DUTCHING AT HOME AND ABROAD: DUTCH TRADE AND MANUFACTURE OF

FOREIGN MATERIALS AND LANDSCAPES IN THE GOLDEN AGE

by

Marsely L. Kehoe

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Art History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2012

Date of final oral examination: 4/27/12

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:
     Anna V. Andrzejewski, Associate Professor, Art History
     Jill H. Casid, Associate Professor, Art History
     Jane C. Hutchison, Professor, Art History
     Preeti Chopra, Associate Professor, Languages and Cultures of Asia
     Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor, Associate Professor, German

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the summation of the support and encouragement of many people. The research for Chapter Five would not have been possible without the unexpected granting of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Art History Department's Shirley and Willard Fritzeller Mueller Fund in 2011. I have also been fortunate to receive three Vilas Travel Grants from the UW Graduate School and travel support from the Art History Department's Graduate Travel Reimbursement Award to complete necessary research and travel in the Netherlands. Assistantships in the Art History Department and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) provided much-needed support and as well as training for my teaching career.

I am grateful to the many librarians and archivists who tracked down books and documents for me at the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Nationaal Archief in The Hague, Het Utrechts Archief, and Gemeentearchief Delft (especially EM Kaiser who quickly provided a much-needed letter).

I thank my first professor in graduate school and my dissertation chair, Anna Andrzejewski, whose continued support and friendship have been indispensible and have shaped me as a scholar and teacher. I hope we can measure buildings together in Jakarta sometime soon. Thanks as well to Jane Hutchison, who directed my Master's thesis and continued to advise through my doctorate, and to my committee members Jill Casid, Jolanda Taylor, and Preeti Chopra, who shaped this document in innumerable ways. I also thank Professor Tom Dale for his unwavering support of this project. My former advisor from Kenyon College, Sarah Blick, has provided me with advice and encouragement throughout my graduate studies.

The mutual support and encouragement of my fellow graduate students and colleagues at UW Madison and elsewhere helped me keep my perspective and sense of humor. My family's unwavering support and pride in my accomplishments throughout this process have made it possible. Thanks and love especially to Mike, without his example and encouragement I would not have made it this far.

1. Introduction: The Dutching of the Early Modern Dutch Republic

In the late sixteenth century, a new species of flower arrived in the Netherlands, the tulip, brought by merchants and botanists who were striving for the exotic and rare. Over the following century, *bloemisten* and *liefhebbers* (or horticulturalists and gentlemen connoisseurs) worked avidly to shape this plant into ever rarer and more beautiful hybrids (*bastaarden*), flowers that went beyond the naturally-occurring monochrome varieties of red, yellow, white, and purple, into an array of cultivars with one color bleeding into another or with multicolored patterns. When these flowers entered the marketplace they fetched higher and higher prices, leading to the invention of the futures market, and then the collapse of the tulip futures trade in January 1637. This Tulipmania, the subject of satirical and moralizing literature at the time, is the subject of several recent studies, and is an interesting case of the efforts of seventeenth-century botanists to make what is now considered the typical Dutch tulip from an exotic import.[1]

The tulip grew wild in the Himalayas and was prized by the sultans of Turkey, whose gardeners were at work developing the flower into something closer to what it is today, when

---

[1] The most recent accounts, which include careful literature reviews of past studies, include two popular studies: Mike Dash, *Tulipomania: The Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower and the Extraordinary Passions it Aroused* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1999); and Michael Pollan, *The Botany of Desire* (New York: Random House Inc., 2001), chapter 2. For a more scholarly and nuanced view of the mania and its implications for the Dutch Golden Age, see Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007).

the bulbs began to arrive in Europe, especially in the Netherlands.[2] Dutch botanists soon

learned that new bulbs will develop either from seed after five to ten years, or from bulb

offsets after a few years. Armed with this knowledge, *bloemisten*, including the great

botanist Carolus Clusius, used many methods to try and create new varieties, ranging from

cross-pollination and grafting to alchemical solutions.[3] Alexandre Dumas' grower in *The

Black Tulip* memorably uses mirrors to encourage a seed to produce a white flower, and

soaks a seed in dark liquids to cause a black flower. Horticulturalists announced the

development of a new variety of tulip by naming it, a name that often included the name of

the maker as well as celebrated the excellence of the flower: for example, Admirael van der

Eijck. The variety was given with the family name of the maker, van der Eijck, and given

the rank of "admiral," the highest title bestowed on tulip varieties, to suggest its value.[4] The

grower hoped to fetch the highest price and the highest praise by creating the rarest and most

beautiful flower. In addition to the financial implications of the mania, the attempts to shape

the tulip are an illustration of Dutch ingenuity in botany. The making of new flowers is a

testament to the efforts of these growers to understand the biology of the tulip and force

changes to its natural propagation.

Despite the experiments of the Dutch to force changes to their tulips, the alterations

that occurred actually had very little to do with the work of the *bloemist*. Changes in a tulip

happened only by random chance: a tulip grown from seed might naturally change color by

the time it flowered, and some natural varieties were more likely to change than others.

Cross-pollination, work done by insects that could be encouraged by the planting of different

---

[2] See Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 2007, 20-34 about how the tulip came from Turkey to the Netherlands.
[3] Carolus Clusius was himself an import, born in France (Arras), and having worked in Vienna for the Habsburgs as well as in other European courts, before being invited to the new University of Leiden in 1593.
[4] On naming, see Dash, *Tulipomania*, 92-93.

varieties in proximity, could not be controlled. The mosaic virus, which led to the "broken" multicolored tulips that were most prized, was not understood until the twentieth century.[5] Thus while the example of the tulip seems to show great ingenuity on the part of the Dutch botanist, the *bloemisten* were at best creating the circumstances which led to new varieties, but were not controlling the outcome.

I have discussed the example of the tulip and its implications for the Dutch Golden Age (1596-1663) in order to introduce the questions raised in this dissertation. In what follows, I examine the complicated process through which the global dimensions of the Dutch Republic shaped seventeenth-century Dutch Golden Age visual and material culture, and I conclude with a discussion of how this shapes Dutch collective identity.[6] This project asserts that the designation "Dutch" is a complicated and imprecise term, and suggests that "Dutch" should be understood to encompass more than its geographical designation. As in this brief examination of the tulip, I look at the origins of and the processes that made different kinds of objects and landscapes Dutch – more specifically the Dutch interventions that made it what we recognize today. While the tulip is something that we primarily associate with the Dutch, it was a foreign-derived material that was altered, though not controlled, through the efforts of botanists and popularized by the financial sector. Some traits of the Dutch Golden Age, horticultural and financial creativity as well as a desire for the new and exotic, are seen in this story. The access the Dutch had to exotic botanical material through their trade networks, their scientific curiosity, and their innovative financial system of stock-trading and the futures market, made both the creation of new tulip varieties

---

[5] Goldgar, *Tulipmania*, 40.
[6] Dutch collective identity is understood as the commonalities of the many identities of the Dutch, not exclusive of regional or individual variations. As will be further explored in the conclusion, this is a somewhat fluid identity, as memories of the past change to suit the present.

and the financial bubble possible. The cultivation of the tulip into the myriad varieties we see today was presumably shaped by the Early Modern horticultural skill, but also relied on accidents that could not be predicted or controlled, as well as the privileged Dutch position in the early modern global economy. My case studies will follow this model as I explore the different processes that altered objects and a landscape and how they demonstrate and complicate our understanding of the Dutch Golden Age.

Ultimately, my goal is to demonstrate that Dutch Golden Age was dependent on hybridities spawned by the global reach of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. I show the importance of these colonial hybridities by interrogating the material and visual culture that was produced in the period. I focus on three case studies: still life painting, the nautilus cup, and the city plan of Batavia. These examples are hybrid as they contain or represent elements of their foreign origin, but also show evidence of the Dutch intervention: the carrying of these items on Dutch ships, their reworking by Dutch artists, or the imposition of a Dutch ideal city plan on foreign soil. I have coined the term "Dutching" to describe the myriad processes through which these foreign objects and landscape were altered through Dutch intervention. Dutching ultimately led to the perception that these items are typical Dutch Golden Age material culture, hiding their inherent tension between the foreign and domestic, or Dutch and colonial.[7] I suggest a more specific term for hybridity, the Dutch *bastaard* (noun or adjective) or *verbasteren* (verb), or *bastaardering* (gerund). This term

---

[7] As will be discussed further in Chapter Two, in the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic was not officially colonizing foreign territories, rather, private Dutch trading companies were establishing trading relationships and acquiring small territories. The similarity between these trade efforts (such as the close connection between these companies and the Republic's government and the authorization to use Dutch military force), and the colonizing activities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries leads me to use the terms colonial and (proto)colonial to refer to this private trading period. As the prefix "proto" implies, the trading period set the stage for the later colonial period, so even though these periods are often considered distinct, they are highly interdependent and the results were similar.

refers to mixing but carries with it a sense of tainting or making impure, like the mosaic virus, which on one hand is a degenerating infection, but on the other makes the tulip more beautiful and interesting. This correlates with Dutch seventeenth-century negative perceptions of hybridity, while at the same time reminding of the desire for the different and exotic. In this dissertation I explore the various "Dutching" processes, uncovering the tension and *bastaardering* at work in my case studies, and I discuss the implications for the Dutch people who interacted with them. While considering my case studies, I interrogate so-called typical Dutch Golden Age values to demonstrate their inconsistency and consequences for the period. The tensions between foreign origin and Dutch domestic production carry over into Dutch collective identity, and as a result some of the values that are inherent to this identity show tension as well. For instance the city plan of Batavia appears to both suggest equality and institute a hierarchy. The exploration of these objects will demonstrate how essential it is to consider the overseas reach of the Dutch Republic in any study of the Dutch Golden Age.

As a nascent political entity, the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was in the beginnings of the process of developing a collective identity. I follow the formulation of philosopher Maurice Halbwachs that collective memory, and thus identity, is reinforced by interaction with objects. The "Dutched" objects and landscape explored here demonstrate the tensions of their *bastaardering*, which transfers to a Dutch collective identity that they helped to shape. These tensions epitomize the relationship between the Dutch colonizers and their colonies, and bring aspects of both into a collective identity of the Dutch both home and abroad. I wish to show that Dutch Golden Age is better understood considering the (proto)colonial reach of the Dutch economy and culture in the early modern period.

A handful of examples will show the long dominant conception of the Dutch Republic as isolated from her global reach. In the seventeenth century, city craft guilds worked with materials from around the world, yet their remaining documents show their focus was extremely local.[8] A study of eighteenth-century Dutch attitudes about slavery suggests that the Dutch felt their colonies to be distant and unrelated to the Republic.[9] Today, two excellent critical histories, Jonathon Israel's *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (1995) and *Dutch Primacy in World Trade: 1585-1740* (1989), devote separate volumes to these elements of domestic and foreign, with scarcely any overlap. Similarly, in art historical studies, the global reach of the Dutch Republic earns at most a brief mention, even in such an aptly titled survey as Mariët Westermann's 1996 *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718*. While specialists in Dutch Golden Age history and art history are certainly aware of the interdependence of the Dutch global economy and its domestic counterpart, the continued separation of these realms in print suggests that trade is not seen to be central to understanding the period. This apparent division of the foreign and domestic in both the early modern attitude and today's studies of the Dutch Golden Age is undermined by the nature of Dutch material and visual culture in the period, where these aspects unite. With this argument I enter into the debate about the relative importance of imperialism to the metropole, following Edward Said's argument in *Culture and Imperialism* that the imperial reach is essential to the nation at home, specifically in the British Empire.[10] Bernard Porter countered Said, suggesting that he had exaggerated the importance of

---

[8] For example, see the Delft gold- and silversmiths' guild documents (Delft Archives 234: Archief van het Gilde van Goud- en Zilversmeden)

[9] Gert Oostindie and Bert Passman, "Dutch Attitudes towards Colonial Empires, Indigenous Cultures, and Slaves," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring, 1998): 349-355.

[10] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, [1993] 1994).

imperialism to the metropole, citing a lack of evidence for English engagement with the British Empire.[11] Porter's argument relies on historical textual evidence to gauge interest in the empire abroad, from which I could make a similar argument about the Dutch Republic's lack of engagement with the colonies. However, the material and visual culture of the period shows a different story of desire for the exotic and the integration of the exotic with the domestic.

While not technically evidence of engagement with the global reach of the Republic, the reaction in the Dutch Republic to darker skinned individuals suggests a different response to the expanding hybridity happening as a result of trade and colonialism. While the seventeenth-century Republic was very diverse culturally because of the influx of Protestant immigrants and those hoping for a better economic position, it remained a relatively European mix with few exceptions. A handful of racial Others emigrated from Dutch trading posts or were the offspring of liaisons with Spanish soldiers during the Spanish Occupation (from the sixteenth century until Dutch Independence). These darker-skinned immigrants and their offspring introduced a challenge to the perceived light-skinned homogeneity of the Republic, tainting or *verbasteren* the imagined Dutch ethnicity. These darker-skinned citizens were treated badly and were often the butt of jokes in visual culture and literature. The Dutch reaction to this alterity can be seen for example in painting, like Frans Hals' *Peeckelhaering*, which depicts a darker-skinned man as a clown, an unflattering portrait (fig. 1). The unevenness of his skin tone, especially around the eyes, suggests that this may actually depict a man in blackface, rather than a black man, but in either case, the intended humor shows a negative reaction to the racial Other. G. A. Bredero, the early seventeenth-

---

[11] Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

century Dutch poet and playwright, uses race and racial mixing as a source of humor in his

plays – see for example the story of Robbeknol's mother and the Moor in Act One of the

Spanish Brabanter.[12] Allison Blakely has traced the Dutch negative reaction to those of

African descent in his 1993 study, *Blacks in the Dutch World*, which includes analysis of

literary and visual sources.[13] A fictionalized account of the Dutch reaction to an African

prince in the Netherlands and Indonesia is the subject of Arthur Japin's critically acclaimed

1997 novel, *De Zwarte met het Witte Hart*.[14] These reactions to the *bastaardering* of the

racial make-up of the Republic throw into sharp focus the lack of negative response to the

material and visual culture that encouraged a similar *bastaardering* of the Republic. Indeed,

the objects and landscape discussed in this project were desired and celebrated Dutch

products and the lack of commentary on their hybridity inverts the overt racism of the Dutch

reaction to the Other.

Dutching

I have developed the verb "to Dutch" to describe the active *bastaardering* processes

affecting the objects of this study. This type of hybridizing is understood as a process that is

never complete, but active beginning from the moment of Dutch intervention. Examining the

process of the Dutching of an object allows the recapture of both the (proto)colonial past and

the resulting *bastaardering*, and makes this visible where it has been forgotten. While

---

[12] G. A. Bredero, *The Spanish Brabanter*, trans. H. David Brumble III (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982); available in the original Dutch at Project Laurens Jz Coster, Klassieke Nederlandstalige literatuur in elektronische edities, http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/ljc/bredero/, accessed Jan. 29, 2012.

[13] Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[14] The title in English is *The Two Hearts of Kwasi Boachi*, though a more accurate translation is "the Black with the White Heart." Arthur Japin, *De Zwarte met het Witte Hart* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 1997).

"Dutch" appears to refer to a specific and easily delineated national group, my project attempts to destabilize this term to show that "Dutch" has long been an unclear term. To return to the opening example, while the tulip may seem quintessentially Dutch today, in fact the flower continues to be Dutched as it is celebrated by the tourism and flower industries – its Dutching was not completed at a certain time nor does it remain stagnant. The verb "to Dutch" is also used in gerund form (Dutching) and in the passive or with the past tense (is/was Dutched), meaning not that the process is complete, but rather that it was set in motion. This may become grammatically jarring, but it is my intention that the unconventional alteration of the term "Dutch" stands out in order that it be noticed, not as a passive adjective, but as an active verb.

"Dutching" is a *bastaardering* process that begins with the introduction of a Dutch element to a foreign object or landscape with the aim of making it more Dutch, an attempt to establish ownership. The process can begin in various ways, such as an exotic product being loaded on a ship bound for the Dutch Republic, or Dutch East India Company representatives surveying a coastline to plan a trading post. The colonizing Dutch Republic drives this effort with the intent of making the object or landscape fully Dutch, but it is not a complete transformation; other forces are actively pulling these objects and landscape in different directions, such as the "Malukizing" influence of an Spice Island shell even as it sits in a Dutch collector's cabinet, or the "Javanizing" influence on the population of the Dutch trading post on that island. These forces are difficult to name, and it is not possible to be entirely precise as to the origin of these materials, so these terms are meant to be approximate, and to indicate an opposition to Dutching. These objects and landscapes retain varying traces of their pre-colonial state, which actively pull against the Dutching influences,

creating a dynamic, active *bastaard* that in turn enforces the same in the Dutch collective identity, a subject addressed in the following section. To call an object "Dutched," rather than "Dutch," is to remind the reader that these objects are not stagnantly Dutch, but have undergone an incomplete and unstable process that has transformed them from foreign or exotic towards being Dutched.

I have left the definition of Dutching deliberately fluid, to enable the exploration of different subprocesses depending on the object or landscape and the changes it underwent as it was Dutched. My case studies explore the juxtaposition of foreign and domestic across different media both at home and abroad. The study of the nautilus shell in Chapter Three further clarifies the process of Dutching through stages, leading to the nautilus cup in which the foreign and domestic are held in constant, visible tension. My account of Batavia's plan in Chapter Four explores the effect of Dutching on the collective identity of the inhabitants of the city. The final case study of still life painting in Chapter Five Dutches the imports of the Republic by attempting to reduce the geography of trade into a pile of objects that relate only to one another, rather than to their trading networks. These case studies suggest the variety of ways of undergoing Dutching, and this analysis can be extended to myriad other objects and landscapes. These examples show the incorporation of the exotic into the domestic. Through them I show that the Dutch (proto)colonial efforts were not peripheral to Dutch material and visual culture, but an active part of this and the developing sense of Dutch collective identity.

Long before my grammatical alteration, the term "Dutch" has been an imprecise and confusing ethnic and national adjective, referring to the language, people, and region of the

Netherlands or Low Countries.[15] This study focuses on the period of the Dutch Republic

(officially called the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, or *Republiek der Zeven*

Verenigde Provinciën), which is roughly contiguous to today's Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The official name of this political unit already implies diversity in the coming together of

seven different provinces. "Dutch" is the English shorthand reference, easier to say than

Netherlandish, though that is closer to what the Dutch call themselves.[16] "Dutch" is an

anglicized corruption of *Deutsch*, referring to their German neighbors. Dutch is the language

of both the Netherlands and of half of Belgium (where it is often called Flemish), showing

the historical connection between the regions, despite the political division; and also of

Surinam today, reminding us of just one of the colonies of the Netherlands, as does its close

relation to the South-African language Afrikaans. A further confusion in American English

is the Pennsylvania Dutch, who are actually of German descent.

Finally, "Dutch" is a term that has more than purely geographical, ethnic, and

linguistic connotations in English, many of which come from the historical relation of the

Dutch with the rest of the world, and especially her rival across the channel, Britain. The

most common pejorative use of "Dutch" in English is "going Dutch," a usage that developed

during the nineteenth century. This traditionally means that a couple splits the check on a

date, with an implication that one of them is too cheap to pay for both. "Dutch" also has the

implication of spreading out risks or covering all bases even to the point of irrationality.[17]

---

[15] The critique that follows may also be relevant to many other national and ethnic identities.

[16] This explanation leaves aside entirely the issue of Holland standing in for the whole country. In the period I discuss, Holland was the richest region, containing the major cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, and Delft, but the rest of the country resents being referred to by this synecdoche. It would be like calling everyone in the United States a New Yorker.

[17] See, for example, a Dutch bet, Dutch auction, or to "double Dutch" during intercourse, which means to be over-cautious, using both oral contraceptives and a barrier method.

Even with these negative or confusing aspects, Dutch is the best term to use in this project in part because of the difficulty of being precise with it, which reflects the *bastaardering* of the term and concept.

When an object or landscape is Dutched, the introduced Dutch qualities are often of a stereotypical nature, not reflecting some essential nature of Dutchness, but perceived characteristics of this culture. It is of course impossible to bound everything within the Dutch Republic and even among those so classified in the (proto)colonies as purely Dutch. With the brand-new Dutch Republic, it is premature to imagine there was a clearly established Dutch national identity. The reality was that Dutch people were culturally heterogeneous, which we will see especially in Batavia, where the population classified for survey purposes as Dutch included all European immigrants, the Asian wives of Dutchmen, and their children. In the Dutch colonies, many locally-born Dutch were raised by their non-Dutch mothers, slaves, or nannies, and these children may not have even been able to speak Dutch to their fathers.[18] The Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century attracted a great deal of immigration due to economic opportunities, a policy of religious tolerance, and wartime displacement in other regions of Europe. A nuanced look at this project's case studies of Dutch still life painting and the Dutch city plan of Simon Stevin shows that both originated in Flanders and were also practiced outside of the Dutch Republic and her colonies. The nautilus cup was made most often in the Republic and in the German territories, but was also made in other workshops of Europe. Even the visible markers of

---

[18] Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 43. See also Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 198-237.

Dutchness on the buildings that populate Dutch-planned cities abroad, the typical Dutch

stepped and spout gables, spread to other European centers; thus such features are not

exclusively Dutch, even if they have come to be perceived as such. Despite the reality of a

varied "Dutchness" among the Dutch population of the Republic and her colonies, this

project examines visual and material culture that has become stereotypically Dutch, in order

to destabilize what "Dutch" represents. The role of these *bastaard* "Dutching" objects and

landscape in promoting a collective identity for this diverse populations fights against notions

of a pure and homogenous Dutch identity in the past. This impurity of what "Dutch"

represents has implications for the Dutch Golden Age identity as well as the Dutch identity

today, a notion further explored in this project's conclusion.

Dutching, Hybridity, and the *Bastaard*

My theory of Dutching developed within the post-colonial discussion of hybridity,

transculture, *mestizaje* and their permutations, a multivalent concept that requires precise

definition. I propose a new term here that foregrounds the negative associations of hybridity,

and has more relevance for the Dutch Golden Age, the Dutch term *bastaard*.[19] This term can

be used as a noun or adjective, and variations are *verbasteren* (verb) and *bastaardering*

(gerund). *Bastaard* in various spellings was used in Dutch as early as the thirteenth century.

In G. A. Bredero's 1616 play *Lucille*, it appears as *bastert*, calling into question the parentage

of a character.[20] The term appears to be of French origin (indeed the Dutch term for a loan

---

[19] For the Dutch etymology of *bastaard* see Marlies Philippa, ed., *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 1: 232.

[20] G. A. Bredero, *Lucille*, first performed 1616, 4th act, scene 3. Published Project Laurens Jz Coster, *Klassieke Nederlandstalige literatuur in elektronische edities*, http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/ljc/bredero/, accessed Jan. 29, 2012.

word is *bastaardwoord*) though the "bast" may derive either from the French "saddle" (*bast* or *bât*) or the Dutch Zeeuws dialect word for "shed" (*boest*). *Bastaard* is similar in meaning to the English "bastard," in referring to illegitimate offspring. As in English, it has the inference of degeneration, implying that the illegitimate union was not only outside of marriage, but below the status of one parent, or the implication of impropriety, as in a union occurring in a shed or on a packsaddle. *Bastaard*, however, has further bearing on Dutch seventeenth-century hybridity because of its additional uses in Dutch. *Bastaard* is used specifically in botany for the result of the crossing of two plants, literally a hybrid, as in the example of tulip cultivation at the beginning of this chapter.[21] A further indication that *bastaard* implies impurity is its use as *bastaardsuiker* or *basterdsuiker*, or brown sugar, a product imported by the Dutch beginning in the seventeenth century.[22] Brown sugar differs from white sugar because of the remnants of some molasses and because the crystallization process was not completed. This makes the sugar impure and unfinished. Finally, degeneration is often the translation into English of the verb *verbasteren*, which clearly shares the root *bastaard*. *Bastaard* is thus a preferable alternative to hybridity in this project about Dutching because of its implications of degeneration from pure origins, a negative implication that is often implied by the term hybridity, but which is hidden by this term's suggestion of a scientific crossing of two different elements. Finally, "hybridity" falls short for this project because it implies only two elements, or parents, mixing, while the term

---

[21] See Ernst Artschwager and Edwina M. Smiley, *Dictionary of Botanical Equivalents* (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925), 75. The term *bastaardeering* is also used here, with a slightly different spelling.

[22] On the levels of sugar refining quality, see Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade: 1602-1740* (Copenhagen: Danish Science Press, 1958), 162; and Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 187-204, esp. 199.

bastaard can be impure on multiple accounts, as in the brown sugar that is both incompletely processed and unclean because of the continued presence of molasses.[23]

I focus my use of the term in the following way: a *bastaard* includes the shifting sum of the various parts that make up an object: the original context of the object as well as other attributes added as it is altered and given new context. Rather than explaining the precise quantities of each element in an object, or suggesting these are fixed to a specific, pure, real origin, I instead suggest the major elements involved and their interaction within the object.[24] The term implies that the Dutched objects and landscape of this project, which in many ways seem to be stereotypically Dutch, have been tainted by the presence of these conflicting elements, and at the same time these conflicting elements are desirable in the object or landscape. I wish to suggest that this *bastaardering* is essential to Dutch identity in general, critiquing the notion of an imagined pure Dutchness in the past or in the present. In general I will refer to the Dutch, or domestic, aspects of an object, and the foreign or colonial aspects, with more precise terms where possible, in order to encompass the collective *bastaardering* discussed in this project. Where possible I will be more specific geographically, with the understanding that these fixed geographical terms do not imply unadulterated origins. I focus on hybridity in objects and as they affect the collective identity, not the biological make-up, of the people who encounter them. In the process of Dutching, hybridity serves the interest of the colonizing Dutch by incorporating hybrid elements into Dutch collective identity that

---

[23] This is just one of Dean and Liebsohn's critiques of the term: Carolyn Dean and Dana Liebsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 13.

[24] With many of the colonial objects imported to the Dutch Republic, precision of origin is impossible – taking pepper as an example, it was imported in large quantities from all over the Indonesian archipelago via Batavia, yet this species originated in India, and was spread throughout the region by traders. See Chapter Five. It is impossible to trace the provenance of a single peppercorn to any specific island, especially when faced with only a representation of that peppercorn in a still life painting.

reinforce their dominating role, though this also undermines this domination. This

understanding of hybridity introduces complications into Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity

as a means of distancing the colonizer from the colonized or of resistance to colonial

authority.[25]

My discussion of Dutching and the *bastaard* fits into a broad literature on hybridity.

The concept of hybridity is contested among scholars of colonial literatures, peoples, and

objects. The definitions range from biological conceptualizations of racial mixing to the

cosmopolitan's ability to choose from among the diverse cultures of the world. The concept

of hybridity began with breeding techniques in plants and animals, and this was extended to

early modern ideas of racial mixing. In agreement with Serge Gruzinski and Robert Young, I

see this as an inevitable baggage this term carries, which must be acknowledged.[26] The

negative implications of *bastaard* assert these negative connotations of "hybrid" more

forcefully, and is an important reminder of the negative reactions of many seventeenth-

century Dutch to those they perceived as hybrid or racially other.

Hybridity and the concept of race came together in charts of racial make-up, such as

W. B. Stevenson's 1825 list of terms, fractions, and results of such mixtures, which name and

describe what were held to be precise definitions of the results of any mixed procreation.[27]

Stevenson shows, for example, that a White father and a Black mother produced a Mulatto,

and a White father and a Mulatto mother produced a Quarteron. The chart describes the skin

---

[25] See in particular the essay, "Signs Taken for Wonders," reprinted in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004); and the critique of Bhabha in Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), chapter 1.

[26] Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. Deke Dusinbere (New York: Routledge, 2002), 17-31, especially 19; and Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York, Routledge, 1995), especially chapter 6.

[27] Reprinted in Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 152.

color one could expect from each mixture (respectively, "often Fair" and "Tawny"),

attempting to make race visibly legible. To further illustrate, the genre of casta painting

depicted each of these racial permutations as European, American indigenous, and imported

African people mixed in the Americas.[28] These charts and casta paintings suggested a clear-

cut way of understanding race mathematically, biologically, and visually, which as Daniella

Bleichmar suggests, was a way to help early modern Europeans cope with racial difference.[29]

Fixing race and mixtures thereof into a system allowed the European colonizer to categorize

and understand difference and alleviated anxieties that the otherness of a foreign place could

affect them. Ernst van den Boogaart's close look at Dutch painter Albert Eckhout's related

Brazilian ethnographic series offers an alternate view of this painting genre: the varying

racial permutations are combined with a scale from savage to civilized.[30] These paintings and

charts demonstrate a flawed understanding of race and biology, and also attempt to

understand humanity in the same terms as animal husbandry and plant biology. These

problematic aspects of the concept of hybridity remain with the term and must be

acknowledged.

A more optimistic, yet still flawed, cosmopolitan view of hybridity holds that

hybridity is the choice of the enlightened individual, who can pick and chose from among the

---

[28] See Magali Marie Carrera, *Imagining identity in New Spain: race, lineage, and the colonial body in portraiture and casta paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); and Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: images of race in eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[29] Daniela Bleichmar, "Training the Naturalist's Eye in the Eighteenth Century: Perfect Global Visions and Local Blind Spots," in *Skilled Visions: Between Apprenticeship and Standards*, ed. Cristina Grasseni (New York: Bergahn Books, 2007), 166-190.

[30] Ernst van den Boogaart, "Infernal Allies: The Dutch West India Company and the Tarairiu," in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen: A Humanist Prince in Brazil and Europe*, edited by Ernst van den Boogaart: 519-538. This concept of hierarchy is critiqued in Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), chapters 4 and 5; and further discussed in Virginie Spenlé, "'Savagery' and 'Civilization': Dutch Brazil in the Kunst- and Wunderkammer," *JHNA: Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (summer 2011): www.jhna.org/. 7 July 2011.

cultures of the world in order to fuse a hybrid identity.[31] This model is available only to

select individuals and is not what I mean when I talk about the hybrid identity of the Dutch. I

see hybridity as the inevitable result of the economic reach of the Dutch Republic into the

rest of the world – the juxtaposition of foreign and domestic objects and landscapes affects

collective Dutch identity not by the choice of the Dutch person who encounters this hybridity

– indeed this person is not always aware of the hybridity, yet it affects her nonetheless. For

example, a seventeenth-century viewer might seek out a nautilus cup because of an interest in

mathematics rather than its exoticism, but the Dutch alterations and display of the Indonesian

shell introduces the foreign element and its Dutching to the viewer, *bastaardering* her

identity, a process that will be discussed in the conclusion. This hybridity in turn serves the

Dutch colonial interests by reinforcing elements, in this case a celebration of the Dutch

control of the seas, in the Dutch Golden Age.

Carolyn Dean and Dana Liebsohn advance a nuanced critique of the study of

hybridity that points to the post-colonial scholar's interest in the hybrid elements over the

perceptions of a study's subjects.[32] They argue that hybridity is about the recognition of

visual elements that appear in dissonance, and that this dissonance may have more

importance to the scholar today than the historical owner or observer of that object. With the

case studies of this project, I argue that the visual markers of foreignness remained important

to the seventeenth-century viewer, even if he did not articulate a reaction to hybridity. The

foreign elements discussed here were integral to the appeal of the object or landscape,

---

[31] This notion is espoused by Mikhail Epstein, "On the Concept of Transculture," paper from *Re-placing Cultures: An Inter-Disciplinary and Inter-World Conference* at Emory University, 28 January 2005.; and critiqued by Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*; and in the introduction of Avtar Brah and Annie E. Coombes, eds., *Hybridity and its discontents: politics, science, culture* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[32] Dean and Liebsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents."

demonstrating that the tension between foreign and domestic was active for this subject. This is not to disavow my own investment in a continued perception of these objects as hybrid, as this element is crucial to understanding Dutch collective identity from the Golden Age until today; the conclusion of this project argues that this *bastaardering* of the Dutch identity continues, and this context helps us to better understand the issues of racial and ethnic politics in today's Netherlands.

Another difficult issue with the term hybridity is the implication that there are pure origins that can be mixed in clear proportions. Homi Bhabha critiques this notion – when cultures come together they are not two (or more) unadulterated groups that come together, but already heterogeneous groups.[33] When the Dutch came to Java, this was not the case of two homogenous groups meeting and subsequently mixing – indeed, as Chapter Four will make clear, the Dutch group was made up of people of diverse European origins, while the local people were similarly very diverse. To suggest that there is a pure ethnic or cultural group is to reach into the imaginary past of that group. *Bastaard* and hybridity assume a mixing of parts, but it is important to remember that these parts are not pure, and I use this body of terminology with this understanding. Further, the implication of *bastaard* is negative, that the *bastaard* has degenerated from purity by the misbehavior of the "parents" or mistakes in production. I wish to retain this negativity with the term to remind of the Dutch reaction to hybridity in people, and how this complicates the Dutch desire for *bastaard* objects and landscapes.

Racial or biological mixing assumes that there is a clear proportion of parts that make up the resulting person. Stevenson's chart assumes that the father provides 7/8 of the

---

[33] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

pigmentation of the child, and the mother only 1/8, a model that already shows that his

"objective" study was constructed with a clear gender bias, among its many other flaws.

Carerra shows that despite the use of casta painting to make sense of race, the categories

remained disputed.[34] Scholars of hybridity debate whether the hybrid product is a sum of

different parts or something entirely new.[35] I fall on the former side, that the contributing

elements are contained in the *bastaard*, but of course with the caveat that these are not "pure"

elements. Specific to the Dutch colonial situation, scholars of Batavian social relations have

grappled with the terms to use to refer to the hybridity present in this diverse society, and

seem to have settled on the broad terms of Dutch or European on one side, and Asian or

Indonesian on the other, with those people in between called Eurasian, Mestizo/a, or

Indisch.[36] I wish to be more precise when possible, as these groups are not monolithic, and

the hybridity is not always the mixing of only two groups, resulting in still more complicated

identities. I see the hybridity in my objects, and thus the identity enforced by them, as fluid

and shifting, not limited to precise fractions: one of Chapter Three's nautilus cups is not 50

percent Malukan and 50 percent Delft, but rather demonstrates a process of altering the shell

from its original make-up to a more Dutch composition, while retaining all elements and

tensions it encounters as it undergoes this process.[37] It is impossible to quantify exactly the

various "ingredients" of these objects, but in order to show the varying foreign contributions

to the Dutch early modern collective identity, I will point to the precise elements when

---

[34] Carrera points out that one's position in a racial category, as determined by the casta, was not completely fixed by parentage, but could be altered by one's behavior. Carrera, *Imagining Identity*, chapter 1.

[35] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, introduces the "in-between." Baucom's discussion of a Victorian train station in India shows an instability between the Indian and English elements: Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

[36] I refer here to the work of Leonard Blussé, Dawn Odell, and Jean Gelman Taylor.

[37] Here I follow the argument about the instability of meaning in objects of Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

possible. The imprecise terms of Dutch, Chinese, Asian, Eurasian, *et cetera* points out the

imprecision necessary when taking a broader collective view of these encounters. As a result

I turn to the broadest terms – domestic and foreign – while reiterating the heterogeneity of

these terms.

Another issue that postcolonial theorists differ on is where hybridity occurs, with

most scholars focusing on the colony as the location of hybridity. Edward Said said that all

cultures are hybrid beginning with imperialism, while Nicolas Thomas critiques post-colonial

theorists for making the meeting of the colonizer and colonized the main occurrence of

hybridity, pointing out that hybridity can happen at many other non-colonial moments in time

and place.[38] Focusing as this project does on a (proto)colonial encounter, I differentiate

myself from the many scholars who look only at the colony as the location of hybridity, and

the colonized culture as the one that becomes hybrid.[39] I contend that Mary Louise Pratt's

"contact zone" occurs both in the colony and in the metropole, and with this project I

concentrate on how Dutch material and visual culture was made hybrid by the far reach of

the Dutch Republic, both at home in the Netherlands and also in Dutch Batavia. The

hybridity of some groups in Dutch colonies, especially in Batavia, has received attention in

the work of Jean Taylor, Dawn Odell and Leonard Blussé.[40] Taylor looks at eighteenth-

century Batavian social relationships, especially from the perspective of female Eurasians,

while Odell and Blussé are particularly interested in city's large Chinese population. This

---

[38] Nicholas Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
[39] Some scholars who are interested in hybridity in the metropole are Young, *Colonial Desire*; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Said, *Culture and Imperialis*m; and Daniela Bleichmar, "Painting as Exploration: Visualizing Nature in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Science," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15, no. 1 (June 2006): 81-104.
[40] See for example Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World*; Dawn Odell, "Clothing, customs, and mercantilism: Dutch and Chinese ethnographies in the seventeenth century," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53 (2002): 139-159; Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, 2nd ed. (Dordrecht-Holland/Providence-USA: Verhandelingen van het KILTV, 1988).

project differs from theirs by looking at the enforcement of a Dutched identity for the larger

Dutch community in the seventeenth century. As in Yinka Shonibare's *Double Dutch*, which

interrogates the web of Dutch and English colonial trading networks, and envisions these

brought home into European culture, I am interested more in how the colonial influenced the

identity of the colonizer.[41] One of my major goals with this project is to demonstrate that the

colonial and domestic histories of the Netherlands are indeed intertwined. To do so I am

primarily interested in how the colonial made the Dutch arena hybrid, both at home and

abroad.

