



NEGATION OF FAUNA SUSTAINABILITY AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE RAMPOGAN MACAN TRADITION IN JAVA, 1880S TO 1900S

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ABSTRACT

From the 1880s to the early 1900s on the island of Java, there was a unique tradition, namely the Rampogan Macan/Rampok Macan tradition. Javanese people community elite carried out this tradition until the early nineteenth century, but for reasons of animal preservation, the Dutch then banned the event. Questions in this research: How was the Rampogan Macan Tradition event until it was declared prohibited by the colonial government? This study uses historical methods. The study results show that the Rampogan Macan tradition as a conflict tradition in Java is a development of the Rampogan Macan tradition in Surakarta. Along with the decreasing population of the Javanese tiger, this tradition was later discontinued for reasons of preserving the fauna, but the big event was held in Java. The main reason the elites held tiger *rampok* was none other than the prestige they had won.

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PENDAHULUAN

Tradition is the transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation, or facts passed down from generation to generation, mainly by word of mouth or by practice (Gouws, 2015). Traditions can be anything, including unwritten laws, customs, stories, ordinances, and others. But what happens if the tradition is a conflict tradition that has the potential to kill lives but is in demand by society in general and the requirements for symbols? This is what happened to the Rampogan Macan tradition which was carried out in several areas in Java.

The tiger itself is a symbol for several Javanese kingdoms, one of which is Mataram Islam. The tiger is a symbol of courage. This is evidenced by the existence of a Bende heritage named Kangdjengkyahi Macan (Simã), which for some people is believed to make a sound like a tiger's roar and frighten opponents who hear it. Therefore, this heirloom was wisely stored in Kèdaton. Today's society may be unfamiliar with the tradition of Rampogan Macan or another name: Rampok Macan, Tijgersteeken. The Rampogan Macan tradition is held like the Spanish bullfighting festival, enlivened by cheers from the sound of musical instruments. The difference is, if the Spanish bullfight uses a trumpet musical instrument, the Javanese tiger rampage is enlivened by the sound of the Kodokngorek Gamelan musical instrument (Surjodiningrat, 1971). This tradition is known among Europeans as *Tijgersteeken* (spearing the tiger) or *Tijgerkampok* (Wilken, 1893. *Bataviaaschnieuwsblad*, 12 February 1901).

The Rampogan Macan ceremony is divided into two sessions, namely bull-tiger fights (Sima-Maesa) and tiger robbers (Rampok Sima). The types of tigers used in this tradition are not only the Javanese tiger (*Panthera tigris sondaica*), but several types of animals from the Tigris family, such as leopard, and panther. Javanese people before the 1900s called both the Javanese tiger and the leopard.



In several sources, manuscripts are sometimes specifically explained. The tigers that are often found in Java are generally striped tigers or royal tigers which are widely identified as Javanese tigers. Some other tigers are Black Leopards (*Panthera pardus*), or leopards. The buffalo used in the Rampogan Macan tradition is *Bubalus bubalis*, which is widely spread across the island of Java, and generally domesticated (domesticated). Some buffaloes in certain areas are usually allowed to run wild. The wild buffalo is identified as a bison by the Javanese. The bull used in the Sima-Maesarampog besides *Bubalus bubalis* is *Bos Javanicus*.

The first procession that was carried out at Rampogan Macan was to pit the tiger and the buffalo (Sima-Maesa). A buffalo is placed in a large cage near the palace or district square (it could also be a field). Several tigers were housed in small cages which were placed in large cages. After the cage was opened, the tiger was forced to leave the cage. Both the tiger and the buffalo are 'stimulated' to start the battle. If the tiger wins, the animal is then released into the crowd of spear-wielding troops. If the buffalo wins, the other tiger will usually be released into the crowd of troops (Bertrand, 2005).

The next procession is Rampogan Sima by releasing tigers in the crowd of troops. The troops formed a very large square formation near the palace (*alun-alun*), in rows of three or four troops with each troop holding a spear. Some small cages each containing a tiger were placed in the center of the square formation. One cage was opened, and the tiger tried to escape from the crowd of soldiers. The tiger will try to find a hole in the troop's line but usually fails. The tiger also sometimes tries to jump above the heads of the troops. Usually, the tiger is hit by a spear held by the troops and thrown back into the middle. This continues to be done until the tiger dies or is completely exhausted. Sometimes the tiger manages to escape.

