertjiri, parasnja tiada bagoes, toendjoek sa-perhoeboengannja dengan bangsa Djawa satengah orang Europa.


Maka Pieter Erberfeld adalah terlaloe kaja, maka tatkala Companij tiada membri barang pangkat padanja dan terlebih tatkala soedagar van der Schuur telah memakei dia, karna adatnjatnja? koerang berhormat pada Companij, maka goesarlah Pieter terlaloe amat sanget dan membales itoe pada Companij.

Maka oleh sebab itoe ia meninggalken agama Mesehi, agama bapanja, laloe masoek agama Islam pada tahoen 1719.

Maka pada malem terseboet itoe, tiada kadaepetan barang sa-orang perampoeowan moeda,3 Maka Raden memberi salam padanja, laloe pergi pada toewan goesti itoe, maka perampoeowan itoe ikoetlah dia, laloe semboenjen direklin jadi dibawah pagar boengah.

Maka tatkala Raden menghampirlah toewan goestitoe, maka toendoeklah dirinja, terlaloe diangkatnja kadoewa tangannja kadoewa laloe berkata dengan soewara sedang. “Salam moelaikoem toewan goesti.

Maka sahoetlah Pieter. “Alaikoem Salam, Cartadrie! kabar apa?”

“Tiada barang kabar toewan goesti! samoea soedah sedia saperti kami soedah bitjara.”

“Baik Raden! Dipoedjilah maka Allah dan Nabinja. Dan segala risalet pada soeltan Banten?

“Soedah dibawa toewan. Wangsa Suta telah berangkat kaleman dhoeloeloe, maka ia soedah berdjandji aken poelang dengan tiga hari soeapaia ia boleh toeloeng pada perkara besar itoe, Maka adalah sanokamoe4 bahoewa kami boleh kamenangan?”

---

3 Mohon maaf tidak ada penjelasan detail mengenai item yang dimaksud. 
4 Mohon maaf, tidak tersedia informasi untuk istilah ini.
"Tamtoe toewan goesti! Koewasa kami besar adanja. Hambamoe dengan Madja Pragi dengan Laijca dengan Angsa Tsitra soedalah koempool banjak orang 17000 banjaknja, maka oleh kamoerahanmoe jang besar dan oewangmoe jang banjak maka segala sendjata telah terlangkap. Toewan ada tahoe pada hari tahoen-bahroe, maka segala orang Meseli ada bersoeka-soeka djoega dan tiada berdjaga, maka pada hari itoe kami aken mengalahken benteng dan kota itoe dengan gampang sahadja.

Tsabar sedikit sahadja, toewan goesti! maka dengan tiga hari toewan aken parentah atas sagenap poelo ini, lagi dengan tiga hari samoea orang menghormati toewan goesti: dengan hormat jang patoet."


Pada koetika itoe djangan sajang Raden, menoe.....6 telingah pada segala pemoehoeenan dan boedjoe....7 Allah dan Nabinja kahendaki itoe lagi ...........8 (hendaklah Allah memberkati dia) soedah m......... ken9 segala orang kafier dengan mata peda........10 kami ikoet padanja.

Tegal itoe Raden! djangan rahmat, djangan ................11 djangan ampoen, samoeanja haroes dibonoeh b........12 lah aer soengei diwaraken13 meirah by darah ........14 kafier.

Pieter Erberfeld.

Kepala pertemenan soempa djahat di Betawi.

Behken toewan goesti, saia bersoempah demi Nabi kita bahoewa tiada barang saorang aken . . . . . Maka sakoenjoeng kagetlah ia laloe bardijemlah karna kadengar boenji trompet dan boenji kareta dan banjak koeda berdjalan ladjoe.

"Apakah itoe toewan goesti?" tanjalah ia dengan goemeter.

Tiada barang apa, Raden djangan takoe, itoe lah Gouverneur Generaal jang pergi kakebonnja di Jakatra.

Slamat djalan pada perdjalanamnmo penghabisan hei toewan besari segala orang aken dengar-dengaran padakoe, saia15 Cartadria jang kita tiada dapat lihat pegoenoengan biroe, soepaia akoe boele toendjoek padamoe segala tanah jang akoe hendak karoenjakan padamoe.

Akoe dibenteng dan dikota dan angkau pada segala tanah koeliling.

Manakah kita telah dapat kamenangan, maka kita aken kirim resalet kapada Soeltan Mataram dan kapada pemarentah lain, maka samoeanja aken bersakoe toewan16 dengan akoe.

Maka keradja'an Jakatra jang diroesaknja oleh orang kafier itoe, aken diperoesah poela tetapi satoe bangsa Soeltan bahroe aken pergi parentah disitoe, karna akoe jang telah dihinaken. Akoe ini sampei kaja aken beli satengah poelo Djawa.

Akoe Pieter Erberfeld aken pegang parentah disitoe.

