

Under Sundanese eyes

Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman's journey to Europe

ATEP KURNIA

ABSTRACT

This article examines the travel account written by Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman, the wife of a senior native official, the Regent of Meester Cornelis (Jatinegara), Raden Aria Abdoerachman, who, with his family, was sent at the expense of the colonial government to the Netherlands to study agricultural practices in 1928. The account shows the colonial subject's admiration for and mimicry of European behaviour and practices, but occasional ironic comments show her ambivalence towards some institutions in the Netherlands while at the same time she also criticises unfair representations of Indonesia.

KEYWORDS

Travel account, Sundanese, colonial subject, mimicry, ambivalence, Netherlands East Indies, Indonesia, the Netherlands.

ATEP KURNIA is a Bandung-based independent researcher. Most of his publications are concerned with Sundanese culture and literature. Among other writings, he has published *Jaman Woneng: Wabah sampar di Priangan, 1925-1937* (Garut / Bandung: Layung / ayo.bandung.com, 2020), *Kuris: vaksinasi cacar di tatar Sunda, 1778-1948* (Sumedang: Panti Baca Ceria, 2021), *Kopi dalam kebudayaan Sunda* (Garut: Layung, 2021), *Ama jurubasa; Biografi penerjemah Sunda dan Patih Sukabumi Raden Kartawinata, ca. 1852-1907* (Bandung: Unpad Press, 2021), and *Maenbal; Sejarah sepak bola di Bandung tahun 1900-1950* (Sumedang: Panti Baca Ceria, 2022). Atep Kurnia can be contacted at: atep.kurnia1979@gmail.com.

INTRODUCTION¹

*Lalampahan ka Eropa*² is an account written in Sundanese of a journey made to Europe by Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman (Figure 1), the wife of a senior native official who, accompanied by his family, had been sent at the expense of the colonial government to the Netherlands to study agricultural practices there in 1928. The author was active in the women's movement and although she wrote in Sundanese, she was ethnically Javanese. She graduated from the Indo-European school in Subang, West Java.



Figure 1. Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman. Photograph from *Lalampahan ka Eropa* (Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman 1930: v). (Courtesy of Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia).

Initially, the book was published in instalments between December 1928 and January 1930 in the Sundanese magazine *Parahiangan* and in its book form was published by Bale Poestaka in November 1930.

Lalampahan contains a wealth of fascinating material. In the first place it is the account of an actual journey to Europe by the ship, which took place over the course of a month and involved stopping at a number of ports, including Singapore, Medan, Sabang, Suez, Port Said, and Genoa. The journey was completed by travelling by train from Genoa to Lausanne, Geneva, Paris, and Rotterdam. As a result, the topic of this article differs from the theme of other articles published in this edition of *Wacana*, which is about travel account taken in Indonesia. The topic of this article is the travel of colonial subject to the countries that colonized them, specifically from the Netherlands East Indies to the Netherlands.

¹ I am grateful to Professor C.W. Watson for his encouragement and help in writing this article.

² Henceforward abbreviated as *Lalampahan*.

While visiting these various places, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman wrote about several phenomena new to her Sundanese readers, such as the existence of an elevator in Singapore, the Suez Canal, and the cold in the Mediterranean Sea. These things represented new knowledge for her readers. She made comparisons between all of these novel items and the conditions which she had observed in Java. In addition, wherever she stopped, she looked for ties with the Sundanese people there.

The most interesting aspect of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's account for readers today, aware of current debates about post-colonialism, is the decisions she has made about what to include in her descriptions and to what she thinks it is important to draw her readers' attention. Long descriptions devoted to educational institutions and what is regarded as exemplary practice are what seem to her most interesting and merit more detailed description than other matters. Perhaps this was because she intended to send her children to school in the Netherlands rather than just travelling with her husband.

In particular my intention in this article is to analyse how European behaviour and practices are viewed, under Sundanese eyes, through the gaze of a sympathetic colonial subject and how this perception is influenced by the customs and cultural presumptions that are ingrained in colonial power institutions, particularly educational institutions. At the same time, despite the admiration there is also a degree of autonomous reflection independent of a colonial perspective as reflected in Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's occasional ironical remarks and criticisms. My article begins with a brief biography of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, then it follows the publication her travel account to Europe, examines several noteworthy features, and finally concludes.

RADEN AJOE ABDOERACHMAN

A brief biography of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman (1885-1969) was published by Gunseikanbu³ (1944: 473). She was born on 31 October 1885, in Kertasemaya, Cirebon Regency, and attended a private primary school. Her involvement in associations included being a member of the board of directors of the Boedi Kemoelaaan⁴ (1927-1942), deputy chairwoman of the Boedi Kemoelaaan (March 1942), a board member of Kemadjoean Istri (1925-1941), a board member of the association of Kartini schools (1925-1943), and from 1943, being a chairwoman of Fujinkai Jakarta.⁵

³ Gunseikanbu was the Japanese Military Administrator's Department, which was founded on the island of Java by the sixteenth army forces on 8 August 1942, and in Malaya and Sumatra by the twenty-fifth army forces in August 1942 (Peter W. Post et al. 2010: xviii). According to Gunseikanbu, the inclusion of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman in the book was due to her involvement in the *Gerakan kaoem perempoean* (women's movement) (Gunseikanbu 1944: 5).

⁴ The association Boedi Kamoelaaan (Noble Wisdom) was an association that promoted care for native people and was the maternity hospital in Weltevreden, Batavia, whose activities began in 1919 (*Neratja* 126, 1-7-1919; Mrs. S.D. Habich-Veenhuijzen 1920: 85). This association had a new hospital in 1935 (*Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 20-5-1935).

⁵ According to Siti Fatimah (Post et al. 2010: 291), on 8 September 1943, the occupation government in Java announced its intention to create women's organization under its direct

In her autobiography (1965) Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman says that she is descended from Rembang family (Javanese) on her mother's side and an Acehnese family on her father's side.⁶ On 31 October 1885, or 21 Asura, she was born in the village of Kartesemaya, Indramayu, West Java. Subsequently, because her maternal grandfather, Amat Prawirodirdjo, was a civil servant who was posted to different places during his career, she frequently moved from home to home. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman was brought to Cipaku in 1890, which is near Gunung Putri and Gunung Sawal in the Ciamis Regency, West Java.

The Amat Prawirodirdjo⁷ family relocated once more in 1893, this time to the Buniseuri region, which is two kilometers from Cipaku, and lived in a house facing the Kawali-Ciamis road. Here, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman started to learn Sundanese at the house of Raden Wirakusumah, a pensioner, because her father had relocated her younger sibling to Karawang. She used to play with the granddaughter of Raden Kusumah.

According to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman:⁸

Di rumah itulah aku mulai belajar bahasa Sunda yang kasar dan halus, tata krama Sunda, sopan santun kata orang sekarang; bagaimana caranya orang muda memberi hormat kepada orang tua, kepada orang sepadan dan kepada orang-orang yang lebih rendah pangkatnya. Demikian pula tata tertib, budi bahasa dari kalangan rakyat ke atasnya.

'In that house, I started to learn coarse and refined Sundanese, Sundanese etiquette, modern manners people say now; how young people pay respect to their parents, peers, and those who are lower in rank. The same goes for rules and manners shown by ordinary people to those above them in rank.'

Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman was taken away from Telukagung in 1899 by her father, who was stationed at Subang. One of the reasons was because there were no schools in Telukagung, while in Subang there was De Indo-Europeesche School (Eurasian-European school), where she learned Dutch. When in 1901 her father was transferred to Karawang and her grandfather to Garawangi, Cirebon, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and her sister Roes had to go with her grandfather. She remained at Garawangi till she was 19 years old. Her father betrothed her to Raden Abdoerachman, a student of the Bogor

supervision, which would involve women in all segments of society in Java and Madura and on 3 November, which was the Japanese national holiday Meijisetsu, the occupation government officially launched the Fujinkai in the city of Jakarta, with its office at Jalan Gambir Timur No. 18. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman was appointed as the organization's first chairwoman during this ceremony.

⁶ Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's autobiography is discussed by Lisbeth Littrup (2000: 25) and cited by Asvi Warman Adam (2010: xii, xiv). Littrup states that she came across Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's autobiography while doing research in Leiden. She found the book already on microfilm in the KITLV library and considered it a family autobiography. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's writing is 46 pages long on paper typed by her niece in 1965.

⁷ Tini Sudewo (2000) edited a book on the background and family history of Amat Prawirodirdjo, or Ahmad Prawirodirdjo.

⁸ Abdurachman (1965).

Agricultural School. On 15 September 1905, she married in Dawuan. She was 20 years old at the time, and her spouse was 22. According to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, her husband, Raden Abdoerachman was a bright young man, a nationalist and an idealist. He was allegedly also in favour of women's emancipation.⁹

Raden Abdoerachman, who eventually rose to prominence as the first regent of Meester Cornelis (now Jatinegara),¹⁰ was born in Cianjur on 1 May 1884. On 16 June 1906, he started working for the colonial government in Klampok (Brebek) as *landbouwkundig mantri* (supervisor of agriculture) and was appointed as a clerk in the deputy of Bogor regent's office in April 1908. Following that, in succession, he was named as the head of Pasawahan (1909), Plered (Karawang), and Dawuan (1912) sub-district. In August 1913, he was appointed *adjunct hoofddjaksa* (assistant of public prosecutor) in the Batavia court.

Abdoerachman was assigned to Karawang in 1916 to serve as a temporary officer for the head of Sindangkasih district after attending Batavia's *bestuursschool* (civil servant school) between September 1914 and September 1916. He was appointed as the head district in the Batavia Residency and Sindangkasih by a decree issued on 19 September 1916 and then, subsequently, the district head in Bogor (July 1918) and in Batavia in October 1920, while his residence remained in Bogor. Abdoerachman was appointed as the *zelfstandige patih* (an independent deputy of regent) of Karawang with the issuance of a government edict dated 29 March 1923, effective 4 April 1923. He was elected Meester Cornelis deputy-regent the following year, and on 3 July 1925, sworn in as the first regent.

On 24 February 1928, Abdoerachman was allowed to take a year's leave to Europe to study agriculture there. A few months later, on 23 August 1928, he received the title *Aria*,¹¹ the following year, on 31 August 1932, he received a silver star as a token of loyalty and distinction; and finally, on 24 August 1934, he received the title *Adipati*,¹² making his full name Raden Adipati Aria Abdoerachman.

Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman was involved in the advancement of women's issues at the time when her husband was the regent of Meester Cornelis. She helped found *Kemadjoean Istri*, a women's association, the reported tasks of which included setting up health insurance and a library for native women to learn about sickness and other topics. *Kemadjoean Istri* gave classes on childcare in the villages beginning in 1930.¹³

⁹ Abdurachman (1965).

¹⁰ *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 26-1-1934; *Sipatahoenan*, 27-1-1934; *Algemeen Handelsblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 29-1-1934.

¹¹ Honorary title (in former times as a distinction bestowed to regents and *patih*s for services rendered, in exceptional circumstances to district heads) (R.R. Hardjadibrata 2003: 37).

¹² Title bestowed as a distinction from the government to *bupatis* after a set number of years of service (Hardjadibrata 2003: 5).

¹³ *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, 12-5-1921.

Among her other accomplishments Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman is regarded as the first Indonesian feminist in Batavia, because she helped create the *Poetri Merdika* in 1913, which in 1915 backed the *Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht's* (VVV) request to the Queen of the Netherlands for the right for women in the Netherlands East Indies to vote for city council members (Susan Blackburn 2000: 186-187). Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman joined VVV in 1926 and was elected to the Batavia branch's executive council in 1927. The VVV Batavia branch was able to arrange short courses for native women in childcare, first aid, and health at that time, thanks to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman.

She also actively contributed to the *Maandblad van de Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht in Nederlandsch-Indie*, the organization's journal. In that journal, she described her goals in setting up *Kemadjoean Istri* in the edition of July 1928 (Blackburn 2000: 187). She claimed that by creating as many schools for native women as possible, boosting chances for native women to pursue careers in the workforce, and elevating the dignity of the village, the organization was putting a special emphasis on family life and raising children.

After her husband passed away unexpectedly on 26 January 1934, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman continued to be involved in the *Kemadjoean Istri* movement. She also participated in commemorating the eightieth anniversary of the *Kartini School* (4-5 May 1935), arranged for bazaars to be held at the *Amicitia club*, *Matramanweg 119*, supported the education of native women through the *Van Deventer School* (October 1937), actively fought the malaria epidemic (1938), and took part in staging the Netherlands East Indies theatrical declamation (1940). All this was done by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman around Batavia.

On 27 August 1932, a colonial government resolution granted Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman the title *Ridder in de Orde van Oranje Nassau* in recognition of her commitment to the education of native women.¹⁴ She was also given the responsibility of serving as a member of the *Oostersche Raad van Advies*, which was founded on 30 June 1939 in Bandung.

In addition to her articles for the *Maandblad van de Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht in Nederlandsch-Indie*, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman wrote *Lalampahan ka Eropa* (Journey to Europe, 1930), *Widoeri: katerangan petana mapatahan ngapoet djeung imah-imah ka awewe somahan* (Widoeri: information on how to sewing and getting household knowledge to the common women, 1940),¹⁵ and *Kenang2an: tiada pernah padam* (Memories: never faded, 1965). Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and *Soeridiradja* (a language teacher at *Meester Cornelis*) were both appointed as judges for the *Java Instituut's* competition to evaluate Sundanese books published in 1929.¹⁶

¹⁴ *De Locomotief*, 5-9-1932.

¹⁵ The book was originally written in Dutch by Mrs. F.A. Volkers-Schippers in 1937 and translated into Sundanese by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman. According to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman (Volkers-Schippers 1940: 5-7), she was not just translating literally, but translating freely in line with the expressions and structures typical of the Sundanese language.

¹⁶ As stated by the announcement, anyone who wrote or published a book in 1929 and wished

She used a different name for her two works, *Kenang2an* and *Widoeri*, from *Lalampahan*. She goes by Raden Ajoe S.K. Abdoerachman for *Widoeri* and S.K. Abdurachman for *Kenang2an*.¹⁷ Initials S.K. stands for Siti Katidjah as her personal name (Abdurachman 1965; Littrup 2000; Adam 2010: xiv), and this name was used when she received the title of Ridder in de Orde van Oranje Nassau in 1932. In *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* (30 August 1932), it states, “Raden Ajoe Siti Katidjah, echtgenoot van R.A.A. Abdoerachman, regent van Meester-Cornelis” (Raden Ajoe Siti Katidjah, wife of R.A.A. Abdoerachman, the regent of Meester-Cornelis).