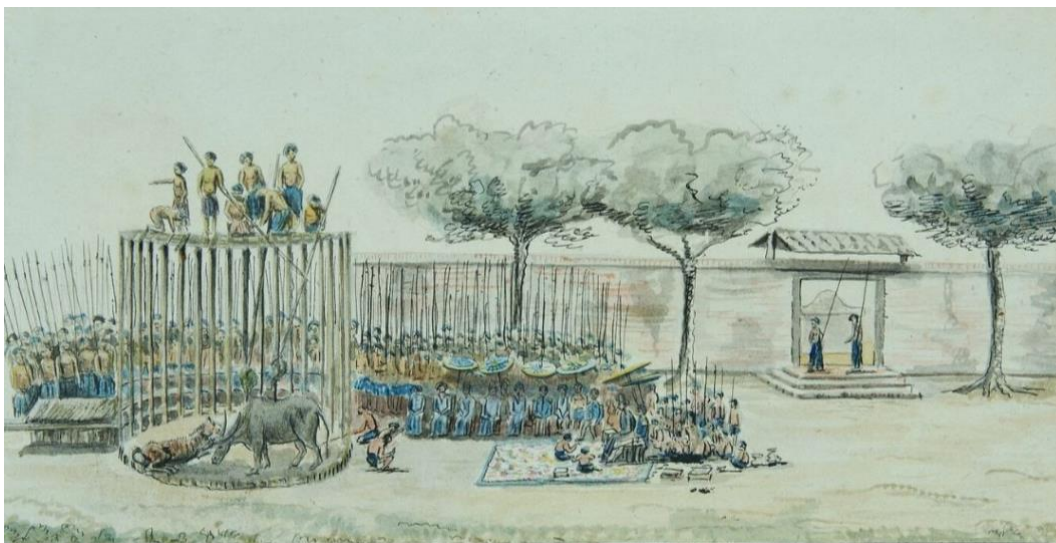


Figure 1. Sultan HB II enjoyed the Rampogan Macan and Sima-Maesa events
Source: lithography by Hubert Joseph Jean Lambert de Stuers, 1867

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, especially in the 1630s, tiger robbers were often held in Java, especially in the Kasunanan and Sultanate. Plered and Kartasura became the royal capitals that often held the Rampogan Macan (Boomgard, 2001). Between 1677 and 1705, Islamic Mataram lost much of its influence in West Java (Priangan, Cirebon) and most of the island of Madura. In 1755 prolonged conflict within Mataram Islam caused the kingdom to surrender the entire northern coast of Java and parts of eastern Java to the VOC. The Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Vorstenlanden) areas experienced shrinking territory, especially in 1812, and after the Java War (1825-1830). Not many references have been found in Javanese manuscript sources indicating that this ritual was mostly performed before the 17th century. Only a handful of Chinese and Portuguese sources describe this tradition. This is also motivated by diplomatic relations with Java. References regarding Rampogan Macan itself were written by Edmund Scott, a British government head in the city of

Banten in 1605. The Rampogan Macan which was carried out in the Sultanate of Banten coincided with the celebration of the circumcision of the king's child (crown prince). When Prince Jayakarta arrived to pay his respects, various unique processions were held showing various rare animals, including buffalo and tigers which were placed in their respective cages. Scott further describes that the tiger is a wild animal and has not been tamed (domesticated). Other references show that in 1620, several basic elements of the tradition of complaining about tigers were increasingly sticking out. Two Dutchmen detained at the trading entrance to the Taji area, close to the Mataram-Islamic kingdom, wrote to the VOC Governor-General in Batavia that Sultan Agung (ruler of Mataram Islam) sent his servants to capture 200 tigers for three months. Sultan Agung also pitted the captured tigers with his men (servants) who were only equipped with spears. The troops (servants of the *Dalem*) carry out their duties bravely which is witnessed by the sultan with the elites, and his concubines. Historian H.J. de Graaf stated that the formations of the tiger spearmen pitted against each other in a circle. However, de Graaf did not explain the sources which stated that the troop formations were circular or square. Several sources before 1708 also did not mention much that men's troops fully armed with spears were a complementary part of the Rampogan Sima (Boomgard, 2001).

