
SPELL OF THE REBEL, MONUMENTAL APPREHENSIONS: JAPANESE DISCOURSES ON PIETER ERBERVELD¹

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During the final 220 years of colonial rule in Indonesia, there was a monument in Batavia which more than any other displayed to the public the horrific futility of betraying authority: The Head of Pieter Erberveld. The wall-like monument was graced with a plastered skull impaled upon a metal spike, and decorated with inscriptions intended to perpetuate the enraged feelings of the Dutch towards the

¹ I would like to thank Benedict Anderson, Marc Goldstein, Deborah Homsher, Kochi Kaoru, Moriyama Mikihiro, and Mariko Tamanoi for their helpful comments on various drafts. I also would like to thank Didi Kwartanada and Goto Ken'ichi for providing copies of a number of important materials. Finally I would like to express special appreciation to Brad Horton, who went through many drafts carefully; without his patience and comments, this paper would not have made it to publication.

Because of the frequent provision of an English title for Japanese language publications, square brackets are used to denote that the translation is mine, while parentheses denote that the English language title was provided in the original publication. All other Japanese language translations are mine, except where an English language original is cited. Japanese names follow Japanese style with the family name first and given name second, except in cases where Japanese authors wrote their own names in the Western style.

Erberveld rebellion. Pieter Erberveld was the son of a wealthy German father and a Siamese mother who lived in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Batavia. As a Eurasian, Erberveld had reportedly been close to the local population. Upon the death of his father he was to receive a large inheritance, however a large block of land from the inheritance was confiscated by the VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, Dutch East Indies Company), supposedly due to incomplete documents. He appealed the decision, but in 1709 the case was closed. Embittered and feeling further alienated from the Dutch authorities, Pieter Erberveld and his Javanese friends plotted a rebellion against the VOC. On New Years Day in 1722, they prepared to annihilate all the Dutch in Batavia, but the plan was leaked to the authorities, who arrested, tried, and executed Erberveld.²

Following this incident, presumably after April 14, 1722, the Dutch authorities erected a monument commemorating the revolt. The monument spoke not only to the European population, but also to other populations, with the hope that displaying the fate of the rebel would prevent another uprising. This strategy seems to have been effective. With the partial exception of the 1740 rebellion and slaughter of the Chinese, a result of local European paranoia, there were no more revolts against the Dutch in the Batavia area. However, while authorities in Indonesia—both individuals and institutions—changed over time, the monument was seemingly eternal and attracted observers who did not share the previous authority's influence. This was even more the case from the mid-nineteenth century, as the Netherlands Indies became a center of transit between Asia and Europe, especially after the Suez Canal was opened in 1869. Visitors of quite different backgrounds—residents, sojourners and tourists—would have then possibly been exposed to the monument.

Japanese visitors and residents in the Netherlands Indies also came to be one of the audiences for the monument and showed a great interest in it. Commemorative display for the spirits of the dead, even the commemoration of someone who had been beheaded, was not entirely unfamiliar to Japanese,³ which may have encouraged them to visit the site. Apparently even the Japanese military personnel who ruled Indonesia during World War II found Pieter Erberveld's head memorable. Their concern was illustrated by a mission soon after the Japanese defeat of the Netherlands Indies armed forces. On April 28, 1942, about a month and a half after the Dutch capitulation and just one day before Shōwa Emperor's birthday (*Tenchōsetsu*), the Japanese military newspaper *Unabara* [Ocean] reported the decision to demolish the Pieter Erberveld monument.

² Adolf Heuken, *Historical Sites of Jakarta* (Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 1982), p. 81; Nagazumi Akira, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha* [The Netherlands East Indies Company], *Sekai shi kenkyū sōsho* no. 6 (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppansha, 1971), p. 156; Susan Abeyaskere, *Jakarta: A History*, rev. ed. (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 21.

³ The most famous example is that of Taira no Masakado, a regional lord of Shimōsaku (currently Ibaragi Prefecture northeast of Tokyo) and scion of an important elite family. His activities resulted in his being declared a rebel by the rulers in Kyoto, and in his declaring himself the "new emperor." An expedition was sent against him, and he was killed in 940 AD. After his severed head was shown in Kyoto, it supposedly rocketed back to the Tokyo area in a flash of light, whereupon darkness set in for several days. As a result, a shrine was created to calm his spirit. This shrine has been carefully maintained to this day and was undisturbed even by the construction of surrounding office buildings.

**Eradication of the Mementoes of Oppression:
The Jacatra Head is also Going to be Removed**

The military has decided to start the process of eliminating the commemorative monuments of the former Netherlands-Indies government. These monuments include the famous Jacatra Head monument, the Aceh War monument, and so forth, which were evil commemorations of the Netherlands-Indies suppression of native nationalist movements. This decision derived from the military's warm consideration, which aims to erase one page of dark history from natives' minds.⁴

The monument was evidently demolished on the day of a removal ceremony. Taketomi Tomio, a noncommissioned army officer who was one of the spectators, later remembered that

[T]here was a notice which urgently requested participation of people from each military unit in the "Jacatra Head" removal ceremony. Since I had an active curiosity, three of us decided to go to see it after receiving permission from the head of our unit. . . . The Dutch kept the severed head on the top of the wall to teach Indonesians the consequences of insurgency against colonial policy. It was the famous "Jacatra Head." It was a symbolic figure of Dutch colonial policy and would be removed by the hand of the Japanese military. Hundreds of residents and soldiers thronged to see the real skull inside of the monument. The commander of a military unit raised a hammer against it. Then the plaster was destroyed and scattered on the cobblestones just below the monument. I rushed to the place to see it, yet there was no skull, though it was supposed to have been inside. I was deeply disappointed to know that it was a fake figure, artificially created by the Dutch. The Indonesian spectators were surprised on seeing it, and all laughed at it.⁵

The weekly Indonesian language magazine, *Pandji Poestaka*, published by the government publishing house Balai Poestaka, also included pictures of the monument in its special issue commemorating the first anniversary of the Japanese victory on Java on March 9, 1943 (see left-hand side of Figure 1).⁶ The picture in the upper-right corner

⁴ *Unabara* no. 42, April 28, 1942. *Unabara* was published by the Unabara Shinbunsha [Unabara Newspaper Company] and the Propaganda Section of the Japanese Sixteenth Army (Java). Initially, it was called *Sekidōhō* [Equator Report], but on April 3, 1942 the name was changed to *Unabara*. *Unabara* ran until December 8, 1942, when *Jawa Shinbun* [Java Newspaper] took over. These newspapers were written in Japanese, and the earlier two newspapers specifically targeted Japanese soldiers.

⁵ Hayashi Eidai, [*Kiki gaki*] *Taketomi Tomio-den yakōbana* [Interviews and Correspondence: A Biography of Taketomi Tomio—Nocturnal Scented Flower] (Tokyo: San'yō Shuppansha, 2000), pp. 76-77. My appreciation to Ōmura Tetsuo, an *Asahi Newspaper* journalist, for introducing me to Taketomi's memoir following presentation of an earlier draft of this paper at the Tokyo Indonesian Studies Circle on July 29, 2001, and later kindly sending me a copy.

⁶ *Pandji Poestaka* 2603, no. 9/10 (March 9, 1943). Special thanks are due to Didi Kwartanada for finding this item. The fact that Balai Poestaka was a government institution and that *Pandji Poestaka* had been published since 1923, yet in that time had apparently never published pictures or stories about Erbeveld, is important in considering the significance of the photograph. This periodical was a weekly publication until the end of 1943, when it became a biweekly. From March 15, 1945, *Pandji Poestaka* changed its name to *Indonesia Merdeka* (Independent Indonesia).

was a traditional grim photograph of the monument, while the main picture showed the monument with its head wrapped in white cloth and the inscription covered by a Japanese flag, all surrounded by flower bouquets with Japanese language dedication plaques. The caption indicated that the Indo-German, Pieter Erberveld, was finally receiving appropriate respect. It is quite plausible that this picture might have been taken at the time of the removal ceremony.

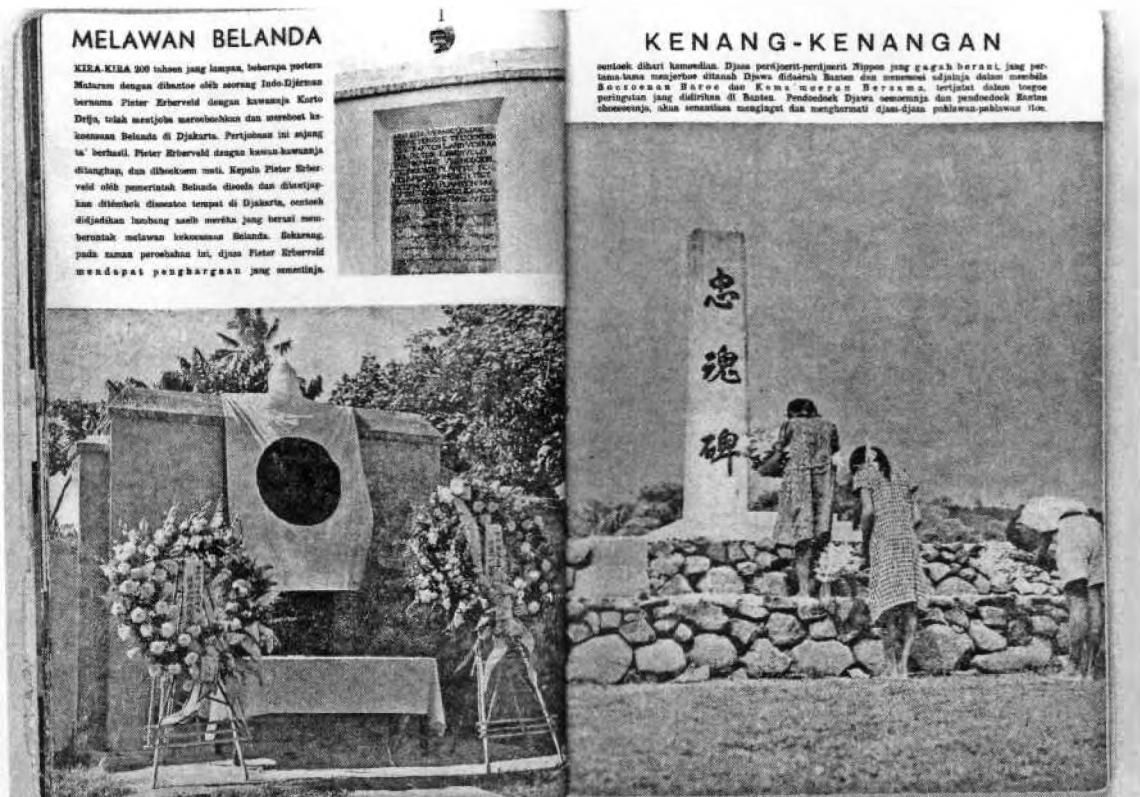


Figure 1: *Pandji Poestaka*, no. 9/10 (March 9, 2603 [1943]).

