



FROM FOREST TO VILLAGE: MYTHS AND TIGER ATTACKS IN KERINCI DURING THE DUTCH EAST INDIES (1903-1942)

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ABSTRACT

The people of Kerinci have their own interpretation of the tiger. Tigers are considered sacred animals, with various meanings. However, on the other hand, tigers that attacked the people of Kerinci during the Dutch East Indies were still killed. This study aims to look at the relationship between the myths that developed and the attacks carried out by Sumatran tigers against people in Kerinci during the Dutch East Indies Government. With the approach of human and animal relations in the perspective of local traditions, this research analyzes the influence of local mythological narratives, the causes of tiger attacks on the community, and the steps taken to overcome these attacks. This research uses the historical method as a scalpel, with the flow of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation and historiography. Data were collected from various historical sources, such as colonial archives, ethnographic records, as well as local oral traditions about tigers. The research findings show that tiger myths associated with spiritual symbols play an important role in shaping people's perceptions of the species. However, attacks by tigers caused by disturbed areas of their habitat led to a reaction by placing tigers as a threat to security and interfering with the exploitation of natural resources.

Keywords: myth, attack, tiger, Kerinci, Dutch East Indies

INTRODUCTION

The tiger is a familiar animal to the people of Kerinci. The existence of tigers for the people of Kerinci is interpreted in various perspectives, mostly in the form of myths, and these interpretations have also changed over time. These interpretations can be found in many sources, both Kerinci folklore about tigers and documents. From the many Kerinci tiger myths that have their own versions in each hamlet, one conclusion can be drawn that for the people of Kerinci, the tiger is a revered animal.¹

Sumatra as a large island holds a lot of biodiversity. However, this biodiversity is under threat due to the many activities carried out by irresponsible humans, which are detrimental to the fauna and animals that live in it. Many threats await such as land clearing used for plantations, hunting of wildlife, and many other things that pose a threat to the lives of flora and fauna. According to Uryu et al. it is said that uncontrolled deforestation causes many flora and fauna habitats to disappear. Between 1985-2008, deforestation in Sumatra's forests shrank by an average of about 500,000 hectares per year.²

Uncontrolled deforestation in Sumatra from time to time also affects the Sumatran Tiger (*Panthera Tigris Sumatrae*). The habitat of this Sumatran tiger has been disrupted due to massive poaching.³ In other areas, namely in Java and Bali, tiger populations are already extinct. The Bali Tiger was declared extinct in the 1940s and the Java Tiger was declared extinct in the 1980s. Uncontrolled tiger hunting dates back to the Dutch East Indies, followed by deforestation that led to habitat degradation and fragmentation.⁴ This deforestation is also associated with land clearing for plantations. In Kerinci, tea plantations in Kayu Aro triggered massive deforestation.⁵ Nonetheless, the deforestation in Kayu Aro did not lead the colonial elite to issue a policy to hunt tigers.

¹ Steven Jonathan Adu, Messalina L Salampessy, and Sofian Iskandar, 'Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Konservasi Harimau Sumatera (*Panthera Tigris Sumatrae*) Di Taman Nasional Kerinci Seblat', *Jurnal Nusa Sylva*, 19.1 (2019), 22–29 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31938/jns.v19i1.233>>.

² Michael Stüwe Yumiko Uryu, Elisabet Purastuti, Yves Laumonier, Sunarto, Setiabudi, Arif Budiman, Kokok Yulianto, Anggoro Sudibyo, Oki Hadian, Dian Achmad Kosasih, *Sumatra's Forests, Their Wildlife and the Climate Windows in Time: 1985, 1990, 2000 and 2009*, 2010 <http://awsassets.wwf.or.id/downloads/wwf_indonesia__2010__sumatran_forests_wildlife_climate_report_for_dkn__bappenas.pdf>.