The frenetic Rampogan Macan events that took place in Java, especially in the IX-XX centuries, are interesting if studied, especially the problem of negating the preservation of wild animals and the sustainability of tiger robbers. Therefore, the main question in this research is how did the colonial government enforce the negation of environmental sustainability so that the Rampogan Macan tradition in Java became extinct? The question is then is then parsed into several questions to analyze the main question, namely, how is the tradition of Rampogan Macan carried out in Java in the 19th and 20th centuries? why is the negation of conservation important? How can the government enforce the negation of environmental sustainability? How do elites and society respond to this?

METHOD

This research is a type of qualitative research using historical methods. The stages passed include topic selection, heuristics, criticism, and interpretation. The heuristic process focuses more on literature study by exploring colonial newspapers, books, magazines/*tijdschrift* published in the 1890-1930s, as well as the latest scientific publications related to this tradition. Research related to the Rampogan Macan has been carried out by Boomgard which was published in 1996 entitled *Death to the Tiger! The Development of Tiger and Leopard Rituals in Java*. This article is published in *Historical Abstracts: Modern History Abstracts*, 1450-1914, Volume 47. The locus of research conducted by Peter Boomgard is the island of Java in general. The research revealed that Rampogan Macan had been banned since the end of the nineteenth century, due to the dwindling populations of tigers and leopards. On the other hand, Rampogan Macan appears in several areas, such as Kediri, and areas around the north coast of Java (Boomgard, 2001).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tradition of Rampogan Macan by Javanese People in 19th and 20th Centuries

The Rampogan Macan Tradition is a tradition carried out by the Javanese people for a long time. Rampogan itself comes from the word *rampog* which means fight. Rampogan Macan is one of the traditions by demonstrating the human ability to compete with tigers and buffalo. After that, the tiger was showered with weapons in the form of spears repeatedly by the soldiers until it died. In the Rampogan Macan tradition, which is held in Surakarta, the guards in charge of shooting the tiger with spears are the courtiers of the palace. Several studies identify this tradition, apart from being like Spanish bullfighting it is also almost like the matches packaged in gladiator. Some of the troops held spears and were ready to hit the tiger with the spears until the tiger died (Anderson, 1998). The last rains were usually carried out by local authorities/local elites (Regents, *Susuhunan* etc.).

The existence of tigers in the early 19th century was considered a nuisance to the population. Tigers often preyed on people's livestock. Therefore, the 19th century authorities ordered the capture and killing of tigers. Each tiger would be given 10-50 dollars, estimated to be equivalent to the salary of a Dutch graduate employee, based on the size of the captured tiger. Tigers that were captured alive would be collected and will be killed (*dirampog*) on the *Ketupat* holiday. Usually during the month of *Ruwah* (*Sha'ban*) and the fasting month, villages close to the forest would set traps.

The surviving tiger is locked up in a cage north of the square. There are two types of cages, the Tosan cage with a size of 2 square meters and the Rujung cage with a larger size according to the size of the tiger. On the night before the Rampogan Macan, the tigers are put into a crate that has been installed in front of the cage door. The tigers are scared with torches to hide and enter the crate. On the door of the crate there is a long rope when pulled, the lid of the crate containing the tiger will automatically open (Karimah, [2022](#)).

The Rampogan Macan competition is a symbol of the Javanese people's disappointment with Dutch arrogance and cruelty, where the tiger represents the Dutch, while the buffalo represents the Javanese. This tradition is not a representation of the traditions of the lower middle class, considering that it was initiated by nobles and kings. Preparation for robbing tigers is very long, requires a lot of various needs, and is expensive and not easy, especially in catching tigers. Not just any aristocrat could carry out a large-scale tiger hunting.

"...wiwittipunwonten aben-aben saharampoggan sima punika kala taun jawi 1623, jumeneng dalem ingkang Sinuhun Prabu Mangkuratjagading nigari Kartasura."