A military administrator, Saitō Shizuo,⁷ similarly reported in his memoir that “[t]he first mission after entering the city of Batavia was to confiscate houses and buildings which were expected to be used by the Japanese military. . . . Also, another job that we

⁷ Saitō Shizuo had worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but was drafted in the summer of 1941. On January 2, 1942, he departed Tokyo for Java, where he worked as the Chief of the Bureau of Political Affairs in the Department of Military Administration. During a critical period in Indonesian history, he was the Japanese ambassador to Indonesia (1964-1966). During the initial United Nations vote regarding the Indonesian invasion of East Timor on December 11, 1975, he was the Japanese ambassador to the United Nations, and “vigorously lobbied in support of the Indonesian invasion (of East Timor) as a legitimate action.” When Saitō published his memoir, he was working as the president of a foreign news agency in Tokyo. Saitō Shizuo, *Watashi no gunseiki: Indoneshia dokuritsu zenya* [My Memories of Military Administration: The Eve of Indonesian Independence] (Tokyo: Jawa Gunseiki kankōkai, 1977), pp. 10-16; Toyama Kaoru, “Nihon-Indoneshia yuchaku kankei to Higashi Chimōru mondai” [Adherent Relationship between Japan and Indonesia, and the East Timor Problem] in *Chīsana shima no ōkina sensō* [Big War on a Small Island], ed. Amnesty International Japan Office (Tokyo: Dai-san Shokan, 1989), p. 80.

had to do immediately was to demolish the Pieter Erberveld Head Monument near Kota (the center of Old Batavia which became a Chinatown).” In discussing the demolition, he wrote “fortunately or unfortunately, the monument was already destroyed when we entered Batavia. The skull was reported to be not real.”⁸

Although information pertaining to the demolition and existence of the monument is not entirely consistent, these documents and memories establish that the memorial was razed around the beginning of the Japanese Occupation. More importantly, each of these tidbits indicates a Japanese military fascination with Pieter Erberveld’s Head. In fact, the enchantment of other Japanese with the Pieter Erberveld monument can be observed in other times as well. The poet Kaneko Mitsuharu was certainly one of these, as he published a poem on Pieter Erberveld twenty years after his first encounter with the memorial. Japanese historians of Indonesia have also repeatedly found it important to present Pieter Erberveld to their readers.⁹

Monuments are signs of historical events and often convey the intentions or desires of authorities and function to control society.¹⁰ Some authorities show their power and prestige through representations of themselves, while others illustrate their “successful” governance with figures that metaphorically represent a particular event or affair. Monuments can thus be considered “a mode of political communication,” “a type of speech,” and a way “of mediating between particular types of pasts and futures.”¹¹ To a certain extent, monuments do both control and communicate with the people who live in that social and political environment. However, a monument often remains for a long period of time, far beyond the duration of a particular power and its influence. Similarly, as time passes, the audience changes from the one which was originally targeted. The ways these spectators understand or impress their interpretations on the monuments can also be unexpected; some appreciate monuments as a persistent form of art or evidence of history, while others in observing the monument severely criticize the earlier, now defunct, authority. Thus, if there is a power in monuments, it involves more than merely subtly guiding people who share the same discourse as the authority who originally created the memorial. These varied apprehensions and other responses are reflected and predicated by the discourses prevalent in the societies of these spectators. The immortal monuments, though originally intended to help control society, obtain long-lasting respect for the regime that constructed them, and prolong control over subjugated groups, ironically provide

⁸ Saitō, *Watashi no Gunseiki*, pp. 45-46.

⁹ See for example, the translation of the Stapel and Eijkman textbook, Murakami Naojirō and Hara Tetsujirō, trans., *Ranryō Indo shi* [The History of Dutch Indies] (Tokyo: Toa kenkyūjo, 1942); Nagazumi, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha*; Gotō Ken’ichi, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia* [Showa Period Japan and Indonesia] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1986); and *Tōnan ajia o shiru jiten* (Encyclopedia of South East Asia) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), p. 47; and the discussion below.

¹⁰ The introduction to a popular Southeast Asian history textbook in the US illustrates this point well in discussing how a monument erected by the Spanish and intended to glorify God, Spain, and Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines had been altered by the US, and later the Philippines. David Joel Steinberg, ed., *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. ix.

¹¹ Benedict R. O’G. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 155, 174.

opportunities for the unexpected opinions and interpretations of “strangers” to be evoked and to simmer.

While not denying both important differences and changes in apprehension within the originally targeted audience, the native Indonesian, Chinese and Eurasian residents of Batavia, this paper will explore how a monument created under the authority of one society was apprehended by an audience of a significantly divergent cultural and historical background; that is, the transformation of interpretations of the Erbeveld monument by the Japanese newcomers who eventually superceded Dutch authority in the Indies. The paper also aims to analyze how understandings were generated in relation to the discourse and social atmosphere in metropolitan Japan and within the Japanese diasporic community of the Netherlands Indies. Furthermore, given the reciprocal relationship between social discourse and the comprehension of a monument, analysis of social understandings of that monument can lead to a deeper understanding of the culture of a given society. What were the motives or intentions of the new Japanese military authority in so urgently demolishing the Erbeveld Monument? How was the decision related to pre-war Japanese perceptions of the monument? What did the monument signify for its Japanese observers? In order to explore these points, an understanding of both metropolitan Japanese expansionism and the cultural history of Japanese diasporic community and Japanese tourists in the Netherlands East Indies is essential. Only then can the different interpretations and perspectives on Pieter Erbeveld, as well as their relationships with Japanese discourse and social sentiment, be addressed effectively.

Japanese-language studies of the Japanese southward advance or pre-war Japanese relationships with Indonesia have been limited in number and scope, while English-language studies are even rarer. Most studies have focused on political and economic aspects of history,¹² but have rarely focused on the history of popular cultures or actual lives of Japanese migrants. The lives of Karayuki-san (Japanese overseas prostitutes) have been portrayed by various authors,¹³ the histories of Japanese migrants have

¹² Goto Ken'ichi, *Showaki Nihon to Indoneshia*; Shimizu Hiroshi, “Dutch-Japanese Competition in the Shipping Trade on the Java-Japan Route in the Inter-war Period” *Southeast Asian Studies* 26,1 (June 1988); Mark R. Peattie, “Nanshin: The ‘Southward Advance,’ 1931-1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia,” in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996); Peter Post, “The Formation of the Pribumi Business Elite in Indonesia, 1930s-1940s,” in *Japan, Indonesia and the War: Myths and Realities*, ed. Peter Post and Elly Touwen-Bouwsmas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997). This is also the case for most of the studies in *The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia*, ed. Saya Shiraishi and Takashi Shiraishi (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1993).

¹³ Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan 8-ban shokan: teihen josei shi joshō* [Sandakan No. 8 Brothel: Introductory Chapter for a History of Women at the Bottom of a Society] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972); Morisaki Kazue, *Karayuki-san* [Japanese Overseas Prostitutes] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1976); Hiroshi Shimizu, “Rise and Fall of the Karayuki-san in the Netherlands Indies from the Late Nineteenth Century until the 1930s,” *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 26 (Summer 1992); Hiroshi Shimizu, “Karayuki-san and the Japanese Economic Advance into British Malaya, 1870-1920,” *Asian Studies Review* 20,3 (April 1997); James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1993).

received attention from Yano Tōru and Shimizu Hajime,¹⁴ and life histories of a few Japanese individuals who were consciously or unconsciously involved in Japanese politics in Southeast Asia have been carefully described by Gotō Ken'ichi.¹⁵ Nonetheless, there have been few systematic studies of individuals' psychology and behavior during contact with other societies, nor have many scholars explored the relationship between political practice and popular discourse in the field of Japan-Southeast Asian relationships. In the course of examining the interpretations of this monument, this study thus tries to add to our knowledge about the way of life and thoughts of Japanese who found themselves in Southeast Asia, and their cultural influence on political discourses.

The Evolution of Japanese Encounters and Interpretations of the Monument

From Migration to Diaspora Community

The period of the first records showing most intense Japanese fascination with the monument started around 1930, though a small but substantial number of Japanese had migrated to the Netherlands Indies much earlier. There is little documentation about these initial Japanese residents, and certainly we have no evidence to show that they were interested in this or any other monument.¹⁶ Japanese migration to Southeast Asia started in 1868 with the abolition of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the restoration of imperial rule. The majority of these early Japanese migrants to Southeast Asia were prostitutes, which was clearly the case for those in the Netherlands Indies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when some Japanese male migrants even made their living by working for the prostitutes.¹⁷ Besides prostitutes and their

¹⁴ Yano Tōru, *"Nanshin" no keifu* [Genealogy of Southward Advance], Chkūō shinsho 412 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1975); *Ajia Keizai Tokushū: Senzenki hōjin no Tōnan Ajia shinshutsu* (Asian Economy Special Issue: Prewar Japanese Advance into Southeast Asia), *Ajia Keizai* 26,3 (March 1985).

¹⁵ Gotō Ken'ichi, *Hi no umi no bohō: aru "Ajia shugōsha" no ruten to kiketsu* [A Gravestone in a Sea of Fire: The Vicissitudes and End of an "Asianist"] (Tokyo: Jijitsūshinsha, 1977); Gotō Ken'ichi, *Haraguchi Takejirō no shōgai: Nanpō chōsa no senku* [The Life of Hamaguchi Takejirō: Pioneer of Southward Research], Waseda jinbutsu sōsho 1 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1987); Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia* and the somewhat less effective English translation, *"Returning to Asia": Japan-Indonesia Relations 1930s-1942* (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shyosha, 1997); and Ken'ichi Goto, *Tensions of Empire: Japan and Southeast Asia in the Colonial and Postcolonial World* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003).

¹⁶ According to Yano Tōru, the lack of evidence of early migration can be attributed to Japanese administrative procedures for overseas travelers. In 1866, Japan waived the overseas travel ban and those who wished to study, had business, worked in foreign ships, or worked for foreigners could go overseas if they obtained the Tokugawa Shogunate endorsement seal. In spite of the regulation, "illegal" travelers regularly embarked without inspections until 1877, so that most people could travel without either a seal or a passport. Yano, *"Nanshin" no keifu*, pp. 31-33.

¹⁷ Irie Toraji, *Hōjin kaigai hatten shi* [The History of Japanese Overseas Development] (Tokyo: Imin Mondai Kenkyūkai, 1938), vol.1, p. 191. In comparison to the migrants who went to Southeast Asia, Japanese migrants to the United States and some other areas included a much larger percentage of men. For example, in 1868, forty-two people were sent to Guam to work for a German company, and 141 laborers were sent to Hawaii by an American agent, Van Lead. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ed., *Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabi shuyō bunsho* [Japanese Foreign Affairs Chronological Table and Major Archives] (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Rengō Kyōkai, 1955), p. 54.

associates, as early as 1874, during the early stages of the Aceh-Netherlands Indies war, a Japanese man was living in Aceh.¹⁸ In Batavia, evidence of an early Japanese resident, Gotō Sanefumi, can be found on a gravestone in Mangga Dua. This man is said to have owned a toy and grocery shop in the Noordwijk around 1888.¹⁹

In the first decade of the twentieth century, two regular ocean routes were established and residential restrictions were eliminated due to the 1894 decision (effective 1899) granting Japanese European legal status.²⁰ In 1902, the Java-China-Japan Line was created by a consortium of Dutch shipping companies which provided direct service once every four weeks beginning in 1903,²¹ but it was only in 1910 that a Japanese shipping company, *Nippon Yūsen*, or Japan Postal Shipping Company, also inaugurated regular monthly service between Japan and Java.²² In February 1909, a Japanese Consulate General was opened in Batavia,²³ contributing further to the Japan-Netherlands Indies links. During this period, the Japanese population in Batavia increased from 125 people (25 males and 100 females) in 1897,²⁴ to 780 people (344 males and 436 females) in 1909,²⁵ then to a total of 2422 people (1146 males and 1274

¹⁸ Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, p. 16.

¹⁹ Takei Jūrō, *Ranryō Indo o kataru* [Talk about the Netherlands Indies] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1935), pp. 332-337; Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, pp. 16-19; Irie Toraji, *Meiji nanshinron kō* [Survey on Meiji Period Southward Advance Studies] (Tokyo: Ide Shoten, 1943), pp. 209-210. Although Gotō was said to have opened the shop in the European district of Noordwijk around 1888, legally Japanese were not allowed to live in Noordwijk until the Japanese obtained European legal status in 1899. However, as Ann Stoler has suggested, Dutch legal descriptions and actual practices in racial matters might not be strictly equivalent in Java. Gotō's case may be one example. See Ann Laura Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

²⁰ This change was a result of the repeal of the unequal treaties between Japan and Western countries which granted special land concessions and extraterritoriality to certain of those nations. The change was also related to the new prestige Japan was gaining as a result of its military successes against China.

²¹ Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, p. 34; Hiroshi Shimizu, "Dutch-Japanese Competition in the Shipping Trade on the Java-Japan Route in the Inter-war Period," *Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū* (Southeast Asian Studies), 26,1 (June 1988): 4.

²² Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha, ed., *Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha 50-nen shi* [The Fifty Years History of Nippon Yūsen Corporation] (Tokyo: Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1935), p. 422.

²³ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ed., *Nihon gaikō nenpyō*, pp. 133 and 176.

²⁴ Irie, *Meiji nanshinron kō*, pp. 208, 283-284; Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, p. 18.

²⁵ Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kaigai kakuchi zairyū hon-hōjin shokugyōbetsu hyō* [Table of Overseas Japanese Populations by Occupation] (Tokyo: Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 1909). The most commonly cited statistic reporting the size of the Japanese community in 1909 is 614 Japanese (166 males and 488 females). This is supposedly the total Japanese population of the Netherlands Indies, while in Batavia itself there were only 92 Japanese people (22 males and 70 females) in June 1909. See, for example, Irie, *Meiji nanshinron kō*, pp. 283-284; Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, p. 18; and Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia*, p. 548. According to Irie (who first presented this number), this was the result of a population survey conducted in June 1909 by the newly established Japanese consulate in Batavia. This means that if statistics from both Irie and the Foreign Ministry are accurate (both of which probably originated from the Japanese consulate), 688 people migrated to Batavia in a six-months period. Given the figures for 1897, it seems likely that Irie's numbers are inaccurate.

females) in 1913.²⁶ This decade saw the first boom of Japanese migration to the Indies. In spite of the twenty-fold increase in the number of migrants and the wider pattern of residence, the majority were prostitutes and small shop owners who might not be able to afford to spend time and money for sightseeing, even locally. However more importantly, it is unclear whether the practice of sightseeing and especially visiting historical sites and monuments, even existed at this time.²⁷ Printed stories about Pieter Erberveld were already circulating to limited audiences in the Netherlands East Indies from 1843,²⁸ however most Japanese migrants would not have been likely to read publications in foreign languages like Dutch (1843-1938), Malay (1889, 1924), and English (1906), or to have asked local residents about local legends. Thus they might not have known of the monument.