³ Matthew Linkie and others, 'Safeguarding Sumatran Tigers: Evaluating Effectiveness of Law Enforcement Patrols and Local Informant Networks', *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 52.4 (2015), 851–60 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2664.12461>>.

⁴ I.A Haidir and others, 'Panduan Pemantauan Populasi Harimau Sumatera, Direktorat Konservasi S', 2017, p. 154.

⁵ Agustin Putri Lestari & Nirwan Il Yasin, 'Kehidupan Buruh Perkebunan Teh Kayu Aro Tahun 1925 – 1943', *Jurnal Siginjai*, 1.1 (2021), 27–38 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22437/js.v1i1.11881>>. pp. 29-30

Furthermore, hostility towards Sumatran tigers is also caused by conflicts with humans in their habitat.⁶ This conflict arises due to the disruption of the tiger's territory by humans themselves. Tigers as animals in the forest have their own territories, which are marked through their urine. The marking is not only a territory marker, but is also used as a medium of communication, a marker of the time of passage of tigers in certain areas, and also as a marker of erogenous feelings towards female tigers.⁷ Conflicts with tigers have caused the tiger population to decline over time. The cause of the tiger population decline is not much different from what happened in Kerinci. The decline of the Sumatran tiger population in Kerinci is also caused by the loss of their hunting territories, as well as conflicts that occur between the people of Kerinci and the tigers themselves. For the company, the tiger is considered a nuisance that must be dealt with.⁸

Nonetheless, if traced through the myths of the Kerinci community, the Sumatran tiger in Kerinci should be able to maintain its population. The mystical belief in tigers by the Malays - including the Kerinci people - is considered unique by Western scholars. However, the mystical relationship between the Kerinci people and tigers is not only unique, but ingrained in the Kerinci community itself. For the people of Kerinci, the tiger is a sign - good or bad - of something. The omens given by the tiger will be interpreted by the Kerinci community, so that the community takes certain attitudes to deal with certain situations signaled by the tiger.⁹

If seen from the narrative above, the myth about tigers in Kerinci should be able to maintain relationships with tigers. The Kerinci community's belief that tigers are a sign of something should not lead to attacks on tigers.¹⁰ Furthermore, the people of Kerinci should not be in conflict with tigers, let alone deliberately hunting tigers. Therefore, this study seeks to historically examine tiger attacks on communities in Kerinci, despite Kerinci's myths about tiger emergence as a signifier. Not only that,

⁶ Riyan Sumitran, Yoza Defri, and Yossi Oktorini, 'Keberadaan Harimau Sumatera (Panthera Tigris Sumatrae) Dan Satwa Mangsanya Di Berbagai Tipe Habitat Pada Taman Nasional Tesso Nilo', *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Pertanian Universitas Riau*, 3.11 (2014), 1–15 <<https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/200392-none.pdf>>.

⁷ Ari Ganesa and Aunurohim, 'Perilaku Harian Harimau Sumatera (Panthera Tigris Sumatrae) Dalam Konservasi Ex-Situ Kebun Binatang Surabaya', *Jurnal Sains Dan Seni Its*, 1.1 (2012), 48–53 <<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.12962/j23373520.v1i1.1327>>.

⁸ 'Buitenland. NED. INDIë. Brutale Indringer Neergelegd', *De Noord-Ooster* (Wildervank, 9 August 1928) <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMVEEN01:000081112:mpeg21:p005>>.

⁹ H Usman and others, 'Mitos Harimau Dalam Tradisi Lisan Masyarakat Kerinci Di Jambi: The Tiger Myth in the Oral Tradition of the Kerinci People in Jambi ...', *Jurnal Pengajian ...*, 2014, 24–44 <<https://malindojournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JPM/article/view/9756%0Ahttps://malindojournal.um.edu.my/index.php/JPM/article/download/9756/6889>>.