JOURNEY TO EUROPE

Several Indonesians wrote about their experiences visiting Europe, particularly the Netherlands, though Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman was undoubtedly the first to compose a travelogue in Sundanese. *Cariyos Nagari Welandi* or *Reis naar Nederland van Raden Abdoellah ibnoe Sabar bin Arkebah* (1876), written by Raden Moentajib Moeda, was the first narrative about a travel to the Netherlands. The book, which has a Dutch title but is written in Javanese, offers an account of a journey taken in 1868, when Moentajib Moeda briefly resided in Leiden (G.K. Niemann 1878: 448-458; Harry A. Poeze 2008: 19). Another Indonesian who travelled to the Netherlands was Raden Mas Arya (R.M.A.) Suryasuparta between 14 June and 17 July 1913, when he continued his studies in Leiden (J.J. Ras 1979: 12; George Quinn 1992: 7; Dhanu Priyo Prabowo et al. 1995: 1; Rick Honings 2023: 138-168).

Thus, the custom of writing travel account to Europe was established more than 50 years before Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman. The Dutch government’s initiative to showcase the Netherlands to senior native officials in the Netherlands East Indies provided the context for her departure to Europe. In fact, the Dutch government allocated special funds in the state budget from 1927 onwards permitting two native officials – a regent from Java and a regent from beyond Java – to live and study in the Netherlands.

Typically, officials who studied in the Netherlands brought their wives and children with them so they might spend six to eight months getting to know the country. The official’s family went on several excursions while they were in the Netherlands, culminating in a meeting with the Dutch Queen. There were several such native officials who travelled to the Netherlands, namely the Regent of Bandung Wiranatakoesoema (1927) with his wife Raden Ajoe Sangkaningrat, the Regent of Meester Cornelis R.A.A. Abdoerachman, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and their two daughters (1928),¹⁸ the Regent of Kuningan

to take part in the competition should send it to the Java Instituut’s Secretary, whose address is Kadipolo, Solo, no later than 1 July 1930 (*Sipatahoenan*, 1-4-1930).

¹⁷ The name Abdoerachman was written with an “oe” during the Dutch colonial era (Abdoerachman 1930; Volkers-Schippers 1940) and the Japanese occupation (*Gunseikanbu* 1944: 473), while the name Abdurachman with an “u” was used after Indonesia declared its independence (Abdurachman 1965).

¹⁸ One of R.A.A. Abdoerachman and Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman’s children is Paramita Abdurachman, a historian who once served as secretary general of the Indonesian Red

Mohammed Achmad (1929) accompanied by his eldest daughter Maria Ulfah who later studied law in Leiden, and the Regent of Serang and member of the Volksraad P.A. Achmad Djajadiningrat (Djajadiningrat 1936: 444-470).

Raden Ajoë Sangkaningrat (1907-1944), the women's rights activist and the founder of boarding schools for girls¹⁹ and students²⁰ in Bandung in the 1920s and 1930s, travelled to the Netherlands with her husband Wiranatakoesoema on a study permit but did not record her experiences.²¹ Achmad Djajadiningrat also described his experiences in Europe, especially in Switzerland, through letters in Sundanese published in the *Sipatahoenan* newspaper (R. Imbi Djajadikoesoemah 1929a).²² He also expressed his high regards of Dutch agriculture (Djajadikoesoemah 1929b).

The journeys that took place between that of Wiranatakoesoemah up to Mohammed Achmad's, and including Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman's, can be interpreted within the context of the interaction between the indigenous heads and the Indonesian national movement following the 1926-1927 uprising, which not only resulted in the defeat of communist forces and the growing powerlessness of Islam as a political force but also in the emergence of a new type of Indonesian leadership and a heightened sense of self of nationalism (M.C. Ricklefs 2008: 221). Following this time, the Dutch colonial government entered its most conservative and oppressive phase in its twentieth-century history, and the Indonesian national revival persisted in a less showy manner (Ricklefs 2008: 219). At the same time, for the indigenous heads, the Dutch colonial government's policies although echoing the goals of the Ethical Policy, introduced a new policy of ethnic segregation, recognition of regional diversity, and the organic development of native institutions. While the moral justification of *ethici* was that they wanted to share "white man's burden" through an emphasis on native peoples' self-awareness and respect for their traditions, with this new policy of emphasising regional individuality, the colonial government hoped to push troublesome nationalists to the margins while also proving the loyalty of the indigenous heads (Heather Sutherland 1979: 13). It was in this manner that the Dutch government instilled more hegemonic cultural habits, assumptions, institutions, and colonial values.

Cross. According to Adam (2010: xii), Paramita became acquainted with Tan Malaka during the Indonesian Revolutionary War in Jakarta. They met through Paramita's uncle, Achmad Soebardjo. There was a romantic relationship between Paramita and Tan Malaka, although it did not continue to the stage of marriage.

¹⁹ *Soeara Publik*, 18-4-1925.

²⁰ According to the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (12-1-1929), Sangkaningrat opened a boarding school for boys in Wilhelminastraat on 1 February 1929.

²¹ Sangkaningrat's journey to Europe took place between 7 September 1927 and 30 March 1928. On the report of *De Sumatra Post* (4-2-1928) and *De Locomotief* (7-2-1928), she visited various educational institutions. There her interests turned to Montessori education, courses for working women, and domestic and crafts schools. Sangkaningrat apparently wanted to learn about all educational matters such as these.

²² Raden Imbi Djajadikoesoemah was appointed secretary of Serang Regency from Meester Cornelis Regency in 1928 (*Bintang Timoer*, 30-1-1928). In 1931, he was fired from his post for allegedly embezzling money (*Bintang Timoer*, 1-8-1931).

Cornelis regent's wife about her journey to Europe up to her return to the Netherlands East Indies.



Figure 3. Advertisement for *Lalampahan ka Eropa* in the *Sipatahoenan*, 22-11-1930. (Courtesy of Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia.)

In the *Sipatahoenan* issues of 22 November and 1 December 1930, *Lalampahan* was also advertised (Figure 3). The *Sipatahoenan* advertisement read, "The book will be very enjoyable. It is large in size and contains a lot of intriguing photographs taken by the author".²³ The book is sold at f0.75 and it is said "*Nembe pisan dikaloearkeun koe Bale Poestaka - Weltevreden*" (Recently published by Bale Poestaka - Weltevreden).

Lalampahan is a large book with 115 pages, 27 centimeters in height, and published under the designation "Series No. 916". The book consists of 35 chapters which describe the chronology of the journey of Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman and her family from the day of her departure from Batavia until her return by boat from Genoa. In contrast to the version published in *Parahiangan*, where each published article was not given a title, each article was given a chapter and a chapter title in the published book, with a focus on educational matters, for example, the chapter "Hal pangasah boedi" (A matter of manners), "Tatanen" (Agriculture), "Bab pangadjaran" (Teaching), "Sakola pikeun baroedak noe batoek gangsa" (A school for children suffering from tuberculosis).