The establishment of the Japanese Consulate-General in 1909 encouraged Japanese to travel and migrate to the Netherlands Indies, but in the same year, Governor-General A. W. F. Idenburg and the new Japanese Consulate-General Someya Shigeaki tried to pressure Japanese women to abandon prostitution. From the perspective of Japanese consular officials, prostitutes caused the Japanese to lose “first class nation prestige,” while for the Governor-General, it was shameful to have prostitutes in a Christian country.²⁹ During the 1910s, as a result of the efforts to eliminate Japanese prostitution, an effort which was led by the Japanese consulate, the gender ratio in the Japanese community began to shift. According to population surveys conducted by the Japanese consulates in the Netherlands Indies in June 1919, the male population in the Indies was 2,646, while the female population dropped to 1,465. Of the four hundred women on Java, 340 were listed as dependents, while of the sixty working women only fifteen were identified as prostitutes (*geigi*, *shōgi*, and *shakufu*). In Sumatra, however, only 321 women were listed as dependents, compared to 427 working women, of whom 251 belonged in the traditional prostitute categories.³⁰

²⁶ Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kaigai kakuchi zairyū hon-hōjin shokugyōbetsu hyō* [Table of Overseas Japanese Populations by Occupation] (Tokyo: Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 1913).

²⁷ Japanese “tourism” originated in pilgrimages to shrines and temples. The majority of Japanese in both the metropole and diaspora communities at that time might not have had a concept of tourism that involved traveling to view historical monuments or statues.

²⁸ William Bradley Horton, “Pieter Erberveld: The Modern Adventure of an Eighteenth-Century Indonesian Hero,” *Indonesia* 76 (October 2003).

²⁹ Irie Toraji, *Hōjin kaigai hatten shi*, vol. 2, p. 230. The legal abolition of *organized* prostitution in the Netherlands Indies took place in 1913, following a popular movement and legal reforms in the Dutch metropole. A more detailed discussion is in William Bradley Horton and Mayumi Yamamoto, “Comfort Women in Indonesia: Discourse, History, and Archives” (unpublished paper, 1999).

³⁰ Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kaigai kakuchi zairyū hon-hōjin shokugyōbetsu hyō* [Table of Overseas Japanese Populations by Occupation] (Tokyo: Bureau of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1919). With 153 women residing in Borneo and adjacent islands, Borneo also had a high proportion of prostitutes (twenty-two women). These numbers are based on self-declarations, and thus categories like “unemployed” could include significant numbers of women working as prostitutes; however, despite some uncertainties, these numbers still illustrate changes in demography. The continuing presence of self-declared prostitutes in these areas might be attributed not only to the areas’ geographical distance from Batavia, where Dutch and Japanese authorities were located and could be more vigilant, but also to conditions in other countries, as many prostitutes moved into the colony as a result of the anti-prostitution movement in Singapore. See Murayama Yoshitada, “Senzenki Orandaryō

Despite demographic changes, a diverse community did not develop, and most Japanese residents in this period were characterized as “drop-outs,” lower class, or “voiceless people” within Japanese society.³¹ Around this time, Japanese started to travel overseas, although most travel was not for pleasure, but rather for particular purposes, and temporary sojourners in the Indies were individuals of both socially elite and financially wealthy backgrounds. Despite the substantial gap between these two extremes of the Japanese social spectrum, the appearances and attitudes of both “drop-out” residents and elite travelers were rather similar because of their association with and mimicry of Westerners. Lower-class Japanese wore white Dutch colonial attire³² and followed Westerners’ lifestyles and manners in order to appear respectable and dignified, like Dutch colonials. Especially after the Japanese received “honorable white” status in the Netherlands Indies, they tried to be responsible and maintain the social reputations of the Japanese generally, or, perhaps more accurately, of the Japanese state in the diaspora.³³ Since the Japanese migrants concentrated on following western models to establish the respectability both of themselves as individuals and of their nation, they may have been preoccupied with becoming “honorable whites”; accordingly, it would not be surprising if their selection of tourist sites was influenced by European interests. Indeed, in this period, Japanese guidebooks on the Netherlands Indies apparently did not yet exist.

Elite travelers usually had social connections or a family network which included European elites, and there were indeed more Western elites than mass migrant Japanese in the Netherlands Indies. Naturally, the attitudes and attire of these Japanese elites were rather Westernized, and their perceptions tended to accord with the life of colonial elites. The Japanese publications on the Netherlands Indies in this period were mainly produced by these elite tourists. Despite the political awareness of these elites, their publications are mainly concerned with how people lived, their customs, and their traditional cultures of dance and music, much like in an anthropological survey. The politically charged figure of Pieter Erberveld was not discussed in publications of this period, which suggests the authors might not have even known of the monument. For instance, one of the earliest renowned travelogues promoting Japanese southward emigration, *Nangoku-ki* or *Travelogue of Southern Countries*, by Takekoshi Yosaburō, did

Higashi Indo ni okeru hōjin keizai shinshutsu no keitai: Shokugyōbetsu jinkō chōsa o chūshin to shite” (Patterns of Prewar Japanese Economic Advance into the Dutch East Indies: An Analysis Based on Consular Reports on Japanese Population in Southeast Asia), *Ajia Keizai* 26,3 (March 1985): 55.

³¹ Yano, “Nanshin” no keifu, p. 119. A similar image was still reproduced in 1940s despite the diversity of the Japanese population by that time. See, for example, the images of the Japanese migrants found in the work of the essayist and poet Takami Jun prior to visiting the Netherlands Indies. Takami Jun, *Ran’in no inshō* [Impressions of the Netherlands Indies] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1941), p. 75.

³² For the Japanese tourists to the Netherlands Indies, the sharp contrast in the color of clothes between the whites of the colonizing Europeans and dark colors of colonized Indonesians were seen as symbolically characteristic of European colonies.

³³ When Takami Jun first visited the Netherlands Indies, he was very surprised at the quite different treatment accorded to citizens of first-class nations and others at the immigration office—the place where foreigners first encountered Indies society. He speculated that the reasons why Japanese in the diaspora were well-mannered might be their own experiences as members of first-class nation, their appreciation of Japanese power as manifested by its establishment as a first-class nation, and their concern that Japan not lose its image as a prestigious nation. Takami, *Ran’in no inshō*, pp. 73-77.

even not mention the existence of the monument.³⁴ An Indies resident from 1906-1928 who worked as a journalist at various times in his life, Takei Jūrō, (alias Tenkai), did not discuss it in his 1935 book on the Indies.³⁵ Tsurumi Yūsuke also did not mention the Erbeveld monument in his 1917 Southeast Asia travel essay, which contained his scattered but curious views of the hotels, foods, and people, Europeans and locals, in Southeast Asia that he saw as a tourist.³⁶

Japanese mimicry of the European was motivated not only by a concern to appear presentable to Westerners, but was influenced as well by the perspectives of mass migrant and elite Japanese. Whereas in general Japanese views were close to Dutch perceptions, or at least reflected their careful observations of the Dutch, the Erbeveld monument was apparently not much discussed by Japanese tourists and residents. Japanese tourists were more interested in Indies lifestyles, and descriptions of such things often appeared in travel accounts: markets, maids and servants, service and decorations in hotels, the *rijsttafel* or Indies banquet, and the daily schedule of individuals. In addition, because tourism was a newly introduced form of leisure, the majority of Japanese tourists would have been fully dependent for their information upon the diasporic community, English guidebooks, or foreign tour guides and so as a result their activities were somewhat limited.³⁷

Expansion of the Business Community Towards World War II

The earliest descriptions of Pieter Erbeveld appeared in the late 1910s and 1920s, when Japanese business in the Netherlands Indies had expanded significantly as a result of wartime disruptions in the supply of European goods and also because of cheap shipping from Japan during World War I.³⁸ During this period, Japanese businessmen were sent from Japan and were resident for relatively long periods. It was at this time that the Erbeveld monument became an important sightseeing site for both Japanese residents and tourists, as evidenced by travel guidebooks and travel essays from this period. These newly arrived businessmen might have learned to enjoy

³⁴ Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Nangokuki* (Tokyo: Nitorisha, 1910).

³⁵ Takei, *Ranryō Indo o kataru*.

³⁶ Tsurumi Yūsuke, *Nan'yo yūki* [An Account of a South-seas Amusement Trip] (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Yubenkai Kōdansha, 1917). Tsurumi Yūsuke married a daughter of Count Gotō Shinpei. Gotō Shinpei was a former medical doctor who held important posts such as Chief of Civil Administration in the Taiwan Governor's Office, President of the Manchurian Railway Company, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mayor of Tokyo. Tsurumi went to Java two years after his marriage. Kitaoka Juitsu, *Yūjō no hito Tsurumi Yūsuke-sensei* [Man of Friendship, The Honorable Tsurumi Yūsuke] (Tokyo: Kitaoka Juitsu, 1975); Tsurumi Yūsuke, *Gotō Shinpei* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1965).

³⁷ Modern Japanese tourism began well into the early twentieth century. One of the earliest Japanese travel agencies, the Japan Tourist Bureau, was founded in 1907, receiving a new name, Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) in 1912. During its early years, JTB was a semi-government company that tried to encourage foreign tourism in Japan. JTB first began to sell overseas package tours in 1927, when it offered a trip to the Northwest coast of the United States. See Nihon kōtsū kōsha, ed., *Nihon kōtsū kōsha gojūnen shi* [A Fifty Year History of the Japan Tourist Bureau] (Tokyo: Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha, 1962), pp. 1-7, 124-125, and David Leheny, "'By Other Means': Tourism and Leisure as Politics in Pre-war Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal*, 3, 2 (2000): 171-186.

³⁸ Shimizu, "Dutch-Japanese Competition."

tourism, or long-time residents might have come to recognize the existence of the Erberveld monument and passed on that information. For example, Tokugawa Yoshichika, who became a consultant for the Malay Military Administration and the head of a museum, library, and botanic garden in Singapore during World War II, visited the Netherlands Indies in the 1920s. In Batavia, he was guided by a Japanese businessman working for the Mitsui Product Company.³⁹ Tokugawa discussed the monument impartially, describing it as a terrifying object for Indonesians because the Indonesian people still believed it demonstrated how the Dutch would exact revenge in the event of an uprising.⁴⁰ Another Japanese tourist attracted by the monument was Nagazumi Torahiko, the father of Nagazumi Akira, who visited it on the day of his arrival at Tanjung Priok (August 17, 1923).⁴¹

The reckless inaccuracy of information in many publications, however, showed that the knowledge of this monument was rather new or still trivialized among Japanese. For instance, a traveler's handbook aimed at the still new leisure travelers in Southeast Asia described Pieter Erberveld as a man of mixed Javanese and Chinese blood, which he certainly was not.⁴² This was published in 1919 during the boycott of Japanese products in China (and among the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia), imposed in response to Japan's Twenty-One Demands on China.⁴³ Such inaccuracies may have been influenced by Japanese relations with China, or by Japanese perceptions of the Javanese and Chinese as non-European races that had been repressed by the colonial powers, since no Dutch, Malay, or English version of the story of Pieter Erberveld contained a description of him as Chinese.

Around 1930, Japanese visitors' perceptions of the monument sharply changed, and Japanese tourists and residents became increasingly attracted by it. This trend continued, and Japanese obsession with the monument peaked at the outbreak of World War II. A 1929 guidebook aimed at Japanese immigrants to the Netherlands

³⁹ The Batavia office of Mitsui Products Company was established in 1909. Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonēshia*, p. 548; Jagatara tomo no kai, ed., *Jagatara kanwa: Ran'in jidai hōjin no kokuseki* [Jacatra Chat: Footprints of Japanese in the Netherlands Indies Period] (Tokyo: Jagatara Tomo no Kai, 1978), p. 330.

⁴⁰ Tokugawa Yoshichika, *Jagatara kiko* [Jacatra Travelogue], Chūō Kōron Bunko no. M126 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1980), pp. 90-92, 329. Originally published in 1931, the information provided by Tokugawa was relatively accurate in comparison with other contemporary descriptions of Pieter Erberveld and includes a photograph of his actual visit to the monument. Tokugawa stated that the stone wall tablet underneath the severed head was the wall of a palm oil factory.