Methods

To begin to understand the hybrid identities of the seventeenth-century and

subsequent Dutch who individually encountered the subjects of my case studies, it has been

necessary to step back and consider the collective experience of a group of people with

collective groups of objects or representations of a landscape. I have thus approached these

case studies as views of total groups of objects, rather than single objects. I determine the

general characteristics of, for example, Dutch nautilus cups, in order to understand how a

body of similar objects can affect a wider audience. Within these groups, I focus on works I

have determined to be representative, and in choosing these I leaned towards those that,

thanks to the connoisseurship of art historians more traditional than myself, have an

associated artist and date. This is not to prize the works with a celebrated or prolific name

attached over those with anonymous creators: rather, I gravitate towards these because of

their more secure dating, so I can be relatively certain, for example, that they are not

---

[41] Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Rotterdam and Kunsthalle Wien, *Yinka Shonibare: Double Dutch* exh. cat. (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2004).

nineteenth-century copies representing a different era. These case studies may be considered by some to be minor arts: decorative arts, urban planning derived from architectural theory, and a subtype of one of the lower genres of painting, rather than a study of history painting or great public buildings. I counter that these so-called minor arts had wider presence in the lives of a wider range of people in the Dutch Golden Age. For each large-scale history painting hanging in a wealthy family's collection, there were dozens of still life paintings in the homes of the wealthy and the middle class, being viewed by their owners, visitors, and the household's servants.

I draw on the works of scholars across fields – from art history to sociology, literary theory to economic history – to offer a rich and nuanced interdisciplinary look at the Dutch Golden Age. The work of traditional art historians has been indispensible in providing a foundation in which to anchor my theoretical framework. I have also followed traditional methods of amassing data for my case studies with research in archives and special collections, beginning with the original records and historical accounts, in hope of capturing more seventeenth-century voices, and a picture of seventeenth-century concerns as communicated through the budgets, policy disputes, and lists that remain as traces direct from the hands of the makers and traders of the Golden Age. The specific archives and documents consulted are referred to in their respective chapters.

Chapter Outline

I begin with a historical chapter integrating the domestic history of the Dutch Republic with her trading and (proto)colonial history, in an attempt to correct the view of these as two distinct and separate histories, as in Israel's two volumes mentioned earlier.

While many generations of Dutch people have expressed that they saw the Dutch East India

Company (VOC), the Dutch West India Company (WIC), and overseas as very distant to

their existence, it is my contention that the visual and material culture they experienced

brought the colonial home in profound ways.[42] This chapter presents the key developments

in the Dutch Republic, from its founding until Napoleon's invasion, with a keen eye to the

interdependence of events home and abroad. This chapter establishes that the colonial did

indeed infiltrate the domestic in historic events, and the case studies that follow extend this

argument through visual and material culture. I intend that this chapter introduce these

intertwined histories to the reader, and provide a historical frame for my case studies in the

following chapters.

My case studies each look at a distinct subprocess of Dutching, represent a diversity

of artifacts, with a diversity of audiences from different classes and in both the metropole and

the periphery. The nautilus cup has a very select audience of collectors while still life

painting has a larger audience among the middle and upper classes of Dutch society.[43] Both

these case studies represent an attempt to make the exotic domestic, and affected the Dutch at

home in the Republic. Abroad, Dutching occurred among the Dutch settlers and company

servants of all the cities and factories of the VOC and the WIC, but most notably in Batavia,

the VOC's capital in the East. This range illustrates the variety of means of colonial

bastaardering entering the Dutch culture across a range of groups of Dutch people in the

early modern period. While these groups may not have imagined themselves as connected at

---

[42] See notes 8 and 9.
[43] On the early modern consumer, see the essays of especially Jan de Vries, Peter Burke, and Simon Schama in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); and Cissie Fairchilds, "Consumption in Early Modern Europe. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1993): 850-858.

this time, the sum of their identities provides a look at the burgeoning Dutch collective identity. These case studies are not the only possible objects to study under this model, nor are they mutually exclusive, but I intend this as a beginning that will indicate the potential scope and range of this model.

Chapter Three, the first case study, presents the nautilus cup. This object is a shell from the Spice Islands in Indonesia, imported to the goldsmiths' workshops of the Republic, where it was mounted in a fantastical matrix of silver likely from the Spanish Americas. These were prized by collectors because they represented many of the fundamental ideas of encyclopedic collections: *artificialia* versus *naturalia*, curiosity, and scientific wonder. The distinct subprocess of the Dutching of the nautilus occurred in steps that built up as the Dutch intervened with the shell in multiple ways, through collection and trade to the art of the shell engraver and the silversmith. The mount presents the shell to the viewer and also fixes it firmly into a Dutch context. While the shell is often deeply altered, it remains connected to its place of origin and relationship to the Dutch spice monopoly. I relate the nautilus cup to Dutch trading practices and contrast the concept of monopoly with the Dutch legal argument, Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum*, which established that the world's seas are free and open to all nations. This argument advanced the Dutch encroachment on the more lucrative trading regions of the world, in essence closing these markets to the other powers who were "free" to travel the seas. The argument also justified Dutch privateering and pirating on the open seas at the expense of their rivals. The Dutch idea of free seas was like the mount of the nautilus cup, fixing a natural object firmly in a Dutch context.

My fourth chapter looks at the historic center of Jakarta, the city of Batavia that was established in 1619 as the capital of the Dutch East India Company. The plan of Batavia was

based on the ideal city plan of the engineer and mathematician Simon Stevin. While

appearing as an evenly divided and pragmatically egalitarian city, further examination shows

divisions and hierarchies inherent in this grid plan enforced by varying accessibility, and

demonstrated by the early division of the city's population into separate quarters. Purporting

to be an opportunity to create an ideal egalitarian Dutch city, as the plan diffused from home

into the colonial environment, it created instead a rigidly hierarchical city. This form

encouraged the motley group of Europeans and Eurasians that made up the ten percent

"Dutch" population to mimic ideals of Dutchness, while also assuring that the roughly half of

the population that was enslaved remained at the bottom of the city's hierarchy.[44] The

practice of slavery was firmly against Dutch ideas of freedom and egalitarianism. I argue in

this chapter that while the city plan purports to enforce an ideal egalitarian Dutch society, this

ideal contrasts with the colonial need for hierarchy and slavery, thus questioning how

pervasive the Dutch idea of freedom really was. Indeed, a closer look at the Dutch Golden

Age egalitarianism at home in the Republic also suggests a hidden hierarchy at work,

challenging the idea that it is only in the colonial environment that the Dutch created social

divisions.

     The final case study, Chapter Five, focuses on the specialized genre of still life called

pronkstilleven, or ostentatious still life, which crystallized in the seventeenth century and

depicted rich objects displayed on a table. The objects included allude to the reach of the

Dutch trading empire, including costly exotic items from the East and West, and the

luxurious Dutch products created from them. At the same time, within the world of the

---

[44] Bhabha discusses the importance of mimicry to the colonizing project: Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 152-160.

individual painting, the geographical distances these object types travelled are supplanted by a network of light bouncing among the objects, reducing the trade relationships to reflective surfaces. Reconnecting these accumulations of goods with the records of their importation by the VOC shows that they depict a partial tale of trade, and one that is already beginning to look backwards to the height of the Dutch rich trades. Are the artists and owners of these paintings showing off (*pronken*) their accumulations and skills, or dreaming of a prowess that is already slipping away?

These three case studies are arranged somewhat chronologically in order to show a progression as Dutch collective identity begins to form. The nautilus cups were most actively produced in the last decade of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, while the city of Batavia was founded and building began in 1619. This study ends with the *pronk* still life, a subtype of still life painting that was most popular in the second half of the seventeenth century. More than just a chronological development, these case studies show the aspirations of the early Dutch Republic to monopolize trade with the East, and once this was realized, the application of the Dutch ideal on foreign soil. Finally, as Dutch trading prowess begins to wane, the still life paintings celebrate what is already becoming the past, the Golden Age that is essential to the seventeenth-century collective Dutch identity until the present.

The conclusion of the dissertation looks at the role of the hybrid material and visual culture of the Dutch Golden Age in forming the nascent Dutch collective identity in the Golden Age and thereafter. I examine the role of objects in shaping the collective memory of a group, a notion advanced by Maurice Halbwachs. The conclusion suggests that these *bastaard* objects and landscape, among other examples from the Golden Age, continue to

shape Dutch collective identity today. While many share the notion that the Dutch culture and identity is firmly located within the geographic boundaries of the Netherlands, I argue that the global dimensions of this early modern state remain an important element in Dutch collective identity today.

Figure 1. Frans Hals, *Peeckelhaering*, ca. 1628-1630. Oil on canvas. Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. (Source: *In situ*, University of Madison, Wisconsin, Art History Department, no. 113331.)

2. The Golden Age Dutch Republic: Integrating the Foreign and Domestic

        The intimate connection between the Dutch Republic's domestic history and overseas

trading is overlooked in historical and art historical accounts of Dutch Golden Age. This

chapter seeks to provide a concise history of the Dutch Republic, pushing trade to the

forefront, integrating events domestic and abroad, to provide a foundation for more fully

understanding the artistic production of the period, and specifically for the case studies that

follow. Art historical studies of the Dutch Golden Age generally exclude the overseas

history of the period. At a very basic level, the overseas efforts of the Dutch provided the

economic fuel for the growth of the arts domestically. World trade provided the gold for the

Golden Age, as well as motivated political and cultural developments. Some scholars have

noted that trade objects appear in Dutch painting, while I suggest that trade can help viewers

more fully understand these works. For example, an oft-noted aspect in depictions of

domestic interiors is the inclusion of maps, as in the work of Gabriel Metsu, Willem

Buytewech, and Jan Vermeer.[1] This could merely illustrate a new trend in Dutch wall

decoration – or it could be part of a commentary on trade and the newly global world.[2]

---

[1] See, for example, Willem Buytewech, *Merry Company*, c. 1617-20. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van
Beuningen and Jan Vermeer, *The Art of Painting*, c. 1665-67. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. On maps in
Dutch paintings, especially Vermeer's, see James Welu, "Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources," *Art Bulletin* vol.
57, no. 4 (1975): 529-547; Michael Maek-Gérard, ed., *Johannes Vermeer: der Geograph und der Astronom
nach 200 Jahren wieder vereint* exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Das Kunstinstitut, 1997); and Bärbel Hedinger,

Edward Said encourages looking for evidence of imperial engagement in domestic

production in *Culture and Imperialism*, and he has been critiqued, most notably by Bernard

Porter, for overemphasizing the importance of the empire to the nation.[3] In this project, I

follow the example of Said, stressing these connections, with the hope that a strong emphasis

on the role of Dutch global trade in the development of the nation and the collective Dutch

identity will enable a more nuanced reading of the importance of the foreign to the domestic.

Porter argued against Said, saying that he had overstated his case and that in fact, there was

little evidence of the metropole's engagement with the empire, which he shows through a

lack of textual evidence. Following Said, this chapter notes the importance of trade

developments to domestic events at home, showing that the Republic was indeed concerned

with developments abroad, at least in geopolitical and economic terms. The evidence of the

intertwined histories of domestic and foreign, and the material and visual culture explored in

the following chapters, demonstrates that despite a seeming textual disengagement with the

empire, the Dutch Republic was affected on other levels by the (proto)colonies.

This chapter explores the history of the Dutch Republic, from its beginnings in the

last decade of the sixteenth century to its decline at the end of the eighteenth. I date the

Dutch Golden Age to 1595-1663, dates significant to the Republic's trading history, as will

become clear in this chapter. I include here the events leading up to this flourishing and the

Republic's long denouement. This follows in part Ferdinand Braudel's formulation of a long

---

Karten in Bildern: zur Ikonographie der Wandkarte in holländischen Interieurgemälden des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1986).

[2] On early modern cartography, see J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-1994), 6 vols, especially vols. 3 and 4. For another view of the role of cartography in shaping early modern European culture, see Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 44-97.

[3] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, [1993] 1994); and Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

seventeenth century, an effort to understand the whole of the Dutch Golden Age from its

beginning through its decline, which is not neatly delineated by the turn of centuries. I begin

with a brief discussion of the European world exploration that precipitated the Dutch

Republic's rise to economic dominance, and focus mostly on the first half of the seventeenth

century, when much of the groundwork was laid for the Republic's role in trade. The efforts

to establish a new political entity in the northern Netherlands was defined by the revolt

against Spanish rule at home and the fierce Dutch-Spanish rivalry on the seas that led to

Dutch ascendency in overseas trade. The Dutch Republic's success as a political entity

coincides with her growing share of the global market, and declines as the English, Spanish,

and French established firmer colonial footing at the expense of the Dutch.[4] Around 1800,

the Republic became a kingdom and nationalized the properties of the Republic's great

trading companies. While the Dutch retained a vast colonial empire, their imperial

exploitation and plantations did not support the same kind of economic growth that sustained

the Golden Age, and the Dutch empire was less powerful than those of its European

neighbors, so it is often eclipsed in colonial studies of this later period. Thus I focus on the

seventeenth century, when the Dutch Republic was the greatest (proto)colonial power in

Europe. I use the term "(proto)colonial" to refer to this period when Dutch colonial efforts

were driven by semi-private trading companies, to underscore the groundwork these efforts

laid for the later governmental colonial projects, and to emphasize that the earlier projects,

while technically private, were nonetheless closely allied with the government and not

---

[4] Of the slow eighteenth-century decline of the Dutch Republic, it is often noted that Dutch tastes became more
French – though there has been an effort recently to more carefully assess this period, notably in a session at the
2009 conference of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS) in Richmond Virginia,
entitled "Dutch Art in the Eighteenth Century," chaired by Rebecca P. Brienen and Dawn Odell.

significantly different than the official colonial projects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A nuanced and integrated discussion of trade is sorely lacking in most accounts of the Dutch Golden Age. The best histories of the Dutch Republic, such as those by Jonathan Israel and Maarten Prak, separate the history of trade from the domestic history of the Republic into distinct chapters or even volumes.[5] Israel also wrote a history of Dutch trade in the period, in a separate volume, in which he goes into detail about this history; yet one cannot get a clear picture of the Dutch overseas efforts from his *Dutch Republic*.[6] Another comprehensive history of Dutch trade, but not the domestic history, is C. R. Boxer's *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, which for the most part focuses on the Dutch overseas.[7] This chapter draws on the work of these scholars as well as Femme Gaastra, Paul Arblaster, and A.Th. van Deursen and includes the most important moments in both the Dutch Republic's domestic and trading history, showing the intimate connections of developments in both arenas.[8] They cannot be fully understood separately.

In contrast to historical studies, in art historical accounts of the period, the overseas reach of the Dutch Republic is nearly entirely absent, with a few notable exceptions. Horst Gerson made an important early foray in 1942, suggesting an expansion of the works to be

---

[5] Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Diane Webb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

[6] Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade: 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

[7] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965).

[8] Paul Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); A. Th. van Deursen, *De Last van veel Geluk: De Geschiedenis van Nederland 1555-1702* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2005); and Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003). On domestic history, see also Jan de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age: 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); and Renée Kistemaker and Roelof van Gelder, *Amsterdam: The Golden Age, 1275-1795* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983). The information drawn from these sources is for the most part general knowledge, so I will only cite these sources in the event of a specific reference, or to suggest sources for further reading.

considered among Dutch seventeenth century material, including a chapter on Asia.[9]

Additionally, several recent scholars focus on the global history of the Netherlands in this

period.[10] It is clear that historians of the period recognize the importance of the global reach

of the Republic, even as they divide them from domestic history, but art historians focus

almost entirely on the domestic arena. Indeed, many scholars of Dutch seventeenth-century

art seem wedded to the traditional biographical and connoisseurship approaches to the

material, methods that provide valuable information but lack wider cultural context.

Centering Dutch trade in art historical studies enables a more fruitful study of Dutch art

production. One recent account that begins to integrate trade and art history is Timothy

Brook's 2008 *Vermeer's Hat*.[11] In this readable account, Brook, a historian of China, uses a

handful of paintings by Jan Vermeer as stepping off points for discussions of, for example,

the silver trade ranging from South American mines to the Japanese market. Brook looks at

the commodities included in the paintings and traces their histories, which is an interesting

way to discuss global trade in the period. However, Brook's art history is based only on the

inclusions of object types that he wants to discuss, rather than the artworks themselves. The

works of many of seventeenth century artists, across genres, also show silver coins,

references to tobacco smoking, and Chinese porcelain bowls filled with fruit, images that

would have allowed Brook to investigate these themes. He selected Vermeer's work likely

---

[9] Horst Gerson, *Ausbreitung und nachwirkung der holländischen malerei des 17 jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Haarlem: De erven F. Bohn n. v., 1983), see the chapter entitled "Asien." This chapter describes the artists who relocated to different parts of Asia, many of whom were relatives or students of Dutch masters, as well as notes that many of the paintings made by Dutch artists in Asia are anonymous. Gerson also points to where these paintings can be found in European or Asian collections.

[10] Rebecca Parker Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); see also the work of Dawn Odell on Batavia.

[11] Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008).

because of this artist's popularity and thus potential to generate wider interest in the book, yet Vermeer and his paintings are almost incidental to the account. In addition to providing the economic impetus for the Golden Age, and thus the growth of a larger art market, as well as trade products like new textiles, foodstuffs, and exotica to populate these art works, art from the period enters the discourse on Dutch trade, a fact that is seldom noted, and which I begin to rectify in this project. In this dissertation, I show that the global reach of the Netherlands is more than just depicted in Dutch Golden Age artistic production; rather, it is the central theme of many of these works.

The Theatre of Early Modern Trade

Early modern European interest in global trade had much to do with the spices that were available only through costly over-land trade routes across Asia, whose first celebrated European traveler was Marco Polo. European merchants were interested in developing a less expensive route to the East in order to access cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and pepper at the source, so they could cheaply supply the growing European market for these spices. The source of these spices were the aptly-named Spice Islands, now called the Maluku or the Moluccas, in Indonesia, and were best reached over water.[12] This section will focus mainly on European competition over routes to Asia, rather than the centuries-old trade within

---

[12] Like "Dutch," "Indonesia" is a confusing geographical term. Today it refers to the nation that was formerly the Dutch East Indies, independent since 1945/49, though the term dates from the nineteenth century. This is a culturally diverse region with many islands that might not have become a political unit if not for the shared colonial past. Other geographical terms, such as Southeast Asia or Island Southeast Asia include too many other regions and political groups. When I refer to the seventeenth-century indigenous of this region collectively, I use the term Indonesian, preferring this over the historical term Dutch East Indian, because generally I am defining this in opposition to the Dutch group. Where possible, I refer to the specific island, region, or political entity to be more precise.

maritime Southeast Asia, which provides a different view of European interventions.[13] To

describe the Dutch Republic's gains in transoceanic trade, it is first necessary to understand

the Spanish and Portuguese successes of previous centuries that paved the way.

The major sea power of the fifteenth century was the Kingdom of Portugal, which

began explorations of the northwestern coast of Africa in 1419, and through this century

developed the most advanced navigational techniques of the European powers. These

explorations led to their rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, the southern tip of Africa, in

1488, and in 1498 Vasco de Gama reached India.[14] At the time of this Portuguese effort to

get to the Spice Islands heading east, Portugal's rival, the increasingly powerful Kingdom of

Spain under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, financed Christopher Columbus' travel west

across the Atlantic in hopes of reaching the Indies. Increasingly in conflict and both claiming

that to have discovered "new" lands (meaning lands that had never been ruled by Christians,

despite these "new" lands' long established indigenous cultures), Spain and Portugal

appealed to the Pope, who issued a series of decrees regarding the rights of these two powers

to the non-European world.[15] The final decree, with most lasting effect, was the Treaty of

Tordesillas, issued in 1494. Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI established that the Spanish

had the right to the newly discovered lands to the west of the 46th degree longitude,

---

[13] On the Spice Island trade, see Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680,* 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988/1993); and M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1962). For a reorientation of the Western account of this trade, see Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), which despite the title, includes other European powers, especially the Dutch.

[14] Markus Vink has actually reconceptualized this as part of a history of the Indian Ocean as a system, rather than of interactions of distinct nations. Marcus Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (June 2003): 131-177.

[15] For a concise yet intricate discussion of these negotiations, see George E. Nunn, *The Diplomacy Concerning the Discovery of America* (Jenkintown, PA: Tall Tree Library, 1948).

essentially giving North and South America to Spain, and leaving Africa and India to

Portugal. In 1529 the Treaty of Zaragoza established the continuation of this line through the

Eastern Hemisphere, at 142 degrees, to the east of the Indonesian Archipelago, assuring the

Portuguese the right to the Spice Islands. These meridians were chosen at a time of

imprecise knowledge of geography, and pass through the edges of the regions that Spain and

Portugal were each claiming, thus the anomalies of Portuguese Brazil and the Spanish

Philippines. This rivalry between Spain and Portugal was in the fifteenth and for the

majority of the sixteenth centuries distant from the rest of Europe, as no other power

possessed the navigational skills to challenge the Iberians. From 1580-1640, the two

kingdoms would be united under Habsburg rule, and thus were a common rival to the new

Dutch Republic, who had little stake in distinguishing between Spain and Portugal's claims.

Establishment of the Dutch Republic

The seventeenth-century rival of Spain and Portugal in the arena of trade finally

became a political entity in the late sixteenth century when the Dutch Republic began

fighting for independence from Spanish rule and international recognition. The Low

Countries, roughly encompassing today's Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg, were

united under the French House of Burgundy from the end of the fourteenth century. In 1516,

a series of marriages brought the Low Countries under the rule of Charles I of Spain, more

popularly known as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V from 1519.[16] He had combined his

---

[16] After the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, the Duchess Mary of Burgundy ruled the Low Countries, having lost Burgundy to the French king. Mary was in a weak position, and married the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I of Austria in part to strengthen her position. This union produced Philip, who consolidated Habsburg rule in the Low Countries. Philip married Joanna of Castille, the daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand,

Kingdom of Spain with the New World and also the Low Countries, which were administered by a regent.[17] Concurrent with the growth of Protestant movements and with increasing frustration at the attempts of Charles V and, from 1559, his son Philip II, to rule the Low Countries from Spain, a group of noblemen presented the regent, Margaret of Parma, a petition in 1566. This petition requested suspension of the strict heresy laws against the Protestant challenges to the Church. The failure of this effort culminated in the Iconoclastic Fury of the same year, when supporters of Calvin's reforms to Christianity attacked churches and monasteries, destroying religious art and assaulting Catholics. Philip sent an army under the Duke of Alva, who established the Council of Troubles (popularly known as the Council of Blood), to enforce the laws against heresy. Unable to pay his soldiers, because Spanish (American) silver was not arriving as promised, Alva imposed a ten percent sales tax on the Low Countries, without the consent of the local government. Paying for their own persecution was too much for many in the Low Countries, so beginning in 1568 a Dutch army, under the command of Willem, Prince of Orange, fought back against Spanish tyranny, the start of the Eighty Years' War, also known as the Dutch War of Independence. This is often billed as a religious war, of Protestants against Catholics, but this was only part of the motivation: the right of the local governments to their sovereignty and an opposition to paying exorbitant taxes to the Spanish empire also motivated much of the revolt.[18]

---

heir to the Spanish kingdoms of Castille and Aragon. When their son, Charles V, came of age, he brought together the lands of the New World, the Low Countries, and Spain under the Kingdom of Spain.

[17] Though ruling from a distance, and through a regent, Charles V had a special connection with the Netherlands, having been born in Ghent, and as a fluent speaker of Flemish. See his biography: William Pieter Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V: 1500-1558* (London: Arnold, 2002).

[18] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, chapters 7-10.

In 1579, a group of southern states united in the Union of Arras, establishing their commitment to Spanish rule and Catholicism. In the same year, the Union of Utrecht brought the northern provinces of the Low Countries together, a group including much of the territory won by the rebels, mostly Protestant areas. The Union of Utrecht provided the foundation for the Dutch Republic, with governance shared among the states, and a Stadhouder as leader, rather than a king (though the young Republic did offer limited royal rule to several monarchs). This was followed up with the 1581 Act of Abjuration, which argued that Philip II had given up his right to rule the northern Netherlands through a series of abuses. This document will be discussed in Chapter Four, in the context of Dutching the landscape of Jakarta. The northern and southern Netherlands would remain at war until 1648, except for the Twelve Years' Truce from 1608-1621, and the southern Netherlands remained under a Spanish regent. This division is roughly contiguous with the border between Belgium and the Netherlands today. The Dutch reaction to the growing overseas domination of the Spanish and Portuguese kingdom should be understood as related to this context of domestic rebellion – while establishing their independence from Spain at home, the Dutch were at the same time attacking the economic might of the Spanish abroad as their own forays into global trade expanded.

The Beginnings of Dutch World Exploration and the Foundation of the VOC

The newly formed Dutch Republic soon began fighting the Spanish in a new theater: world trade. The goods that Spain and her ally, Portugal, had been importing from around the world, most notably spices from the Indonesian Archipelago, had been circulating in European markets. Not content to merely distribute these goods, the Dutch wanted to go to

the sources themselves, to beat out their European competitors.[19] In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Dutch made great strides in world navigation, beginning with the efforts of Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1533-1611). Since the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain were united from 1580-1640, the Dutch efforts against Spain included Portugal, who had the most advanced navigational technology. As the seas were mostly uncharted, crossing them and reaching the desired destination required knowledge of routes based on precise navigational measurements and the few available landmarks. These routes were carefully guarded secrets that van Linschoten familiarized himself with while working on Portuguese ships sailing to and from the East. Upon his return to the Dutch Republic in 1592, he began work on a publication of these Portuguese secrets, which was printed in 1595. Cornelis de Houtman (c. 1565-1599), using van Linschoten's information and more he had discovered while doing research in Lisbon, organized a fleet of ships that left the Republic in 1595.[20]

De Houtman's fleet was financed by a group of Amsterdam merchants calling themselves the *Compagnie van Verre*, or Long-Distance Company. The goal was to reach the Spice Islands by going around Africa and across the Indian Ocean. The *Compagnie* was successful, returning two years later with a great loss of ships, men, and with little saleable product, but nevertheless having proven that despite Portuguese claims of monopoly, Asian merchants were willing to trade with the Dutch. De Houtman's fleet inspired similar private ventures. These ventures were organized by groups of merchants who invested a percentage

---

[19] It should be noted that the Dutch were also very active in bulk trading closer to home, such as the Baltic trade – Israel argues, in *Dutch Primacy*, that while bulk trade is important, it is the trade in luxury goods that brings in the most spectacular profits.

[20] A. van der Moer, *Een zestiende-eeuwse Hollander in het Verre Oosten en het Hoge Noorden: Leven, werken, reizen en avonturen van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563-1611)*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979); and Els M. Jacobs, *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1991), 7-12; and on Houtman, see Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 101-2, and 330, note 28;

in a fleet of ships, rather than individual ships. Multiple ships could travel more safely and if

necessary engage rival expeditions. Additionally, the group who financed the ship was able

to share the risk of the voyage – if one ship were lost, the merchants still split the profits of

the remaining ships. It is this joint-ownership and shared risk that led to the organization of

the world's first stock-issuing company.[21]

In response to the success of these private trading efforts, and with the foresight that

competition among Dutch merchants would keep prices high at the source, and low when

they reached the Dutch market, in 1602 the Dutch government formed the Dutch East India

Company, known by its Dutch acronym VOC, for *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*.

This company unified (*verenigd*) the earlier companies' efforts and was given a Dutch

monopoly (meaning no private Dutch merchants could trade) over the Asian trade, with the

right to use military means, including the deployment of the Republic's soldiers, and

negotiate treaties with local leaders. To increase demand, retain high profits, and ensure a

steady supply of spices, the Dutch knew they had to control all aspects of the market from the

source to Europe's tables. The monopoly fostered by the Dutch East India Company helped

the Dutch to control the European market. In the Spice Islands, the VOC's methods varied:

their interest was not in territorial acquisition, but in domination of trade, so they set up

outposts and warehouses in key locations and developed exclusive trade relationships with

local merchants in the Spice Islands. This was not always an innocent undertaking: at times

they resorted to massacring or enslaving local producers, introducing Dutch settlers in their

place; they destroyed spice trees growing outside of the Dutch controlled areas; and the VOC

famously tortured and killed 20 English East-India Company (EIC) traders in 1623 in

---

[21] Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company.* Gaastra's first chapter explains the private fleets that were
forerunners to the VOC, and the organization of the VOC.

Amboina to consolidate their monopoly.[22] While chartered as a privately financed trading company, the VOC represented the Dutch Republic economically and militarily throughout African and Asia. The ultimate goal of the VOC was to gain and hold a Dutch foothold in Asian trade, but the primary project was to break the Portuguese dominance of the Indonesian Archipelago's Spice Islands. This success would assure Dutch primacy in world trade and undermine their enemy in the Eighty Years' War.

The VOC was overseen by a board of seventeen representatives (the *Heeren* XVII) from the major merchant centers of the Dutch Republic: eight from Amsterdam, four from Middelburg, and one each from Delft, Rotterdam, Enkhuizen, and Hoorn, and a rotating seat from one of the latter four.[23] This organization is telling of which cities dominated trade in the Republic; Amsterdam was given one seat less than a majority so that it would be unable to completely dominate. In theory, the *Heeren* XVII made all the decisions regarding the administration of the VOC, but in practice the lower representatives of the company, the governors of outposts and ship captains, made many decisions. Shares were issued in the VOC to raise capital, and these shares were traded on the Amsterdam Exchange, the world's first stock market, which was founded in 1608. The shares were priced to be affordable to the merchant class, and foreign investment was encouraged, making it truly the world's first multi-national corporation. The VOC worked closely with the government of the Dutch Republic, so while it was officially a private international corporation, there was Dutch governmental influence.

In 1608, the role of the VOC and the overseas trade in the Republic's war with Spain was made explicit: the jurist Hugo Grotius published his legal argument, *Mare Liberum* by

---

[22] Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 106; she also describes other atrocities committed by the Dutch.
[23] An invaluable source on the organization of the VOC is Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company*.

request of the VOC. This document is discussed at length in Chapter Three, along with the Dutching of the nautilus cup. It justified a Dutch reaction of warfare to Portuguese claims of ownership over their navigational routes on the world's oceans. Essentially, it argued in favor of Dutch privateers attacking any Spanish or Portuguese trading expeditions as a means of undermining the Iberians economically. This had a two-fold purpose: weakening the Spanish enemy and increasing the Dutch share of world trade.[24]

The Twelve Years' Truce

The Eighty Years' War, or Dutch War of Independence (1568-1648), was on hiatus from 1609-1621, when the new Dutch government and the Kingdom of Spain established a temporary truce. While these diplomatic exchanges were important to the domestic history of both nations, the truce was motivated in large part by concerns about both groups' trade networks, and the truce would also have consequences for trade. According to Jonathan Israel, the Dutch Republic's economy, despite growing profits abroad, was suffering domestically because of 38 years of continued warfare and the Spanish restrictions of Dutch trade within Europe.[25] Spain, England, and France all were restricting Dutch intra-European trade, and the English were making significant inroads into the Mediterranean trade. The citizens of the Republic desired peace, and also recognition of their new nation. Propitiously, the Spanish Crown was also desirous of an end to the military costs of this long war, so this initial Dutch effort towards resolution was met positively.

---

[24] See Chapter Three and Hugo Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas, or The Right Which Belongs to the Dutch to Take Part in the East Indian Trade*, ed. James Brown Scott, trans. Ralph van Deman Magoffin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1916).
[25] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 399.

Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, the *landsadvocaat* of the Republic from 1586-1619, the second most powerful governmental position in this period after the Stadhouder, began a series of truce negotiations with Spain in 1606.[26] The Spanish were willing to concede sovereignty of the Northern Netherlands to the Dutch Republic if the Republic would withdraw from the East Indies and forget their plans to start a western counterpart to the VOC. This was motivated by the great success of the VOC in the Spice Islands; in 1605 they had conquered the islands of Ambon, Ternate, and Tidore, key victories in their efforts to monopolize the Spice Island trade. Oldenbarnevelt agreed verbally to this exchange, while he had no actual authority to disband the Dutch trading companies. In 1607, a cease-fire was signed, but afterwards Philip II of Spain was surprised to see that despite Oldenbarnevelt's verbal assurances, there was no mention in the documents of Dutch trade withdrawal. Immediately after this document was signed, the Dutch navy won a major victory off the southern coast of Spain. Spain was humiliated by this turn of events. In 1608, talks again began between the two powers, by which time it was clear to all that Oldenbarnevelt had no authority over Dutch trade. The investors in the VOC were not interested in giving up their economic interests merely for the Dutch Republic to be recognized as a free state.

The truce document as finally drawn up in 1609 called for a cease-fire and a removal of trade embargoes. In exchange for temporary recognition of their sovereignty, the Republic agreed to hold off on chartering the Dutch West India Company (WIC), to stop

---

[26] Oldenbarnevelt's career would end in disgrace. Before the end of the Truce, the author of the Truce, Oldenbarnevelt, was executed. During the Truce, two main Protestant factions, the Arminians and the Gomarists, or the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, respectively, clashed, and while this began as a religious dispute, political facets soon emerged. Oldenbarnevelt, committed to religious tolerance, became by default an Arminian, and clashed with the mostly Gomarist regents. He and his principal supporters, including Hugo Grotius, were arrested. Oldenbarnevelt was sentenced to death by beheading in 1619, while his "co-conspirators" were imprisoned (Grotius later escaped). On the controversy, see a concise explanation of this conflict, in Arblaster, *Low Countries*, 139-141, and for a lengthier explanation, Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, chapters 16-21.

attacking the Portuguese in the East Indies (which they only followed for a few years), and to allow Catholics to worship openly in the Republic. These were minor concessions on the part of the Dutch, though the delay in chartering the WIC would have consequences for that company, which will be discussed below. The truce allowed the Dutch to regain their foothold in European trade, and continue to grow their trade in the East Indies, including the establishment of the VOC capital, Batavia, in 1619. The Republic's new status as a sovereign nation, even temporarily, put them in a better position to negotiate with other European nations and also in the neighboring regions, especially in Northern Africa and the Near East. It also put the new Republic in a stronger position among European powers. For example, when England banned the export of their raw cloth to be finished in the Republic in 1614, the Dutch response, a ban on import of finished English cloth, was strong enough that the English backed down. They were now negotiating as a wealthy and powerful European nation. The Republic also established ambassadorships to other nations, which raised their role in diplomatic politics considerably.

The Truce ended in 1621. The remainder of the Eighty Years' War, which ended in 1648 with the peace of Münster, would be fought in the economic theater. This resulted in both powers harassing each other's shipping routes, embargoes on Dutch trade to the Iberian Peninsula, and Spanish efforts to keep Spanish goods away from the Dutch. The Spanish restriction on export of their salt to the Dutch Republic was especially effective, because the Dutch needed salt for their herring industry. While the Eighty Years' War and the Truce were ostensibly about sovereignty and religious freedom, clearly trade was a major factor in how the war developed.

The Founding of Batavia as the VOC Capital

At the end of the truce, the VOC made important gains in the East, including the establishment of Batavia on the island of Java as the eastern capital for the company (fig. 1). This would have lasting consequences in the region, as it would remain the capital of the colonial Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and become Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia after independence. In 1618, the new Governor-General of the VOC, Jan Pietersz Coen (1587-1629; Governor-General from 1618-1623 and 1627-1629), chose a location and put into motion a series of events that led to the establishment of the city of Batavia. The planning and populating of this city is the subject of Chapter Four. Coen recognized the need for an eastern capital for the VOC, which would serve as an administrative center and warehouse to collect and ship goods back to Europe. At this point, the VOC was not interested in acquiring territory beyond a secure location for a harbor, town, and fort – it was only after the dissolution of the VOC two centuries later and the beginning of formal governmental colonization that more land would be required for plantation farming. The VOC was discovering the difficulty of administering this far-flung network from the Republic, when a directive from the *Heeren* XVII could take months to reach local company officials. An administrative center in the archipelago would make for more efficient administration of trade. Coen chose as his site a harbor on the northern coast of Java, one of the larger islands. Controlling this location allowed the Dutch to bypass the contested Strait of Malacca, and to control traffic passing through the Sunda Strait. As had been discovered by Indonesians long before the arrival of Europeans, the mouth of the Ciliwung River was an ideal location for a harbor with its easy access to the inland area and a supply of fresh water.