Inside *Lalampahan* there are 71 photographs from Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman's personal collection, according to the *Sipatahoenan*

²³ Original text: *Teu kinten matak resepna. Boekoena oekoeran ageng, nganggo pirang-pirang gambar noe laloetjoe sareng potret anoe kagoengan karangan* (*Sipatahoenan*, 22-12-1930).

advertisement. At least four photos show Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman (Abdoerachman 1930: v); there is one of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman with her daughters wearing European-style clothing,²⁴ one of the Regent of Meester Cornelis attempting to plough in Nieuwerkerk, Zeeland,²⁵ and the Regent of Meester Cornelis in a car being driven by a farmer to the port of Zierikzee.²⁶ The majority of these photos include landscapes, buildings, and other things that Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman finds interesting and admirable, such as vistas in Switzerland,²⁷ a cow being milked with electricity,²⁸ Princess Juliana,²⁹ and the mosque in Paris where the Regent of Meester Cornelis performed prayers.³⁰

In addition, there are two maps in *Lalampahan* depicting Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's family's journey from the Netherlands East Indies to Europe (Abdoerachman 1930: 13) and the Netherlands (Abdoerachman 1930: 73). The information on the Netherlands map is very interesting,³¹ because it gives the impression of a deliberate ironic comment being made since it alludes to the fact that the Netherlands East Indies, whose geographical extent was vast, could be colonized by a country whose territory, when combined, was only the size of the Residency of Batavia and the Residency of Priangan.

It was Eid al-Adha³² on 30 May 1928, when Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and her family started their journey. They boarded the *PC Hooft* ship at Batavia, sailed for two days and docked at Tanjung Pagar (Singapore), arrived in Belawan (Medan) the following day and then continued to Sabang (Aceh).

From Sabang, the journey continued to Suez. According to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, the trip, which was supposed to take ten days, actually took fourteen, and the *PC Hooft* ship did not reach the port of Suez until the fifteenth day, after which it was necessary to travel by automobile to Port Said. The boat journey continued from Port Said to Genoa, where the ship landed on 23 June 1928. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman travelled to Lausanne with her family by train from Genoa. They finally went on to Rotterdam after sightseeing in Geneva and returning to Lausanne, having first visited Paris.

They landed in Rotterdam on 30 June 1928, and were met by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's brother and cousin, as well as two Dutch students. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and her family's trip ended on 5 April 1929 when they

²⁴ R. Ajoe Abdoerachman, *Dalem Istri Mr. Cornelis sareng poetra dina keur nineung* (Abdoerachman 1930: 35).

²⁵ Kdj. *Dalem Mester keur njobi woeloekoe di Nieuwerkerk di Zeeland* (Abdoerachman 1930: 47).

²⁶ Kdj. *Dalem moelihna didjajadapkeun koe toekang tani ka palaboean Zierikzee* (Abdoerachman 1930: 50).

²⁷ *Titingalian di Zwitterland* (Abdoerachman 1930: 20-21).

²⁸ *Sapi noe diperes koe listrik* (Abdoerachman 1930: 69).

²⁹ *Prinses Juliana Poetri karadjaan Nederland* (Abdoerachman 1930: 83).

³⁰ *Masjid di Kota Paris. Kdj. Dalem Mr. Cornelis di ieu masjid geus netepan* (Abdoerachman 1930: 96).

³¹ *Kaart nagri Walanda dialitkeun legana sami sareng karesidenan Batawi sareng Priangan kapoengkoer* (Abdoerachman 1930: 73).

³² Eid al-Adha or *Lebaran Haji* or *Lebaran Rayagung* is sacrificial feast on 10 Rayagung (*Dhu al-Hijja*, the twelfth and final month in the Islamic calendar) when Muslims ritually sacrifice animals (Hardjadibrata 2003: 460, 482, 668).

boarded the ship *Christiaan Huygens* in Genoa and landed in Batavia on 26 April 1929, having travelled via Colombo.

G.W.J. Drewes³³ was the first to comment on *Lalampahan* after it was published by Balai Pustaka. Drewes claimed that out of the 27 books that were published in 1930, the book written by the wife of the Meester Cornelis regent and a well-known participant in the women's movement who kept journals of her journey to Europe, was the most fascinating. He explains that Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman amusingly recounts all the amazing and admirable things that shocked her in Europe. Drewes also added that Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman had provided an introduction to R. Satjadibrata's translation of R.A. Kartini's letters into Sundanese.³⁴

As the pioneering supporter of women's education and the symbol of the start of Javanese society's emancipation, Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904) is a pivotal figure in twentieth-century Indonesian history. Every year, the nation remembers her on Kartini Day, 21 April (her birthday) (C.W. Watson 2000: 16; Joost Coté 2014: xi). Kartini first gained national and worldwide acclaim after her letters were published posthumously under the evocative title *Door duisternis tot licht* (From darkness to light) (Watson 2000: 17). The book's publication was initially intended to raise charitable funds in the Netherlands for the establishment of a specific type of school for young Javanese women in the colony, as well as to intervene in a competing set of metropolitan Dutch, colonial, and emerging Indonesian nationalist discourses in which the issue of education was a significant component (Coté 2014: 58-59).

Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, according to *Sipatahoenan*,³⁵ was the person who first had the idea to translate and publish a book of Kartini's letters from Dutch into Sundanese. However, it was Satjadibrata, the Sundanese editor at Balai Pustaka, who was successful in translating it. Balai Pustaka, on the other hand, requested Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman to write an introduction to the translated book. In her foreword, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman noted, among other things, that two years after Kartini's book was released, she observed the founding of the first Kartini School in Batavia.

Following Drewes, other writers cited *Lalampahan*. From a post-colonial perspective, Iryan A.H. (2010) sees *Lalampahan* as a form of admiration for the West as well as evidence of the operation of colonial discourse that exercises

³³ On 16 September 1925, G.W.J. Drewes was appointed to the Office of the [Acting] Native Affairs Advisor (Bureau van den [Waarnemend] Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken). He was transferred to the Bureau for Popular Literature (Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur) in 1926 and served as its director from 20 January 1930 until 1 January 1935 (D. Jedamski 1992: 30-32; A. Teeuw 1994: 27-29).

³⁴ Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's foreword to R.A. Kartini's translation was reprinted in Sundanese in the 20 April 1935 edition of *Sipatahoenan*. The book by R.A. Kartini was originally intended to be translated into Sundanese by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, but for some reason the book was eventually translated by Raden Satjadibrata, chief editor at Balai Pustaka. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman penned her foreword in response to the publishing of Kartini's book in Sundanese.

³⁵ *Sipatahoenan*, 20-4-1935.

a hegemony over the minds of colonized people.³⁶ However, Iryan did not elaborate further on the context of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's journey, and his analysis was still limited to a few excerpts from the book. Atep Kurnia (2017a, 2017b) wrote two essays related to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's biographical sketches and her mastery of Sundanese as read from *Lalampahan* and *Widoeri*. Achmad Sunjayadi (2017) considers *Lalampahan* as promoting tourism to the Netherlands from the Netherlands East Indies written by a woman who participated in a Dutch government-funded program of journey to Europe.

REFINED SUNDANESE

Lalampahan ka Eropa was written by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman in Sundanese. However, she also uses several Malay and Dutch words. From Malay, among others, she uses *roemah sakit* (hospital, p. 40-41), *roemah makan* (restaurant, p. 85), and *kaperloean oemoem* (public interest, p. 55). Meanwhile, in Dutch, she uses among others the words *winter* (winter, 31 times), *kanaal* (canal, 19 times), *vacantie* (vacation, 14 times), *zomer* (summer, 13 times), *passagier* (passanger, 13 times), *restaurant* (restaurant, 9 times), *pension* (inn, 8 times), *prijs* (prize, 7 times), and *kaart* (map, 6 times). The use of vocabulary from Malay and Dutch indicates that Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman did not find concepts that were exactly the same in Sundanese, so she was forced to use terms from Malay and Dutch. However, as I indicated at the start, my interest in *Lalampahan* relates to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's perspectives on European attitudes and good practices. She expresses her views in nuanced Sundanese, which takes account of the degree of social difference between the author and her readers. Sundanese, like Javanese, contains a diversity of language levels to demonstrate the sophistication of the language spoken among its speakers.³⁷

Sundanese has a variety of five linguistic levels, namely very refined, refined, medium, coarse, and very coarse language. But in reality, the five levels are split into two categories: refined and coarse language. Sundanese aristocrats, principally those living in and around the *kabupaten* (the centres of local government), used a more refined Sundanese heavily influenced by Javanese (Mikihiro Moriyama 2005: 10). Even though Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman did not originate from a regency family, she was compelled to use refined Sundanese because she married Raden Abdoerachman, a Sundanese aristocrat who ultimately became regent.