⁴¹ A photograph of the monument and a brief note are included in a photo album documenting Nagazumi Torahiko's trip to Southeast Asia following graduation from Tokyo Imperial University. My appreciation to Goto Ken'ichi for sharing this information.

⁴² Koshimura Chōji, ed., *Nan'yō tokō sūchi* [Handbook for Southseas Travel] (Taipei: Nan'yō Kyōkai Taiwan Shibu, 1919), pp. 380-381. *Nan'yō* was a rather obscure concept for the Japanese until the end of World War II. In the late nineteenth century, when Japanese migration to southern areas was booming, *nanyō* included the west coast of the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Micronesia, as well as the region currently described as Southeast Asia. Shiga Shigetaka, *Nan'yō jiji* [Current Southseas] (Tokyo: Maruzen Shosha Shoten, 1889). For a detailed discussion of the concept of Southeast Asia, see Ishii Yoneo, "Tōnan Ajia chiiki ninshiki no ayumi" (Southeast Asian in the Japanese World View: A Historical Perspective), *Jōchi Ajia Gaku*, 7 (1989): 1-17.

⁴³ The Chinese boycott of Japanese products started as a reaction to the Japanese "Twenty-one Demands on China" in 1915.

Indies provides a good example. As one of the recommended sights in Batavia, the Erbeveld monument was listed along with the cannon “Si Jago,” the Museum of the Batavia Society, and the Pinang Gate of the old VOC fortress. The monument was described as follows:

The *memento mori* is located in a suburb of Batavia. About two hundred years ago, a powerful Eurasian man, Pieter Erbeveld, formed a confederation and plotted a rebellion. The rebellion was fiercely fought, however the fight was lost in the end. The rebellion was completely snuffed out, and the severed head of the leader Erbeveld, object of the Dutch people’s hatred, was embedded on the top of the gate of the hell. His head was pierced by a spearhead and covered with cement.

Below this, a condemnation was written in both the Dutch and Sundanese languages. In the old days, this might have had the effect of suppressing the natives, *yet in these days why is this inhuman memento mori still displayed to the public?*⁴⁴

An increase in the number of Japanese visitors to the Erbeveld monument is also indicated by contemporary travel journals and memoirs. For example, Shiotani Iwazō from the Research Section of the Taiwan Governor’s Office was the first Japanese to study at the Batavia Law School. He departed for Batavia in 1930, and his arrival was even reported in the local Japanese newspaper *Jawa Nippō* [Daily Java].⁴⁵ Through his initial contact with the Japanese diaspora community in Batavia, he was initiated in the ways of Batavia. On his first sightseeing trip, escorted by long-time Japanese community members like Aochi Washio, he visited Kota and the Erbeveld Head Monument (see Figure 2).⁴⁶

Fujisawa Masanori, another researcher who briefly visited the Netherlands Indies to observe the transportation system, also visited the monument, describing it as “the severed head (but concrete plastered) of the mixed-blood Pieter Erbeveld, who plotted independence, was arrested, and resisted until his death.” This was the only description of sightseeing in his travelogue, *Impressions of Java*.⁴⁷ The shift in the

⁴⁴ Miyashita Takuma, *Hōjin katsuyaku no Nan’yō* [Active Japanese Roles in Southeast Asia] (Tokyo: Okada Nichieidō, 1929), pp. 226-227. Emphasis added. Miyashita mistakenly believed that the inscription was in Sundanese instead of Javanese.

⁴⁵ *Jawa Nippō*, February 12, 1930.

⁴⁶ While it is not certain that Aochi was on this trip, it is likely, given the subsequent closeness of these two men and his repeated use of Aochi’s automobile for outings. Shiotani Iwazō, *Waga seishun no Batabia: Wakaki chōsaman no senzenki Indonēshia ryūgaku nikki* [Batavia of My Youth: The Diary of a Young Researcher’s Overseas Study in Prewar Indonesia] (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shuppansha, 1987), p. 34. Shiotani was sent by the Taiwan Governor’s Office at the recommendation of his supervisor, Haraguchi Takejirō, who by the beginning of World War II was believed to be a spy for the Dutch. Engaged in the hotel business from the 1920s, Aochi was prosecuted in the Dutch B/C-class war crimes tribunal in Batavia for “forced prostitution,” after which he died in a Dutch jail. Chaen Yoshio, ed., *BC-kyū senpan Oranda saiban shiryō* [Archival Data for the BC-Class Dutch War Tribunal Courts] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1992), p. 84; Philip R. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 179-180; Horton and Yamamoto, *Comfort Women in Indonesia*, pp. 26-28.

⁴⁷ Fujisawa Masanori, *Jawa no inshō* [Impressions of Java] (Okazaki, Aichi-ken: Nagata Insatsujo, 1933), p. 34.

Japanese reaction to the Erbeveld monument during this decade was not only apparent through the number of accounts and visitors to the monument, or the length of the descriptions in the travel essays, but also in the way that these individuals apprehended the memorial. Narratives critical toward the Netherlands Indies government, which had built and continued to maintain this monument, had begun to emerge.



Figure 2: Photograph taken by Shiotani Iwazo in 1930.
Courtesy of the Institute of Social Sciences, Waseda University.
The original photograph is now in the Waseda University Institute of Asia Pacific Studies.

The inception and escalation of Japanese interest in the Erbeveld monument curiously echoed Japanese sentiment toward the West. Japanese relationships with and its opinions of the West dramatically changed during the late 1920s and 1930s; after striving to achieve modernization and a political alliance with Euro-American nations under the post-World War I system, the Japanese began to express more anti-Western

sentiments. The change was induced by Japanese reaction to Western criticism of expansionist Japanese ambitions and the domestic Japanese experiences during the period of 1920s Liberalism and Taishō democracy, with the subsequent promotion of anti-colonial sentiment.⁴⁸ These peculiar twin sources of anti-Western sentiment gradually encouraged the Japanese state to “escape” from the alternatives of complete isolation or capitulation to Western colonialism by introducing a third option, that the nation might turn its attention to Asia. At the same time, Asia functioned as an ideological “weapon” for Japan to use against Western colonizers, and later as ideological justification for its aggression in Western colonies of Southeast Asia. In this period, the conceptualization of the colonizer as the West and the colonized as Asia appeared in Japanese and non-Japanese Asianist discourse. Despite the fact that Japan possessed colonies in Taiwan, Korea, Micronesia, and controlled other areas like Manchuria, Japan’s own role as a colonial master was “forgotten,” and even her expansionist acts were perceived as constituting a fight against colonialism.⁴⁹

In this context, characterized by anti-Western sentiment and international isolation, on March 1, 1933 the Dai Ajia Kyōkai [Great Asia Society] was founded to promote Asianism with the slogan “returning to Asia.”⁵⁰ In the same year, the Aikokusha’s newsletter, *Aikoku Shinbun* [Patriot Newspaper], discussed the significance of the Southward advance for the first time.⁵¹ These coincidental events suggest that isolation and Western criticism of Japanese expansionism pushed Japan into the Asianist mode. Japan’s sudden promotion of Asianism worried Mohammad Hatta, the Indonesian nationalist leader who later became the nation’s first Vice President after independence. Hatta had visited Japan in 1933 and observed some of the changes taking place. He questioned whether Japan’s Asianism was generated as a result of the rejection of Japan by the Western community, of which Japan wished to be a member. He opined that Japan’s “fascist” Asianism differed from a pan-Asian ideology originating in respect for the equality of all Asian races.⁵²

⁴⁸ In 1931, the Japanese Army orchestrated the Mukden Incident to provide an excuse for the creation of an “independent” Manchukuo. The empowering of Japan’s military and the continuing aggression towards China resulted in increased criticisms from Western powers, which appeared in the condemnatory report of the League of Nations’ Lytton Commission. One practical and symbolic manifestation of Japan’s subsequent rejection of Western power and criticism was its March 1933 withdrawal from the League of Nations.

⁴⁹ Ideological liberals and leftists were concerned with the lower class and proletarians inside Japan and with the colonized populations in foreign colonies unrelated to Japan. However, most liberals and leftists were either naive or simply ignored the situation in the newly expanded colonial territories of Japan.

⁵⁰ *Dai Ajia shugi* [Great Asianism] (Tokyo: Dai Ajia Kyōkai, July 1933), p. 108; John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, “Imperial Japan: Democracy and Militarism,” in *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), p. 709; Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indoneshia*, p. 156; Peattie, “*Nanshin: The ‘Southward Advance,’*” p. 209.

⁵¹ Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indoneshia*, p. 240. The Aikokusha [Patriot Society] was founded in 1928 by Iwata Ainosuke. Iwata was said to be a “descendant” of the pioneer right-wing nationalists of Genyōsha, which had been founded by Tōyama Mitsuru. Aikokusha was organized with support from the mafia, politicians, and the military. Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indoneshia*, p. 237.

⁵² Mohammad Hatta, *Kumpulan Karangan*, vol. 2 (Jakarta: Balai Buku Indonesia), pp. 24-28. Special thanks to Gotō Ken’ichi for providing a copy of the original text. Similar opinions had already appeared in an

The slogan of “Asia for Asians,” as originally proclaimed by Sun Yat-sen, was anti-imperialist and had aimed to secure the autonomy of each society in Asia. In support of his proclamation, the first Asian Meeting was held in Japan in 1926 and the mood was generally anti-West, while designating Japan as a center for independence supporters.⁵³ Despite Asian expectations, Japan did not show any commitment to the agreement.⁵⁴ However, once Japan was politically isolated from the world powers and subject to their criticism, it turned to Western colonies in Asia and seized upon the Asianism doctrine. As Mohammad Hatta observed, in Japanese discourse, Sun Yat-sen’s proclamation was radically transformed into an Asianist doctrine which was effectively not much more than a new name for the previously existing Japanese expansionism. This doctrine appeared in the document announcing the establishment of Dai Ajia Kyōkai, which stated that “it is obvious that Asia is culturally, politically, economically, geographically, and racially one life-sharing community.”⁵⁵ The manifesto went on to state that the different parts of this single community had been pitted against each other so that the whole had broken apart, which was profitable to European nations that wished to exploit these separate pieces of Asia. “It is necessary to break this European-biased social mode and to reconstruct a new order in Asia. . . . [T]his task was given to Japan.”⁵⁶ In the context of Asianism, Manchuria was described as the last defense against Western expansion, and Manchukuo as the embodiment of the first step towards Asian unification. The Asianism of Japanese ultra-nationalists was indeed no different from their old-fashioned practice of expansionism.

The 1930s was also the period when the Japanese population in the Netherlands Indies peaked, maintaining a level consistently over six thousand Japanese residents (6,325 in 1930, 6,775 in 1931, 6,497 in 1936, and 6,485 in 1939).⁵⁷ As its population grew, the Japanese diasporic community also became more diverse. Some individuals were politically conscious, and among these some agreed with Asianism, while others were

article entitled “Japanese Great Asianism movement and Dutch Indies” in the Dutch-language newspaper *De Indische Courant* of May 6, 1933.

⁵³ Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ There were, however, individuals and organizations with long-term commitment. Toyama Mitsuru and Uchida Ryōhei were members of Genyōsha which advocated Asianism by and for the Emperor, and had already initiated contact with Asianists throughout Asia. The first meeting of Sun Yat-sen and Toyama Mitsuru took place in Nanjin through the introduction of Miyazaki Tōten who was an Asianist but not a member of Genyōsha. Another enlightened figure working for Asianism was Ōtani Kōzui, who coincidentally owned a house in the suburbs of Bandung (Java) in the early twentieth century. In addition to the Genyōsha, the Aikoku-sha and the Kokuryūkai [Amur Society] were also interested in Asianism.

⁵⁵ *Dai Ajia shugi*, p. 114.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

⁵⁷ The data for 1930 and 1931 was taken from Bureau of Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Kaigai kakuchi zairyū hon-hōjin jinkō hyō: Shōwa rokunen, jūgatsu tsuitachi genzai* [Table of Japanese Population in Each Overseas Area: Data as of October 1, 1931] (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1932), p. 18 and appendix table. Other figures were taken from Nan’yō dantai rengōkai, ed., *Dai 2-kai, Dai Nan’yō nenkan* [Number 2, Almanac of the Great Southseas] (Tokyo: Nan’yō dantai rengōkai, 1943), pp. 326-327. According to Gotō Ken’ichi, the Japanese population in the Netherlands Indies peaked in 1933 with 6,949 residents. Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia*, p. 10.

anti-imperialists who had escaped from the repressive atmosphere of Japan.⁵⁸ Long-term residents created further diversity. Unlike the situation during the initial period of exodus, when migrants blindly pursued status and dignity equivalent to the Europeans', this community now made up of newcomers from various social backgrounds and earlier generations of residents found inconsistencies and irony in colonial society due to their ambiguous status as legally white, but not really white. Furthermore, they critically observed Dutch attitudes toward racially non-white people. Despite their legal status as honorable whites (Europeans) in the Netherlands Indies, Japanese increasingly faced Dutch criticism of their business practices, which were suspected of involving espionage,⁵⁹ and encountered various restrictions and pressures to reduce Japanese trade with the Indies.⁶⁰ These conditions, compounded by the problematic relationship between Japan and Western countries, triggered the formation of an anti-Japanese atmosphere in the Netherlands Indies. Certainly the Japanese community felt this to be the case.