This site boasted a centuries-old city, Jayakarta (from where the twentieth-century city on the site, Jakarta, derived its name), a trading city within the archipelago, inhabited by locals as well as Arabian, Chinese, Portuguese, and English merchants.[27] Jayakarta was politically unstable – a situation the Dutch were able and eager to exploit. Indeed, many of the Dutch political alliances in the Indonesian archipelago were similarly motivated; by taking advantage of local rivalries, the Dutch were able to gain control of key ports and land without active warfare. When Coen decided on this location for the capital, tensions escalated among these groups, and Coen left to get VOC reinforcements from the Spice Islands. The unstable political situation of western Java worked out in the favor of the Dutch. Even though the Dutch fort at Jayakarta was left nearly undefended it remained undefeated because of the rivalries among the sultan of Banten, his vassal Prince Jayakarta, and the English. The Dutch fort was such an easy target that the other powers argued amongst themselves about who should take it. Banten had no interest in Jayakarta having a stronger position than it, and then the English pulled out in fear of Banten, and then Banten removed the Prince of Jayakarta from power.

Inside the Dutch fort, the Dutch celebrated their "victory" and renamed their fort "Batavia" in May 1619. When Coen returned in May with a small number of reinforcements, he took control of all of Jayakarta, then destroyed the city and claimed the location for the VOC.[28] Coen wanted to name the city "New Hoorn" after his birthplace, but the VOC overruled him and made the name Batavia official.[29] The naming of this city was an important step in Dutching the region – "Batavia" is an ancient Latin name for a tribe in

---

[27] The foremost source on the history of Jakarta is Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta: A History*, 2nd ed. (Singapore/Oxford/NYC: Oxford University Press, 1989). This reference, 4-5.
[28] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 11-12.
[29] Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 323.

vaguely the region of the Netherlands. The history of the Batavians is an important founding myth in the Dutch collective identity, beginning in the early sixteenth century when Tacitus' *Germania* was rediscovered.[30] "Batavia" was used to name this city in Southeast Asia, and the Batavian Republic under Napoleon, as well as numerous smaller cities across the Dutch empire. As will be further explored in Chapter Four, the naming and plotting of this new city Dutched the landscape around the harbor, enforcing a specific set of characteristics on the city's diverse population in order to serve the colonial situation.

The Fortune of the WIC

In 1621, immediately after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, the Dutch Republic chartered the West India Company (*Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie*, or WIC), plans for which had begun before the beginning of the truce.[31] The WIC would be the western counterpart of the VOC, with a territory extending from the Cape of Good Hope across the Atlantic Ocean. As such, the WIC would be instrumental in trading slaves and gold from the west coast of Africa and sugar and salt in the Caribbean and South America; the WIC also took over New Amsterdam (later New York) from the New Netherlands Company.[32] In distinction from the VOC, the WIC was restricted to initiating military operations only with

---

[30] The Batavians were thought to be a culture of brave warriors, and the most heroic moment is captured in Rembrandt's *Oath of the Batavians*, commissioned for, but not installed, in the Amsterdam Town Hall. This moment of Julius Civilis' victory over the Roman army was seen as prefiguring William the Silent's victory over Spain. See also Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 39ff.

[31] On the WIC, see Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 156-170; and on Dutch interests in the Americas, see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[32] On New Amsterdam/York, see Russel Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan & the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America* (New York: Doubleday, 2004); on the Dutch and the slave trade, see Pieter C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel, 1500-1850* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2003); and Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

the express consent of the government of the Dutch Republic. Due to an economic slump in the 1620s, the new WIC had difficulty collecting enough start-up capital, and garnering the support of all the regions of the Republic, especially those private merchants that stood to lose their share of the private salt trade to the new Dutch monopoly, so there was a further delay of several years before the WIC could begin work.[33] Because of the delays in implementing the WIC, it entered into the Atlantic trade after the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English had all made important inroads, so it was never to be as successful as the VOC in monopolizing trade in the region.[34]

The WIC got off to a rough start, mainly gaining in the gold trade on the Guinea coast, but not earning a great deal from this. One of the spectacular early successes of the WIC was in its privateering ventures against the Spanish as a result of the resumption of the Eighty Years' War. When Piet Heyn captured the Spanish silver fleet in 1628, the amount of silver captured in that single event equaled the value of the first 13 years of the WIC African gold trade.[35] The key to success in the Americas, as opposed to in the East Indies, was the capture of territory on which sugar and other goods could be cultivated, by slaves imported from Africa. In the 1630s, the WIC began to make inroads in Brazil, and they established Dutch Brazil, under Governor-General Johan-Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, from 1637-1644. (His mansion in The Hague now houses the Mauritshuis Museum.) Under Johan-Maurits, a group of artists and scientists explored and documented the region, an effort that has been

---

[33] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 157.
[34] Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, 116; and Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 156-57.
[35] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 162.

chronicled by Rebecca Parker Brienen and P.J.P. Whitehead and Marinus Boeseman.[36] This was the height of their colonial efforts, yet still the WIC did not monopolize Dutch trade – in fact, they controversially opened Brazil's sugar and tobacco trade to private Dutch merchants, mostly Sephardic Jews from Amsterdam. Still, this success meant that the Dutch, if not the WIC, controlled a large portion of the American sugar trade, and the African slave trade used to cultivate it. In 1641, Portugal separated from Spain, and initiated a truce with the Republic. The effects of this were disastrous for Dutch Brazil; the Portuguese were their main rivals in Brazil, and by establishing military peace between these nations, their economic rivalry weakened, in favor of the Portuguese. In addition, the cost of sugar went down in Europe as a result, harming both the Dutch and Portuguese merchants. The Dutch would lose Brazil in pieces until in 1654 they were completely removed.

In the Caribbean, very much due to the continuing Dutch-Spanish conflict of the Eighty Years' War, the WIC also faced difficulties. They captured a few islands, with ambitious hopes of using these to launch attacks on the northern coast of South America and on the Spanish Caribbean islands, but they were unsuccessful. The diversion of WIC troops to the Caribbean for these efforts only managed to weaken Dutch Brazil. In 1646, the WIC gave up its military and territorial dreams in the Caribbean, and concentrated on being only a trading company, carrying goods for the other more-established colonial powers. From this point on, the territories of the WIC were being protected by the Republic's military instead of the WIC's own employees. In 1648, the Republic was officially at peace with Spain, as a result of the Treaty of Münster, but this did not end the trading rivalry. No longer did the

---

[36] Brienen, *Visions*; and P.J.P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A portrait of Dutch 17th century Brazil: Animals, plants and people by the artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*, Koninklijk Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Vol. 87 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1989).

Dutch and Spanish attack each other's ships as official military actions or privateering; rather, Spain refused to allow Dutch ships to trade with her colonies. WIC ships would arrive full of goods or slaves in Spanish Caribbean harbors, and would find no buyers. The WIC had more success trading with French and English islands, like Martinique and Barbados, and established a strong foothold in the business of carrying goods for other nations, but this was not a very successful enterprise overall, a fact that was reflected in the low prices for WIC shares on the Amsterdam stock market.[37] In economic terms, the WIC is less important to the history of the Dutch overseas expansion than the VOC, yet its products were important to the Dutching of the Republic, as will be seen in Chapter Five on still life painting.

Anglo-Dutch Relations

While much of this account has been about the political and economic rivalry between the Spanish (and sometimes Portuguese) crown and the Dutch Republic, as the seventeenth century wore on, other European powers made advancements in world trade and a fierce but inconsistent rivalry developed between England and the Republic. At times during the Eighty Years' War, England had allied with Spain against the Dutch Republic, and enforced embargoes against Dutch trade and goods. As a growing maritime power, the English still consistently found themselves trumped by Dutch efforts.[38] When the Eighty Years' War ended and the Dutch were again allowed to trade with the Iberian Peninsula

---

[37] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 163.
[38] Robert Markley has cast this rivalry in an entirely different light, at least as it concerned the East Indies – that China was the major power in the region and the Anglo-Dutch rivalry was based on a misunderstanding on the part of these European powers of their relative importance – in reality, China was dominating this arena. Robert Markley, *The Far East*.

(though not the Spanish colonies), they pushed the English out of that market. One unfortunate event in the first half of the century that would have lasting repercussions was the so-called Amboina Massacre of 1623, mentioned above, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three.[39] The two powers were thus rivals in several arenas of world trade.

This conflict led to three Anglo-Dutch Wars during the third quarter of the seventeenth century (1652-1654, 1665-1667, and 1672-1674); a fourth followed during the late eighteenth (1780-1784).[40] These wars were primarily about trade on the world's seas, and took place mostly on water, and at times were really only called "wars" as a justification for privateering. One line of English defense against Dutch trade dominance was their attempt to protect their domestic markets against superior Dutch products, and the first of these wars began as a result of the English Navigation Act of 1651. This act restricted English ports to only receive English ships, or foreign ships carrying only the goods of their countries; this was an attempt to hamper Dutch efforts to dominate the carrying trades, where Dutch ships acted as middlemen to transport goods produced elsewhere. This first war ended in a treaty that prohibited members of the House of Orange from being Stadhouder of the Republic, as Willem I and II had been. By 1672, this prohibition was removed, and Willem III was able to resume the role. England was right to be cautious, as Willem III would later invade England from this station. The battles of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch wars were won alternately by each side, none of these wars showing a clear victory. These wars

---

[39] Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, 106.

[40] Similar to Markley's argument (see note 38 above), Su Fang Ng argued in a conference paper that the Second Anglo-Dutch War should be seen instead from the perspective of the War of Makassar, the kingdom based on the nearby island of Sulawesi that dominated the Spice Islands at the time of Dutch arrival. The English were allied with Makassar against the Dutch/VOC. Su Fang Ng, "Dutch Wars, Global Poems: Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) and Amin's *Sya'ir Perang Mengkasar* (1670)," lecture at University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1 April 2011.

were also marked by various treaties between the French and either the Dutch or the English;

the French had territorial ambitions on the South Netherlands and the Republic, and the

Republic saw them as a major threat on land.

The *Rampjaar*, or Disaster Year, of 1672 was a pivotal year in the history of Dutch

Republic, when the convergence of external and internal pressure threatened to destroy the

Republic. Tensions were growing between the merchant and regent classes who supported

the Stadhouder-less Republican government, and those who supported the House of Orange,

in its representative Willem III, who was popular among the general public. When the

French attacked on land in the beginning of the year, allied with the Bishopric of Münster

and the Electorate of Cologne, virtually surrounding the Republic with hostile territories, the

Dutch military was unprepared to defend their borders. This was followed swiftly with the

resumption of the Anglo-Dutch conflict on the seas, which left the Dutch fighting two

coordinated attacks in different theaters. The populace was unsatisfied with the defense of

the Republic by the government and civic militias, calling for a unified and efficient response

by Willem III, who had just been made captain-general of the Dutch army. His elevation to

the position of Stadhouder, resuming this essentially hereditary position that had been vacant

since 1650, strengthened the Dutch position. The rousing and sometimes violent uprising of

the people of the Republic broke the hold of the regents and the wealthy merchants on the

government of the Republic. A low point of the popular uprising was the murder by mob of

the former Pensionary of the Republic Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis, which is

vividly described at the beginning of Alexandre Dumas' *Black Tulip* (1850). While the

attack of France and her allies on the Republic was motivated by a desire for territory and

return to Catholic worship, and near-civil war within the Republic had a variety of domestic

motives, trade with the world outside the Republic and Europe still played an important role in this *Rampjaar*. The English attacked the Republic with the express desire to gain control of transoceanic trade while the people of the Republic rose up against the merchant class, wealthy because of their involvement in this trade; it was not solely a domestic or intra-European conflict.

Lisa Jardine provides an account of the other side of the Anglo-Dutch relationship in her *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory*.[41] Jardine chronicles the intimate connections of England and the Republic's elite, the relationships between the royal family of England and the House of Orange, and the intellectual connections among scientists, artists, and scholars. She describes the period leading up to England's "Glorious Revolution," which was in reality a Dutch takeover of the English throne, in 1688. Willem III of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange, was the non-royal Stadhouder of the Republic. His mother, Mary, was a Stuart, the sister of King Charles II of England (died 1685), and the next king, James II. His connection to England's royal family was furthered by his marriage at a young age to the daughter of King James II, Mary II. When Willem III invaded England, he (anglicizing his name to William) and Mary assumed the kingdom of his uncle and father-in-law, bringing in the age of William and Mary. This was also a conflict marked by religion – the Catholic James II was expelled and the rule of William and Mary assured that England would remain Protestant. Jardine's book describes the connections between these nations that made the usurpation seem natural, indeed "glorious," to the English people, which suggests that despite the military and trade rivalries described above, the relationship between the nations was multifaceted.

---

[41] Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008).

The Decline of the Republic's Overseas Trade Success

As discussed above, the WIC never succeeded in establishing a strong foothold in the Atlantic trade. Any gains were modest, because the other European colonial powers had a great advantage by beginning their projects earlier, while the WIC was on hold. Not so with the VOC, which was wildly successful through most of the seventeenth century and dominated the other European interests in its jurisdiction. However, through a combination of factors, the VOC began a slow decline in the end of the seventeenth century which continued through to the end of the eighteenth century. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the peak of Dutch overseas trade in the East occurred during the 1660s; Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude specifically identify 1663 as the turning point after which profits slow.[42] At the end of the seventeenth century, European demand for colonial products shifted, away from products the Dutch had a strong hold on, like spices and porcelain, towards Indian textiles and coffee and tea. The VOC was slow to attempt to accommodate this shift. At the same time, the Asian supply of precious metals to the VOC declined; in the 1680s, the Japanese – trading exclusively with the VOC – limited the volume of copper and gold the VOC could export from Deshima. Els M. Jacobs' study of the VOC in the eighteenth century shows that the VOC was too inflexible to accommodate these changes in supply and demand, a major element of the VOC's decreasing profitability, which began a long slide around 1730.[43]

Starting in 1733, the health of the VOC's eastern capital, Batavia (the subject of Chapter Four) declined markedly. Peter van den Brug has shown that malaria in Batavia was

---

[42] Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 675ff.

[43] Els M. Jacobs, *Koopman in Azië: De Handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18e Eeuw* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 2000).

a major cause of the decline of the VOC.[44] Because of new saltwater ponds established along

the shore of Batavia, a strain of malaria began affecting new arrivals in the city; the mortality

of VOC employees increased from 6% within the first year of arrival to 50% beginning in

1733. This incredible strain on the employees of the VOC meant that the company

dramatically increased the number of employees they recruited and sent to the East. This

cost the VOC terribly and destroyed the profitability of the company in the eighteenth

century. These two challenges, inflexibility and disease, combined to destroy what had been

so profitable for much of the seventeenth century.

The situation of the VOC and WIC was further degraded by the Fourth Anglo-Dutch

War in 1780-1784, which was a resounding success for England. Like the other Anglo-

Dutch Wars, its primary interest was overseas trade, and it began as a Dutch reaction to

British harassment of Dutch trade with the nascent United States of America during the

Revolutionary War. It drained the resources and efforts of the Dutch navy, and the VOC and

WIC lost ships and territory to England's navy and privateers. This conflict showed the

Dutch Republic that the WIC was nearly bankrupt and unable to effectively administer its

colonial outposts, so the Dutch government took over the WIC in 1792. In 1795, the VOC,

while in better shape than the WIC, was also dissolved and repossessed by the Republic. A

further blow to the Dutch interests abroad was exiled Stadhouder Willem V's signing of the

Circular Note of Kew, which ordered Dutch colonial governors not to resist the British. This

was a confusing order, and not every Dutch governor followed it, but the English were able

to easily take key Dutch outposts, like Malacca, Amboina, and west Sumatra in the East

---

[44] Peter H. van der Brug, "Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century," in *Jakarta/Batavia: Socio-cultural essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 43-74.

Indies; southern India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka); South Africa; and eventually Batavia and the rest of Java. The Dutch were able to regain some of these locations after the Napoleonic Wars, as Dutch colonial possessions.

The End of the Republic and Transition to Monarchy

In the 1780s, facing a financial recession, the decline of the company trade in East and West, and a growing patriot movement for popular sovereignty, a revolution with strong ties to that in France began. In 1795, the Batavian Republic was established, a revolutionary government that exiled Willem V of Orange. The continued intervention of France, especially after Napoleon's ascent to emperor in 1804, ended this brief democratic republic. Napoleon supported a *coup d'etat* in 1805 to put in place a Dutch leader that he thought would act in his best interest – unfortunately, despite his alliance with Napoleon, Pensionary Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck also supported the Batavian Republic's interests. Napoleon then established the Kingdom of Holland in 1806, headed by his brother Louis. In 1813, Russian and Prussian soldiers liberated the Netherlands from France, and Willem VI of Orange followed quickly behind, becoming King Willem I of the Netherlands, a constitutional monarchy that included both the northern and southern Netherlands, the Low Countries which had been divided since 1568. After the southern Netherlands revolted in 1830, becoming today's Belgium, today's Kingdom of the Netherlands has held a territory roughly contiguous with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch Republic.

Conclusion

This concise account of the major events of the Dutch Republic's domestic and trading history establishes the interconnectedness of these histories. Interest in dominating global trade motivated many of the Republic's domestic actions, and domestic developments had consequences for the ability of the Republic to trade abroad, and it is necessary to consider these histories as one. I propose identifying the Dutch Golden Age based on dates significant to the trade that gilded the Republic, 1595-1663, beginning with the first Dutch excursion to the East Indies and ending when profits begin to decline. The three case studies that follow examine the way this intertwined domestic and trading history reaches intimately into the lives of the Dutch people through the material culture they interacted with. These case studies demonstrate how the Dutch reach abroad became part of the Dutch identity, and how essential it is to incorporate the study of Dutch trade with art history.

Figure 1. Map of Indonesia. (Source: Wikimedia Commons,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Indonesia_2002_CIA_map.png, 25 May 2011.)

This is a modern map: note that Jakarta is the location of the earlier Batavia; the Moluccas
(Maluku) were the Spice Islands. The Strait of Malacca is between Malaysia and Sumatra,
and the Sunda Strait (here labeled Selat Sunda) is just west of the island of Java.

3. The Dutch Trading Empire in the Microcosm of the Nautilus Cup

The nautilus cup, avidly collected from the late sixteenth century and familiar in painted version to viewers of Dutch still life painting of the second half of the seventeenth century, is an object that embodies the tensions of the global reach of the Dutch Republic. The nautilus shell was picked up by sailors and merchants from the shores of the Spice Islands (the Maluku Islands) or floating on surrounding seas, and brought home to Europe as a curiosity: exotic, unique, aesthetically pleasing, and a proof of nature's logical order. The shell was interesting on its own, but elaborate mounts in silver and gold presented this curiosity as an object to be admired and studied. The mounted nautilus juxtaposed the foreign and natural material with domestic and manmade metalwork, and in doing so, demonstrated at once the wonders of nature, transoceanic trade, and the context of the shell's arrival in the workshops and collections of Europe.

These objects were forged in European goldsmiths workshops, most notably in the Dutch Republic and Germany, but also in other centers such as Antwerp and Copenhagen, beginning in earnest in the mid-sixteenth century and continuing through the seventeenth, with a resurgence during the late eighteenth century. In this chapter I will demonstrate that Dutch workshops produced a body of nautilus cups that express Dutch designs to control the spice trade at the time of their greatest aspirations to monopolize trade with Asia, especially

the Indonesian archipelago. In their effort to wrest control of this trade from the Portuguese, the Dutch expended efforts on the sea, in print, and most notably, in international law with the publication of Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum* in 1608. In this document, Grotius set forth a series of arguments for why the Portuguese had no right to the oceans or to exclusive trading, and that, in fact, the oceans and the right to trade are common rights of all the nations of the world. As the Portuguese were illegally claiming ownership of the seas and their trade relationship with Asia, Grotius argued that it was justified and indeed necessary to respond with violence in order to restore the seas and trading rights to their proper owner, the commons. In fulfilling this noble role as protectors of the common, the Dutch succeeded in surpassing the Portuguese and all other European powers in trade with the East in the seventeenth century by controlling navigational routes and establishing exclusive trading rights with local governments in Asia, essentially bringing the seas and that trade network within their control. Like the silver mounts surrounding the nautilus shell, the Dutch Republic attempted to fix the seas and trade in their rigid matrix in direct contrast to their legal argument that these belonged to all of humankind. More than just a luxury object, the nautilus cup embodies these legal tensions underpinning the Dutch Republic's Golden Age success in world trade. As the craftsmen mounted the shells, they introduced into the nautilus cups the contradictions of the Dutch Golden Age. When admired by the newly wealthy middle class gentleman collectors, the nautilus cup reinforces this group's collective identity as benefactors of the Dutch Republic's economic rise, despite the dubious means by which this was accomplished.[1]

---

[1] An early version of this argument is found in: Marsely L. Kehoe, "The Nautilus Cup Between Foreign and Domestic in the Dutch Golden Age," *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 3 (November 2011): 275-285.

The Dutch Nautilus Cup

The nautilus cup juxtaposed the exotic and the domestic, through a series of processes starting with the shell's appearance in the Spice Islands and later alteration in the Dutch Republic. This section explains how a nautilus cup was created, from the shell itself, through the various treatments of the shell, and finally the silver mount. While the shell was of interest to Asian collectors, whose techniques for decorating the shell spread to Europe, the mounting of the nautilus shell was specific to European goldsmiths, especially in German and Dutch cities. This section will demonstrate that the nautilus cup is particularly Dutch, though it was not unique to Dutch workshops.

The nautilus (*Nautilus pompilius*) is a mollusk that lives at the bottom of the Pacific and Indian Oceans and is especially abundant in the Southeast Asia archipelago, which is key to understanding the shell's relationship to the early modern spice trade (fig. 1).[2] The shell is spiral-shaped, with chambers of increasing size spinning from the center outwards. A cross section of the shell shows this logarithmic spiral (fig. 2). The outermost chamber is the largest, making up approximately one half of the shell's volume; this houses most of the body of the animal. For the sake of clarity, I will call this outermost chamber the mouth of the shell, and the narrowing spiral where it meets the mouth the corner. As the mollusk ages, it adds partitions, or septa, and moves outward. The animal's siphuncle, a long tentacle-like appendage, pierces each septum, securing the animal in the shell and regulating buoyancy. The shell has a white exterior with brown stripes near the corner, and an interior layer of mother-of-pearl. The form and appearance of the shell determined its later place in European decorative arts.

---

[2] For a thorough study of the nautilus, see Peter Douglass Ward, *The Natural History of Nautilus* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

The live nautilus generally stays on the seabed but sometimes comes up to the surface, for example if its habitat is disturbed. Usually only the shell is found, after the animal has been eaten, washed up on shore or floating to the surface of the water. Because the animal itself was rarely seen, the biology of this mollusk remained a mystery in the early modern period. As the shell was often found sailing on the seas, they were described as little boats, and the animal was thought to have a way of raising little sails and catching the wind, or of rowing with its tentacles, as in this image from Joachim Camerarius' emblem book (fig. 3).[3] European merchants and sailors who visited this region picked up the shells on their own or bought them from locals, and brought them home as personal effects to sell upon return to Europe to a growing group of collectors.[4] The shell's mystery, rarity, and exotic origins excited the curiosity of Europeans.

While desired in their original form, the nautilus shell also provided a canvas of sorts for artists. Often the outer layer of the shell was entirely removed to expose the mother-of-pearl, a practice the Dutch learned in the East Indies: Rumphius describes how the locals remove the outer layer by soaking the shell in an acid, such as vinegar.[5] Some nautilus carvers selectively removed this layer to create a contrasting pattern (fig. 4). The mother-of-pearl layer could be further worked as well. The engraving of a nautilus shell is particularly difficult, as unlike the pearl-producing sea oyster (*Pteria maxima Jameson*), they have a surface that is thinner and more delicate, thus liable to break while being worked. Fine lines were etched into the surface, which were then rubbed with coal or wax so they would fill up

---

[3] Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus*, Nuremburg 1604, no. 49; Rumphius refers to the boat, keel, and stern of the shell: Georgius Everhardus Rumphius, *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, trans. and ed. by E. M. Beekman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 88.
[4] Robert Stenuit, "De 'Witte Leeuw'. De schipbreuk van een schip van de V. O. C. in 1613 en het onderwateronderzoek naar het wrak in 1976," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25, no. 4 (1977): 165-178, 176.
[5] Rumphius, *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, 90.

and stand out from the mother-of-pearl layer (fig. 5).[6] The Chinese also etched the shells, and some shells in European collections were described in early inventories as being incised with Chinese or Indian designs. In addition to the wide swath of lands referred to in the early modern era as "India" or the "Indies," it is also unclear whether this means the shells were imported with designs incised by Asian craftsmen, or whether European craftsmen etched them in what was considered an Indian or Chinese style. Hanns-Ulrich Mette, whose catalogue of 314 nautilus objects has been essential for my study, suggests that sailors might have supplemented their income selling nautiluses they picked up, and that they might have tried to raise the price these commandeered by carving the nautiluses in their down time during a home voyage.[7] The appealing shape of the shell, the various ways of carving the surface and the layer of mother-of-pearl, and the rarity and exoticism of the shell made the nautilus a highly valued luxury item.

While shell engraving was practiced in some Asian locations, in Europe the engraving of the nautilus shell was mainly the work of a family of Amsterdam artists, contributing to the perception that the transformation of the nautilus from a shell to an *objet d'art* was a Dutch specialty. The main engravers and carvers of nautilus shells was the Bellekin family, active in Amsterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century.[8] While later than the primary period of Dutch mounting of nautilus shells, this is roughly contemporary to their most regular appearance in still life painting, an aspect of the nautilus

---

[6] For the method, see Ulrich Leben, "The Waddeson Manor nautilus shell and triton: A Masterpiece from the William Beckford Collection," *The Magazine Antiques* 164 no. 4 (2003): 116-117.

[7] Hanns-Ulrich Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 84.

[8] This family name is also spelled Belkin and Bellequin, and the genealogy is problematic: W. H. van Seters, "Oud-Nederlandse Parelmoerkunst: Het werk van leden der Familie Belquin, parelmoergraveurs en schilders in de 17e eeuw," Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 9 (1958): 173-238.

cup that strengthened its role as a stereotypically Dutch object. Of the 314 shells in Mette's

nautilus catalogue, twenty-three were worked by Cornelis Bellekin, and a further six by

others in his family; Cornelis is thus by far the most prolific artist in nautilus work, with a

more secure and substantial oeuvre even than any of the metalworkers who mounted the

shells. He was a masterful engraver in nautilus, working on both the outer tiger-striped layer

of the shell and on the mother of pearl lower level, producing an interesting contrast that can

be seen in an example in Connecticut, where in addition to the genre scene, he carved his

typical grape leaf motif from the outer shell, leaving some of the stripes visible, while he

engraved and blacked the interspersed insects directly into the mother of pearl (fig. 6).[9]

Cornelis is also known for opening up the chambers at the corner and engraving these with

coats of arms and armor (fig. 7). These techniques are visible in many of the shells that

survive mounted; though many times these carefully worked shells were only mounted in

simple wood. Cornelis was also a painter and engraved other rare materials, including other

mother-of-pearl shells and ostrich eggs. Other mother-of-pearl artists were known in

Amsterdam in the same period, though no signed work can be attributed to them.[10] This

technique of engraving mother-of-pearl was particular to Amsterdam in the seventeenth

century and later, underscoring the Dutch Republic's particular relationship to the nautilus.[11]

The mounted nautilus, or nautilus cup as it is generally called regardless of whether it

resembles a drinking vessel, most often consists of silver or gilt silver formed artistically

around key points of the shell to keep the shell firmly in place, usually with a sculpted shaft

and a base. The mounts vary in their sculptural qualities – ranging from quite simple,

---

[9] Ibid., 202-203.

[10] Ibid., 232; van Seters mentions Jochem Kuhne, who was married to the daughter of Jean Bellekin, and Evans and Roeners, who are mentioned in literature about the medium.

[11] Ibid., 173. Van Seters says this connection is obvious.

consisting only of a plain stand on which the shell rests, to elaborate silver cages with figures on the shaft, wrapped around the shell, and sculpted above the shell's corner. The treatment of the shell in a mount varies as well; it might include the original outside layer, completely expose the mother-of-pearl, be etched, or a combination of these. *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts* explains that the shell's chambers suggest it was particularly suitable as a drinking vessel, as the area from the mouth to the first partition is about the right size for drinking wine.[12] However, nautilus cups were most likely not used to drink from, as the hole between each chamber wall would have made this difficult and messy. This is in contrast to related items, like the coconut cup and ostrich eggshell cup, which were thought to impart pharmaceutical functions to liquid drunk from them.[13] A curious eighteenth-century example from Dresden unscrews from its base to reveal five small tumblers for drinking, underlining that the shell itself was not used to hold liquid (fig. 8). Despite being made to function only as a display piece, the nautilus shell in most cases was mounted like a drinking vessel, and is called a cup, *beker* in Dutch, or *Pokal* in German, all implying this symbolic drinking role.

Most nautilus cups were mounted in northern Europe around 1600, though they continue to be produced throughout the seventeenth century in large numbers, and afterwards in smaller volume.[14] In addition to cup forms, they were sometimes mounted as animals or boats: the name "nautilus" derives from the Greek for sailor, and as the shells were found on the surface of the sea sailing like little boats, the shell mounted as a boat seems appropriate

---

[12] Harold Osborne, ed, *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 584.
[13] On the coconut cup, see Virginie Spenlé, "'Savagery' and 'Civilization': Dutch Brazil in the Kunst- and Wunderkammer," *JHNA: Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (summer 2011): www.jhna.org/. 7 July 2011; and on the ostrich egg, see Karin Tebbe, "Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst - Formtypen und stilistische Entwicklung: Natur und Kunst. Fassungen von exotischen und kostbaren Materialien," in *Nürnberger Goldscmiedekunst 1541-1886, Band II: Goldglanz und Silberstrahl*, ed. Karin Tebbe (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2007), 163.
[14] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 145.

(fig. 9).[15] Many of the cup mountings also refer to the sea. The shape itself is clearly

suggestive of a snail, although they were also fashioned into birds (figs. 10 and 11). The

remainder of this section will show that while accounting for the variety of nautilus cups

made, and their association with workshops both within and outside of the Dutch Republic,

the nautilus cup represents a specifically Dutch aspiration for a greater role in world trade.

A mount made in 1592 in Delft, possibly by Nicolaas de Grebber, is typical of the

body of Dutch nautilus cups (fig. 12). The shell's matte exterior was removed to display the

mother-of-pearl layer, into which plant and animal forms have been carved. The mount is

gilt silver, with the addition of glass and enamel for accent. The mount wraps around the

shell, completely surrounding the mouth and corner, with narrow figural bands wrapping

around the length of the shell and bracing the sides. The mount at the corner forms a scaly

monster's head and mouth, which threatens to curve around into the mouth of the shell as it

eats. A man with a shield rides on the neck of the monster. Below, two satyrs, one playing a

flute and the other reading, stand on a flattened turtle, atop a decorative base. Various details

on the mount refer to the sea: a tiny nautilus floats at the turtle's right side, and tiny scallop

shells are included throughout. Typical of the Dutch mode in nautilus mounts are this

example's flaring lip at the mouth of the shell, its mounting as a symbolic drinking vessel,

and the monster type, which was a favorite among Dutch goldsmiths. Dutch goldsmiths also

showed a preference for a non-figural shaft, as in two contemporary examples from nearby

Rotterdam (figs. 13 and 14). Each of these examples has a shaft in the form of a vase, unlike

the Delft example's satyr shaft; these shaft differences distinguish the typical output of the

Delft and Rotterdam workshops. Both of the Rotterdam examples have the typical Dutch

---

[15] Ibid., 61.

flared lip as well as side-braces that take the form of a curved sea creature, which is seen in many other Dutch examples as well.

The most comprehensive study of the nautilus cup is Hanns-Ulrich Mette's 1995 catalogue of 314 shells, 279 of which are mounted in some form; the remaining shells were either never mounted or have been separated from their mount.[16] This catalogue is not complete; there are nautilus cups in museum collections that missed Mette's notice, and periodically a previously unknown item appears at auction. However, Mette's catalogue represents at the very least a representative sample from which to draw conclusions about the form as a whole. This group of objects shows a range of mount origins, time periods, and types of mounts. Analyzing location first, it is clear that German artisans were the most prolific mounters of nautilus shells, a fact which is surprising considering the greater access the Dutch had to the shells through the sea trade, while the shell could only reach the German territories via overland routes. However, it is not surprising that German goldsmiths were more prominent in their production of mounts because German cities had for years boasted important goldsmith workshops. Augsburg goldsmiths likely acquired shells in the sixteenth century and earlier through their position on trading networks that reached through Venice to the East overseas.[17] Augsburg and Nuremburg, the source of the majority of the German mounts, were centers of wealth that could support a larger market for rich objects like the mounted nautilus, while the Dutch cities were just beginning to rise in international prominence and were populated by a middle class that was just beginning to consume

---

[16] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*.

[17] On German goldsmiths, see Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit 1240 bis 1540* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968); and Kurt Rossacher, *Der Schatz des Erzstiftes Salzburg; ein Jahrtausend deutscher Goldschmiedekunst* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1966).

expensive collectables for their curiosity cabinets.[18] The goldsmiths of the new Dutch

Republic were starting to assert their importance in Delft, Utrecht, Amsterdam, and

Rotterdam. A sign of the recent rise of these artisans is the break in 1597 of Utrecht's

goldsmiths from the city's general smiths guild, indicating their new status distinct from what

they called the "coarse metalworkers" (*grofsmeden*).[19] The other groups that were mounting

nautilus shells were the Danes, especially in the eighteenth century, craftsmen in the Spanish

Netherlands concentrated in Antwerp, and a few French and Italian craftsmen, yet

surprisingly, considering their assumed greater access to the materials, no Iberian workshops.

While nautilus mounting is not an exclusively Dutch practice in this period, it is the

consistent Dutch type and the concentration of these mounts from the turn of the seventeenth

century that makes the nautilus cup more representative of the Dutch situation.

In the entire span of Mette's catalogue, from the earliest object from the first half of

the 15th century to 1975, 57 percent were mounted in German workshops, and 20 percent in

Dutch.[20] While this appears to make a case for a stronger German tradition of mounting the

shells, when narrowing the focus to mounted nautiluses from the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, the focus of this study, the gulf between Dutch and German cups narrows, to 25

percent and 55 percent respectively. A further narrowing to just the sixteenth century, where

both German and Dutch mounts are mostly concentrated in the last two decades, brings them

closer, to 28 percent Dutch and 45 percent German. This shows that despite the larger and

more established workshops of the German territories, and their larger share in the

---

[18] See note 37, below.

[19] Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (The Hague: G. Schwarz/SDU, 1990), 1: 33-40.

[20] This excludes shells that have no known or suspected origin. The remaining 23 percent of nautilus cups with other origins include some that may have been Dutch as well.

production of metalwork in the period, Dutch workshops in a small nation that was still on the brink of becoming an economic powerhouse were reaching towards the German rate of production, producing a strikingly large proportion of nautilus cups.

Two subtypes of nautilus mounts are almost exclusively German, with no known Dutch examples: the ship and animal mounts. These mount types obscure or transform the shell, which serves as the body of an animal, the mount providing appendages, or as the core of a ship, outfitted with rigging. These types together make up 13 percent of the total mounted shells by Mette, the animals distributed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the ships were mostly made in the seventeenth. These types do not completely conceal the shell, but the nautilus becomes less a displayed and celebrated object than a subtle reference in a mount whose overall shape is more important than the shell within. The nautilus mounted as a ship refers to the way many nautiluses were found, floating on the ocean after the death of their inhabitants, as well as to the name of the shell and sailing in general. However the mount largely obscures the core of the object, the shell itself (fig. 9). In this typical example, the shell is all but forgotten as the viewer examines the details of this ship's rigging, the soldiers and sailors on board, and the fantastical representation of the sea lapping against the ship, populated by sea monsters. The corner of the nautilus shell above the edge of the ship is masked by the many figures on the upper deck. The only part of this object where the nautilus can be clearly seen is its bottom, yet its distinctive curve is made invisible by the mount; any round object could have provided the core for this mount. Similarly, in a bird-type mount, the shell indicates the curve of the bird's belly, but the shell itself is mostly lost in the rest of the mount, as in this example of a pelican pecking its breast to feed its young (fig. 11). Because of the similarity of the nautilus

to a snail, a small group of nautiluses are mounted as such, as in this example (fig. 10). This form subverts the exotic shell to a familiar species, and though this example does display much of the shell, including the original exterior tiger stripes, and celebrates the nautilus' characteristic spiral, ultimately it is the joke about the snail that dominates. While these forms inspire rich analysis, they do not help to understand the Dutch fascination with the mounted nautilus, as the Dutch never used these forms. The Dutch almost exclusively preferred the shell mounted as cup, a form that has great significance for understanding the Dutch attitude towards the seas and trade at the beginning of the Golden Age.

