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ABSTRACT
This article analyzes the traces of diplomatic relations between the Russian Empire and the Dutch East Indies in the late 19th century. The views and criticisms of the Russian Consul in Batavia became one of the important milestones of cultural relations between the two nations in the future. This research is a cultural history research using historical research method and structural approach. The documents used are diplomatic reports that have been published in the original language (Russian). By using the theory of hermeneutics, this article aims to see how Batavia and the people in it interacted and acted from a Russian perspective. The article sets the following objectives: (1) to provide an overview of Batavia and its society in the colonial era from a Russian perspective. (2) to analyze Bakunin's views on social structure and the lives and social strata created through the policies of the colonial government. From the data analysis and findings, this article concludes with Bakunin's criticism of the life of the European society in Batavia and the colonial system that had placed the indigenous people in the lowest class position.

KEYWORDS: Batavia, criticism of the colonial system, diplomacy, Russian empire

INTRODUCTION
Diplomatic relations between Russia and Indonesia were officially opened in the 1950s during the Soviet Union, shortly after the recognition of sovereignty by the Netherlands which prompted the Soviet Union to officially declare its recognition of Indonesia's existence as a sovereign country. The results of the Round Table Conference (RTC) agreement in December 1949 became the legal basis for the Soviet Government to recognize the sovereignty of Indonesia (at that time called the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, RIS) and opened diplomatic relations with the new country in early 1950. However, it cannot be ignored that the cultural relationship between the Indonesian and Russian nations has existed for a long time. This relationship forms the perception of how Indonesian society and culture are in the eyes of the Russian nation.

The depiction of Nusantara and Indonesian society has been part of the orientalist...
tradition of Western European scholars for centuries. This in turn shaped Indonesian studies as part of the Western intellectual tradition in studying the world. Not only in Western Europe, in Russia, this orientalist tradition experienced rapid development along with the planned exploration of the eastern region of the Russian Empire since the era of Peter the Great (1682-1725). Although the era of Peter the Great was known as the period of Westernization of Russian civilization, attention to the Eastern world became an important concern for the Russian rulers. In 1722 the Russian government established the implementation of the Siberian Expedition, which not only studied engineering sciences, as was the characteristic of Peter the Great's policy, but also developed cultural and religious articles (Jamaludin, 2011: 54-55).

The tradition of understanding Indonesia within the framework of the archipelago (Nusantara) experienced its development along with the development of orientalism that grew among Russian intellectuals. Russia's interest in the East can be traced back to the early 18th century and in the following century it was realized with various world exploration missions (Puteshestvie vokrug sveta)\(^1\)

The policy of the Russian Empire that began to look to the East (Asia) was seen at the beginning of the reign of Tsar Nikolai II, who was the last leader of Russia from the Romanov dynasty. Shortly after his visit to several countries in the East while still a crown prince, in 1893 the Russian Empire opened its diplomatic representation in the Dutch East Indies, and placed its senior diplomat, Modest M. Bakunin, as its Consul in Batavia. The placement of the diplomatic mission in Batavia showed Batavia's position as the capital of the Dutch East Indies as one of the important cities for strengthening Russian trade with Eastern countries.

This attachment can be seen from the traces of the Russian nation's attention to the lives of ethnic groups in the Nusantara region, which are contained in travel notes, autobiographies, memoirs and even in literary works by Russian intellectuals. This study aims to explore the perception and image of Russian society towards the lives of the Batavian people in the 19th century. Batavia was not only the center of Indonesian administration and trade in the colonial era, but also the center where the cultures of ethnic groups in the archipelago met. In addition, Batavia was also a meeting point between Asian and European nations, as a consequence of the strengthening of VOC (Dutch East India Company) trade.

Diplomatic relations between the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of the Netherlands allowed Russians to visit and carry out activities in the Dutch East Indies. Russian intellectuals, as a social group that had the opportunity to interact with other nations formally, came to know Batavia through the writings and works of Dutch and other Western European writers. For them, Batavia and Java in general were seen as a distant, exotic and mystical country. Russian writer Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837), for example, was inspired by the magical elements of Javanese society in producing one of his poems entitled Anchar (1828). This stereotypical view of Javanese society and Nusantara in general is what in turn influenced the way Russian society thought and acted in interacting with Indonesian society.