At first, the Rampogan Sima was held in 1623 (Javanese year), at the King's Sinuhun Palace Mangkurat Jagad Kertasura (*Serat Narpawandawa Surakarta*, 1929, p. 54)

The quote from the Surakarta Narpawandawa fiber explains that the first Rampog Macan was held around 1623 in the Javanese calendar or around the 17th century under the reign of Sinuwun Mangkuratjagad in the Kasunanan Kartasura palace. What is meant is none other than the dignitaries of the Netherlands, both residents, and the Governor-General. Therefore, the animals that are contested in tiger rampage are tigers (tiger) and buffalo or bulls. The Rampog Macan event cannot use tigers at random. The choice of which tiger to fight must have a bad character (which is associated with cruelty, evil or violence).

"...pilihannipun sima ingkangdipunabenpunika kedah milih sima ingkangrahinipunkepu, badannipun celak, buntittipundhempok, ules abrit, lerekkipuncanthellanboten turut, gandanipun amis sarta bacin, sima makatenpunika nama sima bekasakkan, manahhipun awon, watekkipun galak..."

The choice of the Tiger that is given should be the one who has a fat face, a small body, a short tail, red skin, a thick and untidy leg, a fishy and dirty double, that is the name of the Tiger, an evil heart, a fierce temper (*Serat Narpawandawa Surakarta*, 1929, p. 54).

The word tiger (*sima*) referred to in the text is symbolized as a tiger, meaning that it has an evil and cruel temperament. The tiger was obtained through hunting by being led/trapped with traps and deliberately kept in a tiger cage. The tiger that had been caught was guarded overnight by the *Mantri Onderdistrict* until the Rampogan Macan event began and long spears. The ranks of the soldiers were so tight that there was no gap for the tiger to escape. The soldiers along with the long spears they carried entered the field according to Gendhing rhythms performed by the Niyaga. The Gendhing that was performed was *Kodhokngorek*. Before carrying out the Rampogan Macan, they also paid respects by facing west and north. After the procession of respect for the elites who were present was carried out, the small tiger cage (often also called *Grobog*) was opened, and the wild tiger went berserk and ran around in the arena of the game. Some other tigers also feel afraid in a crowd of people. Troops (warriors) usually anger the tigers by using fire (torches) and stabbing them with spears or other means. Whereas in *Maesa* (Buffalo) which is contested with tigers, usually using water mixed with

cayenne pepper which is poured on the buffalo's body so that the buffalo's body heats up and the buffalo goes berserk, namely putting the tiger into the cage (Moerdjoko, [2005](#)). Rampog Macan is usually held after Eid Al-Fitr (Anonim, [2005](#)). The event then became a tradition and spread to several areas in Java.

The process of carrying out the Rampog Macan event begins with preparations made by all the people a week before the event is held. Merchants from several areas sell their wares around the main square. The public can watch the Tiger Robbs for free. Almost every region has a large public space (*alun-alun*) area. Every time a tiger rampage is held, the local community usually opens a stall and decorates it with flags and flower garlands (Kunstdirektor, [2016](#)).

The Rampog Macan competition is divided into two matches, namely Sima Maesa and Rampogan Sima. Sima Maesa is a show that shows a tiger fighting a buffalo in a cage. Tigers and buffalo kill each other. Meanwhile, Rampogan Sima is a tiger slaughter by placing a tiger in the middle of a siege of thousands of men armed with spears. In this show, a tiger that tries to escape from the encirclement will be sadistically killed by using a spear. This is also a vehicle to get to know the king or leader more closely. Some of the people who were present were allowed to have the courage to fight the tiger.

Tiger raids in the Surakarta Kasunanan environment are usually held on Mondays or Thursdays. Sunan Pakubuwono himself organizes tiger raids by spreading announcements to all residents. Notification is usually done by *gandek* (a messenger or messenger). The announcements are usually delivered in the form of songs or notifications. Usually, the *gandek* informs the main ceremony that will be held at the palace. So, it's not just information about tiger robbers or *pisowanan* (the people and all the elites facing the king). All these processions are united through the main event in the form of Garebeg. In the Garebeg procession, the match against the tiger (robber tiger) is usually held separately because the procession is ceremonial and complicated. When residents, military commanders, palace officials, and other elites have arrived, Sunan will be present in the performance where the Rampogan Macan is held. Sunan and the guests saw the tiger rampage from the *Pengrawit* Ward. The tiger robbers began after the guests, especially the Governor General of the Netherlands, made a toast. The regent (a servant in the palace) usually made sure that the tiger was dead when it left the battlefield. been held massively for 90 years (*Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 30 December [1931](#)).