One incident was reported in the local Japanese language newspaper, *Tohindo Nippo* [East Indies Daily], on August 17, 1940. According to this report, on August 11 a farewell party for a Japanese elementary school principal had been held in the Indies Restaurant in Bandung, West Java. When one Japanese pointed out a mistake on the bill and discussed it with the restaurant cashier, thirty Dutch customers in the restaurant suddenly attacked the Japanese customers physically, reviling them as "Nazis" and "spies."⁶¹ This was not the first anti-Japanese incident in Bandung. According to a metropolitan newspaper, *Miyako Shinbun* [Miyako Newspaper], Dutch youths in Bandung yelled "expel the Japanese" at Japanese shops on May 10, 1940.⁶²

⁵⁸ The characteristics of the Japanese residents of this period, in contrast to those of the initial residents, have been discussed in Yano, "Nanshin" no keifu, and Goto, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia*. Assassinations and coup attempts led by the military and/or ultra-right-wing organizations continuously took place in metropolitan Japan during 1930-36. In 1932, about 1,500 socialists, communists, and union organizers were arrested for violation of the Maintenance of Public Order Act. In the same year, there was another wave of mass arrests, and several people were killed. Public statements and intellectual activities were also limited, and liberal professors started being dismissed in 1933. The violent repression of the thoughts and activities of liberals and leftists also intensified, while social diversity was muffled and reduced through the application of physical power and strict media censorship. A detailed discussion on Japanese censorship can be found in Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), especially chapters six and eight.

⁵⁹ The Netherlands Information Bureau, *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing in the Netherlands East Indies: Official Report of the Netherlands East Indies Government on Japanese Subversive Activities in the Archipelago During the Last Decade* (New York: The Netherlands Information Bureau, [1942]), pp. 21-22, 48-49.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Shimizu, "Dutch-Japanese Competition."

⁶¹ Local European residents of Bandung would have had little knowledge of actual Japanese activities, and the Japanese victims of this attack were almost certainly not "spies," but certainly the Indies government had been concerned about Japanese spies from at least the early 1920s. In fact, a small number of Japanese "spies" were formally or informally charged with collecting information or encouraging a more pro-Japanese stance by local communities, just as many European nations had their agents (spies) in Japan.

⁶² The fact that both took place in 1940 is probably no coincidence, since the Netherlands was attacked and occupied by Germany in May 1940. A report about that period is described Gotō, *Hi no umi no bohyō*, pp. 120-121. The conclusion of the Triple Alliance Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 27, 1940 certainly infuriated and scared the local Indies Dutch. While the alliance was largely directed against the Soviet Union, it also committed Japan to support Nazi Germany in exchange for a free hand in Asia. Thanks to Ben Anderson for bringing this to my attention.

Furthermore, the paper reported that on April 18, 1940, the Semarang branch of the fascistic Fatherland Club, of which the majority of members were Europeans and Eurasians born in the Indies, made a decision that Japanese were not their equals.⁶³

In this way, the diasporic Japanese community found itself increasingly distanced from the Dutch community and came to realize that this distance would never disappear. Likewise, this was a period of growing sophistication and intellectual strength in the Indonesian nationalist movement (and Dutch repression). As the schizophrenic Japanese diaspora community separated itself from “Whiteness,” it increasingly empathized with local nationalist movements.⁶⁴

In 1936, when militarism and Asianism permeated Japanese society, both the military and Asianists recognized the limitation of advancing to the north, while still recognizing the importance of Manchuria for protection against a possible Soviet southern advance. The Army, Navy, and the Hirota Kōki cabinet thus considered more “constructive” directions for Japanese expansion than the advance in China, such as the southward advance proposed by the Dai Ajia Kyōkai. The military and government also showed great interest in the south as a place where they might mount their defense strategies as outlined in the *Kokusaku no kijun* [the basis of state policy].⁶⁵ Despite these discussions, the embodiment of the Southward Advance in policy took place after the eruption of World War II in Europe in 1939. Thus, although a naval officer visited Indonesia for two weeks in 1935, expansionism-cum-mutated Asianism largely materialized after 1940.

In 1940, an Army officer, Lieutenant Colonel Nakayama Yasuto, who later became the Chief of General Affairs in the Department of Military Administration in Java, visited Indonesia for six months to conduct preparatory research about “the society and culture.” In the same year, Iwata Ainosuke, the founder of the Aikokusha, established the Kōa Kyōkai [Asia Development Association]. This organization was one of the most active in promoting the southward advance, helping to create other institutions dedicated to this goal.⁶⁶ One important example is the establishment of the Kōnan Gakuin, Nanpōgo Gakkō [Southern Development Institute, Southern Languages School] in September 1941, with Japanese who had recently returned from the diaspora to become teachers.⁶⁷ Japan’s interest in or attention to the South or the

⁶³ *Miyako Shinbun* [Miyako Newspaper], May 15, 1940.

⁶⁴ One piece of evidence showing the paranoia of the community is the tremendous population drop just before World War II. In 1939, the total Japanese population in the Netherlands Indies was 6,485, however just before the war the population dropped to 952, which was the largest reduction in Southeast Asia, including Australia. India also had a substantial drop from 500 to 134. Nan’yō dantai rengōkai, *Dai 2-kai, Dai Nan’yō nenkan*, p. 327.

⁶⁵ *Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai*, ed., *Taiheiyō Sensō shi 2: Nitchū Sensō 1* [History of Pacific War 2: Sino-Japanese War 1] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten 1971), pp. 235-237. “The basis of state policy” provided the general directions of future Japanese state defense policy. This guideline represents the first time that the Navy’s proposed southward advance was accepted by other institutions.

⁶⁶ Retired Army and Navy officers were listed among the primary members of this organization, with Lieutenant General Baron Kikuchi Takeo listed as chairman and Rear Admiral Sosa Kinya as one of the eight directors.

⁶⁷ One of the teachers, Ichiki Tatsuo, had been banned from entry into the Netherlands Indies due to Dutch suspicion that he was involved in espionage activities.

Netherlands East Indies appeared not only in isolated social groups, but also in the population at large. In 1940, the *Miyako Shinbun* published a week-long series of special reports, "A Look at the Current Situation of the Dutch East Indies." One of these described Indies European and Eurasian "nationalists," the NSB⁶⁸ and the Fatherlands Club. In the middle of this article, the picture of the Erbeveld monument was inserted and described in the caption as "the end of the life of a traitor" to the Netherlands government.⁶⁹

World War II

As described above, anti-Western sentiment in both the metropole and diaspora resulted from Japanese reactions to various forms of Western criticism as well as antagonism towards Western colonialism. These elements ironically provided justification for the military's long-time ambitions concerning territorial expansion and military empowerment under the guise of "helping" Asians free themselves from Western oppression. Once the Japanese military awoke to their interest in the region, the Japanese military advance into Southeast Asia certainly utilized contradictory discourses on Asia as Japan's "life-line" and on Japan's goal of "Asian independence." The first strand in the discourse revealed Japan's concern for its own material interests, while the other encouraged Asian autonomy. Such a contradictory discourse also influenced the way people apprehended the Erbeveld monument prior to World War II.

In 1941, in a tense moment close to the outbreak of World War II, one Japan-based journalist visited the monument and recorded his impressions of it.⁷⁰ This book was infused as well with his criticism of the Dutch Indies' government:

More than anything else I need to write about the famous sight of Batavia, the severed head of Jacatra . . . The wall underneath the monument carries the inscription that "in order to eternally commemorate the cursed rebel, Pieter Erbeveld, no one is allowed to build a house, or plant trees around this

⁶⁸ The Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (National Socialist Movement) was founded by Anton Adriaan Mussert in 1931. The NSB was a fascist party, and its members were commonly known as Dutch Nazis. In the Indies, its popularity increased dramatically during the Depression, but after the invasion of the Netherlands by Nazi Germany in May 1940, many members were interned.

⁶⁹ *Miyako Shinbun* August 17, 1940. According to the credits, these were translations of articles by Wilbur Burton published in the *New York Post*. Although I have been unable to locate the original, from the context—and the lack of discussion—it seems likely that at least the picture of the Erbeveld monument was added. Indeed, the loyal Eurasian community had asked that the monument be demolished during the 1930s, but the Dutch colonial government refused. C. R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in War and Peace 1602-1799: A Short History of the Dutch East-India Company* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979), pp. 67-68.

⁷⁰ Shibukawa Tamaki, *Kamera to pen Ran'in tōha kō: Jaba, Sumatora, Boruneo, Serebesu* [Camera and Fountain-pen Exploring the Dutch East Indies: Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes] (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1941), pp. 55-56. Shibukawa worked for one of the largest newspapers, *Yomiuri Shinbun*. During the war, he was the chief of the Southern Bureau which covered Ceram, Bali, and Burma. After the war, he was detained in a Singapore prison.

mansion."⁷¹ His house was torn down when he was executed. This order must have been faithfully kept. But if so, why did the banana and palm trees grow densely right at the side of the monument? It is immediately obvious that these plants have not aged since the rebellion was obliterated. I wonder whether nature bestowed the green plants to sympathize with his [Erberveld's] tragic life. Thinking about this, I looked at the wet cream-color plastered head. At the top of the head, the red-tarnished spearhead could be seen. Even after death, giving insult does not fit our sense [of proper behavior].

In Japanese metropolitan publications early in World War II, one finds not only strong criticism of the Dutch with respect to the Erberveld monument, but also a change in both the focus and length of descriptions of the memorial. The opinions about the monument and the ways of describing it no longer aimed at introducing tourist sights, but were more reflective of the monument's political functions in the context of the strongly militarist Japanese atmosphere.

Shortly before World War II, a literature writer, Yashi Setsuo, also traveled from the Malay Peninsula to the Pacific Islands via Indonesia, Australia, and New Zealand.⁷² His narrative on the Erberveld monument started:

Near the Pinang Gate, and the intersection of Jacatra Street and Gelderland Street, there was an antique-looking national treasure, the Portuguese church, which is said to have been built in 1693 and is now a municipal church, in which have been stored eccentric materials from the seventeenth century.

On the side of the stone wall, there is an awesome item. It is a severed head. More accurately, this is the world-famous Pieter Erberveld's Jacatra Head. Although his story is extremely famous, the story has not been well introduced in Japan, so I would like to describe it.

Pieter's father was a German merchant who immigrated from Westphalia, famous for the production of ham, to Java. He married a local woman and had six sons. He raised all of his children according to European-style discipline, yet the last child, who was born in 1663, was closer to his mother than his father, and happier to live as a Javanese than as a European. He sympathized with the disadvantaged colored race and was eager to sweep out the Dutch in any way possible and to revitalize this independent Asian nation. However, it was

⁷¹ The Dutch inscription reads:

Uyt een verfoeyelyke gedagtenisse teegen den gestraften land verraader Pieter Erberveld sal niemant vermoogen te deeser plaatse te bouwen, timmeren, metselen off planten, nu ofte ten eenigen daage. Batavia, den 24 April A^O. 1722.

As a detestable memory of the punished traitor Pieter Erberveld nobody shall now or ever be allowed to build, to carpenter, to lay bricks, or to plant in this place. Batavia, the 14th of April 1722.

The English translation is taken from Adolf Heuken, *Historical Sights of Jakarta*, 3rd ed. (Singapore: Times Books International, 1989).