Research on the cultural relations of Russia with countries in Southeast Asia has

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\(^1\)In 1801-1806 the Russian Empire sent a mission to sail around the world using 2 ships, namely: the ship "Nadezhda" captained by Admiral Ivan.F. Kruzenshtern and the ship "Neva" captained by Yuri Lusyansky. In addition, the same mission was also carried out again in 1807-1811 using the ship "Diana" which was continued with the mission of the ship "Kamchatka" in 1817-1819 led by V.I. Golovnin see Golovnin V.I., Puteshestvie vokrug sveta - St-Petersburg: Drofa. See Fahrurodji, A. "Menemukan Indonesia dalam Tradisi Orientalis Rusia" in Prosiding Seminar Hasil Penelitian Kolaboratif (2011)
been conducted by several western historians such as Snow (1994, 2004, 2012), Quested (1970). Karen Snow in several of her articles discusses the diplomatic relations of the Russian empire and Singapore, Russia's views on Southeast Asia. While R. Quested discusses Russia's interests between the 19th and 20th centuries.

The article “Russian Consul in the Dutch Indies (1894-1899): Southeast Asia Through Russian Eyes” Snow (2004) observes the Dutch colonial policy in the Dutch East Indies and analyzes Russian interests in Southeast Asia. In his conclusion Snow sees that the placement of Bakunin as consul in Batavia shows the focus of the Russian empire's foreign policy in the Far East. R. Quested in the article “Russian Interest in Southeast Asia: Outlines and Sources 1803-1970” Quested (1970) provides data on the bilateral relations of the Russian empire with countries in Southeast Asia: Singapore and Indonesia, Thailand and Burma. Meanwhile, with the Philippines, Indochina and Malaysia are only briefly mentioned. In his analysis Quested mentions the 'pause' in Russian diplomatic relations with countries in Southeast Asia after the Bolshevik Revolution.

Snow and Quested's research focuses more on the analysis of the Russian empire's foreign policy and strategy towards Indonesia and several countries in Southeast Asia. Data taken from the Tropical Netherlands (Bakunin), for example, is used to provide how much the presence of these Southeast Asian countries is in relation to Russia's strategy, trade, allies and competition with regional powers, such as England and Japan. While this article focuses more on the description and perception obtained by Bakunin in empirically observing the conditions of society and the colonial system in Batavia. By emphasizing how Bakunin as a representative of the Russian nobility and diplomat criticized the state of society under Dutch colonialism.

In his duties as a diplomat, on the one hand he had to represent his country in other countries, and on the other hand for the interests of his country, he explored various things through observation and periodically sent the results of his observations in the form of reports to the government. A collection of these reports as well as his subjective views on life in the place of his assignment were later contained in his work entitled "Tropical Netherlands: Five years on Island of Java (1894-1899)." Bakunin's critical views and attitudes towards several prominent issues such as (1) the geographical position, climate, transportation system and other physical structure of Batavia (2) the social structure and society of Batavia, i.e. lifestyle of Europeans, chinese descendants and Indigenous people, are the focus of this research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This article is a historical research with the topic of cultural history. This article uses a historical method with stages: heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography. This article uses a structural approach considering that this article is more of a comparative study of the perspective of Western society, in this case, Russian society, which is inseparable from stereotypes of cultural objects and societies outside of itself.

Structural approach assumes that individual activities, society and the events they produce are caused by the structure formed in society. There is a certain system or network that forms norms which in turn become a reference, consciously or not, for individual behavior in society. Therefore, structuralists believe that there are certain patterns of behavior and interaction in society. Structure becomes a determinant for beliefs, behavior, and events that occur in history.