The cup form is the predominant shape for the mounted nautilus, used in 81 percent of all mounted shells catalogued by Mette. Of the Dutch mounted shells, 96 percent are mounted as cups, and the only exceptions are similarly mounted as if to pour liquid, with the shell sitting directly on the foot, with no shaft. Of the German mounted shells, only 80 percent are cups, the remainder being animals and ships as described above. This shows a clear Dutch interest in the mounted nautilus as cup, as well as an interest in exposing much of the shell, including its characteristic spiral, making it immediately identifiable as a nautilus shell. The cup form is particularly salient as it suggests a holding or pouring of liquid, which is key to understanding the nautilus cup's role in the context of the early modern Dutch Republic. When considering only the cup form, in the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch and German output finally reaches parity, at about 40 percent each of the total. Despite the greater overall production of the German workshops in the period, the Dutch created as many nautilus *cups* as the Germans at the end of the sixteenth century, a fact that indicates a special Dutch fascination with the nautilus cup and its implications.

A look at Dutch nautilus mounts shows a clear preference for the cup form, and also a further emphasis on the cup as a symbolic holder of liquid, with a typically wide, flaring lip, as in the three Dutch examples discussed above (figs. 12-14). 65 percent of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century nautilus cups with this element are Dutch, a ratio that far exceeds their share of nautilus cup production. This feature is also seen exclusively on cups before 1607, the majority from the 1590s. This lip emphasizes the potential of the nautilus cup to both hold and pour liquid, and would provide a convenient means for drinking from the cup. As the shell itself is inadequate as a drinking vessel, considering the hole piercing each septum, this suggests a potential symbolic function.

The reference to liquid without the capability to hold liquid, along with the origins of the shell and sea-related decorations suggest that the Dutch nautilus cup is symbolic of the oceans. This understanding of the nautilus shell as representative of the ocean is seen in its position in early modern symbolism. The catalogue for a small exhibit in Kassel on the nautilus describes three ways the nautilus was used as a symbol: representing the sea in general, water as one of the four elements, or as a representation of faraway, unknown lands.[21] These associations are further referenced in many of the mounts that have sea or exotic themes. A Rotterdam example shows a nude man astride a fish on the uppermost part of the mount (fig. 13). The satyrs of Nicolaas de Grebber's nautilus cup's shaft stand on a base of a turtle surrounded by shells, described above (fig. 12). The mollusk clearly inspires associations with the sea, as it lives in the ocean and then abandons its shell to the water's surface or its sandy shore. This association is borne out by the nautilus' appearance in

---

[21] Ekkehard Schmidberger, ed. *Nautilus: Zeitreise im Perlboot, Katalog zur Studioausstellung* (Kassel: Staatliche Museen, 1996), 21-22.

emblem books, where it is related to a ship and its ability to navigate the ocean.[22] The

emblem discussed above shows the imagined nautilus animal using tentacles as oars and

raising a sail from the shell's opening (fig. 3). This shell-boat sails alone on a wide open sea,

with no landmarks to indicate where it might be, suggesting it is far out on the ocean, distant

from well-travelled sea routes.

The relationship of the Dutch Republic to water is the ultimate statement of the

nautilus cup, embodied by a group of shells depicting a sea monster (fig. 12). More specific

than the allusion that so many of the nautilus cups make to water with their symbolic

reference to holding liquid, this type demonstrates the fraught relationship of the Dutch to

water. The Dutch were by necessity engineers of the sea: with much of the Low Countries

lying below sea level, the Dutch have been building dikes and trying to manage the sea at

their shore since at least the twelfth century. They were not masters of the sea, however, as

periodic devastating floods broke the dikes, salted farmland, and resulted in tremendous loss

of life and resources.[23] This group of monster nautilus cups represents the desire of the

Dutch to win this battle against water. Eleven of the seventeen shells with this subject are

securely Dutch, as opposed to only three German examples. In addition, another of these

shells is likely either from the South or North Netherlands, so the association of this type

with the Dutch Republic may be still stronger. This type is restricted to the late sixteenth

century, and was primarily made in the workshops of Delft and Utrecht. The monster directs

---

[22] See the discussion of the allegorical associations of shells in Ulla-B. Küchen, "Wechselbeziehungen zwischen allegorischer Naturdeutung und der naturkundlichen Kenntnis von Muschel, Schnecke und Nautilus: Ein Beitrag aus literarischer, naturwissenschaftlicher und kunsthistorischer Sicht," in *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie: Symposion Wolfenbüttel 1978* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979), 478-514; the German version of Camerarius' Latin emblem is "sicher auf dem Gipfel wie im Tal. Wie die Schiffskuttel ruhige und stuermische See gleich gut aushaelt, ganz genauso tut es der tapfere Sinn in gleichen Lagen," Schmidberger, *Nautilus*, 21.
[23] Simon Schama discusses the place of these floods, *de ramp* in Dutch Republic national sentiment: the role of the sea as vicious but also redemptive. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1987), 34-38.

its ferocious open mouth into the opening of the shell: by this action it will fold into the spiral form of its body, reminding the viewer of the unique shape of the nautilus shell. The tiny figure that often accompanies this monster on the nautilus cup, appearing to ride on the head or neck of the monster as on the example from Delft may represent the efforts of the Dutch people to tame and control the monstrous seas, evoking this fraught Dutch relation to the sea. It is no wonder that Dutch craftsmen represented the sea as a ferocious monster when they were on the brink of mastering overseas trade.

This examination of the extant Dutch nautilus cups and their counterparts in the rest of early modern Europe, especially Germany, shows a strong and consistent tradition of Dutch nautilus mounting. Although the Dutch were not the most prolific mounters, a fact I attribute to the longer established goldsmithing centers and markets in the German territories than in the brand-new Dutch Republic, there are certain characteristics of the Dutch cups which, when considering the Dutch relationship to the sea, make a bold statement. The Dutch were most likely to mount the nautilus shell from approximately 1589 to 1607, eighteen years when they produced about half of their extant cups from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if judged by Mette's catalogue. These were most likely to be mounted in a cup form, possibly with a wide lip at the mouth of the shell, which implies that the cup could hold liquid, even though this was only its symbolic use. This focus on liquid and the seas as well as the timing of greatest production suggests a particular association between the Dutch nautilus cup and Dutch aspirations for mastery of ocean navigation and the overseas trade. For while this time period is not actually the time of highest Dutch access to the shells, as it happened before they gained monopoly control over the Spice Islands where the shells

were most often acquired, it was a time when the Dutch were gaining momentum in their access to the coveted Spice Islands.

The Dutch Republic yearned for success in the spice trade both as the culmination of their efforts since the mid-sixteenth century to throw off the yoke of Iberian imperial power, and for the sake of their economic prowess as the youngest European nation. In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Dutch learned the details of the secret Portuguese routes to the East Indies and sent their first expeditions to the East. The early successes of the Republic to reach the Spice Islands are detailed in Chapter Two.[24] In 1608, at the end of this period of great Dutch efforts in both early navigation and nautilus mounting, but before the greatest successes of the VOC, Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist, anonymously published his *Mare Liberum*, a highly influential legal argument establishing the common right to all of the seas and of trade, opposing the Portuguese claim of their exclusive right to both.[25] It is significant that this time of greatest Dutch efforts to gain control over sea routes and trade with the East Indies coincides with their displaying of nautilus shells in restrictive Dutch mounts: Dutch aspirations to control the seas found expression in their art as much as in their navigational and intellectual efforts. The nautilus cup, symbolizing the sea held firmly in a Dutch context, is indicative of how far the Dutch efforts to dominate trade reached. The remainder of this chapter explores how both the nautilus shell and the seas were Dutched in this period, an attempt by the Dutch to control both.

---

[24] See also C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), 24; Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 102-104; and Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 318-322.

[25] Hugo Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas, or The Right Which Belongs to the Dutch to Take Part in the East Indian Trade*, ed. James Brown Scott, trans. Ralph van Deman Magoffin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1916).

The Dutching of the Nautilus Cup

The nautilus cup was created through a series of Dutching steps, which at each stage bring this object more fully into the realm of the Dutch Republic, while at the same time retaining and even celebrating the exotic origins of the shell. This is a *bastaard* in which the foreign and domestic never completely merge, rather they are held in a tension that underscores the relationship of the Dutch Republic to the world abroad, a metaphor for Dutch control of the open seas. The nautilus cup demonstrates its hybridity in strong visual terms, most clearly through the juxtaposition of the shell to the handcrafted Dutch mount. There is a clear delineation between materials that indicate their opposition: the closest the materials come is at the points where the shell is fixed into the mount, but the materials themselves do not meld. This opposition of materials and textures is also suggested by the artists' interest in painting this object into their still life paintings, as discussed in Chapter Five.[26] The case study of Dutching the nautilus cup enables a more precise definition of "Dutching" in which the process is separated into distinct steps, and the incompleteness of Dutching is demonstrated. These steps range from the collection of the shell, to its importation, and then the working of the shell and the mount. This case study, more so than other examples of the Dutching process, shows the variety of processes of Dutching because the nautilus cup's creation involved so many distinct steps. The nautilus cup offers a means for understanding *bastaardering* as a process that occurs over time and through multiple stages, and which is never completed. The continuing presence of the shell can be called a Malukizing element

---

[26] Still life painting is often used as evidence for the original appearance of objects like the nautilus cup, with the expectation that these paintings show actual objects. One example is how Tax uses a still life painting to determine the original look of a nautilus shell and mount now separated; this use of a still life painting is typical of studies of the nautilus cup: C. J. H. M. Tax, "Jan van Kessel en een Delftse nautilusbeker," *Antiek* 27, no. 6 (Jan. 1993): 307-312; see also Leben, "Waddeson Manor." See also Chapter Five.

that fights against the Dutching of the shell. That the nautilus shell, with its exotic origins, remains essential to the aesthetic of the nautilus cup, means it can never become fully Dutch, but retains this Malukizing element.

Dutching begins with the nautilus shell's removal from the beaches and seas of the Spice Islands (the Maluku Islands) either by locals or by European sailors.[27] The shell was translated from a local natural product to one desired by Europeans, especially Dutch collectors. The VOC botanist Georg Eberhard Rumphius, author of the *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, included a study of the nautilus in this volume. He described how the locals used the shell like a spoon, in addition to collecting specimens that he purchased.[28] The recognition by locals of European desire for the nautilus, whether they collected it at the request of someone like Rumphius or in anticipation of its potential value, is an act of Dutching driven by locals and by Dutch interest. The next step in Dutching occurs when the shell travels to Europe on trading ships, in the private cargo of sailors and merchants.[29] The shell only became available to Europeans within the context of the spice trade, an important aspect to recall when considering the symbolic meaning of the shell in its later context.

The shell is further Dutched when its exterior is altered, which was the case with many of the collected shells. Through soaking in an acidic bath, the method described by Rumphuis, the hard white and brown exterior sloughs away, revealing the interior mother-of-pearl, a technique learned in Indonesia.[30] This adds aesthetic value to the shell, of a type

---

[27] Nautilus shells had arrived earlier in Europe, through overland routes. On the pre-VOC trade routes, see Schmidberger, ed. *Nautilus*, 19.

[28] Rumphius, *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, 90.

[29] The VOC cargo lists, discussed in Chapter Five, never list nautilus shells, which suggest they were only brought as private cargo; however, sometimes a volume (by pound) of *paarlmoer*, or mother-of-pearl is included. This could indicate that nautilus shells arrived as official cargo, but this could also refer to the same material which is produced by other shells, or pieces of shells used for inlay work.

[30] Rumphius, *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, 90.

prized by European collectors, but not by Indonesian locals.[31] This removal of the sturdy

structural exterior of the shell to reveal the valuable interior recalls the erasure in the many

Dutch minds of the hard labor and at times even murder of the indigenous people who

cultivated the spices in the region.[32] The inscribing into the shell of floral or pictorial images

adds another element of Dutching. Many shells are described in early inventories as having

Chinese or Indian designs, though this does not necessarily mean they show an indigenous

hand: the term "India" was so broadly used in that period geographically and may also refer

to European work done in an imagined Indian style. Figure 15 is described by Mette as

having "Chinese" designs of dragons, but nothing is known of the artist.[33] A Danish-

mounted shell has an etching directly copied from a print by Rembrandt of a urinating

farmer, likely carved by a Dutch artist, adding a specifically Dutching etching to the shell

(fig. 16). The many shells signed by Cornelis Bellekin offer a more secure example of

Dutching, where this prolific Amsterdam engraver decorated a shell with his typical foliage

motif interspersed with insects, here using a mixture of selective removal of the exterior layer

of the shell and engraving, with an engraved genre scene as well (fig. 6). The insect motif

was also used by Jean Bellekin, in this shell whose engravings are tentatively ascribed to him

(fig. 17).[34] This last shell also demonstrates another method for altering the shell, the careful

and patterned removal of sections of the shell to expose the interior curve and the septa.

These techniques of decorating the shell were often undertaken independently of later

mounting.

---

[31] Rumphius implies this, ibid.

[32] Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, see also my discussion of Dutch domestic views on slavery in Chapter Four.

[33] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 195.

[34] The insect motif is also reminiscent of the work of Maria Sibylla Merian, a German artist active in Amsterdam and in the Dutch West Indian territories in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The final step in Dutching is the mounting of a nautilus shell, either in its original state or worked as above. Shells were sometimes mounted in China, and as early as the fifteenth century in Germany, but it is the nautilus mounted as cup practiced by the Dutch at the beginning of the Dutch Golden Age that becomes its enduring form.[35] The goldsmiths who worked with nautilus shells fixed each shell firmly in the arms of the mount, assuring that the shell was juxtaposed to the manmade mount, and controlled and held in place by it. The preferred Dutch mount of the shell, in a cup-like shape, with an open mouth often augmented with a flaring lip, symbolic of the holding and pouring of liquid, refers to the Dutch relationship to the world's oceans and the overseas trade. The monster type, as discussed above, gives further evidence that this is a Dutched object. The relationship between the Dutch and the Spice Islands is further underlined by the juxtaposition of the materials of the nautilus cup: the smooth natural shell and the hard, hand-altered silver or gold. The display of the shell that is such an important element of the nautilus cup keeps this object from becoming entirely Dutch; the shell is a Malukizing element that keeps the object in tension between the foreign and domestic. Like the incompleteness of the Dutching of this object, even as the Dutch made every attempt to control the sea routes to and trade within the Indonesian archipelago, the Spice Islands would never fully become Dutch. The *bastaardering* of materials in the nautilus cup and of the Dutch Republic's connection to the Spice Islands was forever visible.

---

[35] A German example from Nuremberg around 1480 seems like a predecessor to the nautilus cup, though it is, in fact, a mounted dolium, a shell found both in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Jay A. Levenson, ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 127.

The Appeal of the Nautilus Cup

That the nautilus shell was a treasured object appearing often in still life painting is shown in Chapter Five, but the shell's appeal in the Dutch Republic is best seen in its high status in gentlemen's collections. The shell itself was a prized item in a specialized shell collection or when mounted became an embodiment of all that a general collection was meant to be: a conversation piece about the relative value of *naturalia* versus *artificialia*. In this context, what was most important was the opposition of materials, and between their creators, nature and mankind. The interest in this fundamental juxtaposition points toward other tensions represented by the nautilus cup: this Dutched *bastaard* embodies the contradiction between Dutch rhetoric and action regarding their relationship to the sea and to world trade. Much of the appeal of the nautilus cup to Dutch still life painters was the opportunity it gave them to explore the treatment of the different textures and reflective properties, a further suggestion that it was the tensions in the nautilus cup that made it interesting.

The collectors who acquired the nautilus shell or nautilus cup follow in a tradition of collecting that began with medieval cathedral treasuries, spread into the secular realm in royal collections, in the early modern era became the province of universities and wealthy merchant collectors, and was considered a gentlemanly practice in the Dutch Republic. The practice of collecting rare objects has been explored especially in conjunction with royal collections.[36] In the Netherlands, however, the impetus to collect seems to have been unique

---

[36] See for example the collection of essays in Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); for non-royal collections Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002); for an overview of collecting Patrick Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002); for a literature review on collecting,

because of the different social structure. The lack of a monarch in the seventeenth century
and the rise of the merchant class meant that there were many smaller-scale collectors who
nonetheless had impressive collections.[37] The Dutch merchants' impulse to collect and their
perhaps less extensive individual collections have been the subject of increasing scholarly
attention.[38] The sheer mass of objects collected by the Dutch seems to suggest a particular
cultural fashion, which relates to their supremacy in trade in the period.

The main criterion for an object to enter a collection was its uniqueness, or rarity.
These collections are thus appropriately called *Rariteitenkabinetten* in Dutch, while the more
generally used term for these early modern collections is the German *Kunst- und
Wunderkammern*. In striving to distinguish one's collection, as was increasingly the goal
during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a collector would rather have a collection of
rare objects than a collection of merely diverse objects that could theoretically be repeated by
a rival collector.[39] For example, a collection of different kinds of minerals from all over the
world would represent the diversity of the world, yet could easily be repeated by the selective
purchases of a rival, so the collection should include more rare objects to distinguish it.
Many of these collections were meant to recreate the world in miniature – a microcosm,

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the
Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapter 7; and Helmar Schramm, Ludger Schwarte,
and Jan Lazardzig, eds., *Collection – Laboratory – Theater: Scenes of Knowledge in the 17ᵗʰ Century*
(Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).
[37] Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities," in Impey and Macgregor, eds., *The
Origins of Museums*, 115. In their account of Rembrandt's collection, van Gelder and van der Veen make a
case for Rembrandt collecting in order to establish himself as a gentleman, despite his lower birth and current
social position, Roelof van Gelder and Jaap van der Veen, "A Collector's cabinet in the Breestraat: Rembrandt
as lover of art and curiosities," in *Rembrandt's Treasures*, ed. Bob van den Boogert (Zwolle: The Rembrandt
House Museum, 1999), 83-88.
[38] Ellinour Bergevelt, Debora J. Meijers, and Mieke Rijnders, eds., *Verzamelen: Van Rariteitenkabinet tot
Kunstmuseum* (Heerlen: Open Universiteit, 1993); Ellinour Bergevelt and Renee Kistemaker, eds., *De Wereld
Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers,
1992); and Scheurleer in Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums*.
[39] Mauriès, *Cabinets*, 73, and van den Boogert, *Rembrandt's Treasures*, 18.

which could take many forms.[40] A clear way of creating a microcosm that is common to

many collections is the juxtaposition of *naturalia* and *artificialia*, a dichotomy between

natural and man-made objects. While these concepts were split in practice – both in the

organization of a collection, and in the objects themselves – they overlapped. The nautilus

cup represents both categories and thus could be considered a microcosm on its own, and it is

also a rare and exotic object, so it was a very desirable acquisition for a collector.[41]

The categories of *artificialia* and *naturalia* could be further subdivided into scientific

objects, antiquities, artifacts, wonders, and exotica.[42] These categories were not completely

fixed in the early modern period and there were a lot of intersections among categories. Not

until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would the *artificialia* and *naturalia* in

collections be separated into the art museum and natural history museum.[43] A nautilus shell

found on the shores of Ambon is a natural object that would have also been considered a

scientific object, a wonder, and exotic. However, these objects were rarely left in their

natural form, and thus straddle the categories of *naturalia* and *artificialia*.

Both general collectors and specialized shell collectors began acquiring shells in

greater volume in Europe beginning in the Renaissance because of the availability of exotic

specimens through growing trade with the East and West. There were many Dutch shell

collections, consisting of unworked and unmounted shells, beginning during the sixteenth

century, and the early seventeenth-century establishments of the Dutch East and West India

---

[40] Mauriès, *Cabinets*, 91, and Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), chapter 7.
[41] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 97, and Daston and Park, *Wonders*, chapter 7.
[42] Mauriès, *Cabinets*, 51.
[43] Ibid., 185.

Companies nurtured their collection.[44] They were collected as beautiful and rare objects or as scientific objects.[45] They were also prized for the beauty of their coloring. Shell collecting was a less expensive pastime than other types of collecting, though some specimens fetched large prices, so an upwardly-mobile Dutch merchant might strive towards a gentlemanly collector's status by amassing a collection of cheap but diverse shells.[46] By 1677 the nautilus was considered the best shell by collectors, and during the early eighteenth century scientific shell specialists still considered it at least the best among its type.[47]

Hanns-Ulrich Mette suggests another reason the nautilus was such a prized collectors item: its demonstration of logarithmic principles, which made it a scientific and mathematical curiosity.[48] When viewed in cross-section, the spiraling chambers of the nautilus are visible (fig. 2). Each chamber is proportionate in shape and area to the next larger chamber, so the nautilus is an illustration of the principle of logarithms and was often held up as proof of the mathematical order of nature. That this formula was borne out in nature was an object of wonder to contemporaries, suggesting that nature was imitating science and that the universe had been carefully planned by a mathematically-inclined Christian god.[49] Mette argues that the growing awareness of the logarithmic principle around 1600 caused increasing interest in

---

[44] Henry E. Coomans, "Schelpenverzamelingen," in Bergevelt and Kistemaker, eds., *De Wereld*, 196.
[45] For a discussion of the coincidence of increasingly intelligent study of shells, their collection, and their appearance in still life painting, see Karin Leonhard, "Shell Collecting. On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177-214.
[46] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 38 cites large prices paid; the great availability of shells would make them a cheaper item than rarer objects: van den Boogert, *Rembrandt's Treasures*, 29; Coomans, "Conchology," 189.
[47] Rumphius considered it the best among the univalve and twisted whelks: Rumphius, *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, 86.
[48] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal,* 48-54. The Kassel exhibition disputes his claim, accusing Mette of stating his case more strongly than the evidence allows. Schmidberger, *Nautilus*, 17-18.
[49] Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal,* 44-57. Mette finds it particularly salient that the logarithm was being discussed in the early 17th c. in treatises, at the same time as the most mounted nautilus cups were made.

the shell.[50] The illustration of the logarithmic principle appealed to a specialized group of collectors, while the connection of this object to the sea and trade resulted in wider popularity.

The shell itself, while prized for its beauty, was considered more beautiful if the outer layer of the shell was stripped off exposing the mother-of-pearl beneath. Further, the shell itself was often a medium into which engravers cut into, to make it more interesting and desirable. *Artificialia* does not entirely trump *naturalia*, as the shell remains visible and central, but *artificialia* functions to make the interesting shell into a rich object to consume, improving it into a luxurious commodity by means of European intervention into exotic material. When the shell is mounted in elaborate silver or gold, which surrounds and fixes the shell into a rigid, and most often Dutch or German, framework, it becomes more desirable still.

The nautilus became most prized by collectors when it was mounted by a goldsmith and so became an embodiment of the debate between *naturalia* and *artificialia*. The mounted nautilus contrasts the manmade silver or gilded silver mount with the natural shell. This is a contrast of two types of material, metal and shell, but also a contrast of two different makers, man and nature, or man and god. But rather than a simple contradiction, the nautilus cup embodies this tension in one object, where the two materials are bound together. As such, the nautilus cup could stand in for an entire collection, embodying as it does this central

---

[50] The logarithmic principle was independently discovered in the 1580s by John Napier and Jost Bürgi, who published their theories in 1614 and 1618, respectively. An additional connection between the shell and logarithms was promoted by the publication of logarithm tables utilizing the nautilus as a visual aid. The 1620 title page of Swiss mathematician Jost Bürgi's table of logarithms was originally concentric circles with the numbers superimposed, but the revision pictures a nautilus shell overlaying the numbers. Even though the equation represented is not that of the nautilus spiral, the nautilus was chosen as a more effective visual tool for illustrating the equation. See Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal*, 51-52.

question of an early modern collection. In a collection, the juxtaposition of an object of *naturalia* with one of *artificialia* creates a microcosm also of the world.[51] Thus, in one object, the nautilus cup, *naturalia* and *artificialia* contrast and come together, standing in for the world, but also creating a dialogue about the relation of the two categories. In their discussion of wonder and collecting, Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park describe the role of such an object in evoking wonder: "And if the artificialia and naturalia of these collections were wondrous placed side by side in the studied miscellany of the typical cabinet, they were still more wondrous when fused with one another, obscuring the boundaries between the wonders of art and the wonders of nature."[52] Anne Goldgar similarly mentions "the desire of artists and collectors to intertwine nature with art."[53] Further, the dialogue created between *naturalia* and *artificialia* in the case of the nautilus cup asks which aspect is better: the exotic proof of the order of Nature, or the domestic proof of the superiority of Dutch craftsmanship? What is more valuable to the Dutch: the oceans and the wonders that they bring to the Republic, or the Dutch power to control the oceans and trade relationships? These tensions enter into the collective identity of the owners of nautilus cups, who stood to benefit the most from Dutch control of trade and the contradictory Dutch actions that made this possible.

In today's museum installations, the mounted nautilus is very often representative of collecting or the VOC, a point that aligns with the meanings I associate with the cup in the early modern period. The Art Institute of Chicago and the Amsterdam Historical Museum display their nautilus cups as representations of early modern collecting and world trade, no longer occupied with the debate between *naturalia* and *artificialia*. The Art Institute of

---

[51] Mauriès, *Cabinets*, 91; Daston and Park, *Wonders*, chapter 7.
[52] Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 260.
[53] Anne Goldgar, "Nature as Art: The Case of the Tulip," in Smith and Findlan, eds., *Merchants*, 326.

Chicago displays their nautilus cup in a cabinet with pieces of coral, and the explanatory text refs also to a nearby mounted coconut goblet. This exhibit discusses the early modern practice of collecting and displaying exotica. One of the cups belonging to the Amsterdam Historical Museum is in a case with other engraved mother-of-pearl objects and a plate of VOC *chine de commande* (fig. 18).[54] While the case could easily have focused only on the mother-of-pearl artwork that Amsterdam was particularly known for, especially the work of the well-represented Bellekin family, instead this case is part of a general VOC area of the museum, and represents the kind of objects brought back from the far reaches of that company. The relation of this class of object to early modern trade that is so apparent today was also close to the consciousness of the early modern collector, who preferred this object for its representation of the tensions of material, origin, and creator.

The Dutch "Mounting" of the Seas and Trade

The nautilus cup is a material and visual reminder of the Dutch attempt to control the seas in order to monopolize trade with the Spice Islands. Like the tension between the foreign shell and the domestic mount, with the mount holding the shell firmly in its matrix, there was a tension between the Dutch rhetoric of the free seas and the actions taken to control trade on the seas. This section explains the arguments of Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum* and details the contrary Dutch efforts to control the world's oceans, especially through the practices of monopoly and piracy.

---

[54] I refer to the display of the Amsterdams Historisch Museum in January 2009; during a subsequent visit in August 2011 I found this area of the museum (now renamed Amsterdam Museum) has been reinstalled, but along the same general theme.

Around the turn of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic made great efforts to gain access and then control the sea routes to and trade with the Indonesian archipelago, especially the Spice Islands.[55] This effort took place on intellectual, legal, and diplomatic fronts, particularly with the publication of the *Mare Liberum*. The Dutch East India Company asked a young jurist from Delft, Hugo Grotius (or Hugo de Groot, 1583-1645), to make a case against the Portuguese and Spanish claims of dominion over the seas and trade with the Indies.[56] This request focused especially on the Portuguese in the East Indies, as the Dutch desperately wanted to control the trade in spices, but its arguments equally apply to Spanish claims in the West Indies. The result was the *Mare Liberum*, first published as an anonymous pamphlet in 1608, which has become a foundational document for international law.[57] The precocious Grotius is well known for his political role in the Netherlands, beginning at the early age of 16, especially as advisor to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt from 1605 and as the Pensionary of Rotterdam from 1613.[58] Despite his early political rise in the Dutch Republic, he went out of favor because of the Armenian controversy, and was sentenced to life in prison in 1618. In 1621, his wife helped him escape from prison hidden in a book chest, and he spent the rest of his life in exile in Paris. While this is undoubtedly the most sensational biographical moment, Grotius is celebrated for his many publications on law, history, religion, and even for his poetry.

---

[55] For the historical context, and the specific papal treaties at issue, see Chapter Two.

[56] This request was made in part to justify the 1603 Dutch capture of a Portuguese ship, the Santa Catarina: Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50-51; and Edward Dumbauld, *The Life and Legal Writings of Hugo Grotius* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 26.

[57] Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*. All English translations are Ralph van Deman Magoffin's from the Latin original. On the importance of Grotius for international law, see Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society*, 1-11.

[58] On Grotius, see Dumbauld, *The Life and Legal Writings*; and Henk J. M. Nellen, *Hugo de Groot: een leven in strijd om de vrede, 1583-1645* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2007).

The *Mare Liberum* established a legal basis for responding with force to the claims of Spain and Portugal of their right over the world's oceans and trade with the East and West Indies. Grotius cites legal precedent ranging from Aristotle and the Old Testament to his contemporaries, to determine that the oceans and trade are a common right and must be free to all nations. The *Mare Liberum* aimed to attack the legal basis for papal treaties on trade as well as assert that the seas and trade are the common rights of the whole world. Papal treaties had given the Iberians grounds for asserting their right to all the non-Christian regions of the world, a claim that Grotius found unjust. Grotius denies first that the Pope had a right to offer such rights, an argument in keeping with the Dutch Republic's rejection of Iberian and papal authority, arguing that a Pope has no jurisdiction over the temporal world or trade, and certainly is not in a position to offer the many inhabited lands of the East to Portugal.[59]

Grotius goes on to argue that no one nation can claim sovereignty over the seas, because they cannot be occupied (e.g. you cannot build a settlement on the sea), and there is enough water in the sea that if one person uses some for navigation, this does not change the essence of the sea: "...the sea is common to all, because it is so limitless that it cannot become a possession of any one, and because it is adapted for the use of all, whether we consider it from the point of view of navigation or of fisheries."[60] Further, he writes, Portugal cannot claim to control trade with the lands of the East. These lands all have their own people and rulers, who are free to trade with anyone:[61] "These islands of which we

---

[59] Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*, 16. This point is reiterated in chapter VI, 45-46.
[60] Ibid., 28.
[61] Grotius argues this on multiple levels: the Portuguese have no right to control the trade of the East Indies because they have no claim of sovereignty over the East Indies on the grounds of discovery (Ch. II), Papal Donation (Ch. III), war (Ch. IV), occupation (Ch. V).

speak, now have and always have had their own kings, their own government, their own

laws, and their own legal systems."[62] Grotius generously, for his contemporaries, argues that

even as non-Christians, the peoples of other lands have basic natural rights.[63] The natural

basis for trade is that resources are unequally distributed throughout the world, so it is natural

that people from one area trade with another area in order to redistribute goods.[64]

> Therefore freedom of trade is based on a primitive right of nations which has a
> natural and permanent cause; and so that right cannot be destroyed, or at all
> events it may not be destroyed except by the consent of all nations. For surely no one
> nation may justly oppose in any way two nations that desire to enter into a contract
> with each other.[65]

The locals of the East Indies can trade with whomever they choose because they are free

people and are not owned or controlled by Portugal. These are interesting arguments given

the Dutch intention to establish monopolistic trading rights with Eastern leaders and their

generous treatment of pirates, perceived as great violators of national rights and freedom on

the seas, discussed below.

Finally, Grotius argues that as the Portuguese have not respected the common rights

of all the nations of the world to the seas and trade, and have resisted this with force,

molesting ships that have attempted to navigate on the "Portuguese" seas and trade with

Portugal's Indies, it is appropriate and necessary to respond to Portugal with force, even

declare war. Grotius made these arguments seemingly on the behalf of the world, and made

a fair and even argument in favor of truly free trade. The *Mare Liberum* calls on the Dutch to

respond to the Portuguese with military means: "Therefore, if it be necessary, arise, O nation

unconquered on the sea, and fight boldly, not only for your own liberty, but for that of the

---

[62] Ibid., 11.
[63] Ibid., 19.
[64] Ibid., 7, 61-2.
[65] Ibid., 63-64.

human race."[66] He calls on the Dutch to fight the Portuguese for the sake of asserting the

Dutch Republic's right to trade and navigate wherever, but also for humankind in general. In

other words, the Dutch are volunteering to keep the Portuguese in check for the sake of free

world trade.

Despite the noble language of the *Mare Liberum*, the Dutch Republic was far more

interested in securing their dominion over the seas and trade, rather than freeing the seas, in

order to establish monopolistic trading rights to the best goods of the East Indies.

Disregarding their argument that trade should be free to all, the Dutch established exclusive

trading rights through treaties with many of the powers of the East Indies, playing these

powers off one another in order to further their own causes, and used the free seas as an

economic battleground on which to attack enemy (or competitor) ships and cargoes, with

government-sanctioned piracy. The apparently anti-imperial language of the Dutch, even as

they used it to strengthen their (proto)colonial hold on their trading partners, is a rhetorical

technique critiqued by Benjamin Schmidt regarding the Americas, an argument which can be

extended to Dutch trade relationships in the East.[67] Schmidt shows that the Dutch argued in

favor of the freedom of the American Indians, a freedom that includes, most crucially, the

freedom to enter into trade relationships with the Dutch, implying that these relationships

will be equal, rather than exploitative. Several scholars have argued that Dutch actions

violated their rhetoric in the *Mare Liberum*, including Simon Schama, Patricia Seed, and C.

R. Boxer, who shrewdly entitled one of his chapters in *The Dutch Seaborne Empire* "*Mare*

---

[66] Ibid., 73.
[67] Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xxvi.

Liberum and *Mare Clausum*."[68] The Dutch argument in favor of free trade and free seas

mainly provided the Dutch Republic with an opportunity to control the majority of profits in

the overseas trade. In 1612 the Dutch Republic sent Grotius to England to explain the Dutch

position; his rationalization, in Boxer's words, was that:

> …although the Dutch had originally gone to the Moluccas [Spice Islands] as peaceful
> traders, they had been compelled in self-defense to drive out the Portuguese and
> Spaniards, and to maintain their position against the latter by means of costly
> garrisons and fleets. Since they were carrying on this struggle single-handed, they
> were entitled to all the profits derived from the spice trade…[69]

So, in their efforts to secure free trade and free seas for the good of all the nations of the

world, the Dutch believed they were deserving of a subsequent monopoly over those "free"

seas and "free" trade. The *Mare Liberum* argued for military action to be taken if the right to

free trade is impeded, but the Dutch Republic, acting through the VOC, seemed to feel that

military action was justified as long as it was protecting or exercising their "right" to

monopoly. VOC ships were outfitted for both trade and warfare, exhibiting the military

efforts they regularly used in order to protect free trade, or rather, their monopolies. At home,

the Dutch Republic commissioned privateers to attack their enemies on the seas. The clarity,

elegance, and interest in common rights of Grotius' document, like the sparkle of the silver

and mother-of-pearl of a nautilus cup, disguised the often ugly Dutch attempts to monopolize

trade with the Spice Islands. In the remainder of this section, I will detail two ways that the

Dutch worked to defend their version of free trade, monopoly and piracy, which went beyond

---

[68] Schama, *Embarrassment*, 236-7; Seed's claims that each nation's language for marking ownership of lands is consistent from the official trading companies through privately acting individuals is overstated, but the general argument about conflicting mindsets is compelling. She critiques Grotius for exaggerating the Portuguese claims to the sea, suggesting that Portugal was only claiming ownership of routes that their nautical and cartographical instruments had made possible. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially chapters 4 and 5; and Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*.

[69] Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 114.

mere self-defense or defense of the rights of the commons. These means show the tension between the Dutch Republic's actions and rhetoric, a tension that is demonstrated in the Dutched objects and landscape of this project, and which underlies the seventeenth-century Dutch collective identity.