In her book, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman employs refined Sundanese. So, who are her ideal readers? The ideal readers for *Lalampahan* are Sundanese women, whom she encourages to advance their knowledge and abilities, as she mentions in her cover letter to the editor of *Parahiangan* magazine.

³⁶ Iryan A.H. (Iryan Ali Herdiansyah) was a history student at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) and an activist in the Komunitas Kembang Merak. His writing revolves around the lives and works of Sundanese writers, including the travel account of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman (<https://kbgmrk.wordpress.com/2010/02/10/lalampahan-dan-jamaknya-kolonialisme>).

³⁷ See Robert Wessing (1974: 5-22), Hardjadibrata (1985: 3), and Edmund A. Anderson (1997: 1-45).

The use of refined Sundanese also indicates a direct conversational atmosphere between the speaker and the listener, which is evident from the words that are commonly used in direct address as if telling a tale. Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman's direct address can be seen from the use of the word "noe maos" (readers) several times, namely in the sentence:

Moenggoehing kaanehanana eta gedong2, di dieu moal ditjaroskeun, bilih kesel noe maosna (Abdoerachman 1930: 6).

'Here I will not tell the peculiarity of these buildings so that the readers do not feel bored.'

Kasaenana eta boemi katoet palataranana, henteu kedah ditjaros, koe sadaja anoe maos ieu, manawi tiasa katjipta, wantoe2 gedong Soeltan (Abdoerachman 1930: 7).

'The beauty of the house and its courtyard does not need to be described, because the readers can perhaps picture it as a sultan's palace.'

Anoe maos pasal Suez bilih kesel, margi sakitoe pandjangna, mangga dihatoeranan Sinom saeutik (Abdoerachman 1930: 16).

'So that readers of the Suez chapter do not feel bored because of the length of the writing, please read the short description that follows in Sinom verse form.'

The usage of a variety of *pupuh*³⁸ (verse forms) further suggests that Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman is addressing her readers directly. Ten poems in the forms of *Pupuh Dangdanggula* (two poems), *Asmarandana* (two poems), *Kinanti* (one poem), *Pucung* (one poem), *Pangkur* (one poem), and *Sinom* (three poems) are included in *Lalampahan*. Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman describes the many natural vistas she encounters and the emotions she felt in accordance with each of the *pupuh* characteristics. For instance, she was upset when her ship started leaving the port of Tanjung Priok because she was leaving her home and family. She composed a *Pupuh Dangdanggula* verse to describe her feelings:

Kapal nengah angin ngahiliwir/lalaoenan ngaroempakna ombak/kawas nimbang ka noe nembe/toempak kapal noe loehoer/dibeberah koe sora moesik/estoe matak goembira/ngoebaran noe liwoeng/ngangres noe taja hinggana/sedih pikir pisah ti noe sami asih/kantoen nalangsa rasa. (Abdoerachman 1930: 4-5).

'The ship accelerates to the middle, the wind blows/slowly it crashes through the waves/like a person newly/boarded on a tall ship/comforted by the sound of music/really made happy/ soothing those who are confused/and full of sorrow/saddened to think of being apart from people who both love each other/and are left feeling downhearted.'

³⁸ Types of metre used in singing when reciting poems (*tembang*); the *pupuh* determines the strophe form on three points: the number of verses, the number of syllables, and the last vowels of the verses, for example the *pupuh kinanti* should consist of 6 lines, each line should consist of 8 syllables, and the verse of each line should end in u, i, a, i, a, i (Hardjadibrata 2003: 648). Moriyama (2005: 38) says that "In terms of form, Sundanese poetry can be roughly divided into two categories: *dangding* and *kawih*. The first is a generic term designating poetry in 17 verse forms, known as *pupuh*. Each *pupuh* has its own name, such as *Dangdanggula*, *Kinanti*, *Asmarandana*, *Sinom*, and so forth, with its own rules of composition, melody, and number of lines."

When attending the *Meisjes Zomersclub*³⁹ in Nunspeet in the Netherlands, where everyone was required to write poetry in any language and perform it, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, who identifies herself as a Sundanese, was at first confused. However, remembering that her friend who accompanied her to the club could speak Sundanese, she finally chose to write five stanzas of *Pucung* (Abdoerachman 1930: 49).

In the first verse, she thanked everyone for agreeing to accommodate her, who had just arrived from Java. In the second stanza she says that she will never forget Nunspeet. The third stanza she offered spoke of her wish to travel to the Netherlands, primarily to participate in the *Meisjes Zomersclub* activities, in order to learn, so that the lessons might subsequently be put into practice for young people on the island of Java. She emphasizes in the fourth stanza that what she learned at the club suits her heart and her original goal. Fifth, she prayed for the safety of everyone present at the ceremony (Abdoerachman 1930: 49).

Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, like Kartini (Watson 2011: 4), most likely spoke Javanese at home, but when her family relocated to a Sundanese-speaking district, combined with her marriage to a Sundanese aristocrat, she needed to assert her Sundanese identity. She acquired and practiced refined Sundanese as well as writing Sundanese poetry, an art that needed to be mastered by an educated Sundanese aristocrat, in order to be able to converse with individuals from the high and lower classes.

The Sundanese used in *Lalampahan* is different from that in Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's other work, *Widoeri*.⁴⁰ The Sundanese in *Widoeri* is a commoner Sundanese that is normally used by persons of a higher status to their subordinates, older people to younger people, and between friends of the same background. She only uses refined Sundanese in the prologue of that book. I assume that this is because *Widoeri*'s ideal readers are ordinary women, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman considers them as subordinate to her in status and age. This can be seen from the foreword to *Widoeri*'s book (*Pihatoer anoe njalin*, 'translator's introduction').

³⁹ According to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman (1930: 45-46), in the Netherlands, there are many associations that provide education for children during the summer (July-August). The association she joined while in the Netherlands was the Nederlandsche Christelijke Studenten Vereeniging (NCSV, Dutch Christian Student Association), which had two programs, namely *Jongenskampen* (Young men camps) and *Meisjes Zomerclubs* (Girls summer clubs).

⁴⁰ *Widoeri* was originally a magazine published by Mrs. F.A. Volkers-Schipper, the ex-director of the Van Deventer boarding school in Semarang, since 1932, for former students of the Kartini and Van Deventer schools who were called upon to share their precious learning with the *volksvrouw* (common woman) and thus give them a better lease on life (F. Gouda 1995: 43). In 1937, *Widoeri*'s section, which discussed sewing and taking care of the household for ordinary women of the native, was published by Balai Pustaka in a special book entitled *Widoeri-leergang, hoe men elementair naai-en huishoudonderricht kan geven aan de volksvrouw op Java* (*Widoeri-course, how to give elementary sewing and household knowledge to the common woman of Java*). The book was then translated by Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman in 1938 and published as *Widoeri: Katerangan petana mapatahan ngapoet djeung imah-imah ka aweve somahan di Poelo Djawa* (1940) and by Saadah Salim (*Djalan pengadjaran menoeroet Widoeri, bagaimana memoelai peladjaran mendjahit dan beroemah tangga pada perempoean kampoeng*, 1941).