Structure in this case is understood as "a set of abstract principles, inherent and hidden in language, culture, ways of knowing, and observable social structures. Structure can also be a set of large-scale social, economic and geographical relationships and patterns of behavior that connect a multitude of people in certain ways and determine
observable historical events." Structuralists try to reveal the nature, effects and history of social structures as an independent real entity. Here they agree with systemic functionalists who are sometimes also called structuralists (Lloyd, 1993).

Lloyd (in Kuntowijoyo, 2008: 60) distinguishes 3 flows of structural concepts, namely: (1) flows of beliefs, (2) flows of geographical, economic and social and; (3) flows that focus on epistemological and methodological aspects. Structure is useful in organizing facts, so that historians do not get caught up in theory on the one hand, and in narrative on the other (Kuntowijoyo, 2008). For the Annales Sect, structure is geographical, economic, social and cultural in nature which lies beneath surface phenomena such as: political institutions, war and individual behavior.

To analyze the data obtained, researchers used hermeneutics theory. Basically, hermeneutics is based on efforts to understand the 'inner content' of the actions or words of historical actors. This means that a historical researcher tries to put himself in the minds of others, based on his own experiences. A researcher's background is very much needed in building an understanding (verstehen) of the past. A hermeneutics process is not only useful for interpreting texts or the intention of someone to convey a certain statement. Dilt they stated that knowledge obtained through verstehen (understanding) will be more complete than enklaren (explaining), because a writer is able to dive into the inner world of historical reality by entering the minds of historical actors (Ankersmit, 1987).

In this study, the author uses several written sources in the form of archives that have been published, such as: Opisanie del' Morskogo ministerstva/Description of the Affairs of the Ministry of the Sea (1902), Figat Pallada/Frigate Pallada (Ivan Goncharov, 1862), Puteshestviye naslednika Tsarevitsa na Vostok/Journey of the Successor to the Crown Prince's Throne to the East (Ukhtomsky, 1896-1897) and Tropicheskaya Gollandiya: Pyat' let na Ostrove Yave/Tropical Netherlands: Five years on the Island of Java (Modest M. Bakunin, 1902). The author uses the writing Tropicheskaya Gollandiya/Tropical Netherlands by Bakunin as the main source, this is because Bakunin's writing provides a more complete picture of matters related to the theme of this article. The writings collected in the book Dutch Tropis were initially diplomatic reports written by him in connection with his profession as a diplomat assigned as Consul of the Russian Empire in Batavia. Modest Modestovich Bakunin (1848-1913), a Russian diplomat who was stationed in Batavia for 5 years, from 1894 to 1899.

In addition to Bakunin's work above, to see the similarities and differences in viewing Batavia, the author compares it with several works by Western Europeans who visited Batavia in the 19th century, such as Fedor Schulze with his work entitled West Java: traveller's Guide for Batavia and from Batavia to Preanger Regencies and Tjilatjap2 written in 1894, A Visit to Java with an Account of the Founding of Singapore, by Worsword W. Basil, Higginson,3 written in 1890. In addition, it can also be compared with the writings of The History of Java by Stamford Raffles which was written in the early 19th century, precisely in 1817 and Jakarta History 400 Years by Susan Blackburn (1989), which contains about Batavia in various periods. By utilizing articles and books by intellectuals and travelers who stopped by Batavia, Blackburn provides a glimpse of Batavia from time to time.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Modest Bakunin and the Diplomatic Mission of the Russian Empire in Batavia

Modest Modestovich Bakunin (1848-1913) became the first and last consul

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representing the Russian Empire's diplomatic mission in Batavia. Previously, the Russian diplomatic mission in Batavia had only been represented by the Dutch.

Bakunin served in Batavia for 5 years from 1894 to 1899. Bakunin's diplomatic career began after he completed his education at Pazheskiy Korpus, a special school for foreign service in St-Petersburg under the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1869. A year later he received his first assignment in Skutari (now Schoder, Albania) as secretary to the Consul, shortly after he was transferred to Raguz (now Dubrovnik, Croatia). Within 3 years (1875-1878) he served in several places such as Sarajevo, Yassa, Kissinev (Moldavia) and Belgrade (Serbia). Almost a quarter of a century of his diplomatic career was spent in the Balkan region, including 12 years as Consul General in Sarajevo (1880-1893). At the end of 1893 he was placed in Batavia.