¹⁰ Dedi Haryanto, Yasrul Sami B, and Yofita Sandra, 'Gerak Tari Tradisional Mengagah Harimau Di Desa Pulau Tengah Kabupaten Kerinci Dalam Karya Lukis', *Serupa The Journal of Art ...*, 1.2 (2013), p. 14

there are many stories in Kerinci that tell the tiger is an animal full of wisdom. This paper focuses on how myths developed about tigers and tiger attacks, focusing on the period when Kerinci was under the rule of the Dutch East Indies Government (1903-1942).

There are several previous studies that discuss the tiger myth in Kerinci society, but in general, these previous studies mostly focus on anthropological studies, not historical. The first can be seen in Hebransyah Usman's article entitled *Mitos Harimau dalam Pengaturan Adat Masyarakat Kerinci Desa Pulau Tengah, Jambi, Indonesia*.¹¹ Then Marvelia's writing with the title *Pewarisan Tari Ngagah Harimau Desa Pulau Tengah Kecamatan Keliling Danau Kabupaten Kerinci*.¹² In his writing, it is explained that the *tari ngagah harimau* is one of the rituals to honor a dead tiger. The last is Gustaman's article entitled *Antara Mitos dan Realitas: Historitas Maung di Tatar Sunda*.¹³

Of all the writings above that discuss tigers, none look at tigers in Kerinci from a historical perspective. All of them look at tigers from an anthropological perspective and their impact on society. On the other hand, it can also be seen that previous studies that discuss tigers in Kerinci are only interpretations made by the Kerinci community itself. The interpretations made by the community are too much about mystical experiences that are mythical, not through empirical experiences whose records can be traced. From the sources and historical data found, this research then tries to analyze how the interpretation of the Kerinci people about tigers and what cases of attacks carried out by tigers against the Kerinci people during the Dutch East Indies Government.

METHOD

This research is in the form of descriptive qualitative, namely by examining events to seek information by producing data that is written, oral, pictures, behavior, and so on.¹⁴ The research method used is the historical method, which starts from collecting sources (heuristics).

¹¹ Hebransyah Usman and Wan Mohd Dasuki Wan Hasbullah, 'Mitos Harimau Dalam Pengaturan Adat Masyarakat Kerinci Desa Pulau Tengah, Jambi, Sumatera', *Jurnal Antarabangsa Alam Dan Tamadun Melayu (Iman)*, 2.3 (2014), 99–109 <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/7787/1/Mitos_harimau_dalam_pengaturan.pdf>.

¹² Annisa Marvelia and Afifah Asriati, 'Pewarisan Tari Ngagah Harimau Desa Pulau Tengah Kecamatan Keliling Danau Kabupaten Kerinci', *Dharma Acariya Nusantara: Jurnal Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Budaya*, 2.1 (2024), 159–69 <<https://doi.org/10.47861/jdan.v2i1.789>>.

¹³ Budi Gustaman and Hilman Fauzia Khoeruman, 'Antara Mitos Dan Realitas: Historisitas Maung Di Tatar Sunda', *Metahumaniora*, 9.1 (2019), 18 <<https://doi.org/10.24198/mh.v9i1.22873>>.

¹⁴ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007); Sujdarwo, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2011); Nasution, *Metode Penelitian Naturalistik Kualitatif* (Bandung: Tarsito, 1996); Sartono Kartodirjo,

The author searches for sources in the form of documents and other sources that can be used as data in this research. Sources were traced through several online media such as articles from journals, books, and other sources that have data with unlocked access. Some of the online sources traced include delpher.nl, jstor.org, and other sites. Many sources from Dutch websites were traced, as this research discusses the history of Kerinci during the Dutch East Indies period. Some other sources that were also traced online were through Google Scholar and the Kemendikbud repository.

The next step in the historical method is to criticize sources, both internal and external criticism. At this stage of criticism, the researcher compares the sources that have been collected. This source comparison will direct researchers to sources that are approximately reliable, by analyzing the similarity of the data obtained. The next stage of the historical method is to interpret as a form of interpretation of these sources. Interpretation needs to be done very carefully to avoid the subjectivity of the researchers themselves as much as possible. This interpretation is done by considering the validity of the data that has been reviewed through previous source criticism. The last is the historiography stage, which is the preparation of the historical story itself. In historiography, the researcher writes up the findings, which adapts to the template set in the journal of purpose.