Moegi-moegi ieu boekoe tiasa djadi toedoeih djalan ka sadaja istri-istri anoe sami palaj [kersa] ngawoeroek kaperloean anoe imah-imah ka somahan, etang-etang ngawoewoeh noeloeng ngadjoeingdjoeng, tjeuk wiwilanganana koe tanaga sasieureun sabeunjeureun (Volkers-Schippers 1940: 6).

‘Hopefully this book will be a guide for all women who are equally willing to teach the needs of householding to most women, counting on increasing help to lift it; in other words, help with even a little force.’

Thus, the foreword, which uses fine Sundanese, is addressed by Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman to noble or educated women, while the content, which uses coarse Sundanese, is aimed at common Sundanese women.

EUROPE AS A SOURCE OF GOOD PRACTICE

A general impression was conveyed by Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman after seeing, encountering, and witnessing places in Europe.

Naa ari Eropa, ditingal koe saliwat, raraosan sadajana patempatan, sadajana nagara, henteu aja anoe teu sae, henteu aja anoe teu beres, teu aja anoe teu matak betah (Abdoerachman 1930: 88).

‘At first glance, in my opinion, there is nothing wrong with all the places and countries in Europe; there is nothing wrong with them; there is nothing that does not make you feel at home.’

None of the Europeans she described were portrayed badly; instead, they all conveyed a pleasant impression. According to Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman, one can characterise the Dutch in the following way:

Anoe palalinter di nagara Walanda, boh istri boh pameget, katjida ngemoetkeunana kana geusan kaperloean oemoem, sami ngakal2 pidjalaneun sangkan somah satiasa-tiasa oelah soesah, disina madjoe tina saniskantenna. Henteu disadiakeun djalan pikeun kamadjoean pikiranana bae, namoeng oge sareng djalan pikeun kamadjoean geusan kasehatan bandanna. (Abdoerachman 1930: 55).

‘In the Netherlands, both men and women, consider public needs. They devise solutions so that ordinary people, as far as possible, face no barriers and are encouraged to advance in any sector. People are given the opportunity to progress not only their minds, but also their physical health.’

This perception, of course, presupposes that there existed social stratification in the Netherlands East Indies, which produced a divide between intellectuals and commoners.

To express all of Europe’s appeal, she employs a number of Sundanese words that represent sentiments of liking, admiration, surprise, curiosity, and fame, especially *resep* (fond), *hookeun* (dumbfounded), *aneh* (remarkable), *lucu* (attractive), *sae* (good), either alone or in combination. For example, she says of buildings in Genoa:

Ningal saniskanten moeng bati hookeun tina teu aja pisan anoe sami sareng di oerang, saniskanten ageng sareng loehoer bae (Abdoerachman 1930: 20).

'Nothing in our place is the same, so I am shocked when I look at it all. Everything appears enormous and magnificent.'

Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman's shock, astonishment, excitement, and interest in Europe demonstrate how the travel account can be viewed as an expression of the author's curiosity. According to Richard Phillips (2019: 60), curiosity drives crucial strands of travel and travel account in referring to specific things and other objects as well as people and institutions in their texts. It is in this context that a travel account describes a collection of objects obtained and carried home, as well as a collection of descriptions of these goods, together with a list of names and other identifying information.



Figure 4. Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman and her daughter wearing European-style clothing. Photograph taken from *Lalampahan ka Eropa* (Abdoerachman 1930: 35). (Courtesy of Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia.)

Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman uses the word *oerang* (we, us, our) to create numerous analogies between what is admired in Europe and what Indonesia has or has not encountered. In practice, she usually records things that are not found in Indonesia. As an example, she refers to the museum in Paris that has no equivalent "in our place" in terms of size, area, height, and contents or the horse at the Palace of Versailles, which she describes as being of a height different from the height of the Australian horse in Indonesia (Abdoerachman

1930: 29, 31). The women at the Pension Olifiers⁴¹ in Den Haag were spotted working while humming or whistling, something which Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman had never witnessed in Indonesia (Abdoerachman 1930: 34).

The desire to draw parallels and contrast between herself as a representative Indonesian and others is an episteme that she carries with her in her encounters with the other, specifically the European other, in the shape of a binary opposition between “*oerang*” as in Indonesia, and people in the Netherlands, who are thought to have superior advantages. As a result, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman considers the Netherlands to be the centre, with a superior, modern, and enlightened culture, whereas Indonesia, as a periphery belongs to a subaltern culture, and is backward and lacking in education.

INVESTIGATING TEACHING APPROACHES

As Poeze (2008: 19) has already indicated, the wives and children of native officials studying in the Netherlands accompanied their husbands to learn to know the country. In the case of Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman, a Batavia-based women’s activist, she took advantage of the chance to investigate teaching approaches in the Netherlands, particularly those geared toward women’s education.

The extensive reading of Europeans, especially women, is particularly noted in *Lalampahan*. Reading to and for oneself is a way to improve, according to Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman in her introduction to her account in *Parahiangan*. She reported this fact as she prepared to depart Genoa for Lausanne because she was astounded to see how many people, both young and old, read newspapers (Abdoerachman 1930: 21).

Of course, the high level of reading is tied to the diverse educational possibilities available to European individuals. In turn, reading activities and a broad education promote women’s freedom. Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman discovered in Paris that men and women were equally employed in the same work, and witnessed women working as gardeners, milk vendors, tram and omnibus conductors, train cleaners, among other professions (Abdoerachman 1930: 29).

Staying at Pension Olifiers in The Hague she observed that the inn was maintained by two women, a mother and her unmarried daughter, as well as two female servants. The two maids were seen to work hard and cheerfully; and, as well, the two employers themselves did hard manual work such as washing, sweeping, and mopping while whistling or humming. The maid was taken to church every Sunday, and offered the opportunity to take a vacation every two weeks on Sunday. However, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman remarked that not all innkeepers in The Hague act in the same way (Abdoerachman 1930: 35).

An entirely different item from her observations of European manners that she frequently records is her meeting in Amsterdam and elsewhere with

⁴¹ Pension Olifiers is an inn operated by a retired Raad van Indie (the Council of the Netherlands East Indies) member located at 2 Sweelinck Straat No. 90 in The Hague (Abdoerachman 1930: 34).

fellow Indonesians, particularly students, of whom there were many in the Netherlands. She met 65 Indonesian women and men while staying at her brother's residence (Abdoerachman 1930: 37).

Initially, her children were provided with private schooling by a female instructor while in the Netherlands because there was a long holiday for pupils when they arrived. Before Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman travelled to the Netherlands, her primary objective was to send her three daughters to school. And when they did enter schools, she had several opportunities to do comparative studies in those schools where her children were being taught. Her husband, on the other hand, did comparative agricultural studies (Abdoerachman 1930: 45).