The assignment of a diplomat to Batavia was decided by the Russian government after the visit of the Crown Prince of the Russian Empire, Cesarevich Nikolai to Batavia. The first assignment to the capital of the Dutch East Indies was given to Modest Bakunin, this was his only assignment to the East. After his assignment in Batavia in 1899 he was placed back in Europe, namely in Bordeaux for several years and in 1903 became Consul General in Copenaghen.

In his book entitled Tropicheskaya Gollandiya (Tropical Netherlands) Bakunin not only describes the life of Batavia, but describes Java in general, even other regions outside Java such as Sumatra and Kalimantan are mentioned and given sufficient narratives. However, Bakunin's attention to Batavia as the capital of the Dutch East Indies received a fairly large portion. This is understandable considering that Batavia was the place where Bakunin carried out his daily activities as Consul representing his country, the Russian Empire. Russia's diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been established for centuries allowing Russia to send diplomatic envoys to the Dutch colonial area better known as the East Indies (ост-Индия) with Java and Batavia as its center.

In order to analyze the Russian view of Batavia in the 19th century, the author focuses on several things which are considered most prominent in Bakunin's Tropicheskaya Golladiya, such as: (1) The geographical position, climate, transportation and other physical structures of Batavia; and (2) social structure and society of Batavia, lifestyle of European society, its descendants and the natives, and other things related to these themes.

Geographical Position and Infrastructure

Batavia's geographical position in the tropics influenced the formation of Western society's impression of the capital of the Dutch East Indies. The first thing that caught the attention of Westerners who came to Nusantara, especially to Batavia, was the problem of climate differences with their home regions. Batavia, with its extreme climate for most Europeans, became a kind of 'other world' that required effort and the ability to adapt.

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4Cesarevich/Tsarevich Nikolai Aleksandrovich Romanov was the crown prince who later became the last Tsar and Emperor of the Russian Empire (Nikolai II). His abdication after the February Revolution of 1917 ended the 300-year reign of the Romanov Dynasty and began Soviet rule.

5The full title of this book is Tropicheskaya Gollandiya: Pyat' Let na ostrove Yave (Tropical Holland: Five Years on the Island of Java).

6The Russian-Dutch relationship has existed since the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible (1547-1584). Furthermore, at the beginning of the reign of Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov in 1613, Russia sent its first ambassador to the Netherlands. In the era of Peter the Great, in the framework of the reforms he initiated, Peter sent a great envoy (Velikoye Posolstvo) to Europe and visited the Netherlands, which was known as a shipbuilding country. Peter himself participated in the mission in disguise. See Fahrurodji, Rusia Baru Menuju Demokrasi, Jakarta: Obor, 2005, pp. 68-69.
Raffles, for example, among his positive impressions of Batavia said that "Batavia's climate is probably the worst in the world" (Raffles, 2014). Hot weather was a common complaint among Europeans here.

Bakunin also felt this way, where in his writing he tried to make an analogy with something typical that is generally understood by Russian society. About the heat of Batavia he stated that:

Batavia is a *russkaya banya* (Russian sauna), although the average temperature does not exceed 22-23° Reamur. At night the temperature can drop to 21 and 20°, so we need to wrap our bodies with blankets of flannel or thin silk, because the skin is accustomed to continuous heat, so that at a temperature of 20° we will feel fresh. (Bakunin, p. 66).

From the quote above we can see that extreme heat is a tough situation that they inevitably have to face and eventually they will get used to the inevitable conditions. This is what in turn influences the habits of Europeans, especially the Dutch, who have settled in Batavia for a long time. The lifestyle, way of dressing, work patterns and even the nature and character of the Dutch people of Batavia, according to Bakunin are different from Europeans in general. Geographical conditions have changed the 'original' behavior of the Dutch to adapt to the local climate. Batavia seems to have formed a new identity of European society that distinguishes it from European society in general. In addition, Bakunin also describes the conditions of places in Batavia in detail by providing narratives influenced by his personal impressions and views during his stay in Batavia.