Boekan samana-mana akoe soedah boewang Tsalib dan menjamboet Islam, boekan samana mana akoe soedah timbangmenimbangkoetikakoe soedahlah damping! koetika pembalesankoe, koetika kabinasa'an segala orang Meseli!!! Tetapi soedah djoegal waktoe Megrib (sembajang poekoei 6) soedahlah hampir mata hari masoek dilaoet. Marilah masoek sertakoe dibilikkoe di sitoeoen Goeroe Hadji Abas, ia aken moehoen karno kita, maka kita mengartoerken segala perkara soepaja djangan niat kita diitadaken.
Maka masoeklah kadoewanja.
Maka tatkala bahroelah kadoewa toewan itoe masoek maka bangoenlah anak perampoewan moeda dari pada tempat dibawah boenga, laloe tengok koeliling dengan takoet dan soesah.
Maka ditjoetjoernja aer matanja.
Maka prampoean itoe 17 tahon oemoernja, badjoenja adalah pendek, lagi poeti warnana, dengan kain berboengah.
Maka berojogang ia kapalanja, laloe berkata dalem hatinja Adohi Allah!! apa aken djadi niat jang djahat itoe digenap. Boetapa djomawa ba, , , , , toewankoe? Boetapa bengis orang toewa itoe?
Maka serta ia timbang menimbang demikianlah maka datenglah padanja sa-orang boedak laki-laki, sa-orang moeda 20 tahoen oemoernja, padanja ia birahi.
Maka pada koetika terseboet maka mata laki-laki toe menjalah dan segenap lakoenja menonjoeki goesar dan marah.
Maka batalah17 ia: "Sarina! soedahkah angkau dengar itoe?
Apa Alie?"
Tanja lagi apa? Boekankah angkau doedoe dokawah pagar dan dengar samoeanja?"
"Saia tiada dengar apa apapan Alie!"
"Angkau tiada dengar? Djangan djoeasta Sarina! Angkau tahoe samoeanja, saia lagi tahoe itoe, saia telah bersemboeni diblakang poehoen kaijoe itoe."
"Pendjahat itoe! pada sangkanja ia nanti djadi toewan Besar! Pada sangkanja ia nanti membinasaken samoea orang Mesehi!! Ija maae bales dan pembalesankoe soedah hampir.
Dengarlah Sarina! saia mengesehi dikau saja maoe kawin pakamoe, angkoe tahoe itoe.
Boekankah dengan kahendakmoe, saia minta pada toewan aken kawindikau?
Tetapi apakah ia menjahoet? "Saoemoer Sarina ija tiada nanti kawin dengan sa-orang boedak.
Ja poekoej saja, saja menajap38 ditanaah dan mengoetjoepikakinja laloe mintah . . . . ja indjak saja ja maoe boenoe saja.
Sagenap hatikoe menentoet pembalesan. Barangkali ja maoe menghinaken angkau, tetapi itoe tiada djadi[,] saja aken djaga, niatnja jang djahat aken di tiadaken[,] sekarang aalah senang19 jang baik. Saja lari.
Maka peganglah Sarina aken dia dengan goemeter, katanja: "Sabarlah Alie, sabar dhoeloe angkau tahoe akoe mengasihi dikau dan soeka djadi binimoet tetapi tetapi"29 angkau tiada toenggoe koetika jang baik tatkala kau moehoen pada toewan. Minta djoega oelang oelang barangkali toewan aken kasih."
Maka sahoetlah Alie: "Pilih sekarang Sarina! Pilih dan djadi binikoe,"
"Tiada boleh Alie melainken dengan ka hendak toewankoe!"
Larilah Sarina boemi adalah lebih besar dari Betawi. Di Bantam kita boleh tjari perlindoengan.
Djika saja sakit maka toewan djaga, djika saja njaman maka toewan bermain dengan saja. Belom pernah toewan goesar pada saja. selamanja manis djoega dan baik.

Apa saja minta maka saja dapet.

Nantikah saja bales itoe dengan lari?


“Toewan!” mengalohlah Sarinah saja kenal niatmoe lagi Ali tahoe itoe. Ja soedah dengar itoe di bawah poehoen kajoe maka toeroetgoesarnjasebab toewanmoe kasihi saja kawin dengan dia, larilah toewankoe larilah jangan dhangan toewan-toewan di hilangkan!

Bertetaplah hatimoe hei Sarinah, djangan takoet ja: Boekan, Sarina! saja tiada boleh tanggoe lagi, dan welakin ia tahoe itoe siapa aken pertjaja dia? Samoea orang ada tahoeha akoe saorang baik.

“Djangan harep atas itoe toewankoe bapakoe, dengarlah anakmoe biarken niat jang djajat itoe, dan larilah! larilah sampe di hoedjoeng boemi!”

Maka Erberfeld memboedjoek dia aken tedoehken hatinjja serta katanja: “Kita tiada boleh Sarinah jang kekasih saorangpoen tiada boleh menjoesahken saja koewasakoe adalah besar soorangpoen tiada dapet melawan padakoe.