She concluded from these comparative studies of various schools, including summer schools, kindergartens, complex schools, household schools, vocational schools, and schools for children suffering from tuberculosis, that educational progress for the general public in the Netherlands was highly prioritized by both the city administration and associations. Observing this she speculated about such positive attitudes being emulated and practised in Indonesia but recognises the limitations. For example, in the context of summer schools Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman states that Indonesia would be unable to replicate what was happening in the Netherlands because there were no native women who had graduated from a teacher training academy to provide the staff for such institutions. At the very least, she said, we can approach the ideal with the help of virtuous and experienced women (Abdoerachman 1930: 49).

Reading such comments one can see Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman in this context, as a classical example of a colonial subject, who actively mimics her colonists' cultural habits, beliefs, institutions, and ideals (Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin 2007: 124-125) at the same time as recognising how much still needs to be done.

SUNDA, INDONESIA, AND THE NETHERLANDS

Although Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman is of Javanese descendant, in *Lalampahan*, she identifies more as a Sundanese. This is evidenced in her comment that when she landed in Medan and Sabang on her outward journey, she was delighted because there were so many Sundanese people there (Abdoerachman 1930: 9, 11). In just the same way she was thrilled when she met the Van Rees and Einthoven husband and wife since all of them who had worked in the Netherlands East Indies could speak Sundanese. She says it made her feel as though she was meeting Sundanese again (Abdoerachman 1930: 22).

As an aside her positive identification with Sundanese also comes out in the similarities she notes between the tones of voice in spoken French and Sundanese. She writes:

Sitting in a restaurant or somewhere with a lot of people, I am often astonished to hear Parisians speaking with the same accent as Sundanese. The same can be said for the words, which are nearly identical to those in Sundanese. It is understandable if two or three Europeans approach me and tell me that Sundanese sounds like French to them. (Abdoerachman 1930: 33).

Of course, the similarities between Sundanese and French exist only in Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's imagination, not in fact. This resemblance stems perhaps from Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's impression that the lilt of spoken French resembles refined Sundanese. When she arrived in Amsterdam and wanted to visit her brother's residence, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman found many Indonesians, especially Sundanese, so, she says, she did not feel as though she was abroad but back home (Abdoerachman 1930: 38). Likewise, she and her husband were happy to meet two Sundanese weavers, craftsmen from Tasikmalaya, West Java, who were participating in the exhibition, *Indische Tentoonstelling Arnhem (ITA)*.⁴² The weavers, husband and wife, wanted to show deference through Sundanese-style gestures, but Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman and her husband did not want to be treated that way, since other people were present who not understand such gestures and perhaps be shocked (Abdoerachman 1930: 39). At that time, common people were required to offer *sembah*, namely a token of respect by extending hands with palms pressed together and then bringing them to the forehead upon arrival or departure of a superior (Hardjadibrata 2003: 731). Therefore, if such a *sembah* were practised in the Netherlands, it would definitely have caused astonishment among those who saw it.

In relation to colonialism and the nationalist movement in Indonesia at that time, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman showed conflicting attitudes. She seemed to regard the Queen of the Netherlands as the queen of Java, and referring to Princess Juliana, she said she would become queen of the Netherlands.

However, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman also has an awareness of Indonesia as a separate, unified nation. What is intriguing, though, is to see how frequently Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman uses the word "Indonesia" in *Lalampahan*. Because she had not given *Lalampahan* to the *Parahiangan* editors until December 1928, or two months after the youth pledge, it can be assumed that the youth pledge on 28 October 1928, served as the inspiration for its widespread adoption. Delegates to the Second Youth Congress made a formal adoption of Indonesia as the foundation for their distancing themselves from the Dutch in the Youth Pledge, stating that they were a single country with a single language, Indonesian, and a single homeland, Indonesia (R.B. Cribb and Audrey Kahin 2004: 461; Ricklefs 2008: 224).

⁴² *Indische Tentoonstelling in Arnhem (Indies Exhibition in Arnhem, ITA)*, which was held by Vereeniging Oost en West in Zypendaal, Arnhem from 11 June to 28 July 1928, was a follow-up to the film screening and lecture by Prof Dr Mohr regarding the East Coast of Sumatra, in early January 1926, with the reason that exhibitions regarding the Netherlands East Indies had not been held for a long time (Vereeniging Oost en West 1928: 3).

The issue is that Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman's recognition of the Netherlands as her nation goes hand in hand with her awareness of being an Indonesian. She refers to Leiden as the destination for young Indonesians who travel to the Netherlands to continue their studies for civil service officials, to earn a law degree and a doctorate, to study languages, and to attend medical schools. However, she was quite capable of being critical of colonial attitudes. For example, she criticised the collection on display at the Netherlands East Indies exhibition in Arnhem for lacking real Indonesian crafts and not demonstrating the number of modern institutions that existed and not including representations of, for example, the Kartini school, the Boedi Kamoelianaan hospital, the RHS and THS buildings, and making reference to the first Indonesians to receive the title of professor, doctor, law degree, or engineer. Instead of such mentions, there was reference only to missionary progress (Abdoerachman 1930: 39, 40).

CONCLUSION

In the context of Indonesian travel accounts to the Netherlands, *Lalampahan ka Europa* is the third, following those of Moentajib Moeda and R.M.A. Suryasuparta, but it is the first to be penned in Sundanese and by an Indonesian woman.

Lalampahan stands out from the other two travelogues written in Javanese. If in Moentajib Moeda's account he only covered a small part of the Netherlands, namely Leiden and several cities and villages around Zuid-Holland Province (Niemann 1878: 448) and Suryasuparta did not write about his stay in the Netherlands (Honings 2023: 149), Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman covers several large cities in Europe, namely Genoa, Lausanne, Geneva, Paris, Brussels, Monte Carlo, as well as cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem, The Hague, and Leeuwarden. Other than that, *Lalampahan's* distinctiveness comes from its direct access to the life of the colonial rulers – the Dutch Royal family, which includes the queen and Princess Juliana. This was in line with the Netherlands East Indies government's goal, which aimed to familiarize native leaders with the Netherlands and the Dutch Royal family.

Lalampahan ka Eropa helps us comprehend the state of colonialism in Java from 1928 to 1930 through the eyes of a high Sundanese aristocracy. Here, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman implicitly accepted being a Dutch citizen, recognized the Dutch queen as the ruler of Indonesia. Despite the fact that the Dutch colonialists were attempting to extinguish the spirit of nationalism in Indonesia, *Lalampahan* strengthened the status quo of the native aristocracy and ensured the continuation of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. By campaigning for the importance of education as a way to progress for the Indonesian nation, *Lalampahan* implicitly wanted to strengthen the Dutch colonial ethical policies.

However, as a colonial subject who mimics the colonizers' culture and ideals, Raden Ajoe Abdoerachman shows an ambivalence that is typical among colonial (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2007: 10). Despite the ambivalence

shown by Raden Ajoë Abdoerachman through irony towards the small Netherlands and criticism of Indonesia's representation, which was considered unfair, she does not hide her admiration for the Dutch colonizer. She wants to see Indonesia adopting Dutch (educational) institutions as soon as possible because she sees the benefits they bring.