⁷² Yashi Setsuo, *Nanpō fūbutsushi* [Ethnography of Southern Areas] (Tokyo: Shin Kōasha, August 1942), pp. 91-100. In addition to describing such places as Australia and New Zealand which he visited, he described being on a Dutch KPM ship from Java to Borneo which was confiscated by the Japanese after the Dutch surrendered.

impossible to carry out this plan himself, and he sent messengers to the kings in Central Java to communicate his intentions.⁷³

According to Yashi, the plot to massacre the Dutch was devised during many nights of secret meetings among the leaders. One night before the rebellion was to be carried out, Erberveld's adopted daughter, Miida, accidentally heard the rebels plotting when she tried to leave the house to meet her boyfriend, who was a Dutch military cadet. She decided to stay with her stepfather, but she wanted to let her Dutch boyfriend escape, so she sent a message suggesting he leave Batavia. However, when her boyfriend accused her of changing her mind and ceasing to love him, she could not stand it. In Yashi's words, "despite being separate [remaining close to her father], she wanted to show her unchanging devotion and her innocence. Despite thinking that she should not tell anyone about the plot, she passed the information to her boyfriend."⁷⁴ Her boyfriend appreciated her unwavering affection, however he reported Pieter Erberveld's plot to his superior.

In this cast of characters one has a passionate and prepared "semi-white" Asianist, Pieter Erberveld, and an innocent, faithful girl—or perhaps a colonial girl who betrays her adoptive father, but is faithful to Dutch officers, or rather to her Dutch boyfriend. The entire cast of Yashi's version of Pieter Erberveld's story was suitable to make Japanese readers empathize with Erberveld, and even to project themselves into the narratives. His story continues:

One hour before dawn—finally the day arrived to carry it out. The Independent Volunteer Army was awaiting orders at each strategic point in Batavia. At Pieter's headquarters, key officers gathered and were ecstatic that this was the day that Asia would return to them.

When the time had almost come and their excitement was at its peak, there was the sudden sound of gunshots echoing inside and outside of the headquarters. When a window was opened, there were Dutch soldiers surrounding every inch and it seemed as if there was no room for even the wind to go through, then all of a sudden a shower of gunshots was released. Even people who surrendered were immediately killed as traitors. Women in the house were also slaughtered. And, Miida was also said to be one of them.

...

On the top of the wall, where a classical Dutch-language message was pasted, a large nail was driven through the top of the head of Pieter. Today it receives a shower of dust from the street train that runs in front of the monument. This incident took place in the seventh year of Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune.⁷⁵

With such themes—this brief story advocates "Asia for Asians," illustrates aspirations for independence, and shows a "semi-white race" fighting for colonized Asians—Yashi's narrative enticed Japanese readers in 1941 to identify with Pieter

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 92-93. The word "disadvantaged" was stronger in the Japanese original, clearly connoting discrimination.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 99-100.

Erberveld. Furthermore, references to Japanese historical periods helps the Japanese imagine Erberveld's time and place.

In the same year, Pieter Erberveld was introduced not only to adult readers but also to children and adolescent readers through Koide Shōgo's memories of the Netherlands East Indies during his youth (see Figures 3A and 3B).⁷⁶ Koide stated that the purpose of this book was "to describe the nature of and feelings of my beloved Java, and to hope the new relationship between brothers of olden days will start from the bottom of the heart."⁷⁷ He continued saying that he "hope[d] our country's boys and girls will become familiar with them." Pieter Erberveld was then described in sections entitled "The Jacatra Head" and "The Islands of Mixed Blood." In these sections, Erberveld was not characterized as a traitor to the Dutch, but as a person who innately hated the Dutch.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Pieter Erberveld's story showed that the colonial situation was not simple as people normally imagined because the "mixed-blood" Erberveld, unlike many other "mixed bloods" who believed that the Dutch were the greatest race in the world and they thus were second greatest, had personally resisted the Dutch colonial regime.⁷⁹



Figure 3A: Cover of Koide Shōgo, *Yashi no Kokage*, published in 1941. The pastel-color illustration was done by Mikumo Shonosuke.

⁷⁶ Koide Shōgo, *Yashi no kokage* [Shade of the Palm Tree] (Tokyo: Kyoyosha, 1941). In addition to the pastel-colored cover illustrations, the book was liberally illustrated with small drawings and photographs, including of the Erberveld monument.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, introduction.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.



Figure 3B: Illustration inside the front and back covers of Koide Shōgo's *Yashi no Kokage*.

Another author who was conscripted as a writer during World War II, Takahashi Kazuyo, also wrote about Pieter Erberveld before he was dispatched to Indonesia. His book, *Sketches of Indonesia: Java Volume*, was published by the Patriot Newspaper Company in May 1942 (see Figure 4, below).⁸⁰ The book was not a travelogue, but resulted from his preparatory research. Reflecting the peak of militarist aspirations, he focused on Indonesian independence and Dutch colonial oppression in his book. The story of Pieter Erberveld and the monument were certainly suitable for conveying an understanding of the suffocating colonial situation to his Japanese readers. He portrayed Erberveld as a revolutionary fighter whose character appeared not only in the chapter on Erberveld but also in another chapter.

In the chapter entitled "Seventy Million Indonesians are Members of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," Takahashi stated that

. . . since our ancestors' land was invaded by White hands, how bitter have our ancestors felt and how much have they sacrificed in order to shake off these fetters. All Indonesians should recognize Erberveld's grief and excruciating pain, and dedicate today's happiness to his blazing patriotism and heroic spirit. And they should swear that the land of the ancestors will be never taken over by White hands again. The leader of the East Asian allies, Japan, is like a father or an elder brother; Indonesians should devote themselves to its instructions, and work for future prosperity.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Takahashi Kazuyo, *Indonesia no tenbyō: Jaba-hen* (Tokyo: Aikoku Shinbunsha, 1942).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

In this chapter, Takahashi used both “we” and “they” to refer to Indonesia. This shifting use of pronouns, which denoted a fluid boundary between Japan and Indonesia, and the inclusion and exclusion of Indonesians as members of Japanese society, often appeared in writings published during the Japanese Occupation period. This could be seen as an attempt to turn Asia into a single imagined community.



Figure 4. Cover page of Takahashi Kazuyo, *Indonesia no tenbyō*, published in 1941.
Courtesy of Waseda University Central Library.

In the chapter entitled “The Severed Erberveld Head,” Takahashi expressed the opinion that the story of Pieter Erberveld’s arrest was more touching than the monument itself.⁸² Later in the same chapter he states,

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

I think that seventy million Indonesians should live with and learn from his spirit. Since they could not do this, they have suffered from the brutal Dutch policy until today . . . I murmured, “Idiots / let be severed / the head of a noble-minded patriot,” and could not stop feeling furious towards Indonesians. I feel sorry that there has been no successor to the spirit of Erberveld following his death.⁸³

In the late 1930s, the period of Japan’s passage into World War II, the impressions and representations of Pieter Erberveld were drastically transformed: while the early 1930s “humanist critiques” had focused on the inhumane display of Erberveld’s skull by colonial authorities, the later characterization was as a heroic revolutionist.⁸⁴ Japanese apprehension moved from the monument as a brutal display to the life and characteristics of the individual of Pieter Erberveld. Their sympathy toward Erberveld and their antagonism toward the Netherlands Indies government slipped into sympathy, sorrow, and irritation toward the colonized Indonesians in the Netherlands Indies and opposition to the colonizing Dutch.

This trend in the narratives and images of Pieter Erberveld was clearest at the onset of World War II. In at least some of these publications, Erberveld was seen as a projection of the Japanese themselves. His racial ambivalence and heroic revolutionary image, which was set in opposition to images of the colonial whites, induced Japanese to draw parallels with their own ambivalent position as possessors of “honorable white” status and their belief in themselves as messiahs of Asian independence. The images and projections consequently provided the Japanese grounds to believe that their advance into Southeast Asia was heroic and revolutionary, similar to Erberveld’s behavior as they apprehended it. While the meanings of the monument to the Japanese had shifted over time—during the 1920s and early 1930s it reflected Japan’s own anti-Western sentiments, while immediately before and during wartime it was used to reinforce propaganda legitimizing Japanese military expansion—the Erberveld of the monument was certainly seen as the hero of an attempt to achieve independence. Japanese found legitimacy for their advance to Southeast Asia in part through their understandings of the Erberveld monument.

On March 7, 1942, the Netherlands Indies was forced to surrender by the Japanese 16th Army. The Army immediately issued its first order:

The Great Japanese Military attempts to develop the welfare of the East Indies people in general who are the same race and of the same origin, and at the same time, in accordance with the Great East Asia co-defense principle, it endeavors to ensure coexistence and co-prosperity with the local residents, thus for the time being it implements a military administration in the occupied territories of the

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 45-46. In the Japanese original, the “idiots” quote was in the form of a *haiku* poem: *Shishi no kubi / sarasarete oku / ahō kana*. Here it is subdivided for convenience, although the original did not need be so divided for it to be apparent to Japanese readers.

⁸⁴ This romantic view has retained some Japanese adherents. Long after the war, at least one contemporary Japanese historian has seen the monument as representing a nationalist figure; on the basis of racial background, this author found E. F. E. Douwes Dekker (Setiabudi) to be reminiscent of Pieter Erberveld. See Goto, *Showaki Nihon to Indonesia*, p. 404.

East Indies in order to establish security in the East Indies and swiftly to bring a peaceful and comfortable life to the people.⁸⁵

The Army then started restoring public security and social order, while simultaneously trying to convince the local population that the Japanese military's advance to the Netherlands Indies was for Indonesians' sake. In fact, prior to the advance to Java, the Japanese military had a vision their operation as "grasping people's hearts" in order to obtain substantial human resources through local cooperation with the Japanese military in establishing the Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere (a distorted form of Asianism). The propaganda section had even prepared to convince locals of the sincerity of Japanese support for Indonesian independence by bringing items such as records of the Indonesian national anthem *Indonesia Raya*, and the Indonesian National Flag.⁸⁶

While almost all of the military's earliest missions following the Dutch surrender were practical and dealt with concrete projects—for instance, setting up a new currency and a systematized telegram system—alongside these were more symbolic actions, such as the celebration of the Japanese emperor's birthday, *Tenchōsetsu*,⁸⁷ and the demolition of the Erbeveld monument. As mentioned earlier, the Japanese military newspaper described this operation as reflective of the Japanese military's "warm consideration" for Indonesians, demonstrated by their decision to help "eliminate one page of dark history."⁸⁸ However, the newspaper was written in Japanese and aimed at Japanese military personnel. If their decision to destroy the monument had indeed been for the Indonesian people, then clear reports of these objectives should have been disseminated to the Indonesian population through the propaganda section in order to make the operation more effective. This did not take place,⁸⁹ and the chief of the Propaganda Section, Lieutenant General Machida Keiji, did

⁸⁵ Dai Nihongun shireikan, *Fukoku daiichigō: Gunsei shūko ni kansuru ken* [Ordinance no. 1: Regarding the Application of Military Administration], (March 7, 1942). This first order was apparently prepared prior to the Japanese advance to Java and printed in Taiwan. This particular order was posted wherever the Japanese army went; most orders and regulations also appeared in newspapers.

⁸⁶ According to Lieutenant General Machida Keiji, Japanese authorities suddenly decided not to use these prepared flags and records during the initial occupation period. Kurasawa Aiko, *Nihon senryōka no Jawa nōson no hen'yo* [The Transformation of Agrarian Villages in Java under the Japanese Occupation] (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1992), p. 81. The flags were probably prepared in part to convince Japanese Asianists of the nobility of Japanese intentions, and partially as a preparation for the anticipated difficulties in invading Indonesia. Once the military had invaded, Asianist opinions were irrelevant, while the lack of substantial Dutch resistance meant that the Japanese did not need to make such concessions to Indonesian nationalists in order to win their support.

⁸⁷ The celebration of the emperor's birthday was prepared so that both the Japanese metropole and this military-occupied territory would celebrate at the same time and in the same way, thus producing the impression that the occupied region was an extension of the Japanese metropole. Japanese time was employed from March 27, 1942, and flags were hung on the street from April 1, 1942. Other monuments destroyed probably included the statue of Jan Pieterzoon Coen (built in 1878) and the Lion of Waterloo. Peter J. M. Nas, "Jakarta, City Full of Symbols: An Essay in Symbolic Ecology," *Sojourn* 7, 2 (Aug. 1992): 190.

⁸⁸ *Unabara*, April 28, 1942.

⁸⁹ One Japanese soldier, Taketomi Tomio, stated that "the news [of the demolition of the head] was immediately spread and became a hot topic throughout Indonesia." Hayashi Eidai, [*Kiki gaki*] *Taketomi Tomio-den yakōbana*, p. 77. However, the author does not describe how the news was disseminated to

not even find it important enough to mention the existence of Pieter Erberveld in his memoir.⁹⁰ Perhaps then the monument was destroyed for the sake of ideological consistency, that is because some Japanese leaders believed sincerely in their struggle for Asia.