**Port of Tanjung Priok, Old Batavia and Pasar Baroe**

Bakunin's narrative about Batavia begins with his impression of Tanjung Priok and the Old Batavia. Tanjung Priok is the main port that serves as the gateway for foreigners to enter Batavia. Tanjung Priok Port is described as a quiet port and far from the impression of grandeur. "Tanjung Priok with its wide beaches and quiet docks gives an impression that is far from grandeur," (Bakunin, 22).

Tanjung Priok was indeed a newly built port and was only opened a few years before Bakunin's arrival in Batavia, precisely in 1886. The construction of the port that replaced the old port was carried out for almost 10 years (1877-1886). Although it was a new place, this port seemed deserted. This may be related to the unsuccessful efforts to move Batavia's business center to the area due to the less than ideal natural conditions and frequent outbreaks of malaria (Blackburn, 2011).

On the way to Batavia, the impression of slums and the city in the Old Batavia and Glodok areas can be seen from the description given by Bakunin:

…Old Batavia was more of a sad, dirty village…A small wooden station, small one-story houses lined up in rows were trading offices, warehouses and cheap restaurants, as well as large, empty fields, and rubbish piled up everywhere (page 22).

The depiction of the shabby and simple city of Old Batavia, which is not worthy of being called a capital city of a country like in the big cities he encountered in Europe. A capital city compared to a dirty and sad village, this is in contrast to St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, which is filled with Western-style buildings and trade center buildings left by Peter the Great.

In his description of *Pasar Baroe*, a shopping center which until the 21st century was still one of the capital's trade centers, Bakunin stated that
In Pasar Baroe, indeed, there is a street with houses on both sides and Chinese shops with merchandise from Japan and India, but Pasar Baroe is located far from the city center and is located in a Malay village (page 24).

From this quote it is seen that Bakunin is very observant about the commodities in this shopping center (by mentioning goods from Japan and India) and he marks the existence of Chinese shops that dominate this area. In addition, he also criticized the position of this place located far from the city center and located in an indigenous village.

Bakunin's impression of the city of Batavia was of a large but poorly maintained city, so that it was more like a suburban town or a village but with a large area:

Batavia in general does not resemble a city, it is more like Tsarskoye Selo or Peterhoff with the only difference being the trees that shade the streets. If in Petersburg it is shaded by Beryoza and Klen trees, here by tropical trees ... Batavia is a large village in the middle of which there is Koningsplein, a large, bare field measuring 4 square kilometers. This too, to be honest, cannot be called a field, but an empty place covered by watery grass that in the rainy season turns into a mud puddle that is difficult to pass through.

Bakunin considered Batavia to be like a village or hamlet. He compared it to Tsarskoye Selo or Peterhoff, an area on the outskirts of St. Petersburg, Russia. Word ‘Selo’ in Russian means village. This view is ironic considering that Batavia was the center of the Dutch East Indies government. Batavia’s tropical climate is quite prominent in the narrative, distinguishing it from the northern capital of Russia. Unfortunately, Batavia was not well maintained. In this case, Bakunin compared it to Singapore, which, although the climate is the same, is more beautiful and well maintained. According to Bakunin, this situation cannot be separated from the role of the Dutch in managing their colonial territory. He considered this to be the responsibility of the colonial rulers.

City Center ‘Koningsplein’ and Transportation System

About the central square of the capital, Bakunin describes that Korolevskaya ploshyad’ (Koningsplein) or the royal square is the square in the city center, another name for Gambir. This area is the elite area of Batavia. For the hot climate of Batavia, this area is the coolest place. The Gambir area is an elite area in Batavia. The houses here are very expensive. The monthly rental price is around 300-400 guilders for one house. Only the upper class can live here (Bakunin, 43).

Bakunin paid great attention to the transportation system that was the backbone of Batavia's residents' activities. Given its vast territory, he compared it to Moscow, to provide a more understandable picture for the Russian people.