Riboe-riboe laskar ada terlangkap melindoengken padakoe.

Djangan takoet Sarinah tiada saorang boedak bolei kawin dengan angkau. Akoe mengasihi di kau saakoe angkau aken dapet hormat besar.

Lagi 3 hari Sarinah maka angkau dapet bageian dari pada kebesaran dan kamoeliaoankoe.

Akoe tiada boleh moendoer soedah terlaloe jaoeh.

Maka pergila Sarinah dengan tangoes-nenangis.

Pada malem itoe djoega, sekira-kira jam 10, tatkala makan soedah habis dan segaladjamoe soedah pergi, maka berdirilah Gouveurmeneraal Zwaardekroon pada biliknja dimaligeinja, pada sisi djalan Jakarta.

Maka tangakkakiri bersendarlah atas medja paloemban, dan pada tangannja kankan adlah soewatoe risale terboeka jang disemboehnja dari Bantam.

Maka risale itoe tertoeles dengan hoeroef Arab berdoekaken hatinjja.

Maka tatkala soerat itoe di tarohnja diatas medja maka angkatlah ia tangannjakan pada testanja [][laloe tengok ka atas seraja berkata: >Ja Toehan! Haroeslah soesah itoe lagi berlakoe atasloe? Belom sampe berat segala kaparentahan ini? Nantikah Betawi dibinasaken?

Tatkala itoe lipetlah ianjangnja serta noehoen: Bapakoe, Bapakoe! Hendaklah kiranja tjawan minoeman ini laloe dari padakoe!”


Maka masoeklah pion katanja: “Kaloe Seri Padoeka loeloeksen aken menjamboet djaksa Kroese ia hendak bawa barang kabar pada toewan.
Pieter Erberfeld: Leader of an Evil Sworn Association

“Hendaklah toewan djaksa masoek!”

Maka masoeklah djaksa katanya: “Ampoen beriboe riboe ampoen dari hal saja dateng pada
djam ini pada toewan jang moelia, tetapi bahroe saja dapet tahoe perhoeboengan jang djahat
lawan Gournement.”

“Akoe tahoe itoe djaksa. angkau berkata aken persemoewan Pieter Erberfeld boekan?
Lihat disini risalet dari pada Soeltan Bantam.

P.Bh.
(Ada samboengannja).

Pieter Erberfeld.
Kepala pertemenan soempa djahat di Betawi.

Kita belom tahoe bahagian Soeltan itoe dalam hal djahat ini, tetapi akoerasa ia hendak
soetjikan dirinja dengan soerat ini.

Siapatah telah mengabarken hal ini padamoe hei djaksa?”

“Bahroe sadjam laloe datenglah pada hamba saorang boedak dari toewan Erberfeld,
namanna boedak itoe Alie jang telah disoesahi oleh toewannja dan jang membrita pada hamba
pembijara-an, jang ia telah mendengar dari sa-orang Djawa Cartadria namanja dengan
toewannja.

Maka toeroet bitjara kadoewa toewannja maka pada hari tahoen bahroe, maka marika
itoe nanti memboenoeh Gouvarneur Generaal dengan segala orang Mesehi dipolo Djawa, laloe
hendak peroeboengan soewatoe keradjaan orang Islam.

Saia soedah panggil segala laskar, dan soeroeh mengoelilingi roemah Pieter Erberfeld,
soepaja djangan sa-orang masoek kloewar disitoe.

Sekarang saia nanti lihat toewan Bangsawan.”

“Djaksa!! mengapa berlambatan! Titahkoe tiada beroesah dalem hal ini. Pergilah dengan
signah dan boewat apa haroes, Tangkeplah lekas segala orang djahat itoe djangan takoet!”

Maka pergilah Djaksa dengan lekas.

Bermoela di roemah Pieter Erberfeld adalah berhimpoen 12 anggotan dari pada
perhimpoenan djahat Akgsa, Tsitra, Saijea dan Madja Praga ada lagi di sana.

Lagipoen Wanggssa Soeta bahroe dateng dan soedahlah bawa kabar baik dari pada Soeltan
Bantam. Itoeelah membraniken sameoanja.

Betoel tjerita Sarina soedah menjoesehi orang. Tetapi Erberfeld, Cartadria dan hadji Abas
soedahlah membangoenken sameoanja, maka tatkala kabar baik dari Bantam disampeiken
makanna samoeanja dihiboerken, ditamtoeken dengan sasoenggoehnjabahoewa pada 1 Januari 1722
maka pemboenoehan itoe digenapi.

Bermoela pada djam setengah 11 diketoklah perlahan pelahan pada pintoe bilik itoe, jang
mana segala toewan terseboet itoe berhimpoen.

Maka pada sabentar pintoe itoe diboekanja dan Ali berdiri dari djaoeh toendjoek pada bilik
itoe dengan moeka asem, laloe pergilah ia dengan tiada dilihatnja lagi.