The Rampok Macan tradition held in Yogyakarta is slightly different compared to Surakarta. The Yogyakarta Sultanate's Rampog Macan was accompanied by the Gamelan Salèndro Kangjeng Kyai Munggang. The Rampogan Macan in Yogyakarta is usually carried out on Saturdays. The Niyaga (*gamelan* players) are on a stage on the east side of the north square as is done during the Garebeg ceremony. Before the event was held, the prince gathered thousands of people armed with spears. Some references state that they lined up in a square or rectangle in two or three rows, facing into the field (Hogendorp, [1830](#)).

In both the Kasunanan and the Sultanate, the Rampok Macan is held to show the greatness of the kingdom. The event which was attended by thousands of people caught the attention of almost all the people to witness the Sultan and Susuhunan firsthand. The Sultan and Susuhunan hit the gong as a sign of the start of the event. Small tiger cages are usually covered with straw so that the tiger does not know its surroundings, so it is more ferocious when released from the cage. The soldiers in the first line speared the tigers facing the front, while the second line guarded by pointing the spear slightly upwards, as well as the third line. The tiger cage opener wears a velvet dress. The opening of the cage is usually the son of the concubine of the Sultan/Susuhunan who is considered honorable. Before the cage was opened, the cage opener was worshiped. The door is opened by cutting the rope. After the cage is opened, according to the blow of the Sultan/Susuhunan gong, the cage opener will run towards the line of soldiers. The soldiers then cheered, and the tigers got even more ferocious.

The tiger was running and attacking in various directions. The soldiers who were attacked then attacked the tiger with spears. The more the tiger was hurt, the more savage his behavior was (*Limbursch Dagblad*, 07 June [1924](#)).

The values contained in this tradition are the form of resistance to the colonial government and expectations of millennialism which are the ideal desires of the people. Apart from that, cultivating the mentality and courage of the soldiers. A ruler has a measure of success in the form of achieving general welfare, peace, and tranquility in his country. Therefore, the struggle for political and military power which is considered to disturb harmony must be eliminated. The tiger or tigers is considered a symbol of power that threatens order and life. Therefore, many tigers or tigers are killed by robbing tigers in public to show the prosperity of the country and the sincerity of the ruler and his palace in the ritual. The tiger is not only a symbol of evil but also part of an entire spiritual and cosmological system. The Rampok Macan demonstrates the spiritual supremacy of the ruling elite. In addition, displays of weapons, such as spears and wave-shaped daggers which are considered to have magical powers, serve to legitimize sovereignty and power (Keilbart, [2021](#)).

The Rampog Macan ceremony, like the *kanuragan* practice, is closely related to Javanese martial arts and the concept of power (war). The ceremony shows how such rituals and forms of representational epics effectively lead to the morphology of socio-cultural activity. This practice is also for some Javanese people related to war magic, immunity, purification, protection of powerful ancestral spirits with initiation rituals, and mystical knowledge in pre-Islamic times. In addition, Rampog Macan is also closely related to efforts to increase self-defense against animals or natural phenomena, as well as training in secret elite martial arts in the palace, which only the royal family and military have access to (Keilbart, [2021](#)).