Monopoly applied both among the Dutch and in the Republic's relationship with other powers: in most areas where the VOC or WIC was established, private Dutch citizens were not allowed to trade privately. They were allotted only a small space for personal cargo on return ships, not enough space to prove competition for the VOC or WIC. Some historians even argue that this led to the eventual failure of the VOC at the end of the eighteenth century: this prohibition was a disincentive for Dutch citizens to settle in the overseas trading ports, and also caused the great corruption among VOC officials, who in order to supplement their income violated the monopoly policies of the VOC.[70] Monopoly was also a concept that was important domestically, as can be seen from the active concern of guilds, such as the goldsmiths' guilds that regulated the craftsmen who made nautilus cups, that their local markets be protected from outsiders.[71] My research in the archives of the Delft goldsmiths' guild found only one mention in official guild documents of the world outside the Netherlands, despite the fact that all nautilus shells were sourced far away, and indeed the silver the craftsmen worked with was from the Spanish Americas.[72] This was a

---

[70] However this point is disputed by Boxer, Israel, and Brug, who all posit more compelling reasons for the decline of the VOC: Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*; Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade: 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); and Peter H. van der Brug, "Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century," in *Jakarta/Batavia: Socio-cultural essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 43-74.

[71] On the major Dutch goldsmiths' guilds in Delft and Utrecht, see John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); and van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud en zilversmeden te Utrecht*, 2 vols.

[72] Gemeente Archief, Delft. Archief van het Gilde van Goud- en Zilversmeden, 1502, 1536-1807 (nr. 234), Deel: 2 Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken van de dekens 1576-1727, 18th document; on the sources

concern members had raised about Japanese silver being sold in Delft, most likely a finished silver product; this violated their local monopoly on the sale of fine metalwork. The Delft goldsmiths, and those in other cities, were more concerned about competition from other cities in the Republic, as well as by local "others." In many places in this archive, concerns are raised about violations to their monopoly by, for example, Jewish (and thus non-guild) dealers in second-hand goods.[73] That the concept of monopoly was more important than free trade in the Dutch Republic is clear when looking at their consistent monopolistic economic practices at home, in addition to their efforts in overseas trade.

The most peaceful attempts the Republic made to secure monopolies overseas were through trade agreements with local leaders. As Grotius had argued, the indigenous leaders had every right to conduct trade with every other nation, and the Portuguese who claimed sovereignty over them were in violation of free trade principles.[74] However, the *Mare Liberum* did suggest that two nations could enter into a treaty regarding trade, as long as they were both on equal footing.[75] The VOC was chartered to make treaties with local leaders in Indonesia, which they did, guaranteeing the Dutch exclusive access to the goods each kingdom or sultanate controlled. Until the colonial period that began after the collapse of the VOC, the Dutch did not claim to own any territory, except that on which their forts were built, and instead established diplomatic relationships with local governments that extended their political and economic power throughout the region. For example, on the island of Java where the VOC had its trade capital at Batavia, the VOC developed relationships with the

---

of silver, see Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 156.

[73] Gemeente Archief, Delft. Archief van het Gilde van Goud- en Zilversmeden, 1502, 1536-1807 (nr. 234).

[74] Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*, 11.

[75] Ibid., 63-64.

many competing kingdoms on the island, which allowed them to undermine Javanese power in their favor.[76] In 1681 the Cirebon sultanate, because of fighting among the kingdoms of Java, made a treaty with the VOC for protection, for which they had to give up the title of sultan, and the sultan's powers were reduced.[77] This treaty also included economic measures that gave monopoly rights to Cirebonese goods to the VOC. In the neighboring sultanate of Surakarta (also known as Kartasura), the sultanate gave up more significant power to the VOC in 1745 in exchange for protection.[78] These treaties may have been entered into with both parties on equal footing, but they gave clear advantage to the VOC and would ultimately allow the VOC to control many of the islands of the Indonesian archipelago both politically and economically. These tactics, shared by other colonial powers, enabled the Dutch to cloak their efforts as trade rather than imperialism.

The VOC did not always pursue peaceful diplomacy when establishing trading relationships with Indonesian populations. Two famous incidents in the Spice Islands demonstrate how brutal the Dutch and the VOC could be in their efforts to free the seas and trade, for their own benefit. The first concerns their treatment of an indigenous population in order to secure a Dutch monopoly, and the second their treatment of a European competitor. The ten tiny Banda Islands were the main growers of nutmeg, one of the prime spices of the Maluku Islands. After a decade of difficult relations with the local government, with breaches of contract on both sides, VOC Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen in 1621 resolved the conflict by killing, enslaving, or deporting the entire population of 15,000,

---

[76] For more information on the early Dutch presence on Java, see Paramita R. Abdurachman, ed., *Cerbon*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Mitra Budaya Indonesia, Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982), 45; and Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 322-324.

[77] For this treaty, see Abdurachman, *Cerbon*, 52-3.

[78] For this diplomatic relationship, see John Pemberton, *On the Subject of "Java"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), chapter 1.

repopulating the island with Dutch workers and slaves from other locations.[79] While the

Mare Liberum justified making war on a group that is prohibiting free trade, this is certainly

a more extreme reaction than that document allowed. Julie Berger Hochstrasser details

further atrocities the Dutch perpetrated in order to control the output of the Spice Islands.[80]

The second, and ultimately much milder, incident, widely publicized during the many Anglo-

Dutch conflicts of the early modern era, was the so-called Ambonese Massacre of 1623, in

which ten English traders on the island of Ambon were tortured and executed.[81] By treaty,

the Dutch and English East India Companies had joint access to the spice trade of Ambon,

but the Dutch suspected an English plot to take over full access. This suspicion was

confirmed when twenty men, ten English employees of the EIC, and nine Japanese and one

Portuguese employee of the VOC, confessed under torture. All twenty were beheaded. The

injustice of this event provided fodder for the anti-Dutch presses of England, who produced

many pamphlets and accounts of this appalling event. Again, the *Mare Liberum* provided for

a violent reaction to restrictions on trade; however, in this instance the Dutch preemptively

reacted to an unproven plot that in any case still excluded all others besides the English and

Dutch from "free trade."

In addition to monopoly and the various means used to protect it, another major

contradiction between the rhetorical attention the Dutch paid to the free seas and the reality

of how the Dutch dominated the seas was their treatment of those great enemies of nations

and freedom: pirates. While pirates have a reputation for being anarchic and thus nationless,

---

[79] This incident is described in Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire,* 111-112, and Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Vol. 2: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 274.
[80] Hochstrasser, *Still Life*, especially 105-107.
[81] Markley discusses this conflict, and the aftermath, throughout his study: Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

as popular works like *The Republic of Pirates* and *Under the Black Flag* suggest, in reality

pirates had a complicated relationship with the nations of the early modern era, especially the

Dutch Republic.[82] Pirates, who roam the open seas attacking ships laden with goods or

people, in order to amass booty for themselves, seem to clearly be the enemy of a nation

dedicated to keeping those seas free and open, and which above all values trade, rather than

robbery. In the *Mare Liberum*, Grotius refers several times to pirates, always negatively, as

examples of violators of the free seas: "they beset and infest our trade routes."[83]

Dutch law forbade piracy, and punished Dutch citizens who became pirates.

However, Dutch law also licensed and circumscribed the rules for a similar occupation, the

privateer.[84] A privateer is like a pirate, except in possession of a license from a national

government stating that they have a commission to attack and plunder enemy ships. This is a

role that was only valid during wartime, which for the early modern Dutch Republic was

nearly always the case, either against the Spanish or Portuguese, or later the English.

Generally, a privateer was expected to attack the ships of the declared enemy, such as

Portugal, the enemy identified in the *Mare Liberum*. This commission could be officially

expanded to include the allies of the enemy, like the Southern Netherlands, or even ships

trading in enemy ports, like Lisbon. A privateer was not to attack the nation's own ships, nor

those of allies or neutrals. This circumscription of who the victim could be separated the

privateer from the pirate. What the privateer was allowed to do with a captured ship also

separates him from the pirate. Any people aboard were to be kept alive and delivered to a

---

[82] Colin Woodard, *The Republic of Pirates: Being the True and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down* (Boston: Harcourt, 2007); and David Cordingly, *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates* (New York: Random House, 1995).
[83] Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas*, 10.
[84] On privateering, see Virginia West Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Dutch port to be treated as prisoners of war; while a pirate might execute or imprison them, or press them into service. The booty on board the ship was also supposed to be brought to auction in the Republic (usually the booty was more mundane than currency and jewels, as it is popularly represented), and the proceeds were to be divided among the Dutch government, the licensing body (usually the Admiralty of Amsterdam, Middelburg, or Rotterdam), the investors, the captain, and a wage paid to the sailors. A privateer, like the VOC and WIC, was funded by investments from the citizens of the Dutch Republic. As a joint-stock venture, a privateering mission fit into the economy of the Republic in a legitimate and typical way. A pirate, on the other hand, kept the booty and its proceeds for himself, divvied it up among the crew, and paid no share to any government.

While it appears that the privateer had carefully assigned duties, he was still essentially a legal pirate, or a mercenary, waging private warfare on the economy of the enemies of the state by terrorizing trade routes. And despite these clear instructions, the privateer's actions often brought him much closer to a pirate, as maritime historian Virginia West Lunsford's carefully researched study on the Dutch privateer demonstrates.[85] Dutch privateers often acted outside of their commissions, attacking even Dutch ships. They collected multiple commissions from different nations, showing which license was convenient when asked to provide documentation; despite a Dutch law prohibiting a Dutchman from accepting a commission from another state, even a friendly one. Dutch privateers also regularly kept their booty or distributed it improperly, without providing the state with its share. As these were piratical acts, and the Dutch frowned mightily on pirates, one would expect the Dutch government would respond with harsh penalty. However, it was

---

[85] Ibid.

often the case that these fallen privateers were charged with euphemistic crimes, such as

"plundering of prizes" rather than outright piracy.[86] Indeed, even if charged as pirates, this

often led not to execution but to milder charges, and Lunsford describes several convicted

Dutch pirates who went on to hold high Dutch military or trading company commissions

later in life.[87]

It appears that rather than disdaining pirates, as the *Mare Liberum* and Dutch laws

about privateering and piracy suggest, the Dutch actually welcomed them for their major role

in terrorizing the enemy during wartime and competitors during war and peace. Lunsford

describes the public feeling about pirates as shown by popular novels and adventure stories:

"From the time of the Republic's inception, its citizens displayed a proclivity for piracy, as

Dutch law defined it, whether such behavior took the form of overly zealous or careless

privateering, or outright, indiscriminate marauding on the high seas."[88] She traces this Dutch

affinity for piracy back to the fundamental role of a group of pirates, the Sea Beggars, in the

war for Dutch independence.[89] These pirates were essential to the early Dutch Revolt,

blocking the Scheldt River and thus cutting off Antwerp, and famously liberating Leiden

from their siege by the Spanish. They broke the dikes surrounding the city, and sailed in on

the resulting flood, routing the Spanish soldiers. Nostalgia for these heroes pervaded the

Dutch Golden Age, even though the Sea Beggars were also guilty of terrorizing Dutch

people, so were not solely working for the good of their nation.[90]

---

[86] Ibid., 43.
[87] Ibid., 166ff.
[88] Ibid., 41.
[89] For more on the Sea Beggars, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 163-178.
[90] Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering*, 44-46.

That Dutch and other pirates and privateers were good for the Dutch economy is clear because they terrorized the shipping routes of all the European powers. Dutch pirates would eventually be pardoned, even celebrated, because their efforts had helped the Dutch to defeat their enemies at war and also maintain a larger portion of the overseas trade. Privateers, even those that were engaging in piracy, were celebrated as essential to the Dutch military mission, for "…the very real and integral role that privateers – whether upright and moral or wayward and corrupt – played in the struggle to preserve the independence, prosperity, and vigor of the young Dutch Republic."[91] Despite their claims to the contrary, and arguments for the freedom of the seas, the actions of the Dutch Republic regarding monopoly and piracy demonstrate that a full freedom of the seas was not what the Dutch were looking for, but rather a Dutch control of the seas and overseas trade, by any means necessary. In these examples, a constant tension between Dutch rhetoric and action is demonstrated, a tension that is made visible in the *bastaard* Dutched nautilus cup as well as the other case studies of this project.[92]

Conclusion

In Delft today, several of the elements that made both the nautilus cup and the Dutch spice monopoly possible come together around the main square, the Markt. Two of the city's main tourist attractions are connected by this long square, the Vermeer Centrum and the Museum Het Prinsenhof, the city's history and art museum. After learning all about Vermeer

---

[91] Ibid., 178.
[92] The way that the colonizing actions undermine or make a farce of the colonizing mission is part of the argument of Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 152-160.

in the rebuilt St. Luke's Guild Hall, though seeing none of his paintings because they have all left Delft, the visitor passes through the Markt where a statue stands proudly in front of the Nieuwe Kerk, of Hugo Grotius, a citizen of Delft whose efforts to make the Dutch Republic a rich cultural center were celebrated in his lifetime, unlike Vermeer (fig. 19). Grotius faces towards the Stadhuis, behind which is one of the buildings where the city's Goldsmiths' Guild used to meet, now renovated as a restaurant (fig. 20).

It would be the far-reaching consequences of Grotius' arguments in the *Mare Liberum* that would make the Dutch Republic a dominant European economy and culture in the seventeenth century. The craftsmen of Delft supplied the city's wealthier residents with markers of status including the nautilus cup, which so encapsulates the spirit of the turn of the seventeenth century. The collective memory of the overseas successes of the Dutch, no matter how they were achieved, is succinctly celebrated by a display in Delft's historic museum, Het Prinsenhof (fig. 21). Two of the three nautilus cups owned by the museum are displayed here, both by Delft workshops, alongside other silverwork. Above the case it says simply, "*Rijk*/Rich" – the wealth that was brought in via Dutch overseas trading networks are all that is celebrated here. However, the presence of the nautilus shells in these two mounts reminds the viewer of where this wealth came from – the *bastaardering* of these rich objects forever reminds that these riches were brought to the Netherlands because of the Dutch control over sea routes and trade, a control that was enabled by Grotius' persuasive argument for the freedom of the seas, the *Mare Liberum.* While the Dutch collective memory may look back on this period nostalgically as a Golden Age, the presence of the exotic nautilus shell under rigid Dutch control in the silver mount, reminds us of the tension between shell and silver, and free seas and Dutch monopoly, that gilded the Dutch Republic.

In the next chapter, I turn from Dutch aspirations for domination of sea routes to the administration of the new trading empire from the Dutch East India Company's capital, Batavia, on the island of Java. This notion of fixing the world's oceans in the hands of the Dutch Republic becomes a reality as the diverse population of Batavia is shaped by the city's plan into a social hierarchy, with divided ethnic groups and a large enslaved population dominated by a small Dutch population. With Dutch-born company employees and citizens of Batavia making up only a tiny proportion of this group, it was necessary to expand what "Dutch" meant in this context far from home, so that all Europeans, their Asian spouses, and their offspring made up the Dutch group. In this city modeled on the Dutch ideal plan of Simon Stevin, and filled with Dutch style houses, the built environment was planned make this population more Dutch, showing that in the Dutch Golden Age, "Dutch" abroad meant an underlying social hierarchy.

Figure 1. Live nautilus. (Source: *L. A. Unleashed Blog*, Los Angeles Times: Local, November 13, 2008. http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/unleashed/2008/11/page/3/, 1 February 2011.)

Figure 2. Cross-section of Nautilus shell and the logarithmic equation for a nautilus spiral. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 49: fig. 43.)
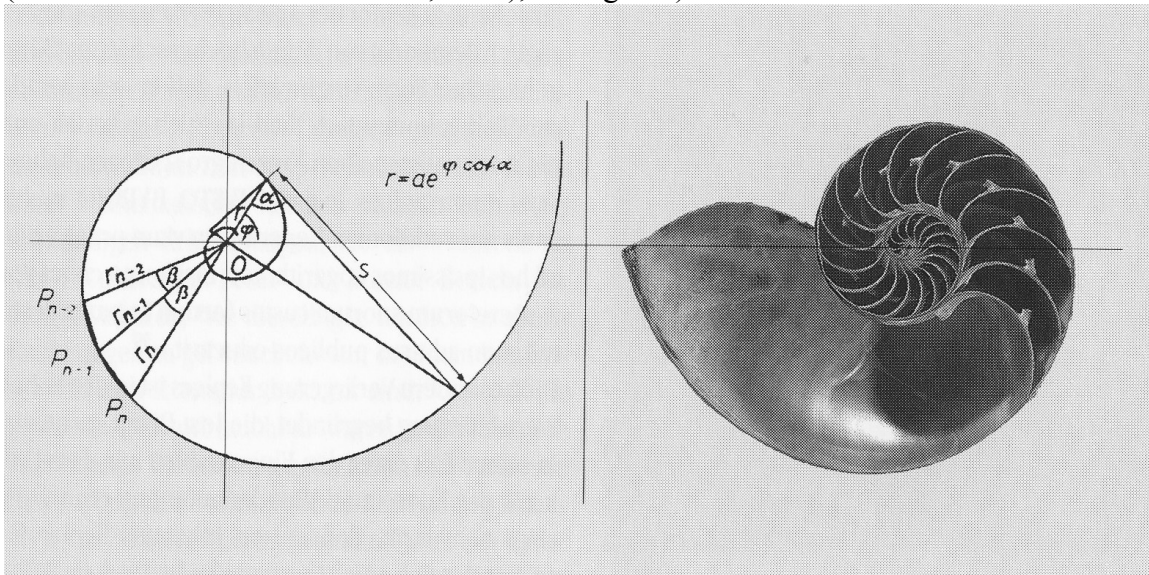
Figure 3. Nautilus Emblem, No. 49 in Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus* (Nuremburg: 1604). (Source: *Fondo Antiguo*, Universidad de Sevilla, n.d., http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/682/107/symbolorum-et-emblematum-ex-aquatilibus-et-reptilibus-desumptorum-centuria-quarta/. 1 February 2011.)
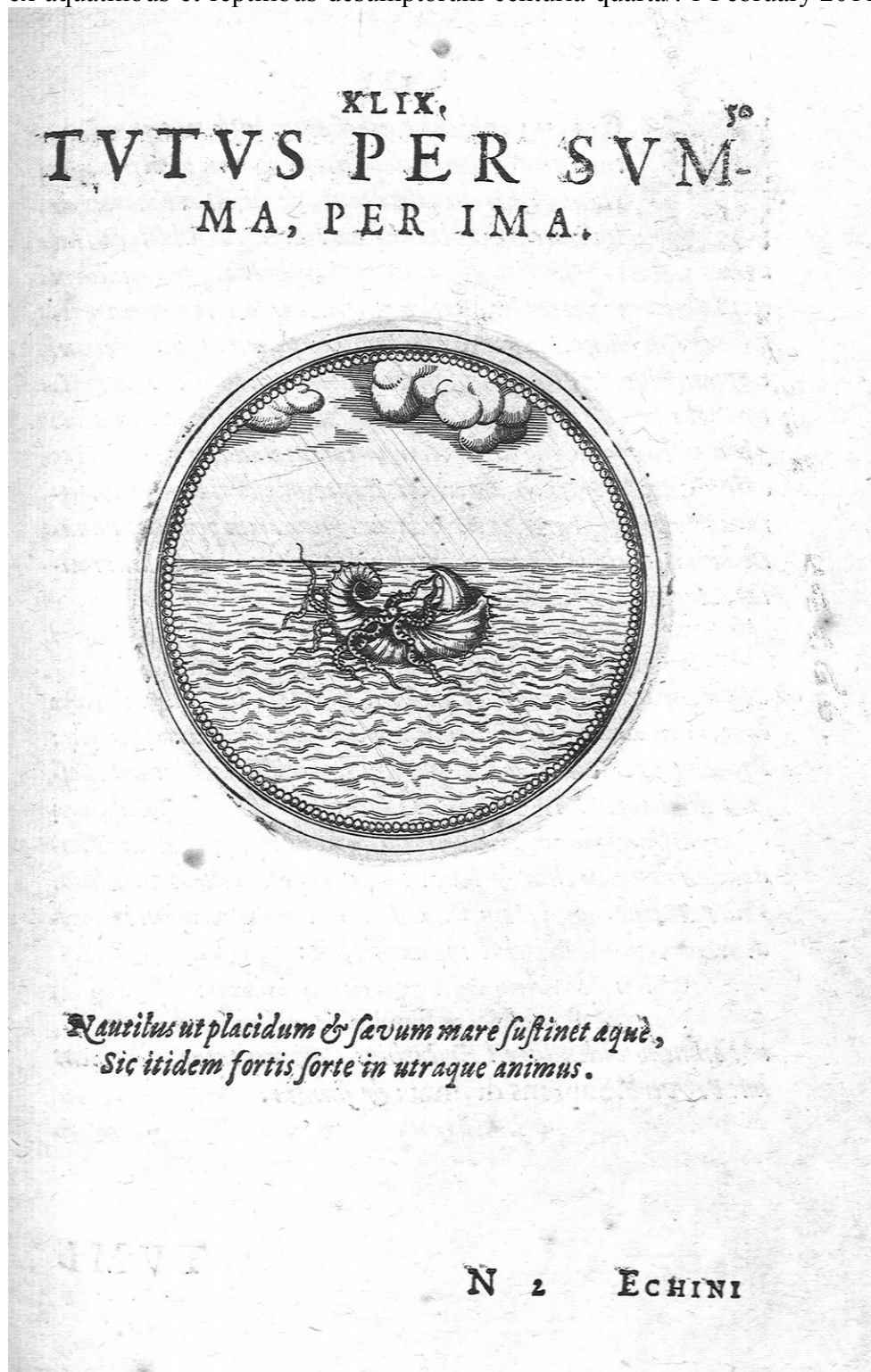
XLIX. 50

TVTVS PER SVM-
MA, PER IMA.

Nautilus ut placidum & sævum mare suftinet aquè,
Sic itidem fortis sorte in utraque animus.

N 2   ECHINI

Figure 4. Possibly Dutch, Nautilus with relief carving, mid-17th century. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 86: cat. nr. 216, fig. 74.)

Figure 5. Unknown origin, *The Entry of Baron Gustaaf van Imhoff in 1743*, after 1743. Etched nautilus shell and gilt mount. Nuremburg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum. (Source: Kees Zandvliet, ed. *The Dutch Encounter with Asia: 1600-1950* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 2002), 83: fig. 45-1.)

Figure 6. Cornelis Bellekin (shell), Etched Nautilus Shell, c. 1660-70. Bavarian National Museum, Munich. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 217: cat. nr. 136, fig. 207.)

Figure 7. Cornelis Bellekin, Engraved Nautilus, 2nd half of the 17th century. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. (Source: W. H. van Seters, "Oud-Nederlandse Parelmoerkunst: Het werk van leden der Familie Belquin, parelmoergraveurs en schilders in de 17e eeuw." <u>Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek</u> 9 (1958): 211.)
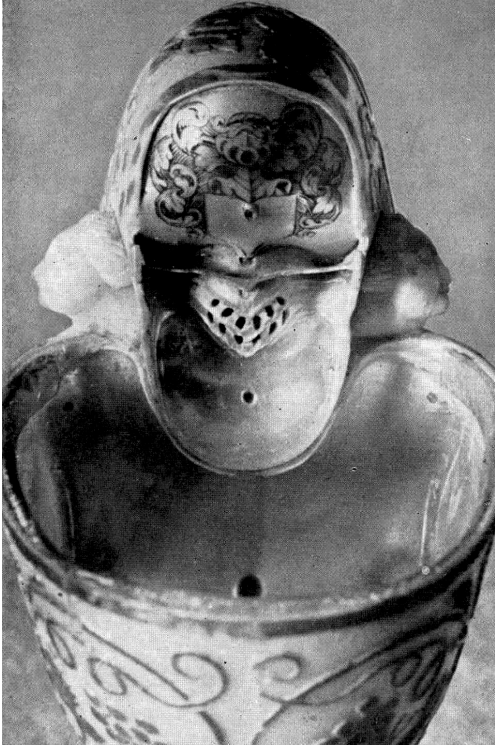

Figure 8. Samuel Gaudich, Nautilus Cup with five tumblers, Dresden, 1668/1735. Private Collection, Switzerland. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 230: cat. nr. 185, fig.217.)

Figure 9. Jörg Ruel, Nautilus Ship, Nuremberg, c. 1610-20. Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 104: cat. nr. 9, fig. 81.)
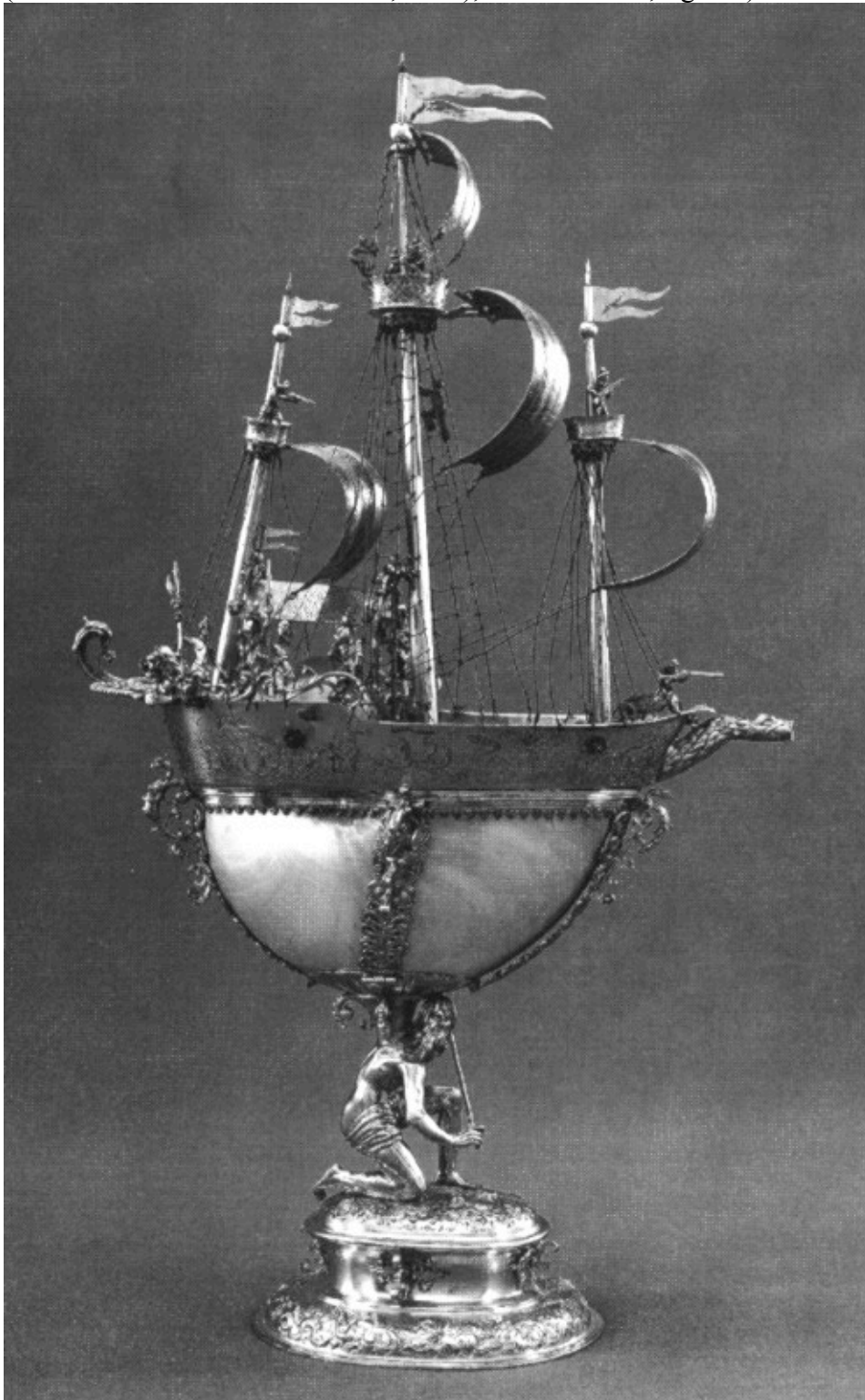
Figure 10. Jeremias Ritter, Nautilus Snail, Nuremberg, c. 1630. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 106: cat. nr. 32, fig. 82.)

Figure 11. Christoph Cunat, Nautilus Pelican, Nuremberg, 1609. Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 191: cat. nr. 30, fig. 188.)

Figure 12. Tentatively attributed to Nicolaas de Grebber, Nautilus Cup, Delft, 1592. Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 114: cat. nr. 48, fig. 88.)

Figure 13. A Rotterdam Master, Nautilus Cup, Rotterdam, 1589. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 120: cat. nr. 54, fig. 93.)

Figure 14. A Rotterdam Master, Nautilus Cup, Rotterdam, 1590. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 171: cat. nr. 56, fig. 160.)

Figure 15. Mount attributed to a Dutch craftsman, with north Italian foot, Nautilus Cup, 2nd half 16th century. British Museum, London. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 113: cat. nr. 45, fig. 87, detail right.)

Figure 16. Dutch engraver, Detail of etching on Nautilus Cup, after 1631 etching by Rembrandt, 2nd quarter 17th century. Pohjanmaan/Österbottens Museum, Vasa, Finland. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 243: cat. nr. 235, fig. 227.)

Figure 17. Possibly Jean Bellekin, Etched Nautilus Shell, the Netherlands, 1st half 17th century; Andreas I. Mackensen, Nautilus Cup Mount, Danzig, 1650-60. Kunstbewerbemuseum SMBPK, Berlin. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 89: cat. nr. 294, fig. 75.)

Figure 18. Display Cabinet, entitled 'On Board', Amsterdam Museum, August 2011. (Source: author.)

Figure 19. Monument to Hugo Grotius, Delft. (Source: author.)

Figure 20. De Waag, Guildhall of the Gold and Silversmith's Guild from 1770, Delft. (Source: author).

Figure 21. "Rijk/Rich" display in Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft, 2009. (Source: author).

4. Dutch Batavia: An ideal Dutch city?

Batavia, the Dutch East India Company's capital in the Indonesian archipelago, was a fundamental piece of the trading empire of the Dutch East India Company. From Batavia the VOC controlled the intra-Asian market and sent ships laden with spices, porcelain, and coffee back to the Dutch Republic and the European market. Founded in 1619, Batavia was built as an ideal Dutch city, partially imposing the plan of engineer Simon Stevin on the Javanese landscape, and as such reinforced Dutch values for its diverse population. Like many cities in the Netherlands, Batavia was a canalled city, celebrating Dutch skills in water management, and which would eventually prove that these Dutch techniques were not universally applicable. The city's gridded plan suggests on the surface that equality is also an important Dutch characteristic, but further study shows the plan's inherent hierarchy, pointing to the theme of this chapter, the hidden hierarchy behind the seeming egalitarianism of the city of Batavia and also of the Dutch Republic. This hidden hierarchy in turn supports a hierarchy in the population, keeping the Dutched European and Indisch residents in a strong position above the largest segment of the population, the slaves. The Dutch institution of slavery is discussed in this chapter in order to illustrate how essential hierarchy is to this colonial society, and demonstrates the inconsistency of Dutch feelings about slavery. The prominent role of the Dutch as slave traders and carriers between Africa and the Americas is

well known, yet slavery in the East is under-discussed.[1] This chapter will detail the history

of Batavia, the development of its urban morphology on the basis of Simon Stevin's ideal

city plan, and explore how the city plan affected the residents' organization. The plan of the

city was integral to the social order of the city, and remains apparent in Jakarta today,

suggesting that vestiges of this (proto)colonial hierarchy may remain (compare figs. 1 and 2).

Batavia represents a tension between, on one hand, Dutch claims of egalitarianism

and their stance against slavery, and, on the other, the inherent hierarchies built into and

enforced by the plan of the city; between Batavia's gridded plan and the divisions and

barriers that undermined equal access. Though slavery was essential to the economic success

of the VOC, it was antithetical to the ideals of the Dutch Republic. Evidence for the Dutch

Republic's position on slavery comes from one of its founding documents, the Act of

Abjuration (*Plakkaat van Verlatinge*) of 1581. This document, which has been likened to the

United States' Declaration of Independence, and indeed may have been an inspiration for it,

documented the abuses of the King of Spain, Philip II, and declared that the States General

(the government of the Dutch Republic) no longer owed or would pledge allegiance to him.

At six points in the document, the writers object to being enslaved to Philip II and Spain.

One such reference follows:

> …[T]he king of Spain…sought by all means possible to reduce this country
> (stripping them of their ancient privileges) to *slavery*, under the government of
> Spaniards…[2]

---

[1] On the Dutch involvement with the Atlantic slave trade, see Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). On slavery in the East, see Vink's formulation of an Indian Ocean slave trade: Marcus Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (June 2003): 131-177. See also Anthony Reid, ed., *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983) and C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965).

[2] "(Dutch) Act of Abjuration, 1581 July 26, Modern English translation," *From Revolution to Reconstruction*, http://www.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1501-1600/plakkaat/plakkaaten.htm, 1 June 2010. Emphasis mine.

Being enslaved to another government is described as a violation of the rights of the Dutch,

which by extension suggests that the Dutch might be against the institution of slavery.

However, the colonial history of the Dutch Republic shows that this abhorrence of slavery

was applied unevenly, and referred mainly to the rights of Dutch citizens at home (Dutch

nationals abroad could be enslaved as punishment).[3] Another passage in this document hints

that colonial locales were different from Europe, and perhaps suggests why this Dutch value

was not universal. King Philip is accused of "annul[ling] all the privileges of this country,

and govern[ing] it tyrannically at pleasure as in the Indies…"[4] The writers apparently feel

that they deserve to be treated better than the Kingdom of Spain treats her colonies. Indeed,

later Dutch and English propaganda would attack Spain's treatment of colonial subjects, but

this does not mean the Dutch did not also subjugate and enslave in their colonies.[5] Keeping

in mind this apparent distaste for slavery, I turn to the city of Batavia whose plan shaped a

social and racial hierarchy with a large group of slaves at the bottom.

The Building of Batavia

By examining old maps and views of Batavia, it is possible to see the development

from a fort to a fully walled and canalled city. The previously established VOC fort, *Kasteel*

Batavia, originally contained warehouses and residences for VOC workers and officials (fig.

---

[3] F. De Haan, *Oud Batavia* (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1922), vol 1:351. It is not unsurprising that ideas of individual freedom were applied unevenly, see Uday S. Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 59-86.

[4] Act of Abjuration.

[5] For Early Modern views on Spanish colonization, and Dutch innocence, see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: the discourses of religious and racial difference in the Renaissance empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

3). François Valentijn describes the fort in the early eighteenth century in his *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, and includes an image of some of its buildings (fig. 4).[6] An early map of 1619 shows the location and arrangement of the current fort, plans for its potential expansion, and a possible city location (fig. 5). Here the Dutch fort on the east bank of the Ciliwung River is clearly visible, and there is no trace on this map of the earlier settlements in this location, despite the centuries-old city and port, which were destroyed by Governor-General Coen. The first half of the city stretched south from the fort along the eastern bank of the river, and it shows clearly plotted rectilinear blocks (figs. 6 and 7). In 1645, the city walls were completed.[7] By 1681, the river had been straightened and a rectangular wall was constructed with buildings within – this is the historical core of the city of Batavia (fig. 1). The diagonal eastern wall of the ca. 1630 maps has been moved to be parallel to the straightened river, and the city has doubled in size, with the western half roughly mirroring the eastern half. There is even indication of expansion outside of the city walls. The area within the city walls measured approximately one by one and a half kilometers. It is this map, which was regularly reproduced, that will be discussed in further detail below. A similar map of 1696 focuses on the fortifications rather than the city itself, as is appropriate in a manual of fortifications (fig. 8).

From these maps, it is possible to begin describing some of the basic elements of Batavia's original city plan. What is most visual striking at first about the city's plan is the

---

[6] François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Amsterdam: Johannes van Braam, Gerard Onder de Linden, 1724-1726), 237-241.

[7] Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta: A History*, 2nd ed. (Singapore/Oxford/NYC: Oxford University Press, 1989), 15. See also Leonard Blussé, "An Insane Administration and an Unsanitary Town: The Dutch East India Company and Batavia (1619-1799)," in *Colonial Cities,* ed. Robert J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), 65-86; these authors discuss earlier documents about the city, such as Raffles' description from 1817.

straight streets at right angles to one another and the use of controlled water in the form of

canals, both of which we will see are typically Dutch and specific to the ideal city plan of

Dutch engineer and mathematician Simon Stevin. Batavia was built on a rectilinear plan,

divided in two longitudinally by the straightened Ciliwung River, here called the Groote

Rivier, or Large River. The two halves are somewhat symmetrical, and offset slightly,

apparently because of the uneven coastline and the situation of the fort. Within the walls, the

city blocks are separated by streets and canals that run on a grid, the only exception to perfect

right angles being the area of the city directly west of the fort. The city wall has regular

bastions, named on the fortifications map, and is itself surrounded by a wider canal. The fort

also has water surrounding it. These canals have multiple purposes, including drainage,

transportation, and protection. Canals are a Dutch specialty, still present across the

Netherlands today, and were a means of draining the low-lying Low Countries, much of

which is below sea level, in order to carve out more usable land for building and agriculture.