Djaksa dengan laskar berdirilah pada pintoe dengan toembaknja, laloe di boekanja pintoe
itoe dengan kampak.

Maka terkedjoetlah Erberfeld dengan temennja, laloe hendak melawan dengan kerisnja,
tetapi keris itoe terlaloe pendek melawan toembak itoe.

Lagipoen laskar itoe adalah banjak.
Maka semoeanja menjerahkan dirinja laloe dibelenggoe.

Maka oleh hiroe hara itoe didijagaken Sarina oleh iboenja,24 jang soedah mengantoeok dipangkoe iboena laloe lari ia pada bilik toewannya.

Maka serta dilihatnya bahoea toewannja terbloenggoe, maka bertreiak ia: “Ja toewan saia soedah bilang itoe pada patamoe, bahoea angkau aken hilang! Marika itoe aken bawa toewankoe dan apatah aken djadi dengan Sarina?”


Tiada toewankoe, tiada bapakoe! saia tiada meninggalkendikau, saia maoe menjertaaidikau sampea dipendjara. Saia maeo Djaga padapatamoe, maeo tinggal sertamoe, maeo matoe sertamoe kaloe haroes!

Tatkala itoe pergilih Sarina pada Djaksa, laloe moehoen padaanja dan boedjoek dengan roepa roepa boedjoeken aken bawa sama sama, tetapi angan25 djoega Djaksa aken perminta-an itoe welakin aer mata berlingan26 dimatanja.

Maka pangsanlah Sarina, laloe diangkat oleh Pieter Erberfeld laloe berkata serta menangis: “Sarina, Sarina! anak hatikoe, sembahjang boewat bapamoe. Angkau lah anakakoe perampooewan jang kekaisan toenggaal!

Hendaklah “Ilah memberkati dikau. Oemoer kami aken tiada bertemoe satoe dengan lain.

Maka ikoetilah ia pada Djaksa laloe dibawa ka pendjara dengan samoewa temennja lagi iboe Sarinah dimasoekkennja karna katoewi27 olehnja hal jang djahat itoe.

Maka dipariksailah hal Pieter Erberfeld dengan temennja bebrapa lamanja, maka pada boelan April dipoetoehes hal itoe dan samoewanja dihoekoemken aken mati di boenoe pada peri pedis sekali kali.

Maka pada 22 h.b. April 1722 hoekoeman itoe dijalken dan Pieter Erberfeld dengan Kartadria beserta 14 orang Djawa dan Bali, lagi 3 perempoewan piboene28 pada hari itoe.

Maka toeroet hoekoeman itoe di romboknja roemah Pieter Erberfeld, dan satoe tembok batoe dikerjaken koeliling kintainja.

Maka pada segala batoe itoe di masoekken soewatoe batoe batoe biroe besar, padaanja dioekirken perkata-an jang berikoet disini:

“Pada peringetan jang hina aken penjamoen29 Pieter Erberfeld, jang telah dihoekoemken, maka djangan barang sa-orang peroeshah barang peroeshan pada tempat ini sampea selama lamanja. Betawi 22 April tahoen 1722.

Maka sampei sekarang toelisian itoe adalah disana dalam bahasa Ollanda, Melaijoe dan Djawa dan kintai itoe tinggal kosong sadja.

Soenggoehpoen oleh hikajat ini, maka perkata-an toewan Isah telah dibenarken barang sa orang jang meninggalken dirinja, ia aken direndahken.”

Achirnja dikampoeng Mangga besar. Kamoedian dari satoe boelan hoekoeman itoe soeda djadi, maka berhimpoenlah bebrapa hadji iman dan lain orang Djawa pada saboeah pondok ketjil.

Maka moekanja adalah berdoeka dan sembanganghia ia tasbina.

Maka tatkala diboeka pintoe, maka lihatlah sa-orang jang mati dipikoel kloewar.

Itoelah majit Sarina jang mengasahi.

Jang mengasahi iboena dan mati bapanja30 karna doekanja.

Itoelah majit Sarina dibawa kakaramat.
Jang mengasihi bagitoe, berpoesakai slamat.

TAMAT

P.Bh.

Pieter Erberfeld.
Leader of an evil sworn association in Batavia.

On November 13, 1718 Hendrik Zwaardekroon was elevated as Governor-General in Betawi, thereby holding the reigns of government over all the people of the cities, all the forts and all the ships in the entire Hindia Ollanda [Dutch Indies]. Hendrik Zwaardekroon was quick moving, lighthearted, sharp of wit and 58 years of age when he received that great position. He was short, his hair was beginning to whiten, his behavior was sweet and his eyes were those of a fair and good person, who was liked by all the important people, who lived in Betawi. His reign was successful, as he had ended the war between the Radja Madoera and Radja Soerabaia, which had continued for several years. Additionally he defeated all the enemies of the Sultan Mataram, who had opposed him. But although the reign of toewan Zwaardekroon was good and successful, Betawi came to be in great danger under his reign. It is of this danger which I will tell here.