There are several concepts that guide this research. The first is by reviewing myths. Myth is seen as something that explains a reality that cannot be captured by reason, including the senses. Myths emerge as a community effort to understand the phenomena of the surrounding environment. The effort to understand then turns into interpretations, and further turns into messages that are accepted in a society, without being questioned critically.¹⁵ This can also be seen in Kerinci, in viewing the tiger as a myth, with a lot of folklore that developed, including during the Dutch East Indies Government, as evidenced by publications of magazines and newspapers that at that time, discussed the perspective of the Kerinci people about tigers. Therefore, the exploration of this myth is important to do, in order to collect as much data as possible about the Sumatran tiger in Kerinci in the perspective of its people. Secondly, by reviewing the terminology of the attack as an approach to look at the case based on the title. At first glance, it can be agreed that tiger attacks on communities in Kerinci occur for many reasons, mainly due to deforestation in Kayu Aro and the disruption of tiger habitat in Kerinci. The myths and tiger attacks explored in this research will serve as a tool for the analytical knife that will be associated with Sumatran tigers in Kerinci. This is reviewed during the period of the Dutch East Indies Government as the focus of the study.

Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial Dalam Metodologi Sejarah I (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1991); Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Jakarta: Mizan Digital Publishing, 2005).

¹⁵ Sri Iswidayati, 'Fungsi Mitos Dalam Kehidupan Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Pendukungnya', *Harmonia Journal of Arts Research and Education*, 8.2 (2021), 180–84 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v8i2.790>>, pp. 180-181

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tiger Myths in Kerinci Society

Kerinci, a region known for its natural beauty, also has a rich culture filled with folklore and myths. One of the most powerful myths in Kerinci's culture is that of the tiger. The local people not only see the tiger as a wild animal, but as a creature with whom they have a spiritual connection.¹⁶ In some Kerinci stories, tigers are seen as incarnations of deceased ancestors. They are not only seen as guardian animals of the forest, but also protectors of the village and the entire community.¹⁷ The presence of a tiger is often seen as a sign, either of threat or good fortune, and local people believe that tigers should not be killed except in the most desperate emergencies.¹⁸

Kerinci people call the stealth tiger Cindaku.¹⁹ These tigers or cindaku are believed to have the ability to transform into humans. In human form, they can walk among the population without being recognized.²⁰ It can also be noted that there are many folktales that mention encounters with the tiger man, where people who meet him feel a strong mystical aura. Even these encounters with tigers are also believed to imply that the person has "certain knowledge", and should be dealt with in a "certain" way. As a result of this belief, many people in Kerinci believe that tigers are not just ordinary animals, but creatures that exist between the real and supernatural worlds.²¹

This belief is closely related to the spiritual beliefs of the Kerinci people about the relationship between humans and nature. Tigers, in this context, are seen as natural balancers who have the power to maintain harmony between the human world and the spirit world.²² The presence of tigers is often associated with traditional rituals that aim to maintain the balance of nature. Tigers are considered a symbol of strength, courage, and protection of the forest ecosystem that is highly valued by local communities.²³

¹⁶ A.Ph. van Aken, *Mededeelingen van Het Bureau Voor de Bestuurszaken Der Buitenbezittingen Bewerkt Door Het Eur Encyclopaedisch Bureau* (Batavia: NV. Papyrus, 1915).

¹⁷ Ahmad Nanda, Kevin Samudra, and Padli Rahman, 'Filosofi Tari Ngagah Imau Pada Festival Kerinci', in *Prosiding Fakultas Ushuluddin Adab Dan Dakwah*, 2024, ii, 254–65, p. 258

¹⁸ Idris Djakfar Depati Agung, *Seri Sejarah Kerinci I: Menguak Tabir Sejarah Di Alam Kerinci* (Kerinci: Percetakan Anda, 2001).