Likely the low lying land around the port of Jayakarta attracted the VOC, who decided to

continue the Dutch fight against water in the colonies.

A French map of the north coast of Java of 1720 shows a much-simplified Batavia

(fig. 9). The city is a square, surrounded by a wall with a canal around, and is divided into

regular rectangular city blocks. Even though abbreviated, these basic elements of Batavia,

the rectilinearity and use of water, are seen, suggesting that the French draftsman recognized

these traits as typical of the city and essential for representing it. Two eighteenth-century

Dutch visitors to Batavia, François Valentijn and Johannes Nieuhof, also included in their descriptions a special mention of the streets as straight.[8]

As the capital of the VOC, Batavia was the administrative center for all Dutch trade in the region, which extended beyond spices to trade with China and Japan for ceramics and textiles, and eventually also to tea, coffee, and sugar. Batavia was the center of the Dutch trade with the East until decolonization in the twentieth century, acquiring local products for sale in the Dutch Republic and Europe, and also had a major role in intra-regional trade. Though primarily interested in trade, the VOC and individuals residing in and around Batavia began to cultivate sugar and coffee in the seventeenth century, an industry which would not be fully developed until the nineteenth century, and which for the time being remained focused in the immediate area around Batavia and other Dutch cities in the archipelago. Chinese farmers grew sugarcane to process into sugar and *arak* right outside the city (plots of cultivated land seen in the 1681 map may represent these) and coffee plants were distributed to many of the local chieftains on Java to cultivate for the VOC.[9] The VOC did not attempt to gain territory inland from their port cities in the archipelago, though they did expand into land contiguous with the city.

As the population of Batavia grew, residents spilled outside the walls. With prosperity, some residents built villas or bungalows on the larger plots that were available outside of the city walls, alongside the naturally flowing Ciliwung River, the coast, and established roads, which did not follow the rectilinearity of the walled city. The villas and bungalows of suburban Batavia, which eventually spread far into the hinterland, continued to

---

[8] Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, 232; Johannes Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense zee- en landreis* (English trans). (London: Awnsham Churchill, 1703), 252.
[9] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*: on arak, see 23; on coffee, see 43.

have an organic quality, more reflective of the landscape and the previous land-use than downtown Batavia (figs. 10 and 11). The appeal of the suburbs was to live on larger plots with more space in and around the houses, and was yet another way for wealthier Batavians to mark their separation from the workers and slaves of the city.

A further motivation for many to leave Batavia's historic center was the perceived unhealthiness of downtown Batavia, because of waves of an unknown disease, now known to be malaria, which effected residents closest to the shore especially drastically.[10] The cause of the disease, as Peter H. van den Brug has definitively shown, is the building of fish ponds on the silted up area between the wall of the cities and the shore – this marshy area was growing as the river carried silt down from the hinterland, which eventually separated Fort Batavia from the open water by two kilometers (fig. 12).[11] However, 270 years before van den Brug's study, the residents of Batavia were deeply suspicious that it was the canals that were carrying the disease. The Dutch are expert canal builders, and Batavia's canals provided the city with protection, transportation, and also drainage. Fighting against water as at home, it seems that the Dutch abroad were losing the battle. The canals of Batavia did not work properly and were often full of silt and needed to be dredged regularly. Valentijn mentions periodic silting due to the monsoon and disruptions caused by earthquakes.[12] Proper Dutch canals regularly flush their contents out to the larger body of water, but Batavia's canals did not. The stagnant water, sewage from the city, and the dead animals that the crocodiles and caimans did not eat, stunk terribly, and the residents of Batavia blamed this stinky air from

---

[10] Peter H. van der Brug, "Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century," in *Jakarta/Batavia: Socio-cultural essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 43-74.
[11] Ibid., 62.
[12] Valentijn *Oud and nieuw Oost-Indiën*, 231.

the canals for the incidence of disease.[13] The residents recognized that the closer to the coast

one lived, the more likely they were to be infected by the disease, so those who could afford

it moved south of the city, and eventually many of the poorer residents who had once been

excluded from the walled city moved into it when it became affordable. While van den Brug

shows that it was not the canals themselves that caused the disease to spread, he does show

that the VOC water policies that encouraged the fish ponds to be built caused the malaria to

be so devastating. Regardless of the root of the malaria, this experience showed that the

Dutch canals were a failure in the tropics, if only because they made the city so unpleasant

with their smell. The climates in the Netherlands and the Indonesian archipelago differ

greatly, which was not considered when the city was planned – the Dutch designers

mistakenly presumed their model would function throughout the world.

With the dissolution of the VOC, and the Napoleonic Wars, Batavia changed hands

first to a governor-general appointed by Napoleon's brother Louis, Herman Willem

Daendels, who destroyed the fort and the city walls, and built a new fort outside of the city.

He saw Fort Batavia as no longer necessary – most of the administrative functions of the city

had moved out of the fort long ago, and the governor's palace was now located in the suburbs

south of the old city of Batavia. In 1811, Batavia was lost to England, and was ruled until

1816 by British Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, the founder of

Singapore. He oversaw the building of a large English-style green south of Batavia, which

shaped the suburb that grew up around it, Weltevreden, in a different urban footprint than

Dutch Batavia. After the Napoleonic Wars, the Netherlands became the Kingdom of the

Netherlands, and the Dutch East Indies were transitioned back to Dutch possession after the

---

[13] Ibid., Valentijn says that the crocodiles and caimans eat all the dead animals, and also some human corpses that "the Javanese murder from time to time."

Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814. Batavia would be the capital of the colonial Dutch East Indies

until decolonization between 1945-1949. While much has changed over the 400 years since

the founding of Batavia, most notably that the unhealthy canals have been filled in and are

now used as roads, the center of the city retains the same basic shape. This original city, with

rectilinear divisions and canals, developed from the ideal plan for a city imagined by Simon

Stevin (fig. 13). This rectangular plan formed the basis for the initial plotting of the city east

of the Ciliwung River, and also its expansion across the river as the city expanded in the mid-

seventeenth century until it became the walled fortress pictured in the 1681 map (fig. 1). In

this next section, I will introduce Stevin and his plan, its formal connections to Batavia's

urban morphology, and the implications of the use of a Dutch ideal in the (proto)colonial city

of Batavia.

Stevin's Ideal City Plan

Simon Stevin's ideal plan for a city, which he described and illustrated in a chapter

entitled "Distinguishing the order of cities" (*Onderscheyt vande Oirdeningh der Steden*), sets

out what appears to be an evenly measured and balanced city.[14] Stevin was an accomplished

engineer and mathematician in the early Dutch Republic.[15] Born around 1548 in Bruges, he

matriculated in 1583 at the new university in Leiden, which had been established in 1575

after the liberation of that city from Spanish rule. Beginning even before his time at

---

[14] Simon Stevin, *Materiae Politicae. Bvrgherlicke Stoffen: vervanghende ghedachtenissen der oeffeninghen des doorluchtichsten Prince Maurits van Orangie* (Leiden: Justus Livius, 1650), chapter 1. I consulted the copy held in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

[15] E. J. Dijksterhuis, *Simon Stevin: Science in the Netherlands around 1600* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970) is the most comprehensive source on the life and works of Stevin; see also the compilation and translation of his major works: Simon Stevin, *Principal Works*, Ernst Crone, ed. and C. Dikshoorn, trans. (Amsterdam: C. V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1955-1966).

university, Stevin was publishing on diverse matters, mostly related to mathematics and engineering, but ranging to theories of music and poetry and civic life. Stevin was both a theorist and a practitioner of these matters, which his biographer, Dijksterhuis, insists is what distinguishes Stevin and his works from his contemporary theorists.[16] In 1594, when Stevin published his treatise on fortifications (*Stercktenbouwing*), he was working as an engineer in the service of Prince Maurits of Nassau, the Stadhouder of several provinces of the Dutch Republic and commander-in-chief of the Republic's army. In 1603 he was elevated to the position of quartermaster of the army with the special task of laying out army camps. In these capacities, he had a major role in the organization of the armed forces and their deployment and accommodation, and his ideal city, discussed below, is likely an outgrowth of this practical experience (fig. 13). Around this time, Stevin also established himself as important to the intellectual life of the Republic, publically by organizing an engineering school at the University of Leiden and personally by serving as tutor to Prince Maurits.[17] Stevin died in 1620 and despite his prolific publishing had other works in progress that are essential to my study. His son Hendrick (1613/14-1670) organized these works and published them in a collection titled *Materiae Politicae* in 1650 – one of the included works, "Civic Matters" (*Burgherlijke Stoffen*), contains the chapter with Stevin's ideal plan for a city and the beginnings of his work on house building. Despite their late publication, this conceptual work can be considered essential to the planning of the city of Batavia. It is established that Stevin provided plans for the Dutch military up until his death, and he

---

[16] Dijksterhuis, *Simon Stevin*, 130-31.
[17] Ron van Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800)* (Zutphen, Walberg Pers, 2000), 78-79.

appears also to have advised the VOC on town planning in 1618, though there is no conclusive evidence that he actually planned cities for them.[18]

The most striking element of Stevin's plan is its rectangular shape, which is reminiscent of Roman military camps (*castrum*), a type Stevin was familiar with from his military engineering work. European cities designed for military defense in the period tended to be circular, such as the contemporary nine-bastioned star-shaped Palmanova outside of Venice.[19] A circular arrangement meant a shorter wall to defend, and protruding bastions allowed for more visibility of that wall. Stevin's city has a proportionally longer wall to defend, which is accomplished by many bastions and additional defensive measures, to be discussed momentarily. Stevin preferred a rectangular city because the land within would be divisible into regular parcels, rather than the irregularly shaped blocks resulting from round cities.[20] Like the Roman *castrum*, Stevin's plan has an unimpeded *castra* or wide street running through the center, though he envisions this as a canal. Bisecting this is a series of open spaces and important buildings, which is less an axis for transportation than of public space. Stevin's city plan has much in common with the city of Atlantis as described by Plato in his *Timaeus*, which was a city on a coast with a river flowing through it, built on a

---

[18] Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International: 1998), 139; Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 78-79.

[19] Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 160ff.

[20] "Because in pentagonal and polygonal Cities, even if they are round with a convenient market in the centre and streets running up to the bulwarks, everything in a symmetrical order, however, many houses, blocks and plots become irregular and wider to one end than to the other…" Stevin, *Materiae Politicae,* 17, quoted and translated in Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 83.

ratio of 2:3.[21] Stevin elaborated on the Roman square city plan, while emphasizing the Dutch elements of water control and spatial and societal order.[22]

Much of the form of this city is determined by water. A canal bisects this rectangular city horizontally and passes through the walls on either end. A secondary rectangular canal, which echoes the shape of the city, connects to the main canal at either end just inside the walls.[23] A moat surrounds the city walls. This extensive use of water is typical to many Dutch cities, especially in the low-lying lands of the province of Holland. The many canals help with drainage of low marshy land, transportation, and sewage removal. In addition, the moat has a defensive function, strengthening the barrier between the city and surrounding area. The wall of Stevin's ideal city is interrupted by six bastions on each short side, and nine on the long side, an addition to bastions at the corners. The bastions on either side of each corner stick out further than the others, allowing an unobstructed view of the length of the wall.[24]

The city is divided into four bands by the canals, and each of these is filled with square blocks of equal size, arranged in bands three deep. An axis perpendicular to the main canal divides the city in half vertically, and along this axis there are spaces and buildings necessary to the function of the city. This vertical division of public buildings and the

---

[21] Boudewijn Bakker, "A New Atlantis: The Geometric Ideal and Amsterdam's Ring of Canals," in *The Low Countries. Arts and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands* (Rekkem: The Flemish Netherlands Foundation 'Stichting Ons Erfdeel,' 2003), 54-64.

[22] The Spanish *Laws of the Indies* purportedly sets out a city plan to be imposed on Spanish colonies, though a closer look at the original document shows that this document is mostly concerned with the site and government of these cities, and calls for a grid city with a central plaza, but further details are lacking. It's clear from comparison that Stevin was focused more on trade and water than the Spanish. On the *Laws of the Indies* see Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Dora P. Crouch, Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982).

[23] The right angles of this canal at the corners were ill-advised – water does not flow as easily at a corner and this would prove a problem with Batavia's canals. See De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 254.

[24] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 79.

horizontal division of the main canal divide the city into four quadrants, each of which has its

own specialized market in line with the main market or exchange, and its own church

adjoining the canal. This subdivision suggests that the citizens could be organized into four

groups with even access to public buildings, or could be divided into equal-sized groups by

religious affiliation.

The central axis is visually marked by the merging of two city blocks horizontally.

An open space marks the center of the two central city bands, designated for the main market

(*Grote marct*) and the exchange (*Beurse*). The centrality of these spaces suggests that the

most important functions of the city occur here, so trade is the most important function of

this city. The buildings facing each of these spaces are the fish and meat houses (*Vis huÿs*

and *Vlees huÿs*), and the town hall (*Stadthuÿs*) and main church (*Grote Kerc*), all of which

have trade functions, with the exception of the church. At the bottom of the axis we find the

school (*Hoogschool*) and the poor house (*Armhuÿs*). At the top of the vertical axis lies the

royal palace or court (*Vorstelick huÿs of hof*), which, while twice as wide as the rest of the

axis, does not occupy the central location like it would in many cities, suggesting it is not as

important as the trading function of this city represented by the market and exchange at

center. While discussing ideal cities of Greek antiquity, Spiro Kostof points out that the

function that occupies the center of the city is indicative of what ruled it: if the market was in

the center this suggested the people had power, or if the acropolis with its religious sanctuary

was in the center, the gods were in charge. These cities never have a royal palace in the

center.[25] That trading functions are in the center of Stevin's city seems to suggest that Stevin

spatially gives the people rather than the government the power, though we should narrow

---

[25] Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 185.

this powerful group to the merchants and capitalists whose interests lay in the market, and of course remember that the VOC controlled all trade in Batavia.

The equal building blocks throughout the city leave one with a sense of fair and democratic division of building parcels of equal value, but a further look shows a hidden hierarchy at work. The blocks along the canals are of higher value because of their easier access to the transportation and aesthetic possibilities of the canal, and the blocks closer to the central axis have a privileged position. The double band of blocks at top and bottom of the plan have no access to canals, and this is where the laborers would live.[26] Ron van Oers, a scholar of urban planning and consultant for UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, points out that a hierarchy is clear when looking at the position of the school on the canal, opposite the town hall, in relation to the poor house, which is hidden from public view behind the school – the poor house is a less desirable public building, and is thus isolated from the preferred public buildings.[27] Similarly, the two buildings that flank the town hall are both punitive, the prison (*Vangenis*) and workhouse (*Tuchthuÿs*). These are in a position semi-hidden from the open exchange square, yet are still centrally located and able to be surveilled from the city hall.[28]

It is clear from the arrangement of the buildings and the relationship of the canals, markets, and quays (*Cade*) that the most important function of this plan, alongside defense, was trade. Merchants could bring goods to the quays from either entrance to the city, and these goods were easily transportable via canal or streets leading directly from the quay to

---

[26] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 83, note 29.
[27] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 83.
[28] For a comparison, see Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 2008), chapter 1.

the specialty markets and the main market or exchange.[29] In addition to its suitability to the

Dutch Republic, this dual functionality makes Stevin's plan ideal for a colonial outpost,

which of course would be built in order to expand trade networks and would certainly be in

need of defensive works. Van Oers points out four specifically Dutch features of this plan:

the integrative role of water, the centrality of trade rather than the royal house, the attention

to social and public functions, and religious tolerance as shown by the five church plots (the

central one would belong to the state religion, but the other four could be purposed as

befitted the population).[30] What is most important for my purposes is the inherent hierarchy

of this plan, despite its gridded form that only on the surface suggests an equal parceling of

land to all citizens. As an ideal city, Stevin's plan expresses his ideals for a Dutch city and

thus the people living in the city, which is to defend themselves from outsiders, trade goods,

and above all, develop a social hierarchy.

 In seventeenth-century Europe, Stevin's plan stood out as practical and relevant to

trade. Much of European city planning in Stevin's time was limited to the extension of

existing cities and reworking of fortifications to reflect the newest defense technology.

Indeed, there is some evidence that Stevin's plan informed the expansion of Amsterdam in

the first decades of the seventeenth-century.[31] Stevin's plan is unique among European ideal

plans for the period in being rectangular and also in the many applications of it to real city

building, possibly because of the advantage Stevin had as a city planner with actual

experience on the ground: the military camps he designed and built for Prince Maurits of the

---

[29] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 85.
[30] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 81-87.
[31] Bakker, "A New Atlantis."

Dutch Republic as the quartermaster of the army.[32] Stevin specialized in port cities, which

were important to the economic development of the Republic and immensely useful to their

overseas empire.[33] Water was key to these cities, as the means by which goods entered and

circulated, thus it is no surprise that Stevin's ideal makes abundant use of canals. Stevin's

model was used outside of the Republic, most notably in Scandinavia in the first half of the

seventeenth century. Intriguingly, at mid-century the Swedes rejected Stevin's plan for their

replanning of Stockholm, specifically removing canals because the royal capital wanted to

avoid their Dutch mercantilist reference.[34] This suggests that at the time, Stevin's plan was

seen as bound up in economic issues, which the plan suggests visually with the centrality of

its trade functions.

In gridded city such as Stevin's, it is tempting to try and read ideals of Dutch

egalitarianism and democracy, though my reading of the hierarchies built into this apparently

democratically ordered city contradict this reading. Kostof argues that the Dutch were

merely pragmatic:

> By the same token, to say that Holland's use of the grid in the 17th century represents
> 'Calvinist dogmatism and democratic equalitarianism,' as E. A. Gutkind does, is to
> attribute simple political messages to an urban diagram that was largely motivated by
> matter-of-fact economic considerations. The Dutch furthered a pragmatic bourgeois
> mercantilist culture, to which Baroque diagonals and formal places marked by
> equestrian monuments were irrelevant.[35]

Since the grid has been used in both egalitarian and totalitarian cities, it is not possible to

attribute a single universal meaning to this aspect of the city. However, this contradiction of

apparent egalitarianism and potential totalitarianism is useful to understanding Stevin's city,

---

[32] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 78
[33] On Stevin's expertise with port cities, see Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 112.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 100.

where hierarchies abound. Dell Upton, in his discussion of early American cities, argues that the grid was a way of spatially defining the social, political, and economic order, what he terms the "spatial imagination."[36] His exploration of the use of the grid in prison planning shows that the use of the grid to determine social relationships, even punitive ones, was an advantage noted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century builders and theorists.[37] In a gridded city like Stevin's or Batavia, the social order, or organizations and divisions of the population, is made explicit by the canals and easy parceling of land. The built environment does the work of shaping the city's hierarchies, creating a Dutch ideal order that is naturalized by the plan, regardless of Dutch rhetoric about equality and freedom.

Stevin's city could not be realized in the Netherlands, where all of the cities had already been begun and thus would have to be razed to allow a large new city to be built. Overseas, however, Dutch city planners viewed land as a blank slate, where as much space as necessary could be taken to build new cities. Additionally, the self-sufficiency of Stevin's ideal city must have appealed when planning overseas cities which needed to function with as little contact with the inland as possible. Ultimately, the hierarchy inherent in Stevin's city had the most practical function in the colonial city, to enforce a hierarchy among the diverse groups of the city, with the Dutch on top. Such a social arrangement is not unique to the Republic's colonies, as such hidden hierarchies also developed at home, but the relatively fast plotting of this city as well as the institution of slavery make the hierarchy in Batavia more apparent.

---

[36] Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), chapter 6, esp. 122
[37] Ibid., 261.

Ron van Oers made a careful study of all Dutch colonial cities that definitively shows that Simon Stevin's ideal city plan is the basis for Dutch colonial city planning. Van Oers determined that the Dutch East and West India Companies (VOC and WIC) guided their city planning with the principles of spatial and societal order, protection, and water control.[38] Of all the colonial cities discussed by Van Oers, Batavia is formally the closest to Stevin's original plan; while the other cities share these principles, they do not follow Stevin's plan as closely. As the capital city of the VOC, Batavia was a model of the ideal Dutch colonial city. Founded two decades after the VOC began trading in the archipelago, Batavia was not built in haste, but rather was carefully planned and plotted so that it could function as the eastern capital. Like Stevin's ideal city, Batavia shows a generally rectangular shape. The Ciliwung River became the central canal of Batavia. The city was built with two nearly symmetrical halves, offset by necessity by the preexisting fort and the angle of the coast. A wall surrounds the city and water flows around this wall. Smaller canals divide city blocks. The awkwardness of some areas of the city is determined by preexisting structures and the landscape. While certain aspects of the city of Batavia seem planned very much out of practical considerations – the need to be near water, to efficiently drain the marshy coastal land, and protection, the form the city took recalls Stevin's ideal city in many ways. As the eastern trading capital of the VOC, the most important function of this city was trade, as was the case with Stevin's ideal. Further, as a colonial city, hierarchy is incredibly important to preserving the balance of power in the city, and the hierarchy of Stevin's ideal is also extended to Batavia.

---

[38] Oers, *Dutch Town Planning*, 10-11.

Batavia's City Plan

The city plan of Batavia is notable for its similarities to Stevin's ideal city and for the

way the city shaped the social organization of the Batavians. The city's organization

established a hierarchy of address, where some areas of the city were more desirable than

others because of wide streets, views, tree-lined canals, and proximity to public spaces.

Next, the city created barriers between different sections with unbridged canals that became

an obstruction to foot traffic rather than a means of boat traffic. Finally, the population of

Batavia was unevenly distributed throughout the city, divided by ethnic background and

status, divisions that were enforced by the barriers of canals and walls. This hierarchy

inherent to the city plan, which shaped the population, remained veiled by the apparent

openness and idealism of its grid and its connection to Stevin's ideal plan.

My analysis of the city of Batavia focuses on the period from its initial establishment

in 1619 until its completion as a walled and canalled city in the second half of the

seventeenth century. The completion date is not specifically known, though the appearance

of the city in the 1620s (figs. 6 and 7) shows a partial implementation of the plan, while by

1681 the city has taken on its core appearance. The area within the walls is still considered

the historical core of the city, called *kota* in Jakarta today. Expansion beyond the walls

occurred over the following centuries, until in the early nineteenth century the walls and fort

were demolished. A careful comparison between the maps reproduced here show a

consistency of placement of walls, streets, canals, and bridges, with some small changes over

time as the city is built up, the main difference being the completion of the city and then the

1746 covering over of the short canal, the Groenegracht, as can be seen Figure 14, first

drawn in 1770.[39] I focus on the oft-reproduced 1681 map that shows the complete walled

city, with the beginnings of expansion outside the wall, because this shows the complete city

in detail, and was often reproduced in different formats and languages, suggesting that this

map was perceived to be highly representative of the city's actual appearance (fig. 1). This

map is oriented with north towards the left, and to avoid the confusion of our many

differently-oriented maps, I will stick to this map's orientation for my analysis of the early

city. For example, I will refer to the earliest part of the city as the top half, reflecting its

position on this map, though this is in fact the eastern half of the city.

It has already been noted that the city takes the shape of an offset bisected rectangle,

shifted because of the angle of the coastline and the pre-existing fort. City blocks are for the

most part rectangular, deviating from right angles only across the river from the fort. The

city makes great use of canals: after the main central canal, formerly the Ciliwung River and

here called the Groote Rivier, the second most notable canal of the city is that running

surrounding the walls. Many canals traverse the city, running between blocks, some that

continue the width and length of the city, and others that end abruptly. The canals mark the

divisions between most of the city blocks, and roads run along either side of the canals. In

the top half of the city, larger blocks are divided only by roads, not by canals, such as the

large block that forms the bottom right quarter of this section. A landscaped band surrounds

each half of the city; this runs along inside the walls or the main canal.

The top part of the city was planned first, with the natural course of the river

providing the necessary protection along the western part of the city, as can be seen in

Figures 6 and 7. The eastern city wall originally ran diagonally from the fort and was moved

---

[39] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 265.

to run parallel to the straightened river by 1681. The difference in layout of the top and lower parts of the city confirm this timeline: the upper half has irregular rectangular blocks, while the lower half has large nearly regular blocks, which indicates more careful planning, less dependent on the need to immediately locate residences and important civic buildings. The relation of the bastions to the lower half of the city also seems more consciously planned – they are fewer and more effective, with each lined up to a road or canal to provide efficient provision.[40] The lower half of the city also provided nearly every road and block division with a canal, while the top half has more uncanalled roads and smaller blocks. As we will see momentarily, many of the important original buildings of the city were also located in the top half.

On its own, the top half of the city seems very similar to Stevin's total ideal city, though on a smaller scale. Through written descriptions of the city and the study of multiple maps, some of which include labeled buildings, it is possible to understand the distribution of public buildings and functions within the city. The *Tijgersgracht*, or Tiger's Canal, runs horizontally through the center, and additional canals approximate the secondary canal of Stevin's plan. Batavia's town hall, or *Stadhuis*, is located approximately where it is in Stevin's plan, near the central axis, slightly to the right and below the main canal. A large open square spreads in front of the building, similar to the open market spaces that Stevin envisioned. Rather than the open quay on either short side of the city, this older section has an open quay on the right side of the city, and the army's practice field in its place at the left, in front of the fort. The city followed the general rectangular layout of Stevin's plan when it was expanded west of the river and north to the coastline.

---

[40] Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 190 points out the usefulness of clear connections between the bastions and the roads or supply routes.

As the 1681 map suggests, the city of Batavia was meant to be a trading port, shown here by the many ships represented at anchor in the harbor, and one entering the main canal. We know from the historical situation that Batavia was intended to be the main entrepôt for goods trading in the East for the Dutch Republic; the VOC warehouses are located across the main canal from the fort, and the ship in the canal is about to dock here. It is clear from the plan that defense was also important, hence the walled, moated, and fortified city; in addition to the physical defense from the local rulers outside Batavia, the city was intended to protect the Dutch role in regional trade. These functions square with the apparent functions of Stevin's ideal city with its central markets and fortifications.

Despite the similarities in function and visible affinity with Stevin's plan, Batavia shows some marked differences. Batavia is not a perfectly symmetrical rectangle, but is an approximation of one considering the topographical situation and the position of the existing fort. The city seems to have been plotted by extending the lines of the fort, which meant it is slightly off from having a north-south axis, and it has a diagonal relationship to the shoreline.[41] The diagonal jog of the northwest corner of the city seems to have been designed to add a level of protection for the fort and visibility over more of the harbor.

The division of the city also is not quite what Stevin planned – there is no secondary ring canal, instead there are many small canals running alongside each street. There are fewer blocks in Batavia than in Stevin's plan, and these blocks are rectangular rather than square. Like in Stevin's plan, a hierarchy of location is apparent upon further study of the

---

[41] The maps are inconsistent in the orientation of their north arrows – in Figures 2, 8, and 10, the slightly diagonal orientation can be seen, whereas in Figures 5 and 7 the map implies that the city is oriented north. This is odd considering that Figures 2, 5, and 8 were clearly made for navigation or military use, and thus ought to have the correct orientation. One could argue that Figure 7 was a decorative map, so aesthetically the city is straightened out, but its title, the "True image" is misleading.

plan, and in Batavia this can be further seen by varying widths of streets and canals, and the potential for greater volume of traffic, accessibility, and visibility. The north-south canal in the top half of the city, the *Tijgersgracht*, was the most fashionable address for prosperous Batavians, at least as long as the canals were considered lovely and not diseased. Finally, there is no secondary axis bisecting this city by function, as was planned in Stevin's city. One vertical canal (the *Amsterdamsegracht* and *Maleidschegracht*, Amsterdam and Malaysia Canals) runs through the entire city, and a second vertical axis is formed by a canal (*Leeuwinnengracht*, or Lionesses Canal) flanked by roads in the top half of the city, and a road only (*Utrechtse straat*, Utrecht Street) in the lower half. These axes divide the city roughly into thirds, and the only functional division seems to be to isolate the fort in the northeast corner. These divisions are also used to keep the population divided by status and occupation.

The bridges give further indication of the clear division of the city into isolated sections than Stevin's plan merely suggested with his bands of blocks at varying distance from the canals and functional axis of the city. The canals in both the ideal city and the realized city provide a means of transportation, but become a obstacle to land transportation where there is a lack of bridges, as in many areas of Batavia. An important difference between the plans is that Stevin's plan shows a bridge spanning the canals each time a street met water, while Batavia has far fewer bridges. The main canal is only bridged at two points, effectively isolating the east and west halves of the city from one another. One bridge was located at the southern end of the city, and there was a small drawbridge near the vertical canal, which is still extant. As the main canal was the widest, and needed to accommodate larger ships, this lack of bridges spanning the distance is somewhat understandable. The

location of smaller bridges shows that the city was effectively divided further into quarters –
the fort isolated in the eastern half, and the lower half divided roughly in two as well by the
Maleidschegracht which is only bridged at its eastern and western edges. Within these
quarters, the canals are more regularly bridged, so land transportation would be less impeded.
Functions were spread among these quarters, as each section had residential architecture,
warehouses, and civic buildings, though these and Batavia's residents are not evenly
distributed.

A close reading of Frederik de Haan's two-volume *Oud Batavia* confirms that the
population of Batavia was indeed spread unevenly throughout the city.[42] De Haan describes
historic Batavia in minute detail in this work published in celebration of the 300-year
anniversary of the founding of Batavia. Within chapters ranging from the founding of the
city, the streets and walls, the different ethnic groups, and even the furniture of Batavia, de
Haan inadvertently also describes the separation of the people of the city into distinct
quarters. The populations' locations are noted on Figure 15. The most wealthy residents,
mainly European-derived merchants and officials and Chinese merchants, lived along the
Tijgersgracht in the top right quarter of the city, or the second-most prestigious location, the
Jonckersgracht (approximately translated as Squire's Canal) in the bottom right quarter.[43]
The Chinese of *Jonckersgracht* lived north of *Utrechtstraat* and the Europeans south of it.[44]
Free workers of all origins lived in the lower left corner of the city, near the warehouses.[45]
Slave craftsmen lived and worked in the *Ambachtskwartier* at the top right adjacent to the

---

[42] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 2 vols, and a book of plates.
[43] Ibid., 1: 263.
[44] Ibid., 1: 264.
[45] Ibid., 1: 350-351.

wall, and within this section lived the Malaccan slaves in their own unit.[46] This is the same

section that on Stevin's ideal plan was the laborer's area. To the left of this quarter lived the

Bandanese.[47] Moors lived and worked to the left of the *Leeuwinnengracht*.[48] Before the

Chinese Massacre of 1740, the Chinese lived throughout the city, but had a concentrated area

in the bottom center, and their own warehouses near the VOC warehouses.[49] After the

massacre, the Chinese lived outside of the walls to the right of the lower right quarter of the

city.[50] Chained slaves lived in the fort, while skilled and unskilled slaves lived either where

they worked, or in a slave quarter outside the wall to the right of the *Ambachtskwartier*.[51]

Some of these groups, like the slaves and the Chinese post-1740, were compelled to live in

specific neighborhoods by law, while other groups' locations were determined by their

occupation, and wealthy residents chose open tree-lined canals. The relative access these

groups had, controlled by bridges and the city wall, affected the mobility of these groups, and

arranged them into a hierarchy. Once the canals silted up and became stinky and diseased,

the wealthy Europeans moved into the north of the city environs, building villas rather than

townhouses, and the historic city core became a place for low-income residents who could

not afford the healthier countryside, so this became a further separation in the social

hierarchy of Batavia.[52]

---

[46] Ibid., 1: 221; James Fox, "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons': An Examination of Early Dutch East India Company Ordinances on Slaves and Slavery," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia,* ed. Anthony Reid (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 249, for the explanation of "Malabaar," as this area is labeled on the map reproduced in Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, frontispiece.

[47] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, frontispiece.

[48] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 265, 361. "Moor" in Batavia refers to South Indian Muslims: Lance Castles, "The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta," *Indonesia* 3 (April 1967): 155.

[49] Ibid., 1: 351, 360.

[50] This is labeled as such on many maps, and can be seen in Figure 14.

[51] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 245, 351-352.

[52] It should be noted that Batavia's "European" category refers generally to a European-derived male, who was most likely allied with, legally or not, a local or Eurasian mestiza wife, and their offspring were legally Dutch

The important buildings of Stevin's city – the town hall, markets, churches, and buildings for social welfare – were located on the central vertical axis. In Batavia the fort dominates, and these other structures are scattered throughout the city. The markets are mostly located along the main canal, as these were the most accessible locations. In Beeckman's painting (fig. 16) there is a market taking place across the canal from the fort. Other open spaces on the city plan were also used as markets. The town hall of Batavia is located in the top right quarter of the city, on axis with the bridge into the fort. Near the town hall are two churches, and another lies across the main canal but relatively nearby. These churches are of different denominations, but are not spread equally throughout the city. The hospital was located at the edge of the city, in the lower right corner of the top half. The prison is located in the center of the western part of the city, on a canal, so it was neither hidden like Stevin's, nor close to the town hall. The two prestigious addresses where the wealthiest Batavians lived, the *Tijgersgracht* and the *Jonckersgracht*, were closest to the churches and the town hall.

Despite these differences between Stevin's ideal city and the reality of Batavia, I concur with van Oers' thesis that Batavia was indeed built along Stevin's model, because of formal similarities and also because they share certain functions, even if these play out differently. Like the ideal city plan, Batavia is in essence a highly defended city whose primary function is trade. Both cities have wide rectilinear blocks divided by streets and canals plotted on a grid suggesting an equitable division of space, though upon further study both show hierarchies inherent to the plan. In Stevin's plan, this hierarchy is shown through

citizens, so the European group is a diverse and hybrid one, though they held the highest status. For the 18th century implications of this, see Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

the relation of each block to canals and to the central axis with its main functions. In

Batavia, the hierarchy is seen with varying access to the important sites of the city – the city

hall, churches, and markets, determined especially by the locations of and lack of bridges.

Additionally, the use of the canals for transportation was impeded by the regular silting up of

these, as these canals failed to function on Java as they do in the Netherlands. The functions

and population of both the imagined and realized city were separated by the divisions and

barriers of the city, a hidden hierarchy that is inherent to the Dutch Republic.

Dutching Batavia

The imposition of Stevin's plan onto the tropical landscape of Batavia served to mark

the location as Dutch, and promoted a Dutched identity among the city residents. The VOC

altered the landscape entirely: the location had been a city and port for centuries, and when

the Dutch won the battle for the location from the local leader and the English, the governor-

general of the VOC, Jan Pietersz. Coen, razed the old city. The landscape was Dutched by

this destruction and the subsequent implementation of a version of Simon Stevin's ideal city

plan, which promoted stereotypically Dutch aspects like the control of water, the pragmatic

order seen in the rectilinear division of blocks, and especially the social divisions this

engendered. The ideal plan and the version of it implemented in Batavia promoted a

hierarchy in the population that was hidden behind the city's seemingly egalitarian grid, an

intention that is more apparent, though equally present, in the colonial situation than in cities

at home. This sense of hierarchy was not new to the Dutch Republic, where it grew more

organically as cities developed over time, but here is planned from the very beginning of the

city. Batavia represented an ideal Dutchness, with tree-lined canals and the Dutch

townhouses lining them recalling the Republic, yet unlike cities in the Republic which had limited free space, it was plotted to be open and airy, with practical and ordered straight streets and abundant canals. One of the unique challenges of this city was the extremely diverse population with only a small group of Dutch settlers, which was remedied on one hand by the expansion of the legal definition of Batavian Dutch citizenship and on the other hand by the city plan that reinforced a collective Dutch identity for residents, an identity that looked nostalgically to home, and promoted the essential colonial hierarchy.

Dell Upton, whose work focuses on the built environment, reminds us that ethnicity is not fixed or authentic, but is "a synthesis of imposed and adopted characteristics that is forged through contact and conflict."[53] This built environment, rather than being a setting where a Dutched identity was forged through conflict over time, is actually the shaper of that identity, which for many Batavians was a new identity. Further, this Dutched identity differed from that at home, as it was in part a nostalgic identity and altered to promote trade and the hierarchy necessary in the colonial situation. Further study of the social structure of the Dutch Republic, however, shows that similar hidden hierarchies were indeed in place there.