It was almost night on December 28, 1721, when a Javanese exited the new gate in Betawi; he passed the Jassan bridge, then the Portuguese church and headed to the streets of Jakatra. That Javanese was of noble birth, respectable appearance, medium height, and 30 years of age.

His forehead was high, and his hair covered with a batik-ed head cloth. His eyes were large and glowed but were shifty, giving the appearance of a tricky person. His nose was wide, short, and the lips of his mouth thick. His clothes were a white banian fastened with expensive diamond buttons, as well as a shirt with a nice design (with 19 golden buttons). His pants were of embroidered yellow silk (embroidered with gold thread) to his calves, tied with a green silk belt and half covered with a long batik cloth. On his right side was a keris with a kemuning wood handle and a gold sheath hanging from the wide leather belt decorated with gold leaf and fastened with two gold clasps. Several people escorted him and one person held an umbrella above his head. He walked to the end of Jakatra Road, at the place called “koeliptjah” [broken skin] up to the present. There he stopped at a house, then knocked on the door one time loudly and three times softly. The door was opened by a slave woman, who was confused about whether to open the door or not. The man said with a whispering voice “Why are you hesitating, Samita? Is toewan goesti at home?” Samita answered:

“I received orders Raden! ‘do not allow a single person to enter but I expect toewan Raden to be allowed to enter.’

My master is in the back of the house in the garden, if you go straight you will find my master there.” Raden went through the long hallway until he emerged from the main house where he found the master of the house. The master of the house was an old man, gap-toothed and his hair white, his face wasn’t handsome, indicating the mix of a half Javanese European.

He was walking around while thinking. His body was big and tall, his eyes showing trickiness and arrogant behavior. He only wore a shirt and pajama pants, a karpus on his head and very beautiful tjenela on his feet. He was Pieter Erberfeld. His father was a German and his mother a Javanese.

Pieter Erberfeld was very rich, so when the Company didn’t give him a position and even more when the merchant van der Schuur insulted him, because his behavior was not respectful enough to the Company, Pieter became very, very angry and vowed revenge on the Company for it.

For that reason he left Christianity, the religion of his father, then entered Islam in 1719.
On that particular evening, he met a young woman.

Raden greeted her, then went to the *toewan goesti*, while the woman followed him, then hid herself under a flowering hedge.

When Raden approached the *toewan goesti*, he bowed down, raising his hands to his forehead then said in a medium voice. “Salam moealaikoem *toewan goesti.*”

Pieter said. “Alaikoem Salam, Cartadrie! Is there any news?”

“There is no news *toewan goesti!* everything is already prepared like we discussed.”

“Good Raden! Praise to the name of Allah and his Prophet. And all the letters to the Sultan of Banten?”

“They have been taken already. Wangsa Suta left the day before yesterday, and he promised to return in three days so that he can help in the big affair.”

“So it’s your feeling that we can win?”

“Definitely, *toewan goesti!* Our power is great. Your servant with Madja Pragi with Laijca with Angsa Tsitra have already collected some 17,000 men. Thanks to your generosity and your large amount of money, the weapons are all complete.

*Toewan* knows that on New Year’s Day, all Christians will be celebrating and not on guard, so on that day we will defeat the castle and the city with great ease.

Just be a little patient, *toewan goesti!* in three days *toewan* will rule over this entire island, and in three days everyone will respect *toewan goesti* with appropriate respect.”

“But Raden! are you already truly determined to kill all the Dutch? the men as well as the elderly, as well as the women, as well as the children, don’t let one escape, from the Governor-General to the smallest servant, all must be eliminated. Mercy unknown, all are only unbelievers who Nabi Moehamad (may Allah bless Him) has condemned.

At that moment, don’t pity, Raden, close your ears to all the appeals and enticements. Allah and his Prophet will it and Moehamad (may Allah bless him) has punished all types of unbelievers with the blade of a sword, so we follow him.

Because of that, Raden! don’t have mercy, don’t........... don’t forgive, everyone must be killed until the river water is colored red with the blood of the unbelievers.”

P. Bh.

*(To be continued)*

**Pieter Erberfeld.**

**Leader of an evil sworn association in Batavia.**

“Toewan Goesti, I will even swear by our prophet that not a single person will . . . .”

Suddenly he was surprised and was quiet because he heard sounds of a trumpet and sounds of carriage and many horses moving quickly.

“What is that, *toewan goesti*?” he asked trembling.

“It’s nothing, Raden, don’t be afraid, it’s the Governor-General who’s going to his garden in Jakatra.

Farewell on your final journey, oh big man! Everyone will listen to me. It is unfortunate, Cartadrie, that we are not able to see the blue mountains, so that I could point out to you all the land which I will grant to you.

I will be in the castle and in the city and you in all the surrounding lands.