The railway (drawn by horses) was drawn from one end on the outskirts of Batavia, namely Meester Cornelis, to the port of Priok or, more precisely, to the station in the Old City, from where trains departed for Priok which passed through the entire Old and New City, which stretched out as wide and flat as a billiard board, with distances, as in Moscow, far from each point (page 28).

In addition to trains, city transportation was dominated by horse-drawn carriages known as Sado (dos-a-dos). According to Bakunin, this vehicle was uncomfortable because you had to sit close together and sometimes you had to sit back to back with the coachman. And worse, the swaying and jerking while walking could cause nausea like seasickness.
Apart from land transportation, Batavia also utilized canals leading to the sea or to Weltevreden as a mode of transportation:

In the canals, native boats heading out to sea and to Weltevreden are loaded with fruit, vegetables, rice, coconuts and so on, an activity that never stops both day and night (page 55).

Generally, these canals were used to transport goods such as vegetables, rice and other foodstuffs, and this activity was carried out for 24 hours. Meanwhile, the rivers in the middle of the city were used by the natives for bathing and washing clothes. Regarding the activity of bathing in the river, Bakunin describes:

The bathing activity did not stop even at night; the pleasure of the people bathing in this river, the shouts and noise of naked children and half-naked adults, did not make the Dutch people uncomfortable or surprised in the slightest (page 31).

Bakunin praised how the native women maintained modesty while bathing in public in the following sentence:

It takes place in a very polite manner: the women dive into the river wearing sarongs (paper cloth wrapped around the hips and waist) and, when they come out of the water, with their wet tops they change into clean, dry sarongs that have been prepared on the river bank (page 31).

From the description above, it can be seen how Bakunin's views are based on experience and direct interaction with the situation and conditions of Batavia. By trying to compare one object with a similar object in Russia, with the aim of providing a clearer picture, it shows that this work is a material presented both for certain circles and the general public to understand Batavia and the East Indies colonial system.

Social Structure and Society of Batavia

Batavia at the end of the 19th century was the capital of the Netherland East Indies, designed by the Dutch to be a 'European city' in the tropics with a population (according to Bakunin's records) of 110,700 people. Of this figure, around 9,000 people or less than 10 percent were Europeans. However, the strong indigenous influence and social inequality in the community made the city far from a European city. Apart from Europeans, there were Arabs, Indians and Chinese, as well as Malays, living in Batavia. Although less than 10 percent, Europeans occupied the uppermost position in the stratification of Batavian society and the Dutch East Indies in general.

Social Life of Europeans in Batavia

As colonial rulers, the Dutch placed themselves and other Europeans in an upper-class position with various conveniences and privileges. The governor-general held regular banquets with foreign representatives. Officials and the military were invited to artistic and cultural events. There were entertainment clubs, theaters and so on, so that the European community felt as if they were living in Europe.

In Bakunin's view, Batavia's life tried to adopt European culture in its people's lifestyle. However, Bakunin often gave sharp criticism of the lifestyle imposed by the Batavia community. For example, the lack of entertainment. There were only 2 clubs in Batavia, namely Harmonie and Concordia. Harmonie was a city club (gorodskiy klub) while Concordia was a club for the military (klub dlya voennykh) which according to
Bakunin:

"Concordia is located on the vast Waterlooplein (Waterloo Square). In its park, the Batavia military battalion music orchestra is usually held. On Saturday nights, people usually walk around the Concordia park until 9-11 pm" (Bakunin, 39).

Apart from the Concordia and Harmonie, which were the only representative entertainments of European style and taste, Batavia also had a theater of European standard, but, according to Bakunin, artistic activity there was very poor. About the theater Bakunin said:

The theater building is quite beautiful from the outside, it looks like an open gallery facing out. But unfortunately the theater is usually empty. It used to stage Italian operas and French operettas, but in recent years the clubs have not visited anymore, because the costs are very expensive, especially after the 'sakharniy krizis' (sugar crisis) hit Batavia 10 years earlier. Currently there are performances organized by amateur actors from the Batavia community itself. There are at least 2 fairly serious opera performances such as "Mignon" and "Faust" which were staged quite well by them. This year 2 performances are planned "La Navarraise" and "Lakme" (Bakunin, 40).