The Dutched identity of the Batavians was nostalgic in part because it looked back to the residents' time at home in the Republic, but also because the buildings of Batavia actively referred to the past. New buildings in the Republic were at this time being built in a classicizing style, but in the colony, the buildings were a simplified version of sixteenth-century residences. Batavian houses included plainly visible step- and spout-gables; gable types, like the one seen in Figure 17, that were typical of houses built in the Netherlands

---

[53] Dell Upton, "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions," *Historical Archeology* 30, no.2 (1996): 1-7.

before the seventeenth century. Not many seventeenth-century Batavian houses still stand in

Jakarta, but this etching from Johan Nieuhof's travel account shows a row of townhouses

along the Tijgersgracht at midcentury (fig. 18). In Batavia, the roof was rotated ninety

degrees, with a side-facing gable that indicates the divisions between town houses, an

alteration that provided better shade and rain protection for the front of the house in the

tropical climate. A photograph from the early twentieth century shows houses in a similar

style (fig. 19).[54] Both of these images show two-story townhouses with prominent step- and

spout-gables, reminiscent of earlier Dutch architecture. Seventeenth-century houses being

built in Amsterdam, contemporary to these Batavian images, show a different style, as the

step-gable has fallen out of fashion. Figure 20 shows a house built in 1638, with a neck

gable, more representative of the kind of architecture being built at home while the step-

gable was being celebrated in Batavia. This brief look at the buildings of seventeenth-

century Batavia shows that the residents of this new colonial city were surrounded by an

architecture that harkened back to Dutch past, rather than its present, an architecture that

clearly expressed a nostalgic sense of Dutch culture.[55]

The built environment was essential to Dutching the city and its residents.

Recognizably Dutch because of the building style and the canals, and expressing an ideal

arrangement, Batavia served as a symbol to enforce collective memory, in Maurice

Halbwach's terms. Referring to and stirring up Dutch settlers' memories of home, it also

---

[54] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, illustrates this row (Plate book, B1) and describes the step-gabled house in that
caption and in the text (Vol. 2: 41). The house is undated, but de Haan calls it old (*oud*) and relates it to a
painting of 1627, suggesting this may be a seventeenth-century house.
[55] For a further look at Dutch domestic architecture in this period, see H. J. Zantkuijl, *Bouwen in Amsterdam:
Het woonhuis in de stad* (Amsterdam: Vereiniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, 1993); for Dutch
colonial architecture, see C.L. Temminck Groll, ed., *The Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey: Mutual
heritage of four Centuries in three Continents* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2002).

reinforced these ideas of the past in the present. While the Dutch of Batavia could interact

with one another to reinforce their Dutchness, their environment served as a strong symbol of

that Dutchness that *constantly* reinforced this identity. All of Batavia, her city plan and its

distinct Dutch elements like the canals, as well as the architecture, were a series of symbols

that together made a Dutched environment for the company employees and settlers to interact

with. Residents from other parts of the world were also Dutched by this constructed

nostalgia. The built environment was a powerful site of Dutched identity formation in the

diverse and foreign experience of the East Indies that constantly challenged this identity.[56]

Batavia serves as an example for understanding how and why a group retained a form

of its collective identity when far away from home, and how that identity was constructed by

the VOC, rather than unconsciously spread; in this case, the essential element of the Dutch

identity is a hidden hierarchy, which was necessitated by the position of the VOC. If the

building of Batavia were better documented, it would be possible to understand better the

circumstances that caused diversions from Stevin's plan, and whether the VOC altered

certain aspects in order to promote a specific Dutchness, but unfortunately this remains

unknown. Similarly, it would be helpful to know whether the homes of Batavia were planned

by the company or by the residents: did the company promote a nostalgic Dutch building

plan, or did the expatriates desire it? What kind of resistance was there to the VOC's

directives? The best evidence remaining is the organization of streets, city blocks, and

canals, which shows an urban morphology close to Stevin's ideal, populated with Dutch-style

houses. Through the city plan of Batavia's deliberate shaping of this identity, we can begin to

---

[56] For the diversity of the Dutch experience of Batavia, see especially Taylor, *The Social World,* 1983 and
Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*, 2nd ed.
(Dordrecht-Holland/Providence-USA: Verhandelingen van het KILTV, 1988).

study this aspect of Dutched identity and question whether this is solely the Dutched colonial identity or whether it manifests at home as well.

Dutching the Batavians

The Dutchness of Batavia is indicated by its imitation of the cities of the metropole and the hidden hierarchies it promoted. As a symbol with which Batavians regularly interacted, the city plan Dutched the residents of Batavia so that this aspect of their colonial city became part of their collective identity. Batavia worked to make its *bastaard* Dutch population more Dutch; this "Dutch" group included Europeans of many ethnicities as well as an increasingly large group of Indisch people, those of both European and Indonesian parentage. Dutching this population served to strengthen its position at the top of the city hierarchy, and also to work against the "Javanizing" effects of the region, which promoted behaviors perceived as undesirable by the VOC officials. Hierarchy is essential to the Dutched population, but also in Javanese society, where the hierarchy is overt, as officials made their positions apparent by the size of their enslaved retinue. What is specifically Dutch about the Dutched hierarchy of Batavia is that it was hidden rather than ostentatious, a status that VOC officials labored to maintain.

The hierarchy of social divisions in Batavia was shaped by the city so that it seemed natural in the colonial environment, even as one major aspect of it, slavery, seemed to completely contradict what was Dutch at home. The Dutch trading system, and later imperial system, and even the Dutch identity, had been made possible though the overthrowing of the Spanish imperial control over the North Netherlands. The Dutch justification for this, the Act of Abjuration discussed at the beginning of this chapter, repeatedly complains that Spain

has treated the Dutch as slaves. As Benjamin Schmidt has shown, this was also one of the

guiding tropes of Dutch colonial exploration of the Americas, that they shared a history of

enslavement by Spain with the indigenous Americans.[57] This contempt for the institution of

slavery was the foundation of this new republic, yet in a few decades, the Dutch were

promoting this system, as an essential part of their social structure and economy in the

(proto)colonies, and by extension of the economy at home. Whether this is an irony of the

colonial environment, or an extension of the Dutch identity at home, is a question I will

return to in the conclusion of this chapter.

The city of Batavia was Dutched in order to keep the surrounding difference at bay

and to establish a dominant and cohesive Dutch population in the Dutch colonial city. Far

from home, surrounded by a tropical foreignness and trading with local Javanese, Chinese,

and other European merchants in Batavia, the comforts of home were far away. Because of

the small number of Dutch women who moved to Batavia, there was a high instance of

Dutch men intermarrying with women from the many groups living in and around Batavia.

To be married to or born to a Dutch man raised one's status, as these women and children

counted as Dutch in the population survey.[58] The city plan itself seconded this legal status of

"Dutch" by encouraging a Dutched collective identity in this diverse group. The status of the

Batavians as Dutch was constantly challenged, and a Dutch environment in the tropics could

recall the comfort of the daily life at home in the Dutch Republic. When returning from a

trading voyage to Japan, a Dutch merchant could come home to Batavia, stroll Dutch streets

---

[57] Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*.

[58] Stoler discusses this policy as it continues into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ann Laura Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 198-237.

along Dutch canals, populated by Dutch townhouses. This would go a long way towards "correcting" his foreign experience of the place, with its very mixed group of people, the warm humid air and diverse smells of the tropics. For non-Dutch residents and visitors to the city, its Dutchness served as a reminder that the Dutch East India Company controlled the city.[59] Since Batavia was planned as a total city from its inception, a new start, it is important to consider the words of Spiro Kostof, who suggested that a new city enabled the planners to control the interaction of the residents: "History is filled with instances of new towns that augur new eras… [a] treasured advantage of these new starts was that the ruler could design an ideal population for his city, and coerce it to live in premeditated relationships."[60] The ideal population of this city was a strong Dutch group dominating over the other ethnic groups of Batavia, and a large group of slaves at the bottom of this hierarchy to serve the Batavian elite and the Dutch economy.

A colonial situation was a different environment than home, and the Dutched city of Batavia reflected this. In Anthony King's study of colonial Delhi, he sets out a definition of the colonial city.[61] What distinguishes every colonial city, he argues, is that there is contact between a dominant and a subordinate culture, the colonizer and colonized.[62] In Batavia, there are more than two cultures in contact, and there are variations within these cultures that the Dutched city of Batavia took into account from its inception. The city plan of Batavia

---

[59] Patricia Seed's study of European markers of colonial ownership does not take into account Dutch city planning, but it could, and Thomas Metcalf's (1989) study of English neo-classical building in colonial India demonstrates how the buildings projected an exaggerated English imperialism, reinforcing the rule of the colonial government. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989).
[60] Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 34.
[61] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 14.
[62] Ibid., 25.

serves to reinforce a Dutched collective identity to unify the diverse Dutch residents of

Batavia, so that there is a larger and more cohesive group to dominate over the non-Dutch

residents. Such a hierarchy seems at odds with Dutch claims of social equality among groups

at home in the Republic, but the concept of a *hidden* hierarchy appears common to both

Batavia and the Republic. As we shall see below, this hierarchy helped to preserve the most

anti-Dutch aspect of this colonial city, the slavery that accounted for half of the city's

population.[63]

The first major purpose of Dutching the city of Batavia was precisely to strengthen

this dominant group in King's formulation of the colonial city. The trade networks of the

archipelago had established a strikingly diverse population in the trading ports of the

region.[64] Before the arrival of European traders, indigenous residents had worked alongside

Chinese and Middle Eastern merchants. They were joined by Portuguese, Dutch, and

English merchants in the ports, to name but a few of the dominant groups present in the area

when Batavia was established. After the Dutch gained control of the area and established

Batavia, defeating the local rulers and the English, the population remained diverse. For the

most part the Javanese were excluded from trading in Batavia, and were the least preferable

group for slave labor, because of the fear that their local connections would make revolt more

---

[63] Similar to the Dutching promoted by the form of the city of Batavia, the different languages used in Batavia served to reinforce a hierarchy. The lingua franca of VOC Batavia and the surrounding region was Malay, rather than Dutch, and many residents of Batavia also spoke Portuguese because of the earlier presence of the Portuguese in the region, and their extensive efforts to convert natives to Catholicism and to integrate them into Portuguese culture. Many of Batavia's slaves only spoke their indigenous language and Portuguese. In the colonial period, the Dutch language was used to reinforce a separation between European and Eurasian residents and local leaders. Not until the period of the Ethical Policy was Dutch language instruction made available to the children of upperclass locals (*bupati*), which finally allowed them the opportunity to rise in the colonial administration. See Taylor, *The Social World*, 27, on the difficulties of introducing the Dutch language in Batavia.

[64] Castles, "Ethnic Profile," 153-162. This account also contains an interesting explanation about the shifting profile of the group designated "Indonesian."

likely, but Javanese and other islanders, Chinese, Indian, and non-Dutch Europeans, made up the vast majority of the population of Batavia. A 1673 survey showed there were some 27,000 people living within the city walls, of which approximately 2,000 were Dutch, 700 were Eurasian, 2,800 were Chinese, 5,000 were of Indian descent, 3,000 were from Java and the rest of the archipelago, and 13,000 were slaves of unnamed origin (fig. 21).[65]

Among the ten percent of the population that was considered Dutch in this survey there remained a great deal of diversity of origin and social status.[66] This Dutch population was mostly made up of employees of the company and their dependents, and a few private citizens.[67] The legal classification of Dutch included those who had been born in the Dutch Republic and relocated to the Indies, children born of Dutch parents in Batavia (creoles), wives of Dutchmen (but not concubines), and children of Dutchmen regardless of maternal lineage; the Dutch group expanded exponentially as offspring from all of these groups continued to be considered Dutch.[68] Ann Laura Stoler points out that this broad definition of Dutch, including what would amount to a substantial *Indisch* population, served to keep this group allied with European colonial interests.[69] The suggestion that the *Indisch* population

---

[65] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 19-20. For the Chinese who made up 11% of the population of Batavia, see the work of Dawn Odell, such as "Clothing, Customs and Mercantilism: Dutch and Chinese Ethnographies in the Seventeenth Century." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53 (2002): 139-159.

[66] On the diversity of interests within this group, see Eric Tagliacozzo, "Navigating communities: race, place, and travel in the history of maritime Southeast Asia," *Asian Ethnicity* 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 108-109.

[67] The status of this group as employees of the VOC makes their role in the imperial mission somewhat ambiguous – they are both working in the interest of the company, and being shaped by the company's wishes, not quite a colonizing or colonized group. See Bhabha on the ambivalence of mimicry: Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 152-160.

[68] When a Dutch man married an Asian woman legally, she and their children became Dutch citizens, though they were restricted from relocating to the Dutch Republic. Taylor, *The Social World*, 17.

[69] Stoler, "Sexual Affronts," 199-201. She further argues in this essay, which regards the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that ideas of national alliance (to the Dutch or to the Indonesians) were formulated more by behavior, the family environment, and education, than by biological lineage, again demonstrating a take on race the differs from that represented by casta painting in the Iberian tradition (see Chapter One).

was welcomed wholeheartedly into the Dutch community is underminded by Stoler's
assertion elsewhere that there was a fear of Dutch women intermarrying with non-European
men; the reaction was based on the gender of the parent.[70] There are no other Europeans
included as residents according to this survey, which does not reflect the actual situation –
these were likely folded into the Dutch group. This Dutch group represents a *bastaardering*
of "Dutch" – most members were not born Dutch, or were not "purely" Dutch, and
additionally many represented categories considered undesirable or degenerate. Sailors and
soldiers, who had a very low status in Dutch accounts of the period, made up a large portion
of this group.[71] Looking at the nationalities of a group of soldiers gives us insight into the
actual make-up of this ten percent Dutch population. In 1622, of 143 soldiers in Batavia, 57
were Dutch, and the remaining 60 percent were German, Swiss, English, Scottish, Danish,
Flemish, Walloon, and of unknown nationality (fig. 22).[72] In addition to the low-status
soldiers and sailors, the Dutch who settled Batavia were not ideal citizens. An early
complaint came from the first governor-general of Batavia, Jan Coen, who famously wrote to
Amsterdam lamenting that only the "scum of the earth" were settling the city, and that the
VOC should send respectable women to Batavia to keep Batavian men from marrying local
women.[73] An environment that could form this diverse Dutch population into a group with a
collective Dutched identity served the VOC's need to ensure that their capital appeared

---

[70] Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century
Colonial Cultures," in *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial
Practice*, ed. Jan Breman, et al (Amsterdam: CASA Monography #3, 1990), 35-70.

[71] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 20; For the social status of soldiers and sailors see A. Th. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in
a Golden Age: Popular Culture, religion, and society in seventeenth-century Holland,* trans. Maarten Ultee
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 21-31, 200-204.

[72] C. R. Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 89.

[73] Abeyesekere, *Jakarta*, 13; one of these "scum" was the illegitimate daughter of Rembrandt, Cornelia, who
emigrated to escape the mistreatment of her half-brother Titus' mother-in-law.

Dutch, and that the Dutched residents could dominate the other 90 percent of the population. Furthermore, this helped to secure the lowest status of the enslaved half of the population.

That this diverse population was divided and separated by the physical reality of the city plan of Batavia was discussed above. The city plan creates a Dutched population out of the diverse European-derived group that develops a cohesive collective identity at the top of the social hierarchy of Batavia. This Dutched group can present a strong showing at the top of the hierarchy in order to keep the other groups, even if they are large enough to challenge the Dutch position (10% Chinese, 19% Indian, 11% Indonesian, 48% slave, in the 1673 survey), in their lower positions on the hierarchy. Jean Gelman Taylor points out that the Europeans in the Dutched group were insulated by the inclusion of Eurasians and Creoles in their group from the other major ethnicities of Batavia.[74] This Dutched group maintained their position at the top of the hierarchy because the VOC owned the city and was the major employer of most of the Dutched group. This group seldom violently confirmed their position above the other groups, though one major event, the Chinese Massacre of 1740, was a clear statement of who headed the racial hierarchy of Batavia. This was a hysterical reaction of the Dutch Batavians to suggestions of revolt among Chinese workers located outside the city, that resulted in the massacre of more than a thousand Chinese living within the city walls, and the subsequent removal of the Chinese quarter to outside the walls south of the city.

The most common way that well-to-do Batavians demonstrated their position above the rest of the city's population demonstrated that in addition to being Dutched, the

---

[74] Taylor, *The Social World*, 45. See also Stoler, "Sexual Affronts."

population was also Javanized, which shows the tension inherent in this *bastaard* identity.[75]

Wealthy Batavians adopted the local custom of taking on large numbers of household slaves

and traveling about the city with a large retinue of slaves, marking their status visually for

other Batavians.[76] The painting by Beeckman introduced above shows an example of a

Dutch man with a Eurasian wife promenading through the market, trailed by a slave holding

a parasol over their heads (fig. 16, detail fig. 23). The parasol is a typical marker in many

Asian cultures of status, especially when someone else is holding it. While this is no large

retinue, it certainly demonstrates the superiority of this Dutchman and his wife over the

others at the market and especially over the slave. Such a sight was common in Batavia, and

eventually the city introduced ordinances to curb the ostentatious display of status, by

regulating clothing and public behavior.[77] These very un-Dutch displays of status laid bare

the hierarchies essential to colonial society, a system that the VOC preferred to keep hidden.

The challenges of such a diverse population may seem uniquely colonial, in a

Dutched city far away from the Republic, but in reality the Dutch Republic was also very

diverse at this time, though with groups of mostly European origin, and of course without

enslaved people. With the establishment of the Dutch Republic as (relatively) religiously

tolerant, there was an influx of Protestants of various denominations as well as Jews from

Spain and Germany. With the strong Dutch economy, in part created by their blockade of the

Scheldt River that dried up the economy of Antwerp in favor of Amsterdam, and their need

for workers for the Dutch shipping industry, the Dutch Republic drew skilled and unskilled

---

[75] It is possible that the Dutched identity was also challenged by Batavia's large Chinese population. For the Chinese of Batavia, see the work of Leonard Blussé and Dawn Odell.

[76] For information on who owned large amounts of household slaves, see Susan Abeyasekere, "Slaves in Batavia: Insights from a Slave Register," in *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia,* ed. Anthony Reid (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 296.

[77] Abeyasekere, *Jakarta*, 35-38.

labor from all over Europe, but especially Flanders and Germany. Diversity was thus typical of Dutch culture of this period, both at home and abroad. With Batavia's additional colonial need for a clear social hierarchy, the built environment was used to construct a strong identity for the Dutched group on top.

Slavery in Batavia

The largest and most oppressed group at the bottom of this hierarchy in Batavia was, of course, the slaves, a group I feature here because they are often unmentioned in histories of Dutch slavery, and because their presence makes very clear the hierarchy of Batavian society. There were no slaves in the Republic because of Dutch ideas of personal freedom, and the slaves of the VOC and WIC were invisible to those at home in the Republic.[78] Oostindie and Paasman's analysis of the Dutch people's late and minor response to slavery in the colonies, in comparison to the abolitionist movements in neighboring regions, was that since slavery was far away, it did not enter the concern of the Dutch at home.[79] This group that was invisible to the Dutch at home, despite their important role in supporting the Dutch economy of the period, remained quite visible in Batavia. They were more than half of the Company and private workforce and also helped maintain the Dutched Batavians at the top of the city's social hierarchy by providing visual markers of status. To preserve their status

---

[78] While other European nations imported slaves, and it was particularly fashionable for a lady to have a young African it attendance, it was against Dutch law to import slaves, with the sole exception of a wet nurse, who was required to return to the colony when her charge was weaned. Fox, "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons,'" 1983, 260. Casid points out that France similarly had a policy against slavery in the metropole, despite its practice in the colonies, and reconciled the difference with the "Freedom Principle" which states that a slave arriving in France could apply for freedom. Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 28-29. The Dutch, rather than freeing any colonial slaves who might arrive in the metropole, forbid their immigration.

[79] Gert Oostindie and Bert Passman, "Dutch Attitudes towards Colonial Empires, Indigenous Cultures, and Slaves," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring, 1998): 349.

as slaves, as human property at the absolute bottom of the hierarchy, it was necessary for the

Dutched population of Batavia to internalize a strong social hierarchy that could justify the

enslavement of human beings.

The subject of slavery in Europe's colonies in the East has not received the attention

of Atlantic slavery, which was a more extreme and more clearly European economic system.

Africans brought in astounding numbers across the Atlantic to the Americas were subject to

harsh plantation labor in service of European commodities, and were unable to return home.

In the present day, the legacy of this system is visible in the Americas, not least in a

continued racial hierarchy dependent on this past.[80] The Dutch East India Company's slave

trade was one-and-a-half to three times larger than the Dutch West India Company's slave

trade in the seventeenth century, and it is deserving of further scrutiny.[81] Marcus Vink points

out a further reason that this eastern slavery has been understudied, the misconception that

slavery in the East is benign, or less atrocious than western slavery.[82] While a large number

of slaves in the Dutch East Indies provided less physically taxing household labor, the

majority of these slaves performed hard physical labor and worked on plantations, labor

equivalent to that done in the Americas. Slavery's absolutely essential quality in the Dutch

East India Company's (proto)colonies needs to be brought to the fore of studies of the VOC,

and its complicated nature offers a different perspective on European colonial slavery.[83]

---

[80] See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). For the Dutch role in the Atlantic trade, see Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic*, and Pieter C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel, 1500-1850* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2003).

[81] Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade'," 168.

[82] Ibid., 134.

[83] In addition to the sources on Dutch Atlantic slavery mentioned above, Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel* and Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, briefly mention Dutch slavery in the East, but the best sources are Vink "'The World's Oldest Trade'"; the Reid, *Slavery* collection of essays on Southeast Asian slavery discusses the Dutch involvement, especially the essays by Abeyasekere and Fox; and Oostindie and Paasman, "Dutch Attitudes" discuss the Dutch intellectual (non)response to slavery.

The most important way that the city plan of Batavia promoted slavery was through the divisions between the free populations and the enslaved populations. That the city promoted divisions among different groups by the use of unbridged canals as barriers and the varying access to public buildings was established above. The work done by the slave further determined their spatial relationship to the city plan. Batavia in the seventeenth century had four main types of slaves, the household slave, the chained slave, the craftsman, and the *kuli*. The household slaves generally lived behind the house of the master.[84] The chained slaves, or *kettinggangers*, were people from many ethnic groups and social levels, including Europeans, enslaved as a punitive measure. They were kept in chains and did heavy manual labor, much of it dangerous, like the digging of canals and graves, and were housed in the fort.[85] The dredging of silted canals claimed the lives of 16,000 of these chained workers, as they performed the labor of Dutching the city with its ill-fated canals, doubly reinforcing their own low status.[86] The skilled laborers, who were a respected group owned by the VOC, at first lived in the section of the city where they worked, the *Ambachtskwartier*, or (Craft)Working quarter, which is located in the same area as the workers of Stevin's ideal city. The skilled laborers later moved into the extension of that quarter south of the city wall. *Kuli*s, unskilled laborers owned by citizens of Batavia, lived in this southern quarter as well. In 1664, the chained slaves were moved to the slave quarter south of the city walls, and this became a quarter for all types of slaves, and the divisions among their laboring status become blurred.[87] However, this led to a more clear division between the slave and non-slave population, while still keeping the skilled slaves near

---

[84] For the locations of the slaves, see de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 221, 351-352.
[85] James Fox, "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons'," 249.
[86] De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, 1: 238.
[87] Fox "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons'," 251.

enough to the quarter where they worked. This also ensured that there was a fortified wall between the slaves and the fashionable *Tijgersgracht*. To further mark their low status, slaves were prohibited from walking on the sidewalks of Batavia, thus altering their connection to the city plan.[88] These different relationships to the urban morphology of Batavia reinforced divisions between the slave and free populations of Batavia, and among the types of slaves, keeping them divided by canals, the city walls, the sidewalk, and even the house versus the rear yard.

The slaves were further divided socially by differences of origin, religion, and status, divisions that assured that there could be no united enslaved group in Batavia, so that the Dutched population was protected from the possibility of a slave revolt. Ethnic divisions were maintained among the slaves, despite their shared living area after 1664, mainly because of European perceptions of the specific skills of each group (for example slaves from Malacca were perceived to be excellent craftsmen, and slaves from Africa were though of as strong miners) and of the relative risks of a group.[89] By treaty, there were no Javanese slaves, who would have had the greatest motivation and means to escape their owners. Certain groups were prohibited because of a perception that they were dangerous: male slaves from Bali were avoided because they had a tendency to run amok. The VOC also issued ordinances about who might own a slave of which religion, which in addition maintained a hierarchy among slave owners, with the Dutch Christians at the top.[90] These divisions produced different statuses among the enslaved population, dividing them and setting up a further hierarchy.

---

[88] Slaves were also required to walk alongside horses they were transporting, rather than riding them. Ibid., 257.
[89] Vink, "'The World's Oldest Trade'," 162.
[90] Fox "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons'," 252-255.

The Dutching of the landscape and subsequently of the Batavian residents promoted in the population a very unegalitarian hierarchy, including a huge population of slaves, both of which are allegedly antithetical to Dutch ideals at home. This hierarchy served to justify the system of slavery that kept the VOC and indeed the Dutch Republic economically viable, even though the Dutch Republic did not support slavery at home.[91] This hierarchy was enforced by Dutching through an ideal plan created in the Republic, and imposed on the colonial landscape, suggesting that perhaps this hierarchy was not unique to the colonies, but was indeed imported from the metropole.

Conclusion

I have established that the city of Batavia, built as a Dutch ideal, shows distinct markers of hierarchy that are disguised by a gridded plan that at first seems merely pragmatic and equally parceled. This essential but hidden hierarchical element is the quality that was impressed upon the Dutched residents of Batavia as they interacted with the city and drew their identity from it, despite their diverse origins and social standing. This aspect assures that the population of Batavia is organized into a clear hierarchy, and that this hierarchy serves the economic needs of the Dutch East India Company, namely the creation of a class of unpaid laborers who carried the economy of the VOC and by extension, the Dutch Republic.

This chapter has suggested a further question, whether this colonial value of hierarchy is typical only to the colony or whether it is also to be found at home. Despite slavery being

---

[91] A 1714 ordinance said that if a slave made the passage to the Republic, and returned to Batavia, s/he was automatically freed, because slavery was not recognized in the Republic, which again affirms the opposing attitudes of the Dutch population at home and the Dutched population in the colonies. Fox, "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons'," 260.

outlawed in the Dutch Republic, this notion of a hidden hierarchy seems to have some counterpart in the Republic, so perhaps the Dutch worlds at home and abroad are not that different. Frans Hals was a painter who skillfully depicted groups, such as civic guard companies, subtly displaying their ranks. His *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Civic Guard Company of Haarlem* sets such a scene (fig. 24). Hals has arranged the members into a seemingly casual scene and they each wear a similar black suit, yet deeper study shows the ranks of each officer by their position in the scene or the quality of their costume.[92] Jan Steen's *Burgher of Delft* also shows the clear division between groups, where the two ranks are divided by the quality of their costume as well as the railing on the stoop (fig. 25).[93] An example closer to the subject of this chapter, the city plan of Amsterdam, shows a familiar hierarchy: the concentric canals, *Herengracht*, *Keizersgracht*, and *Prinsengracht*, built from 1586-1612 show a hierarchy of address. Of these, the *Herengracht*, closest to the city center, was the most prestigious address, similar to the *Tijgersgracht* in Batavia, and is where the wealthy merchants built their luxurious townhouses in the seventeenth century. The naming of these canals is a curious testament to Dutch feelings about hierarchy: the gentleman ranks above the king and the prince. While this may suggest a disdain for rank and hierarchy, I would argue that this is more a typically Dutch disguising of their social hierarchy – while it is the wealthy merchants who dominate Amsterdam, rather than the king of Spain or the Prince of Orange; as seen in Steen's painting, these merchants dominate the remaining social hierarchy of Dutch society.

Ultimately Batavia would be a failure of a city as the canals silted up and carried disease, and those Dutched residents who could afford to moved out of the city walls to

---

[92] Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting: 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 30-31.
[93] Ibid., 170.

healthier estates. These markings of Dutched Batavia remain today in Jakarta; though many of the canals have been converted to roads, the original plan of Batavia underlies downtown Jakarta (compare figs. 1 and 2).[94] This introduces further questions about the place of Dutch colonial identity in the built environment of post-colonial Jakarta. Batavia was successful in subtly promoting an ideal hierarchy that made the social divisions and system of slavery in this (proto)colony natural, and typically Dutch. This designing of a colonial environment to enforce an ideal and nostalgic ethnicity of the metropole, yet serve the needs of the colonial project, will help us to understand the working of all the colonial cites of the Dutch and other imperial powers.

This chapter has examined the implementation of Dutch ideals on the foreign soil of the Dutch East India Company's capital in the East, where the trading empire was administered and the goods were warehoused until being shipped back home to the Dutch Republic. The following chapter examines how some of these goods, once they arrived in the Republic from so far away, are reconceived by the painters of still life. The vast distances they travelled first to Batavia, and then to the Republic, were erased as the painters arrange the objects on a table. The long distances are replaced by light reflecting among the objects, shrinking the trading empire to a tabletop. As the empire administered by Batavia becomes unstable, with shifting supply levels and ultimately a slip in Dutch dominance of

---

[94] There have been two attempts (in the 1970s and the 1990s) by the independent Indonesian government to restore this historic district. James L. Cobban, "The Ephemeral Historic District in Jakarta," *Geographical Review* 75, no. 3 (July 1985): 300-318; Ronald Gill, "Jakarta's Urban Heritage: Restoration of the Urban Memory of Kota," in *Issues in Urban Development*, ed. Peter J. M. Nas (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1995), 65-97; and Marsely Kehoe, "The Paradox of Post-Colonial Historic Preservation: Implications of Dutch Heritage Preservation in Modern Jakarta." *e-polis: Online Student Journal of Urban Studies* (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Issue 2, Spring 2008.

this trade, the celebration *that* exotic objects arrived in the Republic, rather than *how* they

arrived, suggests the beginnings of a nostalgic celebration of the past trading prowess.

Figure 1. True image of the castle and city Batavia on Java, 1681. (Source: Oers, Ron van. *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800),* (Zutphen, Walberg Pers, 2000), 40.)
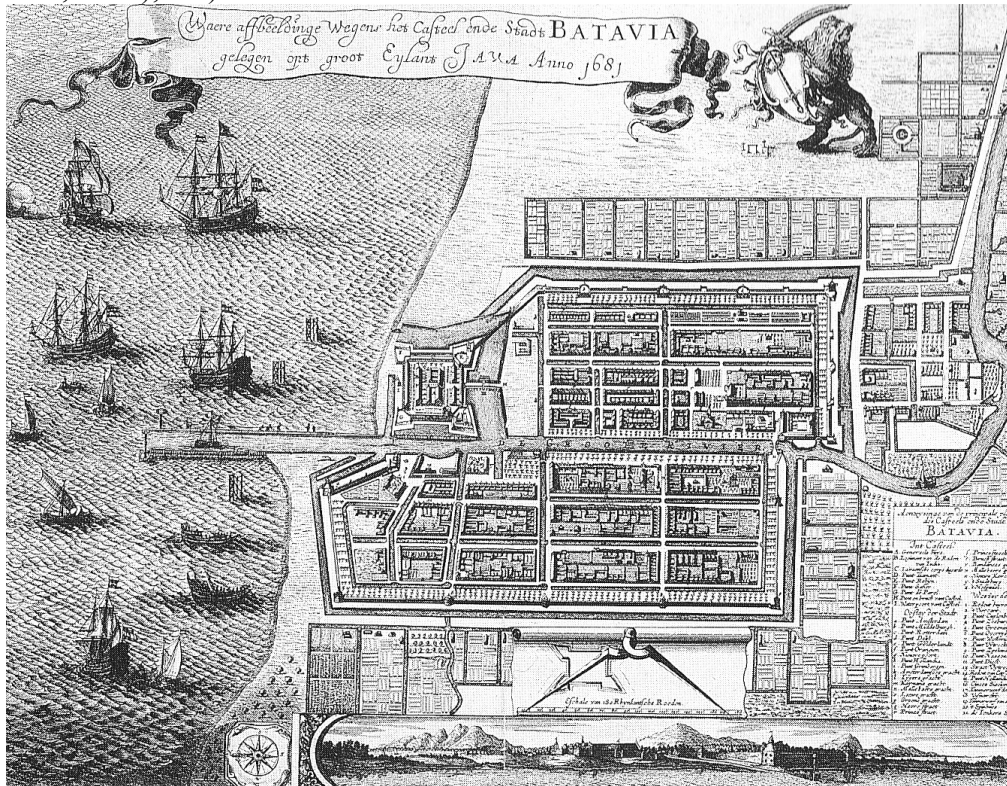

Figure 2. Jakarta today. (Source: GoogleEarth.)

Figure 3. Clement de Jonghe, Fort Batavia, 1650, reprinted 1883. (Source: John N. Miksic, ed. *Icons of Art: the collections of the National Museum of Indonesia* (Jakarta: BAB Pub. Indonesia, 2007), 24.)
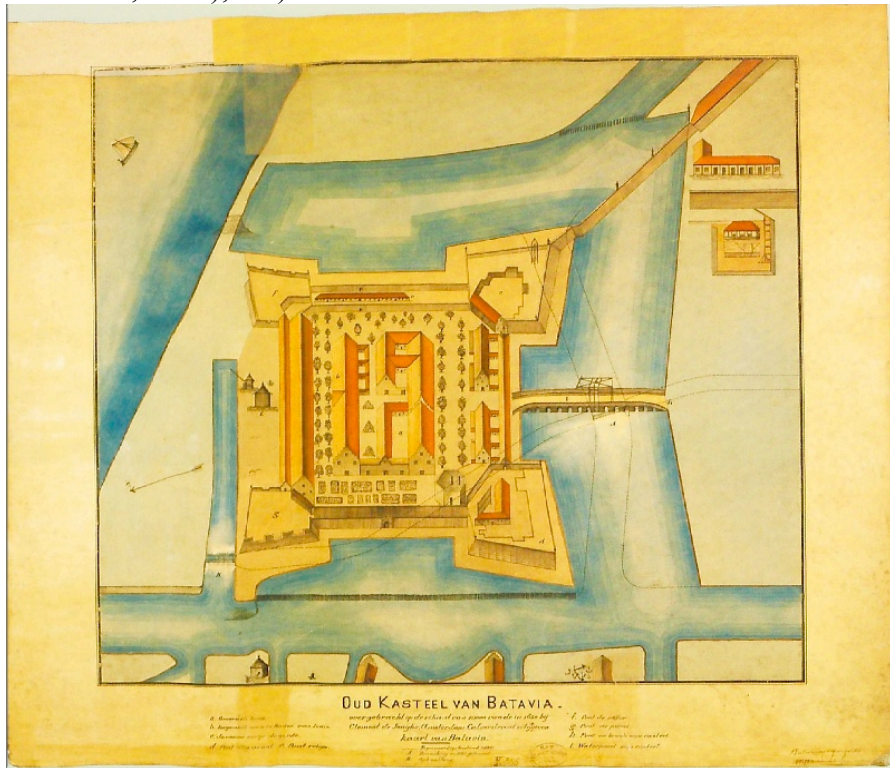

Figure 4. François Valentijn, scene within Fort Batavia, 1724. (Source: François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, (Amsterdam: Johannes van Braam, Gerard Onder de Linden, 1724-1726), 238.) (Newberry Library, photo by author.)