When we have victory, we will send a message to the Sultan of Mataram and to other governments, so that they all will ally with me.
Pieter Erberfeld: Leader of an Evil Sworn Association

The kingdom of Jakatra which was destroyed by those unbelievers will be rebuilt as well but a new type of a Sultan will rule to rule there, because of me who was humiliated. I who am rich enough to buy half of the island of Java.

I, Pieter Erberfeld, will govern there.

It’s not without reason that I have thrown away the cross and accepted Islam, it’s not without reason that I have decided that my time has come, the time of my revenge, the time of the death of all Christians!!! But enough already! It is Magrib (6 O’clock prayers), the sun has almost entered the sea. Please come with me into my chamber. Goeroe Hadji Abas is there as well, he will pray for us; we can express everything so that our plan will not come to naught.

Both of them went inside.

When the two men had gone inside, the young girl got up from underneath the flowers, then looked around with fear and apprehension.

Her tears were flowing.

The girl was 17 years of age, her shirt was short and white, with a flowery skirt [kain].

She shook her head, then said in her heart “Oh Allah!! what will happen if that evil plan is fulfilled. How arrogant is fa . . . . . . . . my master? How cruel is that old man?”

While she was considering this a male slave came up to her, a youth of twenty years of age who was in love with her.

At that moment the man’s eyes were ablaze and every action showed his anger and rage.

He said: “Sarina! did you hear that?”

“What, Alie?”

“What else are you asking? Didn’t you sit under the hedge and hear everything?”

“I didn’t hear anything at all, Alie!”

“You didn’t hear? Don’t lie, Sarina! You know everything, I know that as well, I was hidden behind that tree.

That criminal! he believes that he will become the Toewan Besari! He believes that he will slaughter all the Christians!! He wants to get revenge and my revenge is almost here.

Listen, Sarina! I love you, I want to marry you, you know that.

Wasn’t it your desire that I ask master to marry you?

But how did he respond? ‘As long as she lives, Sarina will not marry a slave.’

He beat me, I crawled on the ground and kissed his feet then begged . . . . . . . . he stomped on me, he wanted to kill me.

My entire soul demands revenge. Maybe he will try to humiliate you, but I will guard against that happening, I will frustrate his evil plan, now is a good time. I’m going to run away.”

Shaking, Sarina held him, saying: “Be patient, Alie, be patient a little, you know I love you and want to be your wife but, but you didn’t wait for a good time when you asked master. Also if you ask over and over perhaps master will grant it.”

Alie responded: “Choose now, Sarina! Choose and become my wife.”

“It’s impossible, Alie, except by the will of my master!”

“Run, Sarina, the world is bigger than Betawi. In Bantam we can find protection.”

“I can’t, beloved Alie. There is a relationship which is not clear to many people. Listen, Alie, I want to tell you clearly. You know that Sesoombar is my mother but my father is not known. From when I was small my master has cared for me as his own child.
If I was sick, master would watch over me, if I was untroubled then master would play with me. Master has never been angry with me. Always good and nice as well.

Whatever I ask for I get.

Then I repay that by running away?

No, Ali. Although I am a favorite child at home and Pieter Erberfeld is my master, I love him as my father, and I can not marry you against his wishes. I will beg him, I will try to persuade him to listen to Ali.”

At that point Ali’s rage was so extremely strong that his behavior became like a crazy person, he screamed: “No, Sarina! I can’t delay again. You will give yourself to your master or your father? Ali ran with passion.

Sarina also then ran to the chamber of her master, and she went in and collapsed into the arms of her master. Erberfeld embraced her then said: “What is it, Sarinah? Why are you crying, beloved child.”

“Master!” moaned Sarinah, “I know your plan and Ali knows it as well. He heard it below the tree; he is following his anger because master would not give me to him in marriage, run my master, run so that you all will not be obliterated.”

“Strengthen your heart, Sarinah, don’t be afraid, Ali doesn’t know that, he didn’t hear anything, and even if he knows, who will believe him? Everyone knows that I am a good person.”

“Don’t expect that, my master, my father, listen to your daughter and abandon that evil plan and run! Run to the end of the earth!”

Erberfeld coaxed her to calm her heart while saying: “We can’t, darling Sarinah, no one can trouble me, my power is great [and] no one can oppose me.

Thousands of soldiers are prepared to protect me.

Don’t be afraid, Sarinah, no slave will be allowed to marry you. I love you and like me you will get great respect.

In three days, Sarinah, you will get a part of my grandeur and glory.

I can’t go back anymore, things are too far along.”

Sarinah left in tears.

That very evening, around 10 O’clock, when dinner was over and all the guests had left, Governor-General Zwaardekroon stood up in his room in the palace, on the side of Jakatra Road.

His left hand rested on the rock-crystal table, and in his right hand was a opened message sent secretly from Banten.

The message written in Arab script made his heart sad.