It seems, however, that the Japanese military's eagerness to prove its warm consideration, as manifested in actions eliminating the "dark history of Indonesia," even if this motive had been conveyed to the Indonesian public, could not be a sufficient explanation for the demolition of the Erberveld memorial. Considering Japanese opinions and imaginations regarding the monument in the late 1930s, we can assume that Japanese identification with Pieter Erberveld might have led the Japanese military to think of the severed head of the Asian independence leader, Pieter Erberveld, as the severed head of the heroic Japanese-self, and thus this ominous monument might have required demolition before celebration of the Shōwa Emperor's birthday on April 29, 1942. Yet, whether the purpose was in fact to eliminate a page from the dark history of Indonesia or a reflection of their identification with the martyr whose head was impaled atop the monument, this act of demolition remains rather puzzling. The monument might have been useful to the Japanese in propaganda dwelling on the inhumane nature of Dutch/Western colonialism while reminding Indonesians of the heroic Pieter Erberveld and his similarity with the Japanese "liberators," as had repeatedly appeared in Japanese writings. Thus the motivation for demolishing the monument still requires further examination.

On July 13, 1929, the anarchist poet Kaneko Mitsuharu had arrived at the port of Tanjung Priok in Batavia. On the same day, he went to see the Pieter Erberveld monument.⁹¹ The date when Kaneko wrote his prose-poem is not as clear as the date of his visit to the monument. However, it is said to have been written sometime during his sojourn in Belgium in 1931 and first published in 1951. The poem did not appear during the period of strict Japanese military censorship in the 1930s and 1940s, nor during the 1945-1950 period, when American occupation authorities engaged in censorship to promote democracy and anti-communism.⁹² This long-silenced poem, a rough poem which in the original Japanese is exceedingly effective in conveying the smells, sounds, and scenery, as well as Kaneko's feelings, expressed an understanding of the monument which might open up further interpretations of the Japanese military's motivations in demolishing it.

Indonesians—and it is unclear how he would have even known this. In fact, Indonesian language publications were silent on the issue. *Asia Raya*, for example, commenced publication on April 29, 1942. Despite the fact that one day earlier *Unabara* had announced the destruction of the symbolic apparatus of the Netherlands Indies state, no similar reports appeared in *Asia Raya* during at least its first three months of publication. Brad Horton, personal communication, August 29, 2000.

⁹⁰ Machida Keiji, *Tatakau bunka butai* [Fighting Cultural Troops] (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1967).

⁹¹ Hara Masaji, *Jinbutsu shoshitaikei 15 Kaneko Mitsuharu* [Bibliography of Characters Series no. 15 Kaneko Mitsuharu] (Tokyo: Nichigai Associates, 1986), p. 13.

⁹² Just after World War II, the US occupation government was favorably inclined towards Japanese communists because they believed that Japanese communists were anti-emperor, and quite a few communist political prisoners were released during this time. Yet once the tension between the United States and Soviet Union increased, the communists and communism were repressed by the United States occupation government.

The Head of Erberveld⁹³

The main feature of Batavia is not the bronze statue of Governor-general Coen. Nor even the Victory Gate.⁹⁴ It is the head of Pieter Erberveld.

Indeed, there is no exhibit like this elsewhere.

The man named Pieter Erberveld was a genuine rebel. He was a cunning half-caste. Around the eighteenth century, he plotted to overthrow the Dutch government and to massacre the Dutch; as his plan was detected just before it was carried out, [Pieter Erberveld] was executed with the unlimited curses and hatred of the Dutch, and the head has been left exposed to the present day.

The head is pierced by a spear-point on the top of the stone-wall monument; the spear protrudes about one inch from the crown of the head toward the sky. Both the spear and the head (it has already mummified) have rusted together like one object and turned red like scrap iron.

On the surface of the thick stone wall, the meaning of the head was carefully inscribed in Dutch. The words are the worst, as if sun and moon had been called upon to cast their damning spells. Bringing stones to, building houses on, and cultivating the land around this spot were forbidden for all eternity, that message was also engraved. Presumably, even though against nature,⁹⁵ they [the Dutch] were afraid of misplacing the gibbeted head and having the curse be forgotten.

The head was located in a dreary section of Jacatra Street in Old Batavia; in front of it, a train runs from Old Batavia to Weltevreden (New Batavia). From the edge of the site, which happens to be barren, a palm grove extends, basking in the strong sunlight which, having torn it [the palm grove] up, romps around with violent desire.

In the old days, this debris-filled neighborhood was the center of Batavian prosperity, but severe epidemics caused many deaths,⁹⁶ and today building a house or a settlement nearby is considered abhorrent.

The head of Pieter Erberveld is indeed in an ideal location.

— I wonder why this is so solid. Was it rebuilt later? [I] asked the Javanese coachman.

— It might be plastered but it should be real, [he] replied. I had the coach pull closer, then brought my face close to Erberveld. Hollow cheeks, although it was clear that the skeleton was that of a towering man with high cheeks and a solid build. The entire area behind the wall was a thicket of dark banana plants, their ripped leaves hanging around the head in every direction like a ripped flag or a monk's clothes.

The ripped leaves were silently clasping each other in the sky, as if catching game. [I] felt horrifying bloodthirstiness filling up every inch of the area.

⁹³ Kaneko Mitsuharu, "Eruveruferuto no kubi" [The Head of Erberveld] in *Kaneko Mitsuharu shishū* [A Kaneko Mitsuharu Anthology] (Osaka: Sogensha, 1951), pp. 306-310.

⁹⁴ This is probably a reference to the Pinang Gate of the old castle, with statues of Mars and Minerva in front and the spiritually potent cannon, "Si Jago," nearby.

⁹⁵ Here what is meant is that banning normal activities like building and planting crops is against nature.

⁹⁶ Literally, "extermination."

Suddenly the leaves wrecked the breath-taking tension and burst out laughing with the sound of tapping on bones. It was the omen of an approaching storm.

The demolition of Pieter Erbeveld's head was said to be planned for the near future based on English advice, from the point of view that "it is inhumane and uncivilized." However, with the nationalist movement in the Netherlands Indies securely established, and the potential power of . . . strengthening today, the Dutch government's side might judge this head's propaganda value to be necessary for the future.

Or perhaps, this head itself may wish to observe the failure of his rebellion transformed into victory and is greatly annoyed about being removed.

As it was shrewd and armed, the Dutch government cornered the Mataram kingdom. They exhausted natives by using them as slaves in long periods of forced labor. With intimidation by the cane and jails, they sucked out the natives' blood to the last drop. During three hundred years of domination, Java has become a paradise for Dutch prosperity, while the natives' bodies and souls have been thoroughly ruined.

Departing from Batavia, Cirebon, Semarang, and going up to Surabaya, everywhere, I saw an endless chain of helpless, sluggish, and exhausted human beings. None of their hearts could hold joy.

It is because of being lazy and sly, and shortsightedly knowing only greed and anger.

If their hearts are still connected to hope at all, the only hope is found in the direction of the sacred land of Mecca. Islam has been the song for [comforting] their exhausted hearts. They escape there from reality. Their frail, vain lifelong desire is to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, to receive Haji status, and to wear a white Turkish cap. Their inducement for saving is also the cost of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The shrewd steamship company⁹⁷ provides a pilgrimage service every year and scrapes off most of the fruit of their entire lives' sweat and blood. I once read an article about hundreds of people suffering from an epidemic on the return trip caused by poor hygiene facilities.

They still have power to stand up by the blood of Islam. They are forming the union Serikat Buruh Indonesia to work toward their ideal of an Islamic kingdom. They still believe in the divinity of the Susunan (the god bridging heaven and earth; the royal family). The Dutch government has even, as a candy to suck on, bestowed the Susunan throne on Solo and the Islamic Sultanate on Yogya, then usurped the political power [of those royal houses] and granted the empty titles. Besides, above them the nihilism of smoky muzzles has always been open. For the sake of [Dutch] appearance and vanity in relation to foreign countries, and to deceive progressive natives, the educational door was opened, and native members of the House were elected. But this education is limited to technical areas, and the members' opinions have been virtually pieces of waste paper which are bundled up and thrown away. The Governor-general's government

⁹⁷ These were also Dutch companies, most importantly the KPM (Koninkilijk Paketraart Maatschappij, Royal Steamship Company). Kaneko took the KPM ship MIJR from Singapore to Batavia, a trip which lasted three days. Hara, *Jinbutsu shoshitaikei 15 Kaneko Mitsuharu*, p. 13.

serves nothing other than their greedy self-benefit. Their corrupt practice is righteous only for themselves, thus their existence in Java itself should have already been cursed. This can be easily understood even by a newborn baby. Driving them out, or for that purpose, even the massacre of all Dutch, [would constitute] justice for the Javanese. Despite this, communism seems still to be a gigantic nuisance machine which they cannot deal with.

The head of the rebel Erberveld is now clearly and continuously rebelling on the top of the wall. Even if justice does not support his ~~xxx~~ [rebellion],⁹⁸ his action should be deemed right primarily because it is a ~~xxx~~ [rebellion]. The beauty of the independent spirit that continues rebelling against the Susunan, Sultan, the Netherlands, communism, and all sorts of endlessly recurring taboos at that moment touched my heart, made my blood excited like a blooming flower, and went away. In fact, I heard the daring stormy breath of Erberveld.

The distant thunder has been rumbling. My coach hastily tries to rush down the deserted Jacatra Street. The sunlight inside the series of thick palm groves dimmed, reflected, and flashed light back as if it were a tense moment, with nearly exploding gunpowder settling in every corner of heaven and earth, or everywhere. Then, the lines of all the palm trees in the far distance, under the gray sky like piled sandbags, started simultaneously stuttering like a machine gun, like the lasting sad sounds of typing Braille points.

I closed my eyes and saw a picture in my mind. The emblem of the head pierced by the blade. Pieter Erberveld.

In the eyes of Kaneko, the Erberveld monument symbolized *the genuine rebel* who is eternally opposed to authority. Erberveld as a representative figure then spoke of revolt and violence. If Japanese military officials thought Pieter Erberveld was the symbol of insurgency against authority, and that the object of his symbolic resistance was not limited to white authority, it is possible that they indeed might have been concerned that they might be the future object of "the spell of Pieter Erberveld."

Further evidence of Japanese conceptions appears in Indonesian publications of this period. As mentioned earlier, to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the surrender of the Netherlands East Indies, the Indonesian language periodical *Pandji Poestaka* published a special issue with a picture of the monument. The opposite page presents a picture of two Indonesian children paying respect to the memorial to Japanese soldiers who died fighting in Banten.⁹⁹ In these two pictures, the Japanese were showing their respect to the rebel/hero of Indonesians on the one hand, and

⁹⁸ The first publication of this prose-poem (*sanbunshi*) appeared in the Sōgensha *Kaneko Mitsuharu shishū* on April 23, 1951, the year in which Japan concluded a peace treaty with the US and General MacArthur was relieved of his position as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. The poem appeared in censored form in this publication. It is unclear whether the censoring was related to the American democratization policy. However, in the version printed in *Kaneko Mitsuharu shishū* [A Kaneko Mitsuharu Anthology] (Tokyo: Hakuhōsha, 1968), the spaces where words were previously deleted by the censor are filled in with the word "rebellion" (*muhon*). This version was used by Nagazumi Akira in 1971 to describe the "stagnant atmosphere" of the colonial Netherlands Indies. Nagazumi, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha*, pp. 158-163.

⁹⁹ Coincidentally, Banten was the site of several important uprisings in the Netherlands East Indies (1888 and 1926).

Indonesians were showing their respect to martyred Japanese soldiers on the other. This set of pictures might represent the Japanese military authority's wish that Indonesians imagine the people of both their nations respecting each other, uniting in resistance to the ultimate enemy—Dutch and Western Imperialism—and thus moving forward to a greater shared future. However, once closely examined, it is clear that the elements captured in these pictures were not comparable to each other.

If, by publishing these anniversary photos, the military intended to create an imagined bridge and encourage respect between Japan and Indonesia, a question still remains. Why did they chose to feature the picture of Pieter Erberveld rather than acknowledge leaders of other native uprisings in the history of the Netherlands East Indies, such as Diponegoro or Surapati, for example. Pieter Erberveld was not “really” Indonesian, but Eurasian, nor he was a hero for the local population. Furthermore, most Indonesians probably did not know the story of Pieter Erberveld. Thus the message conveyed by *Pandji Poestaka's* photograph of the monument is ambivalent, while the meaning of the companion photo is quite clear: the tombstone-like beam inscribed in Japanese as “the Monument for the Faithful Spirits” (*Chūkōnhi*) certainly represented the Japanese soldiers. The meaning of the memorial and the ceremony featuring Indonesian children would have been apparent to both Japanese and Indonesians. Flowers were bestowed upon Pieter Erberveld, yet the name attached to one of the bouquets, “Shimoda,” did not belong to a significant officer, which makes the picture an “insignificant” commemoration by a Japanese military unit rather than a ceremonial commemoration directed by military authorities.¹⁰⁰ The unit might have just wanted to inform the spirit of Pieter Erberveld about the overthrow of the Dutch, an action that presumably would have satisfied Erberveld's greatest wish. However, even this picture was manipulated as if it were significant for Japanese military. Even more significant, this set of two pictures was more likely to have been meaningful to Japanese civilians and military than to the average Indonesian. These photos might then show the Japanese hope to quiet spirits of resentment: both the spirits of soldiers and the spirit of the rebel, Pieter Erberveld. After all, as the intuitive author Kaneko observed, the spirit might cast a spell on authorities. The Japanese military, a new authority in this land, thus would have commemorated Erberveld in order to satisfy his spirit and thus put a stop to the ongoing spell the traitor would otherwise direct against authority.¹⁰¹ At that time, authority was the Japanese military, and Japan itself.