¹⁹ Ovi Zurah Mei and I Gusti Putu Suryadarma, 'The Utilization of Traditional Conservation of Sumatran Tiger as a Potential Development of Biology Teaching Materials', *Journal of Science and Science Education*, 4.2 (2023), 126–37 <<https://doi.org/10.29303/jossed.v4i2.5557>>, p. 133

²⁰ C.W. Watson & Roy Ellen, *Understanding Witchcraft and Sorcery in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), p. 161

²¹ Budhi Vrihaspathi Jauhari & Eka Putra, *Senarai Sejarah Kebudayaan Suku Kerinci* (Kerinci: Bina Potensia Aditya Mahatva Yodha, 2012), p. 187

²² Annisa Marvelia and Afifah Asriati, p. 164

²³ Walter William Skeat, *Malay Magic: Being Introduction to the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2005) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvj2ttc>>, p. 178

There are many tiger-related rituals in Malay society,²⁴ including Kerinci. In daily practice, Kerinci people often hold rituals to honor tigers. Many ceremonies or rituals are performed in the form of dances, as a form of expressing themselves towards nature, including tigers.²⁵ Tigers entering the village are also considered omens, especially as a sign of impending disaster. People need to read the meaning of the tiger's arrival, when someone in the village sees tiger tracks around the settlement.²⁶ The tracks are considered a sign that the spirits of the ancestors are watching over them. The tiger in Kerinci myths is often portrayed as a just creature, who will protect good people, but can also punish those who violate customs or commit crimes against nature.²⁷

Despite this, the relationship between humans and tigers is not always harmonious. As human populations grow and settlements expand, tigers are often forced into populated areas. These conflicts sometimes lead to incidents where tigers attack livestock or even humans, especially at night.²⁸ However, in most cases, Kerinci people prefer to chase tigers away rather than kill them, due to the belief that killing a tiger will bring bad luck or a curse.²⁹ Myths about tigers in Kerinci also play an important role in nature conservation in the area, through sacred concepts that manifest into prohibitions.³⁰ Local communities, who revere tigers as sacred creatures, naturally have a heightened awareness of protecting forests and tiger habitats. In this context, the myth functions as a social mechanism to preserve the environment. Tigers are considered a sign of a healthy ecosystem, and their disappearance from an area is often seen as a sign of severe environmental degradation.³¹

Kerinci's tiger myths are not just entertaining folklore. They are a reflection of the spiritual and ecological views of local communities in Kerinci who see tigers as an integral part of nature and their lives. Respect for tigers, both physical and supernatural, is the foundation of the harmonious relationship between humans and

²⁴ Peter Boomgaard, 'Death to the Tiger! The Development of Tiger and Leopard Rituals in Java, 1605-1906', *School of Oriental and African Studies*, 2.2 (1994), 141–75 <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23746862>>, pp. 153-157

²⁵ Patricia Leigh Beaman, *World Dance Cultures From Ritual to Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 2024).

²⁶ Padhil Hudaya, Nur Aini Setiawati, and Bambang Purwanto, 'Menjalani Kehidupan Di Tengah Malapetaka: Gempa Kerinci 1909', *Jurnal Sejarah Citra Lekha*, 8.1 (2023), 9–28 <<https://doi.org/10.14710/jscl.v8i1.53040>>.

²⁷ 'BEREN EN TIJGERS OP SUMATRA', *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant* (Breda, 7 July 1935), p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001981008:mpeg21:p00002>>.