When he had placed the letter on the table he lifted his right hand to his testa⁵ then looked up while saying: “Oh God! Must it become more difficult? Isn’t this entire government heavy enough already? Will Betawi eventually be exterminated?”

Then he folded his hands and prayed: “My Father, my father! If it be possible, let this cup pass from me!”

He took the letter in his hand. Just then there was a knock at the door: “Enter” said the Toewan Besar.

The assistant entered saying: “If your excellency consents to receive prosecutor Kroese, he would like to bring information to you.”

“Mr. Prosecutor please come in!”
Pieter Erberfeld: Leader of an Evil Sworn Association

The prosecutor entered saying: "Thousands of pardons because I came at this hour to your excellency, but I just received knowledge of an evil association opposing the government."

"I know that, prosecutor. You are speaking of Pieter Elberfeld's conspiracy, right? Look here is a message from the Sultan of Bantam.

P.Bh.

(To be continued).

Pieter Erberfeld.

Leader of an evil sworn association in Batavia.

We don't yet know the role of the Sultan in this evil matter, but I feel that he intended to absolve himself with this letter.

Who reported this matter to you, prosecutor?"

"Just an hour ago a slave of Mr. Erberfeld came to me. The name of the slave is Alie who was given a hard time by his master and who reported to me a discussion between a Javanese named Cartadria and his master that he had heard.

According to the statements of those two men, on New Year's Day they will kill the Governor-General along with all Christians on the island of Java, then will found a kingdom of Islamic people.

I have already summoned all the soldiers and ordered them to surround the house of Pieter Erberfeld so that no one can go in or out of there.

I am now waiting to see my lord.

"Prosecutor!! Why so slow! My order is not necessary in this matter. Go immediately and do what needs to be done. Quickly arrest all those evil people. Don't be afraid!"

The prosecutor left quickly.

Initially at the house of Pieter Erberfeld there were 12 members of the evil association gathered; Akgsa, Tsitra, Saijea and Madja Praga were there as well.

Additionally, Wanggsa Soeta had just arrived and brought good news from the Sultan of Bantam. That encouraged them all.

It's true that Sarina's story had worried people. However Erberfeld, Cartadria and Hadji Abas had already readied them, so when good news from Bantam arrived they were all cheered up, determined that indeed on January 1, 1722 the killing would be done.

It began at 10:30 when there was a soft knock at the door of the chamber, where all the aforementioned people were gathered.

After a moment the door was opened and Ali stood at a distance pointing to the chamber with a sour face, then he left and was not seen again.

The prosecutor with his soldiers stood up at the door with their spears, then opened the door with axes.

Erberfeld and his friends were surprised, then tried to fight using their keris, but the keris were too short to oppose the spears.

Additionally, there were many soldiers.

They all surrendered then were put in chains.

Because of the ruckus, Sarina, who had fallen asleep on her mother's slap, was awoken by her mother, then ran to the chamber of her master.
When she saw that her master was in irons she screamed: "Toewan, I told you that you will be lost! They will take my master and what will happen to Sarina?"

Erberfeld went to her, then said: "Sarina! don’t be alarmed! Be strong! That is Allah’s wish. Go and leave me be."

“No, my master, my father! I will not leave you, I want to go along with you to jail. I want to guard you, to stay with you, to die with you if necessary!”

At that time Sarina went to the prosecutor, then begged him and tried various persuasions to [have them] take[n] together, but the prosecutor was unwilling [to accede] to that request although tears were welling up in her eyes.

Sarina fainted, then was lifted up by Pieter Erberfeld who then said while crying: "Sarina, Sarina! Child of my heart, pray for your father. You are my only loving4 daughter!

May Allah bless you. For the rest of our lives, we shall never meet.

He followed the prosecutor then was taken to jail with all his conspirators and Sarinah’s mother who was put into jail because she knew about the evil affair.

Pieter Erberfeld and his fellow conspirators were interrogated for a period, then in April a decision was made on the matter and all were sentenced to die by a very painful execution.

On the 22nd of April 1722 the sentence was executed and Pieter Erberfeld and Kartadria along with 14 other Javanese and Balinese, including 3 women, were killed on that day.

In accordance with the sentence, Pieter Erberfeld’s home was demolished, and a stone wall built encircling the property.

On the stones was placed a large blue stone upon which was carved the following words:

"In contemptible memory of the rebel Pieter Elberfeld, who has been sentenced, so no one shall build any building on this spot for all eternity. Betawi, April 22 of the year 1722."

Up to the present, that writing has been there in Dutch, Malay and Javanese and that property remains empty.

Truly this story verifies the words of toewan Jesus that “a person who forgets himself, will be disgraced.”

Finally in the neighborhood of Mangga Besar. One month following the completion of the sentence, a number of religious leaders and other Javanese gathered in a small house.

Their faces were mourning and praying with their prayer beads.

When the door was opened, a dead person was seen being carried out.

It was the corpse of the loving Sarina.