In his life as a diplomat, and his experience of being stationed in European countries, Bakunin had a fairly good perception of 19th century European upper-class society, at least based on his experience of being placed in various places in Europe. In Batavia he often attended official events such as receptions, balls involving the European community in Batavia. But the image of a European-style party that he wanted was not found in Batavia.

The annoying things that were often done before these receptions, according to Bakunin's notes, were: They were usually announced in the capital's three main newspapers, Java Bode, Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad and Bataviaasch Handelsblad, although dates were often changed.

The party was usually held at 7-8 pm and at 8.30 everything was over, the lights were turned off. The party seemed shallow (банный), stiff (натянутый) and too official (официальный). This is felt where men usually always gather with other men and women group with each other. Men stand in groups while smoking. Regarding drinks, Bakunin added that: “…whisky and soda, or portwine. Usually also used mineral water brand Apollinaris, which the Malays call Dutch water (ayer Wlanda)” (Bakunin, 37).

Bakunin also wrote a detailed description of the reception held by the Governor-General. In his writings Bakunin explained that the Governor-General, who lived in Buitenzorg, spent 2-3 days visiting Batavia every month to hold hearings every day, in the evening of which a reception was held.

"Three times a year he (the Governor-General - AF) organized a big Ball, and every 31st of August a meeting with all the foreign representatives was held, followed by a luncheon in full uniform...This was held at the Governor-General's Palace in Batavia, to which 500-600 guests were invited." (Bakunin, 56).

Bakunin also highlighted the Dutch habit of wearing local clothing such as Sarong and Kebaya (sarong i kabaya) which he considered unethical and not in accordance with European values, as he wrote: “К завтраку дамы являются в своем неприличном sarong’e и в кабае, с босыми ногами.” For breakfast the ladies appear in their indecent sarong and kabaya (kofta), with bare feet.’ (Bakunin, 48). Dutch women are generally depicted as lacking in culture, often laughing out loud, something Bakunin
considered unsuitable for European culture.

Bakunin's experience interacting with Europeans, other than the Dutch, led him to criticize and compare the Dutch with the English.

The Dutch were less mobile and more apathetic than the English. The saying that time is money was not yet a core principle. This in turn is the cause of everything. They were, indeed, from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. sitting in offices in the Old City or traveling in covered carriages, but even after 4 p.m. when they are free from work they leave Batavia straight for their homes in Weltevreden, resting in their oversized easy chairs.

Bakunin considered the Dutch people more engrossed in their own activities and relaxing in their homes. They tend to be less social and do physical activities such as walking and exercising.

**Chinese Descendants in the Second Strata**

In the social structure of Batavia the Chinese occupied the second position in the social strata. They occupied a fairly high position in the structure of Batavia society. Usually they became intermediaries between the colonial government and the natives.

According to Bakunin, the Chinese people had an important role in life in Batavia. They occupied a fairly high position in the structure of Batavian society. Generally they traded, became cashiers in banks, instructors on plantations and others. Bakunin noticed that there were no Chinese servants, except in the homes of English businessmen.

Regarding the character and customs of the Chinese descendants Bakunin wrote:

> The Chinese people keep their own skin color and national dress, although they forget their language. They have been living in Java for a long time and use Malay in their conversations, marry Malay women, but do not mix with the natives, but live in their own houses… (Bakunin, 27)

Compared to the natives, the Chinese generally controlled trade and became important intermediaries for the natives and foreigners (Europeans):

> In Java and even in the island (on other islands) they control all trade and play the role of the Jewish factor as in our North-Western Provinces. Without the mediation of China we could not have made any progress. They are not only traders, craftsmen, but also cashiers in bank offices and administrators on plantations (Bakunin, 27)

Bakunin saw the Chinese as an aggressive group like the Jews who lived in Jewish enclaves in the Russian Empire.