This sort of thing was also adapted by the elite at the district level, as was found in the Blitar area. On Eid 1903, Blitar held a Rampog Macan in the town square. The frenetic and lively event had reached the ears of the indigenous people in the previous months. The socio-cultural activity was very thick at the event. The night before the event, Blitar square looks lively because of the many dining and drinking stalls decorated with lights. Indigenous people thronged the main square. The evening was also lively with the holding of Wayang Wong. The performance was then ended by sounding several firecrackers (*mercon*). The new tiger robber event was held the next day. Europeans and some of the regency elite (including the regent) and the resident gathered at 09.00 am at the Assistant Resident's mansion. They all wore all the honors in full. The Regent, the resident gave a short speech and was accompanied by prayers by the people. Afterward, the regent, resident, and other guests toasted to mark the start of the Rampog Macan. The contents of the regent's speech were congratulations for having spent Ramadan well, as well as thanking them for their hard work and cooperation in recovering after natural disasters, such as the mud floods and prolonged drought that hit Blitar and its surroundings. Some Europeans did not dare to approach when they witnessed the Rampog Macan. They saw him from quite a distance. At least 9 Tigers were killed in the event. Several Austrians took some photos with hand cameras. Europeans regretted the killing of these exotic animals. They considered robbing tigers to be a cruel tradition. The people think that if the tiger's blood pours on the ground, God will take away disaster and distress in the land of Blitar and its surroundings (*De Locomotief: Samarangsche Handels en Advertentie Blad*, 5 January [1903](#)).

Lack of Public Sensitivity to Environmental Ecosystem Preservation

The Javan tiger (*Panthera tigris sondaica*) is on the verge of extinction and is a rare animal whose population is critically endangered, especially since the 1700s in Java (Boomgaard, [2001](#)). The extinction of some of these exotic animals was also an implication of clearing forests (logging of teak wood and others), as well as the fragmentation of a quite large land in Java at the end of the nineteenth century (Lombard, 1996). The popularity of holding tiger robbers spread in several places in Java, such

as Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Sukabumi, Pekalongan, and other areas. A stage was set up in the plaza for the elites to see more clearly. Apart from the main event of robbing tigers, this tradition is also filled with matches (complaints) between dogs and pigs or goats and pigs. In every event, there are at least 4 leopards of medium size that end up being killed. The people's anger seemed to rise when the tiger was released, and the Rampogan Macan began. They speared the tiger so that the tiger's rage grew until it finally died. The cheers of the residents holding the spears made the tiger even wilder and defended itself. A tiger or tiger that escapes from the spears of the guards will be trapped sometimes using pigs. The guards who act as living fences will not stop even though the tiger is injured in several parts of the body and the blood continues to drip. The colossal ritual carried out by the natives becomes entertainment and an outburst of joy despite showing cruelty (*Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 13 March [1901](#)).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Javanese tigers were still very common. Its existence is increasingly threatened because the human population in several areas on the island of Java is growing rapidly. The expansion of agricultural land and settlements causes a decrease in the habitat of the Javan tiger. It is increasingly difficult for Javan tigers to find prey, such as wild dogs, wild boars, etc. Not only tigers, leopards, and other big cats also have difficulty hunting the same animals for prey. Javanese people in several remote areas also usually go hunting for living and dead Javanese tigers. Local people hunt tigers because they consider tigers to be the reincarnation of their deceased ancestors. Javan tigers that remained until 1940 are found only in a few remote mountains and unspoiled forests on the island of Java. Conservation efforts cannot save the Javan tiger because the tiger requires a large hunting area. The conservation area which is not too wide also causes a lack of populations of other animals as tiger prey, so not many tigers can survive (Anonim, [2003](#)).

The royal attitude of the aristocrats in Central and East Java in holding tiger rampages led to a reduction in the tiger and tiger populations on the island of Java. Tigers used to fight buffalo (Rampog Sima Maesa) and tiger robbers died horribly. The people's popular show (Volksvertoningen) seems to be glorified by the people and the elite (even the king). During the Majapahit period, this kind of ceremony was rarely performed, considering the difficulty of catching and transporting tigers due to the scarcity of people and the inaccessible conditions of the roads. Striped tigers (*macan lorek*), root tigers (leopard) or panthers were systematically hunted throughout the second half of the 19th century and can be said to have been exterminated because of rituals, through large ceremonies (*rampog tigers*) carried out by almost the entire population and its members. princes and officials. Some travelers told me about the sadistic *rampog* that was held in Java. Several striking photographs of the Rampog Macan event are still preserved, such as that which occurred in Blitar in 1894, which shows the slaughter of a striped tiger and seven panthers (Lombard, [1996](#)).