Who loved her mother and father and died because of her sorrow.

The corpse of Sarina was brought to the grave.

He who loves in that way, will inherit salvation.

THE END

1 Possibly a typo for melintasih (to cross, pass through).
2 Perhaps a typo, with the correct word being adatnya.
3 Perhaps what is meant here is (d)ialah kadapetan barang sa-orang perampoeuan moeda, as based on the next sentence, Raden did meet a young woman.
4 Completely unclear word.
5 The subject and object of this verb seem to be reversed, since it is unlikely the sentence would refer to Christians punishing Mohamad, and that meaning would fit neither the next paragraph nor Ritter’s version (1843: 59-60).

6 The final parts of the following lines are missing in the original microfilm due to a damaged original newspaper. This word is probably *menetoep* or another form of the same verb.

7 Probably *boedjoekan*.

8 Probably *Moehamad* based on the 1843 text, the context, and the space available.

9 Probably *menghilang-ken* (cause to disappear or exterminate) or *mehoekoem-ken* (sentence or punish).

10 Perhaps *pedang, baik* or *pedang, maka*.

11 This is particularly hard to reconstruct, since the 1843 version merely states “no mercy! - no excuses!” (geene genade! - geene verschooning! -) while the 1889 Malay version uses three parts and a verb form instead of the noun form of the 1843 version.

12 Based on the space and the first letter being a “b” or “h,” *biarlah* or *hingga* are possible.

13 Probably *diwarnaken* (colored).

14 Probably *orang* (person/people).

15 *Sajang* (unfortunately) is clearly what is meant here.

16 Probably a typo for *bersatoean* (to be allied with).

17 Probably *katalah* (said).

18 Probably *merajap* (to crawl).

19 This word makes little sense here and is probably the wrong word. Unfortunately, it is difficult to speculate concerning the correct word or a correct interpretation of this phrase. Perhaps it could be something like *kesempatan* (opportunity) or *koetika* (time). The 1843 text used “time” in this context.

20 The duplication may be a typo.

21 The meaning of *disemboehnja* is unclear, however, it could be related to the word *sembunyi* (hide) or *semboenjek* (hidden), which might suggest a secret shipment.

22 *Berlakoe ataskoe* could be a typo for *berlakoe ataskoe* indicating “going into effect on me.”

23 This word is unclear as only the first four letters are legible (*tjow*), while the final one to two letters are not. Judging from the context, it is a type of cup; *tjowan* or more properly *tjawan* (a Chinese teacup) is the most likely word.

24 This phrase is hard to interpret because it seems to have two subjects (*hiroe hara* and *iboenja*). The 1843 version states that Sarina was awakened by the rukus. Here a reader might conceivably interpret *didjagaken* as “to be guarded” by her mother.

25 Probably *enggan* (unwilling).

26 Perhaps *berlinang* is either the intended word, or the modern equivalent.

27 *Dikatahoei*.

28 *Diboenoeh*.

29 Literally bandit or robber, but from this context, rebel.

30 Presumably this is a mistake in the typesetting, and the correct phrase is *Jang mengasihi iboenja dan bapanja dan mati karna doekanja*.

31 It is unclear whether the author intended to refer to only the residents of Batavia (which was by far the largest VOC controlled town) or more generally to the residents of the other VOC posts.

32 Based on W. L. Ritter’s 1843 Dutch text, what the author probably meant was *djalan dari Jakatra* (the road from Jakatra) or *djalan Jakatra* (Jakatra Road). I have translated what was written, not what was meant.

33 *Banian* may be a Javanese word related to traders or might refer to Indians from the Banian caste, however judging from the context and the 1843 text this must refer to a white singlet or sleeveless underservet.

34 *Badjoe tjita* could also mean a print cotton, but based on the context and the 1843 text, this must refer to a *badjoe sikep*, a jacket indicating readiness for duty.
P. Bh. writes dipandji-pandji as if it were a verb, which he then parenthetically explains as if it meant “to be embroidered.” According to S. Prawiroadmojo (1989), in Javanese panji-panji means “celana (hitam, biru) dilutut diberi berkancing (seperti celana Napoleon sekarang)” [pants (black, blue) given buttons on the knees (like blue jeans now)].

Kajoe kemoeing is a type of yellow wood, while pengen mafatan seems to refer to the type of handle.

Tertjiri seems literally to mean “distinctive,” while the 1843 Dutch version uses an unambiguous term meaning “toothless.”

A conical cap.

A type of embroidered slippers or sandals.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC).

Possibly karna with the meaning of “for our sake.”

In view of some of the apparently “reversed” subject-object pairs earlier, it is unclear whether this phrase means that he was in love with her, or whether she was in love with him. In terms of the story, it is clear that the feeling is mutual, however, this sentence depicts only one direction.

Based on the 1843 text, this should be “forehead” (dahi elsewhere in this text). Testanja might be a typo.

Loving or loved.