**Malay and Indigenous: An Empathic View**

Bakunin could not distinguish between the indigenous tribes in Batavia. He simply referred to them as Malay people, distinguishing them from the Chinese and other foreigners, except when he visited Yogyakarta, where he mentioned Javanese. The lives of the Malay people and the natives in general are described in detail by Bakunin. Generally, the Malay people worked as sellers of vegetables, crockery and other cheap goods.

> Malays generally only sell fruits, cheap glassware, matches and so on. They are
very far behind compared to Chinese, Arabs and Keling or Bombay people\(^7\) (Bakunin, 28)

The picture of the indigenous people is depicted with empathy. The indigenous people are backward and live in conditions that are generally lacking. Of the various miseries, one thing that Bakunin really highlighted was the habit of the indigenous people going barefoot, which became Bakunin's serious concern. Bakunin could not imagine how at the end of the 19th century there were still people who did not wear shoes. It is unpleasant to see people walking in public places without shoes. "In Java alone, with a population of around 23 million, that means there are around 46 million barefoot feet" something that was very strange for Bakunin.

Here there is already a kind of understanding that: the custom of not wearing shoes among the natives implemented by the Dutch is almost an administrative-governmental principle that does not ignore deep political thinking: the Dutch and Mestizos, white people in general, even including the Chinese who feel themselves racially superior to white people, feel that only they have the right and privilege to wear shoes. Shoes are the privilege of white people, which is a very striking external sign, which everyone can know that the subject who wears shoes is the ruling and ruling class (Bakunin, 29).

The habit of not wearing shoes among the indigenous people, for Bakunin, is not only a form of inheritance of indigenous traditions, but rather a colonial policy to form a social stratification that is systematically carried out to control the lives of indigenous people. This policy is seen along with the language politics applied to indigenous people and colonial life in general.

The colonial government did not want Dutch to be used in everyday conversation by the local people, just as the British enforced the use of English in their colonial areas.

As a result of their principles, the Dutch did not allow natives to learn and speak Dutch. Dutch, which was part of high culture, white culture, was an exclusive monopoly of the Dutch and whites. Therefore, the Dutch spoke to the natives in Malay, for those who lived in coastal cities, Sundanese, for those who lived in the southeastern part of Java and Javanese, for those who lived in the interior of Java (Bakunin, 29).

Bakunin's critical view of the rules implemented by the colonial government came from his experience during his diplomatic duties in various countries. European values that are generally accepted as a measure of human civilization were marginalized when he saw the conditions that occurred in Batavia. However, all of these criticisms were initially only conveyed to a limited circle in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire. This view in turn became the general view of Russian society and intellectuals about Batavia in the 19th century.

CONCLUSION

In conducting this research, the author took the writings of one of the intellectual figures who had direct interaction with the culture and society of Batavia, namely \textit{Tropicheskaya Gollandia} (Tropical Holland). This work, which was originally a

\(^{7}\text{Bombay people refer to traders from India and Sri Lanka.}\)
collection of diplomatic and secret reports, is the first work to describe in detail and completely about Batavia and Java in general. After analyzing the data sources above and comparing them with data sources related to the theme above, it can be concluded that the views of Russian intellectuals, represented in Bakunin's work, show a critical view of Batavia and the conditions of society in it. Bakunin provides a detailed description, with long narratives about objects in Batavia. In each narrative, Bakunin provides personal impressions and views. Bakunin's impressions, which tend to be negative about the lives of Dutch society in Batavia, are what distinguishes him from the general European view. This is what in turn became one of the 'guides' for Russian intellectuals in later periods in understanding Indonesia.

This article provides an overview of the personal perceptions and critiques of Bakunin, a diplomat assigned to Batavia about the lives of the natives and the Europeans who were part of the Dutch colonial system. Bakunin's writing in turn became a reference for the views of Russian society in general, especially those who would interact with Eastern, Asian, and Indonesian cultures. From the various stereotypes about Batavian and indigenous people written by Bakunin, they are still felt today, if we interact directly with Russians. This article is useful in relation to the development of Indonesian Studies from the perspective of Eastern European countries, especially Russia. In addition, this article can be an initial step for the development of Indonesia-Russia relations in the future, in terms of knowing how the Russian people understand Indonesia.

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