Figure 2. Some Tigers Slaughtered in the Rampogan Tiger Tradition

Source: Collection Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en-Volkenkunde (KITLV)

Negation of Wildlife and Environment Conservation by the Colonial Government and the Prohibition of Tiger Hunting

Some Europeans were very restless and paid full attention to the killing of tigers in Java, especially during the Rampogan Macan events. The decreasing number of Javanese tigers and leopards is also a concern for scholars who are passionate about animal conservation/protection. Communities in cities such as Surakarta and Yogyakarta rarely held the Rampogan Macan at the end of the nineteenth century. The Rampogan Macan mostly took place in Java from 1605 to 1906. During the colonial period, the Dutch revived the ritual to increase the cultural authority of the local people themselves. Some are rituals full of cruelty (such as hunting the tigers). The ritual then disappeared in the early twentieth century. Unfortunately, this cultural heritage gives rise to forms of institutionalized violence legitimacy (Thuc, [2022](#)).

Several large city squares witnessed the Rampogan Macan event that occurred before the nineteenth century. The people's impartiality towards wildlife conservation as well as the cruelty shown to tiger robbers became a special focus for Europeans at that time. Stepping on the early decades of the 20th century, the Dutch East Indies Government launched an environmental conservation movement. Beginning with the founding of the *Nederlandsch-Indische Natuurhistorische Vereeniging* (Dutch East Indies Nature Conservation Association) in 1911, the organization then established the *Nederlandsch-Indische Vereeniging tot Natuurbescherming* in 1912 to deal with practical issues regarding environmental preservation, including those related to conservation. After the formation of the organization, they moved quickly by issuing a petition in 1913 expressing dissatisfaction with the 1909 law. The 1909 regulation was considered to have many shortcomings because too many endangered species were not protected. This request could only be followed up three years later after the Governor issued a decree in *Staatsblad* No. 278 of 1916. This regulation allows the Governor General to grant nature reserve status (conservation area). Completion of regulations to support conservation efforts continues to be carried out as stated in *Staatsblad* No. 234 of 1924. The revision of this regulation requires the government to record and protect all endangered species throughout the Dutch East Indies (of course including the tiger). The regulation also introduces hunting licenses. Therefore, not everyone can hunt animals, only those who have a permit and pay certain compensation are allowed to hunt. In addition to these regulations, *Staatsblad* No. 17 of 1932 regulates Nature and Wildlife Reserves. The colonial government could create a conservation category called a wildlife sanctuary which was different from a nature reserve. This regulation has facilitated the establishment of large wildlife reserves such as in Baluran Java with an area of 25,000 hectares and other areas.

In 1909, the Act on the Protection of Wild Mammals and Wild Birds Across the Dutch East Indies (*Ordonantie tot Bescherming van sommige in het levende Zoogdierenen Vogels*) on October 14, 1909, 58 State Gazette 1909 No. 497, then followed by a Decree of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies dated December 24, 1909, No. 59, State Gazette 1909 No. 594 on the State Gazette 1909 No. 594 concerning the Species of Wild Mammals and Wild Birds, with effect from January 1, 1910. effective from January 1, 1910. However, in this law However, in this law, tigers are not included as protected animals. This is supported by Regulation of Hunting in Java & Madura 1940 (*Jachtverordering Java en Madoera 1940*) which legalized tiger hunting under the condition of a hunting license. So, the issuance of the mammal protection decree creates confusion in practice (Karimah, [2022](#)).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the show was to demonstrate the power of the Javanese over the tigers and to show the Javanese people's bravery and strength. The show would involve multiple tigers and humans pitted against each other in a series of fights. The humans would typically be armed with various weapons

such as spears and swords, while the tigers were not armed. The show could last for several days, with the tigers and humans fighting each other until one was killed or subdued. The Rampogan Macan show was eventually banned in the early 20th century due to its brutality and the potential for animal cruelty. Although the Javanese people saw the show as a demonstration of their strength The colonial government enforced its denial of environmental sustainability by introducing policies that directly impacted the tiger's habitat and survival. Indirectly, the colonial government banned the implementation of Rampogan Macan and protected the beast from extinction. They also banned tiger poaching, which further contributed to the animal's decline and eventual extinction.

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