REFERENCES

- Abdoerachman, Raden Ajoë. 1929-1930. "Lalampahan ka Eropa", *Parahiangan* Vol. 1 No. 9 (28 Februari) – No. 5 (30 Januari).
- Abdoerachman, Raden Ajoë. 1930. *Lalampahan ka Eropa*. Batavia: Bale Poestaka.
- Abdurachman, S.K. 1965. *Kenang2an: tiada pernah padam*. [Retrieved from: <https://www.yumpu.com/id/document/view/20334420/kenang-kenangan-tiada-pernah-padam-ibu-buku>, accessed on: 30-6-2013.]
- Adam, Asvi Warman. 2010. "Kata pengantar; Paramita Abdurachman: duta budaya dan kemanusiaan", in: Thung Ju Lan, Musiana Adenan, Yasmin Sungkar, Eko Widodo (eds), *Yo Paramita Abdurachman: perempuan yang mendahului zaman*, pp. xi-xxiv. Jakarta: LIPI Press/Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Anderson, Edmund A. 1997. "The use of speech levels in Sundanese", in: M. Clark (ed.), *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics* 16, pp. 1-45. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 2007. *Post-colonial studies; The key concept*. Second edition. London / New York, NY: Routledge.
- Blackburn, Susan. 2000. "Political Relations among women in a multi-racial city; Colonial Batavia in the twentieth century", in: Kees Grijns and Peter J.M. Nas, *Jakarta Batavia; Socio-cultural essays*, pp. 175-198. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Series: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 187.]
- Coté, Joost (ed.). 2014. *Kartini: the complete writings, 1898-1904*. Clayton: Monash University Publishing.
- Cribb, R.B. and Audrey Kahin. 2004. *Historical dictionary of Indonesia*. Second edition. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Djajadikoesoemah, R. Imbi. 1929a. "Kintoenan Kdj. Dalem Serang", *Sipatahoenan*, 28 September, 2 October, 12 October.
- Djajadikoesoemah, R. Imbi. 1929b. "Tatanen di Nagri Walanda", *Sipatahoenan*, 18 and 21 December.
- Djajadiningrat, P.A. Achmad. 1936. *Kenang-kenangan Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*. Batavia: Bale Poestaka.
- Drewes, G.W.J. 1930. "Volksleatuur in 1930", *Djâwâ, Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut* 10: 234-238.
- Gouda, F. 1995. "Teaching Indonesian girls in Java and Bali, 1900-1942; Dutch progressives, the infatuation with 'oriental' refinement, and 'western' ideas about proper womanhood", *Womens History Review* 4: 25-62.

- Gunseikanbu. 2604/1944. *Orang Indonesia jang terkemoeka di Djawa*. Jakarta: Gunseikanbu.
- Habich-Veenhuijzen, Mrs. S.D. 1920. "Rapport betreffende de Zuigelingen-Statistiek, Report on Infant-Statistics", in: *Mededeelingen van den Burgerlijken Geneeskundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel IX*, pp. 84-85. Weltevreden: Javasche Boekhandel & Drukkerij.
- Hardjadibrata, R.R. 1985. *Sundanese: a syntactical analysis*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University. [Pacific Linguistics Series D-No. 65.]
- Hardjadibrata, R.R. 2003. *Sundanese-English dictionary*. Jakarta: PT. Dunia Pustaka Jaya.
- Honings, Rick. 2023. "Indigenous eyes; Javanese colonial travel texts as autoethnographic expressions: the case of Purwalelana and Suparta", in: Doris Jedamski and Rick Honings (eds), *Travelling the Dutch East Indies; Historical perspectives and literary representations*, pp. 138-168. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Iryan A.H. 2010. "Lalampahan dan jamaknya kolonialisme". [Retrieved from: <https://kbgmrk.wordpress.com/2010/02/10/lalampahan-dan-jamaknya-kolonialisme>, accessed on: 27-2-2023).
- Jedamski, D. 1992. "Balai Pustaka: a colonial wolf in sheep's clothing", *Archipel* 44: 23-46.
- Kurnia, Atep. 2017a. "Sidik bisa basa Sunda", *Kalam, Pikiran Rakyat*, 27 March.
- Kurnia, Atep. 2017b. "Siti Katidjah, feminis munggaran di Batavia", *Kalam, Pikiran Rakyat*, 27 March.
- Littrup, Lisbeth. 2000. "Travelling in the memoirs of Ibu S.K. Abdurachman", *IIAS Newsletter* 24.
- Moriyama, Mikihiro. 2005. *Sundanese print culture and modernity in nineteenth-century West Java*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Neratja. 1919. "Overzicht van de Inlandsche en Maleisisch-Chineesche pers no. 27", *Neratja* 126, 1 July.
- Niemann, G.K. 1878. "Mededeelingen van een Javaan omtrent Nederland", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 7(1). [New series.]
- Phillips, Richard. 2019. "Curiosity", in: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley, and Kathryn Walchester, *Keywords for travel writing studies; A critical glossary*, pp. 60-62. London: Anthem Press.
- Poeze, Harry A. 2008. *Di Negeri Penjajah; Orang Indonesia di negeri Belanda, 1600-1950*. Translated by Hazil Tanzil and Koesalah Soebagyo Toer. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Post, Peter W. et al. 2010. *The encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War*. Leiden / Boston, MA: Brill. [In cooperation with Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie.]
- Prabowo, Dhanu Priyo et al. 1995. *Kisah perjalanan dalam sastra Jawa*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.
- Quinn, George. 1992. *Novel berbahasa Jawa: berbagai aspek tentang ciri sastra dan sosialnya*. Translated by Raminah Baribin. Leiden: KITLV Press.

- Ras, J.J. 1979. *Javanese literature since independence; An anthology*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Ricklefs, M.C. 2008. *A history of modern Indonesia since c.1200*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Soerabaijasch Handelsblad. 1935. "Kraam verpleging Boedi Kamoeliaän; De officieele opening van het nieuwe gebouw", *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 20 May.
- Sudewo, Tini (ed.). 2000. "Ahmad Prawirodirdjo; Obor bagi generasi penerus: tapak tilas keluarga Garawangi". [Retrieved from: scribd.com; accessed on: 17-9-2012.]
- Sunjayadi, Achmad. 2017. "'Come to Holland': promosi pariwisata Belanda bagi Hindia-Belanda dan Indonesia", *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah* 8(1): 17-32.
- Sutherland, Heather. 1979. *The making of a bureaucratic elite: the colonial transformation of the Javanese priyayi*. Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia).
- Teeuw, A. 1994. "In memoriam G.W.J. Drewes, 28 November 1899 - 7 June 1992", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150: 27-49.
- Vereeniging Oost en West. 1928. *Officieele catalogus van de Indische Tentoonstelling. Zijpendaal*. Arnhem: Vereeniging Oost en West.
- Volkers-Schippers, F.A. 1940. *Widoeri: katerangan petana mapatahan ngapoet djeung imah-imah ka awewe somahan*. Translated into Sundanese by Raden Ajoë S.K. Abdoerachman. Batavia: Bale Poestaka.
- Watson, C.W. 2011. *Of self and nation; Autobiography and the representation of modern Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing (Asia).
- Wessing, Robert. 1974. "Language levels in Sundanese", *Man; New Series* 9/1 (March): 5-22.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

- Algemeen handelsblad voor Nederlandsch-Indie*, 3-9-1932.
- Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 12-5-1921, 12-1-1929, 26-1-1934.
- Bintang Timoer*, 30-1-1928, 1-1-1931.
- De Locomotief*, 7-2-1928, 5-9-1932.
- De Sumatra Post*, 4-2-1928.
- Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 30-8-1932.
- Parahiangan*, 28-2-1929, 30-1-1930, 13-11-1930.
- Sipatahoenan*, 1-4-1930, 1-12-1930, 22-11-1930, 27-1-1934, 20-4-1935.
- Soeara Publiek*, 18-4-1925.