¹⁰⁰ Lists and discussions of military units in Java during the first year do not mention Shimoda at all. See for example *Bōeichō bōei kenshūjō senshi shitsu, Senshi sōshō, Ran'in kōryaku sakusen* [Series of War History, The Strategies of Attacking the Dutch Indies] (Tokyo: Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1967); Hata Ikuhiko, ed., *Nihon Rikukaigun sōgō jiten* [The Japanese Army and Navy General Dictionary] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1991); Nihon kindaiishi shiryō kenkyūkai. ed., *Nihon Rikukaigun no seido, soshiki, jinji* [The System, Structure, and Personnel Affairs of the Japanese Army and Navy] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1971); Fukukawa Hideki, ed., *Nihon Rikukaigun jinmei jiten* [Japanese Army and Navy Biographical Dictionary] (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 1999); and *Nihon Rikukaigun shōkan jiten* [Encyclopedia of Japanese Army and Navy Officers] (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 2001).

¹⁰¹ The “efficacy” of such commemoration can be seen in the fact that the imperial family was able to move from Kyoto (1889) to a compound in Tokyo only hundreds of meters away from the shrine dedicated to calming the spirit of the decapitated rebel, Taira no Masakado. Similar ideas are present in contemporary Japanese support of the infamous Yasukuni Shrine dedicated to the spirits of those who died for the emperor.

Conclusion and Epilogue

Monuments are “visual condensations of significance [which] find their meanings shift, deepen, invert, or drain away with time. Since their audiences are necessarily fleeting and anonymous, context is all important, yet singularly problematic to the would-be interpreter.”¹⁰² The eighteenth-century VOC authorities in Batavia erected the monument with the purpose of preventing memories of the detestable traitor, Pieter Erberveld, from fading. Despite the initial intentions of this authority, various interpretations of the monument reflected the discourses and cultures of “fleeting and anonymous” audiences. The ways in which Japanese apprehended the Erberveld monument definitely evolved along with their cultural history: the memorial was transformed from a sightseeing spot to an inhumane object, and the man it memorialized from an iconic, perpetual rebel to an independence fighter.

Japanese interpretations or impressions were reflective of the cultures of each period and people’s lives. The Erberveld monument became popular as a sightseeing spot when Japanese obtained legal European status and became more able to spare the requisite time and money for leisure travel. During the period when the monument came to be recognized as an inhumane object, the Japanese diasporic community had already been well established and was less occupied with mimicking the European community. The subsequent interpretation of Erberveld as a genuine rebel was influenced by Japanese liberalism and leftists prevalent at the time. And finally, the apprehension of Pieter Erberveld as an independence fighter overlapped with Japan’s self-images during their movement towards World War II. There was indeed a great shift in meanings that deepened and ultimately inverted the initial intentions of the monument builders. However, the Erberveld monument itself was not the whole foundation for the monument–audience–interpretation dialogue; interpretations anchored interpretations, which then elicited reactions to the monument by a different authority, the Japanese military.

During World War II, Japanese military interpretations of Pieter Erberveld’s head—involving, as described above, “a dark page in history,” Japanese projection of themselves onto the monument, and reactions to a “genuine rebel”—may have generated new psychologies of empathy, shame or anger, and threat, respectively. These interpretations and psychologies, however, might not have emerged one by one, but came together in complicated and intertwined ways, as Japanese military ideologies combined with Asianism, expansionism, and anti-colonialism. We can perhaps conclude that this intertwined interpretation of and sentiment directed towards the Erberveld monument resulted in the determination to demolish it in the initial period following the Japanese invasion. For the new Japanese authority, the Erberveld monument became as important as the dominant Dutch colonial figure of the seventeenth century: Governor-general Jan Pieterzoon Coen.

After the monument was razed, Pieter Erberveld was reborn in Japan. But this time, he did not appear in the arena of travelogues or literature—which depended on personal encounters with his monument—but in academic discourse. It started with

¹⁰² Anderson, *Language and Power*, pp. 155-56.

the translations of Dutch scholars' works on the history of the Netherlands East Indies, which began to appear even before the invasion of the Indies. A larger number of translations concerning Japanese-occupied areas then appeared during World War II for Japanese who wished to better understand various aspects of the histories for political, economic, and cultural development work.¹⁰³ In 1942, two notable books appeared, including a Netherlands East Indies high-school textbook on the history of the Netherlands East Indies translated by historian Murakami Naojirō.¹⁰⁴ Murakami explained in his introduction that the book had been used at the European-style middle-schools (Mulo Schools) and European high-schools (Hoogere Burger School) in the Netherlands East Indies for more than twenty years. The purpose of this translation was not only to introduce the history of Netherlands East Indies, but more importantly to understand the Dutch authorities' way of governing society through the education system by framing the elites' understandings of the society. Murakami did not exactly follow the original, and he inserted pictures which had not appeared in the Dutch text into the first part of the Japanese translation. Significantly, the Erberveld monument appeared in the last of fourteen pictures and was located just before the introduction. The notable setting of the picture in the book and unconventional style of the monument in fact helped to maintain a memory of Pieter Erberveld among postwar specialists on Indonesia in Japan.

In 1971, with help of Kaneko Mitsuharu's impressionist prose-poem on Pieter Erberveld, Nagazumi Akira also reintroduced this historic rebel to Japanese postwar academic discourse through his seminal monograph, *Oranda higashi indo gaisha* [The Netherlands East Indies Company],¹⁰⁵ which has been reprinted several times.¹⁰⁶ Nagazumi chose the same picture of the Pieter Erberveld monument as Murakami had used, and also located the picture on the last page before the introduction. The only other pictures chosen by Nagazumi were of the city of Amsterdam, the city of Batavia, and the area of Hirado, which were the essential centers for the Dutch East Indies Company in Europe, the Netherlands East Indies, and Japan, respectively. Nagazumi's choice of a limited number of pictures and their order of presentation accords Pieter Erberveld an importance equal to that of the VOC's preeminent cities.

Nagazumi's survey of the history of Dutch East Indies Company tries to combine the Indonesian version of this history with a traditional survey of VOC history, which naturally adopted European perspectives due to the nature of historical sources and archival materials.¹⁰⁷ In a sense, Nagazumi's approach was similar to that of the Dutch textbook translated by Murakami, which had been originally aimed at elite school children in the Netherlands East Indies. However, two of Nagazumi's chapters

¹⁰³ For example, Nanpō chōsakai, trans., *Ran'in shi* [History of Dutch Indies] (Tokyo: Shunyōsha, 1942). The original manuscript was E. S. de Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, vol. 1 (Rotterdam: W. L. & J. Brusse, 1938). The description about Erbervelt was limited to four lines (p. 368).

¹⁰⁴ Murakami and Hara, trans., *Ranryō Indo shi*. The original textbook was A. J. Eijkman and F. W. Stapel, *Leerboek der Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië* [Textbook for the History of the Dutch Indies], 9th edition (Batavia: J. B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1939).

¹⁰⁵ Nagazumi, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha*, p. 5. Nagazumi stated that Kaneko's work was introduced by Nagata Hitoshi.

¹⁰⁶ The monograph was reprinted in 1973, 1983, and 2000.

¹⁰⁷ Nagazumi, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha*, p. 3.

differed significantly from Eijkman and Stapel's textbook: Chapter 4 on "Japanese Trading" and Chapter 6 on "The Plastered Head." Chapter 6 did not relate to Japan at all, but rather narrated the story of Erberveld, which made it unique compared with the rest of the chapters in his book. This chapter also dealt with the well-known Chinese uprising of the eighteenth century, but a full one-third of the chapter discussed Erberveld. Nagazumi, unlike the author of earlier Dutch textbook, did not discuss who had leaked information about the Pieter Erberveld plot to overthrow the government, but rather focused on the oppressive and stagnant atmosphere of eighteenth-century colonialism in the Netherlands East Indies.¹⁰⁸ Kaneko Mitsuharu's poem on Pieter Erberveld was used to evoke the colonial atmosphere prior to World War II. However, since the focus of the chapter was on the social situation in the eighteenth century, especially on popular insurrections, Nagazumi's effort to bring the immediate prewar period of colonial society into the picture seems almost intended to lead readers to see Dutch colonial oppression as an unchanging, ahistorical phenomenon.¹⁰⁹

Sometime after Indonesian independence in 1945, the monument to Pieter Erberveld was rebuilt.¹¹⁰ The fate of the original monument is usually described with words like "the Japanese destroyed the old monument during World War II."¹¹¹ Whether Saito's account was accurate or not, some authority chose to equip Erberveld with a replica of his original memorial, and the postindependence authorities in Indonesia have seen fit to preserve both the original inscription and the replica of the monument. How contemporary audiences apprehend this replica is unclear, and, as a matter of fact, a majority of Jakarta's current residents probably do not know of the monument or even Pieter Erberveld.

Postscript

One day in 1999, just another hot and muggy day Jakarta, I took a walk in *Taman Prasasti* where the replica of Erberveld's Head is currently on display. When I stepped into the park, my eyes immediately hunted for the Erberveld memorial. It was situated in the center of the Park, surrounded by Dutch gravestones. I tried to get closer, but my feet stuck in the muddy soil which was wet with morning dew. Someone suddenly called me. It was a park attendant. He kindly gave me mosquito repellent and told me how I could easily approach the Erberveld monument, pointing out the Dutch tombstones that the museum planners had creatively used as stepping stones leading around the park and to the monument.

¹⁰⁸ Murakami & Hara, *Ranryō*, p. 114; Nagazumi, *Oranda Higashi Indo Gaisha*, pp. 155-157.

¹⁰⁹ Similarly, ahistorical discussions on Pieter Erberveld also appeared in works by later Japanese historians like Gotō Ken'ichi (see details in footnote 80 in this paper). Gotō, *Shōwaki Nihon to Indonesia*, p. 404.

¹¹⁰ A replica of the monument is currently located in Museum Taman Prasasti (Epigraphic Park Museum) on Jl. Tanah Abang I in the former Kebon Jahe graveyard, while the original inscription stone was set into the rear garden wall and subsequently placed on its own in the garden of the Museum Fatahillah, located in the VOC administration building where the VOC's prisoners had been kept.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Heuken, *Historical Sites*, p. 82.

The Dutch created a “visual condensation” of their memories of the detested rebel who had challenged their authority. Nonetheless, despite or perhaps because of the nature of monuments as “visual condensations,” details of the monument were shaved off through the years and only the tension between authority and rebel remained. This tension would lead to further insurrections and, ultimately, revolution, yet who figured as authority and rebel, and what “rebel” and “authority” meant, changed. The Erbeveld monument was interpreted, represented, reinterpreted, and displayed as governments and discourses within this particular society altered over time. If Dutch authority tormented the detestable Pieter Erbeveld with its curse, the “spell” of Dutch authority was seemingly obliterated, overturned, and condemned. The “fate” of this authority—to be obliterated, overturned and condemned—was passed on to the Japanese military.

The setting of the park with its monuments and tombstones now seems to evoke almost naturally the image of Pieter Erbeveld as a special independence hero or at least as an anticolonial hero. This setting was created by Indonesian authorities who may have intended to memorialize their brave history of struggle for independence; the arrangement of Dutch tombstones as stepping stones even more effectively denigrates the previous Dutch regimes as they pass by the Erbeveld replica and graves of Miss Riboet and Soe Hok Gie. The images perceived by individuals of various backgrounds may occasionally coincide, but they are far less eternal than a stone monument or its replica. However, images do reoccur in some form as long as the stones stand, as the New Order government insured. And indeed, the spell might already have been inverted by the “genuine rebel” Pieter Erbeveld, and “the head of the rebel Erbeveld [might be] even now clearly and continuously rebelling on the top of the wall.”¹¹²

¹¹² Kaneko, “Eruveruferuto no kubi,” p. 309.