²⁸ Agung., p. 37

²⁹ Adu, Salampessy, and Iskandar., p. 26

³⁰ Haidar Trisna Tanaya, 'Belajar Dari Sejarah: Refleksi Atas Warisan Kolonial Dan Praktik Pelestarian Sumber Daya Alam Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Sejarah Citra Lekha*, 8.2 (2024), 120–29 <<https://doi.org/10.14710/jscl.v8i2.40992>>., p. 123

³¹ Tonny Soehartono, *Strategi Dan Rencana Aksi Konservasi Harimau Sumatera* (, Departemen Kehutanan, 2007., p. 89

nature in Kerinci. Through this myth, local communities are able to maintain local wisdom values that are important for the preservation of their culture and environment.

This is in contrast to the tiger myths that developed during the Dutch East Indies. A newspaper published news about the Legend of Kerinci. The news explained about the community's belief in tigers, which in the storytelling when one night, a young man who was not a resident of a village. During the night, he heard that a chicken coop in one house had been attacked and the chickens were missing. The next morning, the young stranger visited the house where the chicken coop was attacked, and the young man suddenly felt sick. He then vomited something, which contained chicken feathers. The story spread in the community, and people believed that the young man was a tiger demon.³²

Myths about tigers that developed during the Dutch East Indies also caused the people of Kerinci at that time to be afraid to attack tigers. The people of Kerinci were afraid to hunt or kill tigers, because the belief in tiger demons was still strong. Kerinci people believe that some people have the power to transform themselves into tigers at certain times. When someone tries to kill the animal, they may become the target of the tiger's demon or even the tiger's demon will become a threat to neighbors, or families who disturb the tiger.³³

Tiger Attacks on Kerinci Community

One of the early nature reserves of the Dutch East Indies government was in Kerinci, which served to conserve flora and fauna, including tigers. The reserve around Mount Kerinci covers 10,000 hectares of land, making it one of the most attractive of the national parks. For the Dutch East Indies government, the reserve is expected to attract travelers from all over the country in the future, and become an attraction for science and tourism.³⁴ This is also related to government policy through the Natuurmonumenten Ordonantie, contained in Staatsblad number 278 of 1916, which emphasizes that flora, fauna and other natural elements must be protected.³⁵ This shows that officially, the Dutch East Indies Government provides protection to flora and fauna, including tigers in Kerinci. Especially when Kerinci is included in the nature reserve area, where flora and fauna are protected. However, the nature reserve in Kerinci was limited to 10,000 hectares, while tigers roamed outside the area, even near the settlements of the Kerinci people, whose houses were still very sparse at that time. Nonetheless, in some cases in Kerinci, tigers had to be killed because they were considered a nuisance and a danger to the community.

³² 'KORINTJI-LEGENDEN. Spooktijgers, Vampyrs En de „vrouw Met Den Boozen Geest', *De Locomotief* (Samarang, July), p. 1 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001719007:mpeg21:p00001>>.

³³ 'BEREN EN TIJGERS OP SUMATRA', *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant*, 7 September 1935, p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001981008:mpeg21:p00002>>.

³⁴ 'NATUURMONUMENTEN OP SUMATRA', *Deli Courant* (Medan, 6 January 1930), p. 13 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB15:000103004:mpeg21:p00013>>.

³⁵ Panji Yudhistira Kusumantri, *Peranan Sultan Dan Raja Dalam Sejarah Konservasi Alam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jendral Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam dan Ekosistem, 2022), p. 55

Tigers have attacked villages in Kerinci, specifically in Sungai Penuh. According to reports, a tiger chased a small child who was playing until it entered the residential area. The tiger was killed after being shot by Sergeant Jansen.³⁶ In other news, it was also explained that a tiger killed two people in Kerinci who were looking for firewood. In this case, security officers managed to kill the animal.³⁷

In Kayu Aro, tigers were considered a pest for the company NV. HVA (Namlodee Venotschaaf Handle Vereniging Amsterdam) which was engaged in plantations.³⁸ In 1929, a tiger attacked a coolie who was working on a tea plantation in Kayu Aro. At the time, the coolie was encroaching on the forest to expand the tea plantation. The encroachment of the dense forest disturbed the tiger's territorial area. The attack by the tiger was perceived as hampering the company's work. Despite this, the attacking tiger was caught.³⁹ No further details on how the tiger fared after the capture were provided.

In another case, the security guards' fear of tigers in Kerinci is described. The appearance of tigers around security posts in Kerinci is rare. Nevertheless, Dutch East Indies troops who were still on guard after the seizure of Kerinci still had a fear of tiger attacks. This can be seen when after sunset, Dutch East Indies security forces in Kerinci did not dare to leave the post. However, Dutch East Indies security guards who manned the post said that tigers were rarely seen compared to when they first entered Kerinci.⁴⁰ The security post is located between Indrapura and Kerinci, and the area around the post is known to be a pathway for tigers.⁴¹

³⁶ 'Een Tijger in de Kamer', *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (Batavia, 4 July 1928), p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011071922:mpeg21:p002>>; 'De Brutale Tijger', *De Locomotief* (Samarang, 6 July 1928), p. 1 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001719013:mpeg21:p00001>>; 'Buitenland. NED. INDIë. Brutale Indringer Neergelegd'; 'Een Tijger in de Kamer', *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (Rotterdam, 14 August 1928), p. 3 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010514371:mpeg21:p007>>; 'Onveilig Korintji. Gespuis En Tijgers', *De Nieuwe Vorstenlanden* (Soerakarta, 10 July 1928), p. 1 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:002771200:mpeg21:p00001>>; 'BRUTALE INDRINGER NEERGELEGD', *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam, 8 August 1928), p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:110563622:mpeg21:p002>>.

³⁷ 'Twee Tijgers Neergelegd', *Het Nieuws van Den Dag Voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia, 4 May 1934), p. 3 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010230090:mpeg21:p003>>.

³⁸ 'Lijgerplaag. In Het Poerwakartasche', *Algemeen Handelsblad Voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Semarang, 18 December 1929), p. 13 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:000436093:mpeg21:p00013>>.

³⁹ 'Gemengd Indisch Nieuws', *Het Nieuws van Den Dag Voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia, 18 December 1929), p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010221644:mpeg21:p002>>.

⁴⁰ 'Uit de Indische Bladen', *Het Nieuws van Den Dag Voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia, 22 April 1904), p. 6 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010133825:mpeg21:p006>>.

⁴¹ 'Nederlandsch-Indië', *Sumatra-Bode* (Padang, 18 April 1904), p. 2 <<https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB19:002086090:mpeg21:p00002>>.

The case of the tiger attack on the community in Kerinci during the Dutch East Indies gave rise to another perspective on tigers. From the perspective of the Dutch East Indies Government, tigers were considered a pest that had to be eradicated because they often attacked people and livestock. In many parts of Sumatra, reports of tiger attacks on humans were common. The Dutch East Indies government saw tigers as a serious threat to the safety of colonial society as well as the local population.⁴² However, there are no written records of large-scale tiger hunts in Kerinci during the Dutch East Indies, even by the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch East Indies government would only kill tigers if they attacked them. In contrast to other regions, tiger hunting was considered part of a lifestyle to emphasize the status of the colonial elite as rulers of the colony.⁴³

CONCLUSION

The myths about tigers that have developed in the lives of the Kerinci people, along with their respect for the animal, should protect tigers from capture and poaching. On the other hand, a different account based on colonial magazines and newspapers suggests that Kerinci people believe that tigers are self-transforming humans. Regardless of the Kerinci people's perspective on tigers, the attacks carried out by tigers during the Dutch East Indies Government forced the community and government to fight back. This resistance was done only to defend and protect themselves, not with the intention of deliberately hunting. Nonetheless, the Dutch East Indies government in Kerinci seemed hostile to tigers, as they were considered as pests that disturbed exploitation, which is illustrated in the case of the attack on plantation workers in Kayu Aro.

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