Figure 5. Plan of the fort and surrounding land in Jacatra, 1619 (Source: Oers, Ron van. Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800), (Zutphen, Walberg Pers, 2000), 40.)
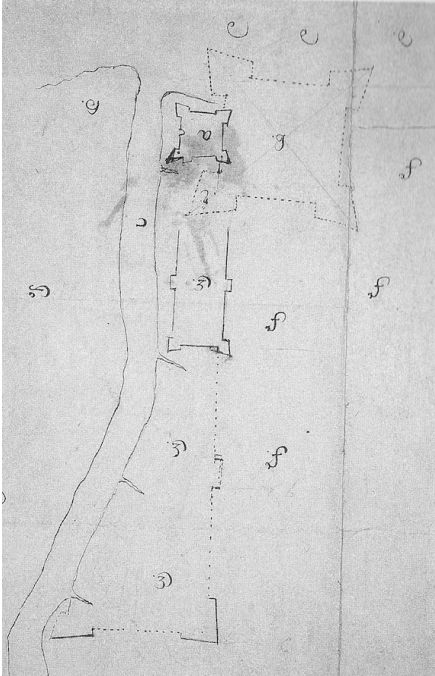

Figure 6. Jacob Cornelisz Cuyck, Plan of Batavia, 1629, copy by Hessel Gerritsz, 1630. (Source: Kees Zandvliet, Mapping for Money: Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International: 1998), 92.)
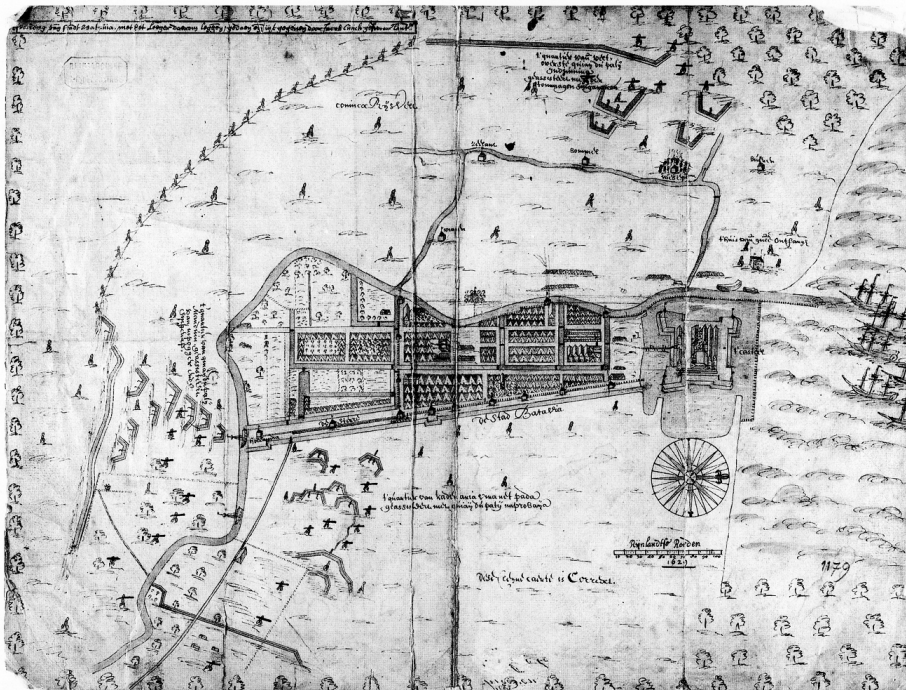
Figure 7. Perspective plan of Batavia, probably based on a 1627 plan by Frans Florisz van Berckenrode. (Source: Kees Zandvliet, Mapping for Money: Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International: 1998), 139.)

Figure 8. Nicolas de Fer, Plan de Batavia, 1696. (Source: Newberry Library, photo by author.)

Figure 9. Detail of Carte de l'isle de Iava ou sont les villes de Batauia et Bantam, ca. 1720. (Source: Newberry Library, photo by author.)

Figure 10. Gerard van Keulen, Plan of the harbor and center of Batavia, 18th century. (Source: Balk, G. L., F. van Dijk, and D. J. Kortlang. *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 196.)
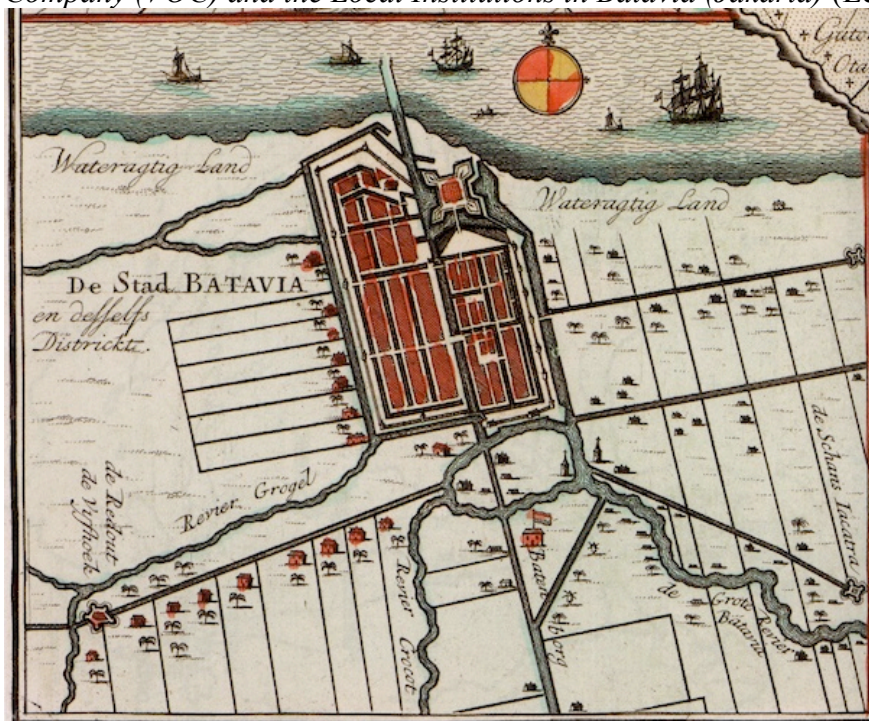
Figure 11. The Growth of Batavia to 1938. (Source: Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta: A History*, Revised edition (Singapore/Oxford/NYC: Oxford University Press, 1989), 89.)
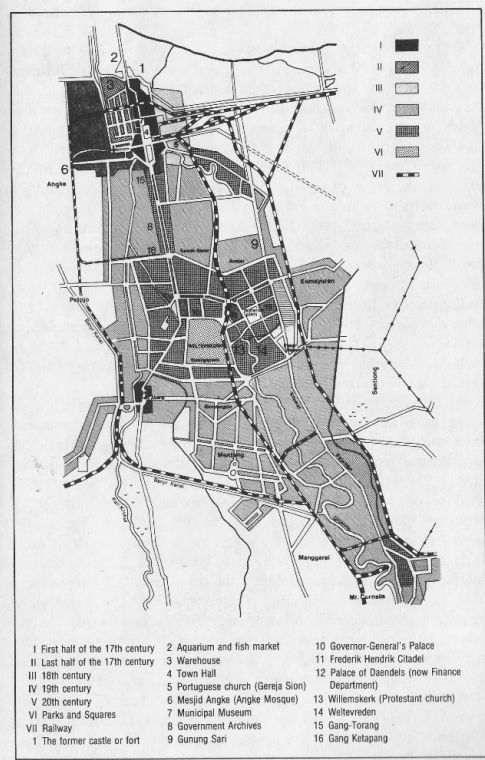

Figure 12. C. F. Reimer, detail of map of defensive works of Batavia, 1788. (Source: Brug, Peter H. van der. "Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century." In *Jakarta/Batavia: Socio-cultural essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas, 43-74 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 62.)
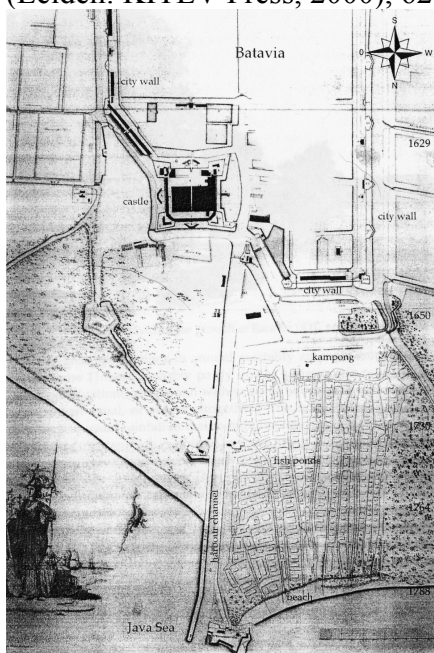
Figure 13. Simon Stevin, Ideal City, published 1650. (Source: Oers, Ron van. *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800)*, (Zutphen, Walberg Pers, 2000), 80.)
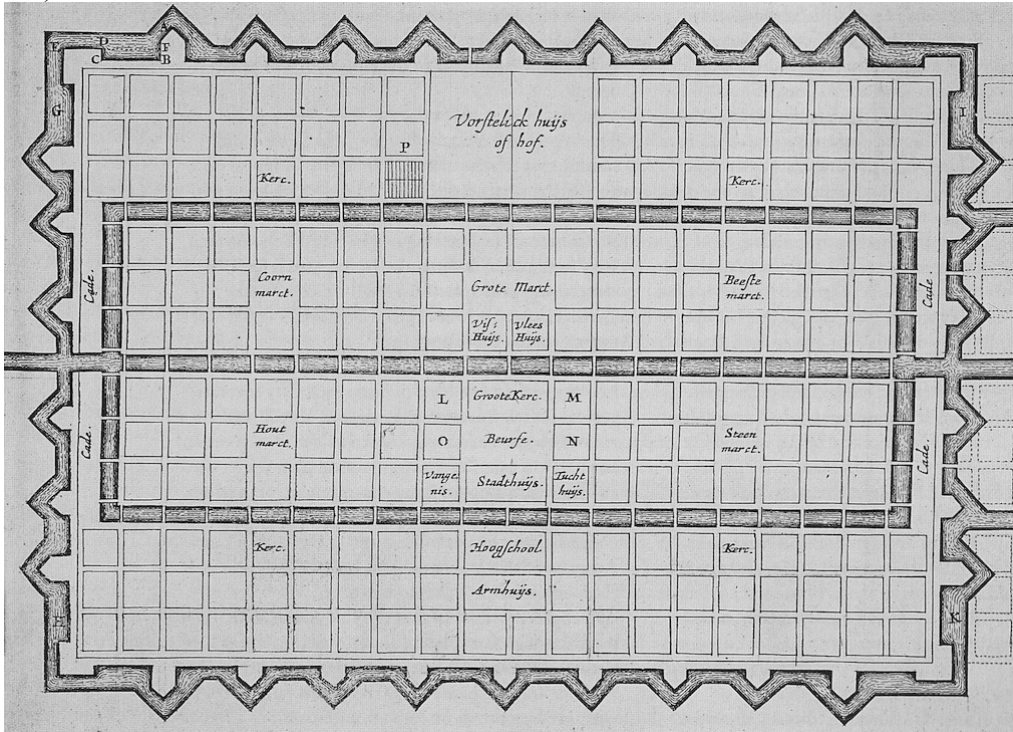

Figure 14. Plan der Stad en 't Kasteel Batavia. Made under the direction of P.A. van der Parra in 1770, printed in Amsterdam by Petrus Conradi in 1780. (Source: Balk, G. L., F. van Dijk, and D. J. Kortlang. *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 208).
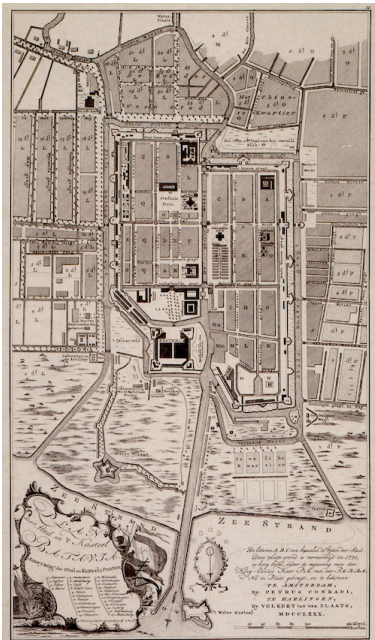
Figure 15. Population of Batavia. (Source: Author's alteration of Figure 1.)
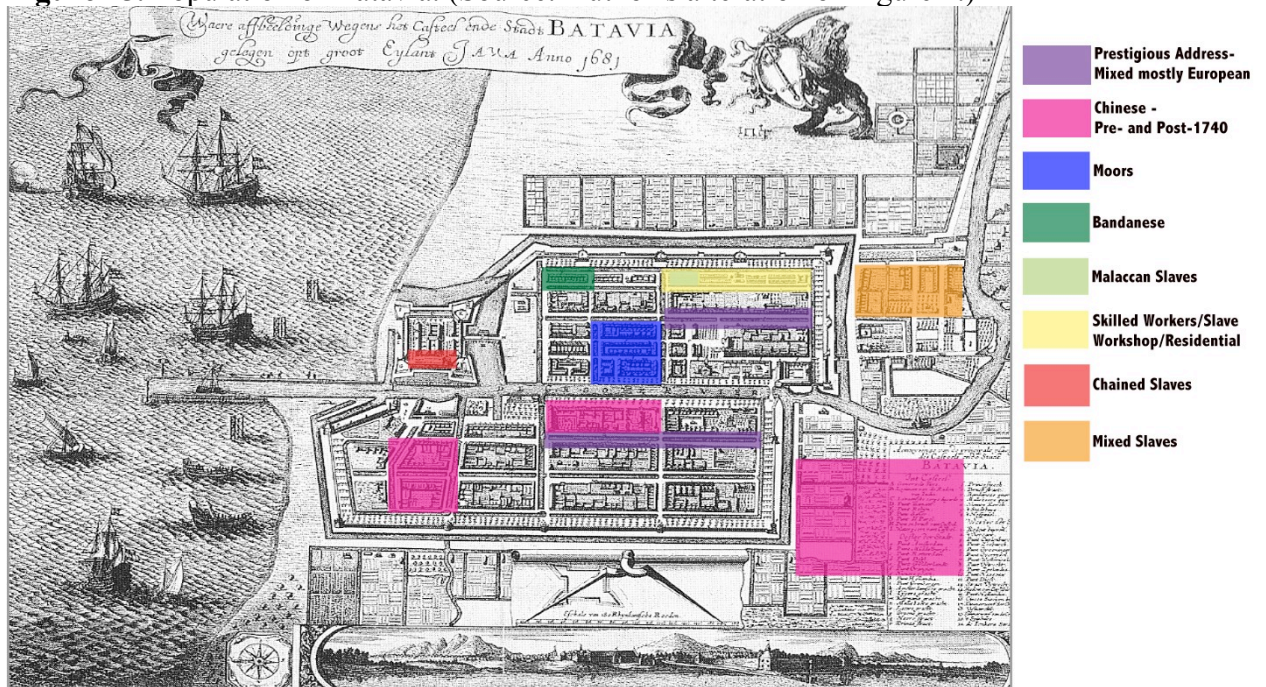

Figure 16. Andries Beeckman, *The Castle of Batavia*, ca. 1656, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Source: Wikimedia Commons.)

Figure 17. Step-gable house, Leiden, no date. (Source: author.)

Figure 18. Johannes Nieuhof, Tijgersgracht, detail, 1703. (Source: Johannes Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense zee- en landreis* (London: 1703), 253. (Source: Newberry Library, photo by author.)
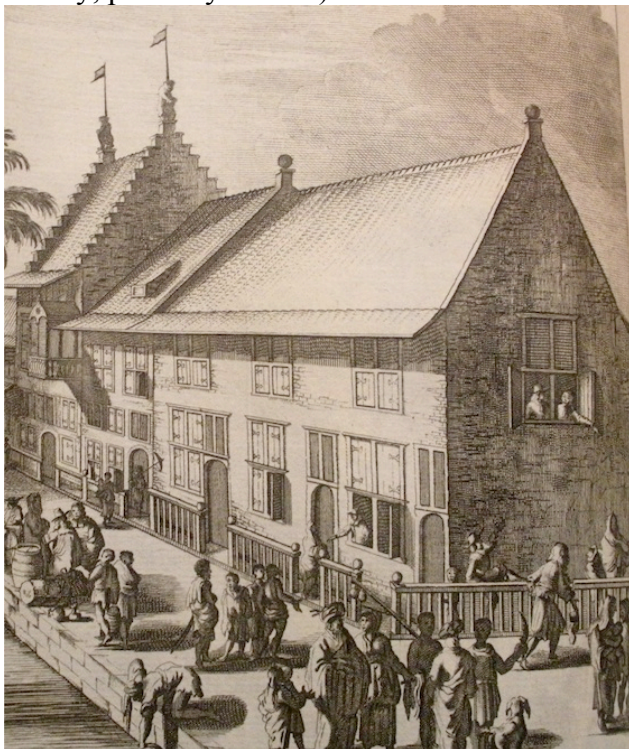
Figure 19. Houses in Batavia, undated but likely seventeenth-century. (Source: De Haan, F. *Oud Batavia,* plate album. (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1922): B1.)

Figure 20. Philips Vingboon, 168 Herengracht, Amsterdam, 1638. (Source: author.)

Figure 21. Population of Batavia, 1673 (Source: author.)
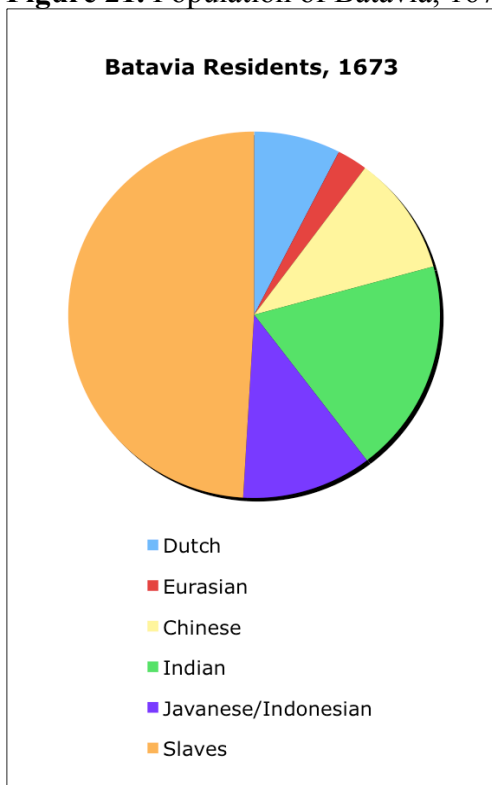
Figure 22. Soldiers in Batavia, 1622. (Source: author.)
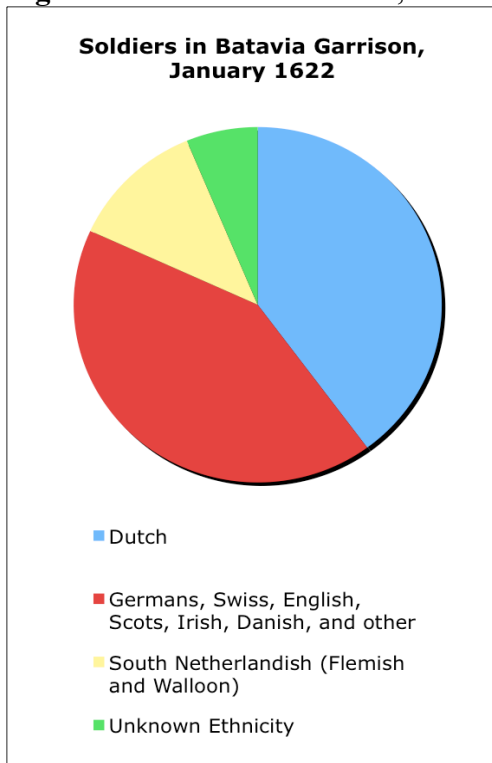
Figure 23. Detail of figure 16.

Figure 24. Frans Hals, *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Civic Guard Company of Haarlem*, 1616, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. (Source: Seymore Slive, *Dutch Painting: 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 30.)

Figure 25. Jan Steen, *A Burgher of Delft, his Daughter, and Two Beggars*, 1655, Bangor, Penryhn Castle. (Source: Seymore Slive, *Dutch Painting: 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 170.)

5. Gathering the Goods: Dutch Still Life Painting in the Golden Age

On a marble tabletop partly covered by a bunched-up Persian Herati rug, a silver tray

holds a half-peeled lemon and a Chinese Ming porcelain bowl (fig. 1).[1] Just behind the tray

stands a Delft-style nautilus cup, formed into a monster attempting to catch a small man. A

half-man, half-serpent figure holds up the shell like Atlas. Two wine glasses stand in the

background, a Venetian-style glass holding red wine, while a northern European glass holds

white. On the right corner of the table, on the carpet, sits an orange, the counterpart to the

nuts and nutmeats on the left corner of the table.[2]   In looking at Willem Kalf's 1662 still life,

the viewer is convinced that this is a straightforward depiction of objects on a tabletop,

devoid of a narrative. Kalf persuades the viewer by portraying minute details, in the basic

formal aspects of the objects, as well as in the rendering of diverse surface textures and

especially light reflections.

Kalf created a coherent scene on this domestic tabletop. The light bouncing among

the objects is the only narrative of this image, leading the viewer to examine each item in

turn and its relationship to the next object. The glass and silver are highlighted with a white

light, while the gilded silver of the nautilus cup glows yellow. The top of the porcelain bowl

---

[1] Lowenthal has established the precise sourcing of the images in this painting in Anne W. Lowenthal,
"Contemplating Kalf," in *The Object as Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 29-39.
[2] The general sourcing of these materials is discussed in Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

reflects the light of the nautilus mount, while the shell shows a hint of the blue and white

porcelain at its top left. The rounded bowls of the wine glass are lit from below, presumably

by the light bouncing off the back of the nautilus cup and the orange. If the viewer looks

beyond the lit surfaces of the objects, the illusion of this scene as real falls away. It is

unclear what is holding the table up – no legs or stand is visible. The objects fade into a dark

background and it is uncertain whether the delicate glassware actually has firm footing on a

solid surface. Convinced by the attention to surface details, the viewer is not likely to

question the logic of the placement of objects. Yet, the objects are essential to this painting:

the types of object represented are what organize Dutch still lifes into subgenres, determining

this to be a *pronkstilleven*, or ostentatious still life. These objects are depicted together

because they are expensive objects, prized for their rarity and diversity of origins, as well as

for their diversity of surface textures. These objects were uniquely available in the Dutch

Republic in the seventeenth century because of its position in a vast trade network in the East

and West, and within Europe.[3]

The subgenre of the pronk still life, characterized by the depiction of trade objects,

Dutched these objects by reducing the narrative of trade to the narrative of light reflections.

The extreme distances that these objects traveled to arrive in the Dutch Republic are erased

in this depiction, which replaces those long distances with the very close distances of light

bouncing among forms on the canvas or panel. The Dutching that occurs in this case study is

the erasure of geographic specificity, and the reorientation of these objects squarely within

the Dutch Republic. Slippage between the painting as a representation on one hand, and the

---

[3] These same objects made their way to other regions of Europe, but it was in the Republic that many of these were first available, and indeed many of the goods imported were actually consumed by the Republic's rising middle and upper classes. Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 204.

types of objects represented, is typical of the genre of Dutch still life and literature about it,

an approach that is necessary for understanding this body of work. Of the case studies of this

project, still life is the subject that has received the most treatment from scholars, and indeed

the painting described above has been the subject of much scrutiny.[4] In this chapter I make a

case for considering both the objects and their representation and offer a new understanding

of the genre and its relationship to Dutch early modern trade. The pride of the Dutch in

depicting these trade objects with painterly virtuosity obscures their anxiety that they were

losing their control of overseas trade in the 1660s, when this trade prowess started to become

a thing of the past, and an essential part of the emerging Dutch collective identity. In this

chapter I first define and contextualize the genre of Dutch still life, then look closely at one

of the subjects of still life – pepper – to determine precise connections between trade and the

pronk still life, and then I introduce my new interpretation of the Dutched still life.

Dutch Still Life Painting: Status, Definitions, and Approaches

Dutch still life painting had wide appeal in the seventeenth century, and the range of

prices meant these paintings were owned across middle- and upper-class households, where

they were on view for the owners as well as guests and servants. The rise in prices obtained

for these works across the century suggests a growing consumer interest in this genre. The

development of different subgenres, defined by the types of objects depicted, reflects the

changing interests of the artists and consumers. This section explores the status of still life

---

[4] This work is discussed at length in Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 114-115; Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 123-127; Anne W. Lowenthal, "Contemplating Kalf"; Hanns-Ulrich Mette, *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 117-118; and Sam Segal, *A Prosperous Past: The Sumptuous Still Life in the Netherlands, 1600-1700* exh. cat. (The Hague: SDQ Publishers, 1988), chapter 10.

painting, defines the subgenres - especially the *pronkstilleven*, and traces the approaches to still life that provide a context for my theory of Dutching.

The earliest accounts of Dutch still life are found in seventeenth-century Dutch treatises on art, such as Carel van Mander's *Het Schilderboek* (1604), Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilder-Konst* (1642), and Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (1678), all of which reproduce Leon Battista Alberti's hierarchy of painting genres, placing figural painting, especially history painting, at the top, and non-figural, non-narrative subjects, like still life, architectural painting, and landscape painting, at the bottom.[5] While this hierarchy held in art theory, the proliferation of paintings of these "lower" subjects in Dutch painting practice suggests both an interest in – and market for – paintings of these genres. Indeed, still life paintings were widely purchased and owned by Dutch people. Michael North makes a comparison of the average prices and ownership rates of different genres of paintings across the seventeenth century, showing the hierarchy of the genres in terms of price and quantity, instead of their place in contemporary art theory.[6] In terms of seventeenth century price, religious and history paintings were the most expensive, but still life reached a peak in the last quarter of the century, about even with landscape and ahead of portraits and architectural subjects.[7] This of course does not take into account the wide range of prices paid for still life paintings, depending on the artist, the size, and the

---

[5] For an extended account, see Scott A. Sullivan, *The Dutch Gamepiece* (Totawa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1984), introduction.

[6] Michael North, *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), Chapters 5 and 6.

[7] Ibid., 99.

subject.[8] North also looks at household inventories from Delft and Amsterdam to assess the types of paintings owned by Dutch households.[9] In Delft, the proportion of still life grows throughout the century (North looked at the decades between 1610 and 1680), surpassing portraiture in the 1660s, while in Amsterdam still life reaches a peak in the 1660s. John Michael Montias also noted a peak in still life in inventories in the 1660s.[10] In the inventories, history painting starts out as the most popular genre, but loses out to landscape as the century wore on. The patterns of consumption tell a different story of the place of the genres of painting than contemporary art theory, showing that the popularity of still life grows into the period that is the subject of this chapter, the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Still life as it developed in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic is distinguished among schools of still life by its attention to minute details, from the patterns of veins on a flower petal to the distortions of reflections on rounded surfaces. Most Dutch still lifes throughout the century are in the vertical format, though earlier in the century horizontal pieces were also made, and show an arrangement of objects on a table top in a shallow monochrome space. Dutch still lifes show relatively consistent groupings of object types, from which the genre can be divided further into subgenres. Many still life painters repeatedly represented the same groupings, with slight variations in arrangement, making the distinction between original and derivative works challenging.

---

[8] Some of the high prices are discussed in Guido M.C. Jansen, "'On the Lowest Level': The Status of the Still Life in Netherlandish Art Literature of the Seventeenth Century," in *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 56.

[9] North, *Art and Commerce*, 109.

[10] John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History, History in Art*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: The Getty Center, 1991), 352-53.

Dutch still life painting did not constitute a coherent genre until the middle of the seventeenth century, before which what today would be referred to as a body of still life paintings were described in inventories by the types of objects represented, such as a breakfast piece (*ontbijtje*). The term *stilleven* seems to be of North Netherlandish origin, introduced to general usage mid-century, yet these works were still usually referred to in inventories by their depicted objects, rather than their genre.[11] As suggested by contemporary terminology, and the observations of many scholars since, there are several nearly distinct subtypes of still life, which enjoyed greater popularity at different times. The main subtypes, roughly in the order they were produced, are flower painting, fruit painting, breakfast pieces (*ontbijtjes*), banquet pieces (*banketjes*), *pronkstilleven* (ostentatious still lifes), and vanitas.[12] Flower and fruit painting developed earliest, around the turn of the century, and were first painted by Flemish artists, who worked both in the South Netherlands, and later in the Dutch Republic. Flower paintings usually show an impossibly large bouquet of flowers in a vase, depicting blossoms that bloom at different times, with a scattering of other objects on the tabletop (fig. 2). In the early seventeenth century, breakfast pieces were produced. These show modest meals, not always breakfast, on a table, often in a monochrome palette, such as Willem Claesz Heda's 1637 still life in the Louvre, which depicts a table half-covered with a white cloth, two plates holding berry pie slices, some nuts, beverages, and a saltcellar (which seems an odd condiment for this meal) (fig. 3). The

---

[11] Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), 3-4; John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 246; and Alan Chong, "Contained Under the Name of Still Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting," in *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 11-13. Chong explains very clearly the first known usages of "still life" and also of the other terms used prior.
[12] Bergström, *Dutch Still Life Painting*, vii. Bergström is one of the first modern scholars to differentiate the subtypes.

banquet piece, or *banketje*, develops mid-century from the breakfast piece, the table set with

fancier dishes and food. Abraham van Beijeren's 1650s piece in the Heinz collection

continues the theme of a meal, though this is a more lavish meal, with lobster, shellfish, and

fruits to accompany (fig. 4). The expensive serving dishes depicted here transition this

subgenre into the next. In the third quarter of the seventeenth century, especially in the

1660s, there is an increase in paintings of *pronk*, or lavish and rare objects.[13] The vanitas

type, containing skulls and other deliberate references to the passing of time and life, is

produced throughout the century, though scholars have been over-eager to identify still life

paintings as vanitas-themed, and many of these works could easily fit into the other subtypes

(fig. 5).[14] To these main subgenres, we might add the specialties of the market piece, the

game piece, the fish still life, the shell still life, the tobacco still life, and the trompe-l'oeil,

which were painted in much smaller quantities than the others, and only by a few specialists.

This tobacco still life seems to depict a tabletop in a tavern, the smoking materials joined by

a glass of beer and playing cards (fig. 6). These still life categories are not entirely fixed, and

often the terminology post-dates the period. Many examples overlap the boundaries, so it is

not necessary to insist on strict divisions. Some artists were specialists in a specific type,

while others worked more broadly.[15]

In modern scholarship on Dutch still life painting, the types of objects depicted are

considered paramount. The realistic qualities of the paintings have been seen as a measure of

---

[13] On pronk still life, see Bergström, *Dutch Still Life Painting*, Chapter 8; Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, Chapters 8-11; Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, Chapters 3-5; and on Willem Kalf specifically, Lucius Grisebach, *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1974).

[14] Chong, "Contained under the Name," points out the different ways so-called vanitas objects can be and were interpreted, suggesting an overreliance on this type of reading among art historians.

[15] For example, Melchior d'Hondecoeter specialized in still lifes with dead game, and Ambrosius Bosschaert specialized in flower paintings, while Willem Claesz Heda ranged from the breakfast piece to the banquet and pronk still lifes.

skill, or an expected element, until the second half of the twentieth century, when some

scholars began to consider these illusions of reality as essential to understanding the genre.

To fully consider the genre, it is important to combine a study of the objects included, which

were used to divide into subgenres, even in seventeenth-century inventories, with a

consideration of the means of representation. The remainder of this section will briefly

explain the relevant scholarly approaches to still life, to provide a context for understanding

my new interpretation of Dutch still life and the Dutch Golden Age economy.

Several recent articles and volumes contain comprehensive literature reviews on still

life, such as Hanneke Grootenboer's and Elizabeth Honig's studies.[16] Rather than repeat

their accounts, here I discuss the two arguments that have the most bearing on this study, the

approaches to the body of objects depicted and the "realism" of their representation. Unlike

many interpretations of still life, my reading of the Dutching of still life sees concerns about

the possible iconographical or moralizing meanings of these paintings as beside the point: I

am interested in understanding what the genre, specifically the *pronkstilleven*, says about

Dutch early modern culture. Many discussions of still life painting focus on finding a

symbolic meaning for the objects depicted, an iconographical message that is most

appropriate for the subgenre of vanitas, and which has been ascribed too widely to the rest of

the genre. This approach can be found across the literature on still life, and is especially

prominent in the emblematic readings of Eddy de Jongh and followers.[17] While some

scholars are more subtle and careful with their arguments than others, the idea of the still life

---

[16] Hanneke Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Elizabeth Alice Honig, "Making sense of things: on the motives of Dutch still life," *Res* 34 (Fall 1998): 166-183.

[17] Eddy de Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat. (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery, 1982). For the general emblematic approach, see Eddy de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Nederlandse Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit, 1967).

as carrying a moral message dominates the studies of Dutch still life. Theorists as diverse as Julie Hochstrasser, Simon Schama, and Norman Bryson critique emblematic and iconological approaches, yet a moralizing message remains part of their readings.

The approach to the objects depicted in the still life as representations of the types of consumer objects circulating in the early modern world is important to my reading of Dutch still life. This approach is especially useful when considering *pronkstilleven*, which depict expensive objects and celebrate their value. This is the approach taken to relate still life painting to culture in Hochstrasser, Schama, Bryson, and Honig.[18] The represented object refers not to a specific item, such as the very studio prop used by the artist, nor to a symbolic meaning, but to the very real body of objects accessible to the early modern consumer.[19] This is the approach taken by Julie Hochstrasser, whose work is essential to my reading. Hochstrasser looks in depth at a number of object types represented in still life, organized by which trading network they were a part of: domestic, European, WIC, and VOC. For the VOC, which is most important for my work, she looked at pepper, porcelain, and tea, tracing the way each of these goods was produced abroad and brought to the Republic.[20] Hochstrasser's main concern is uncovering the labor, often forced, that enabled these commodities to enter the Dutch market, and she encourages the reader/viewer to reinscribe this history into the still life painting. I am indebted to Hochstrasser's work because she considers the commodities to be the subject of still life painting and has paved the way for

---

[18] Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1987); and Bryson *Looking at the Overlooked*, especially the "Abundance" chapter; Honig, "Making Sense of Things," makes connections to collecting.

[19] On the early modern consumer, see the essays of especially Jan de Vries, Peter Burke, and Simon Schama in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); and Cissie Fairchilds, "Consumption in Early Modern Europe. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1993): 850-858.

[20] Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*.

considering the relationship of these works to trade. I expand on her point about the erasure of the labor of trade to include an erasure of the distance of trade, making this body of paintings part of the Dutch disavowal of their global reach.

The second group of scholars on which my interpretation relies approaches the still life via its representational methods, rather than what is pictured. These scholars join the debate about realism in Dutch painting in general, many viewpoints of which are included in Wayne Franits' volume on Dutch realism.[21] The illusion of realism in Dutch still life is created by the detailed representation of objects, down to the reflection of light on diverse surfaces, and by the use of perspective which makes the spaces of these paintings appear real. This line of inquiry began with Roland Barthes's 1972 essay, "The World As Object," and has continued through the work of Svetlana Alpers, Hal Foster, Norman Bryson, Celeste Brusati, and Hanneke Grootenboer.[22] Before Barthes, the realism of still life was taken for granted, not considered to be a subject for study. Barthes identified the "sheen" of still life painting as its most important organizing aspect, because it "lubricate[s] man's gaze amid his domain, to facilitate his daily business among objects whose riddle is dissolved and which

---

[21] Wayne Franits, *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art: realism reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[22] Roland Barthes, "The World as Object," trans. Richard Howard, in *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France* ed. Norman Bryson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 106-115; Alpers, *Art of Describing*; Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*; Celeste Brusati, "Stilled Lives: Self-Portraiture and Self-Reflection in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still-Life Painting," *Simiolus* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (1990-1991): 168-182; Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and illusion: the art and writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995); Celeste Brusati, "Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 144-157; and Grootenboer, *Rhetoric of Perspective*; see also Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, "A new studio practice of Claesz and Heda: composing with real objects," in *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive, presented on his seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. Cynthia P. Schneider et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995): 271-307; Richard Wollheim, "More than meets the eye?: Dutch still-life painting," *Modern Painters* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 68-71; Nathaniel Wolloch, "Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings of dead animals, as anti-Cartesian statements," *Art History* 22, no. 5 (Dec. 1999): 705-27; and B. A. Heezen-Stoll, "Een Vanitasstilleven van Jacques de Gheyn II uit 1621; afspiegeling van neostoische denkbeelden," *Oud Holland* 93, no. 4 (1979): 217-45.

are no longer anything but easy surfaces."[23] Foster discussed the *glanz*, similarly looking at

the reflections of light. Alpers, Brusati, and Grootenboer are concerned with the still life as a

demonstration of the artist's supreme skill, interest in reflection, and the use of perspective,

respectively, all deriving meaning about the genre from the artists' concern with the illusion

of reality.[24] Rather than positing a meaning for the objects depicted in the Dutch still life,

these theorists look for meaning in the formal qualities of the paintings.

The debate about what still life is really about cannot be resolved, and as Alan Chong

reminds us, even in the seventeenth century, such works were understood to create multiple

layers of meaning.[25] In the final section of this chapter I demonstrate that my perspective

falls between these groups described above, as I look at the representational methods of these

painters, especially their depiction of light reflections, while continuing to place great

importance in the objects represented, as depictions of types meant to reference the real

objects being collected, accumulated, consumed, and traded in the period. The still life

painting is both a painting, and a reference to a real body of objects, and thus working

between these two approaches is necessary for interpreting the *pronkstilleven*.

The Subgenre of *Pronk* Still Life

In this study, the main subtype I discuss is the *pronkstilleven*, or still life of lavish and

rare objects, which began appearing more regularly in the third quarter of the seventeenth

---

[23] Barthes, "The World as Object," 108 for quotation, 107-08 for concept of sheen.

[24] Alpers sees the artist competing against the craftsman who created the objects: Alpers, *Art of Describing*, 113-115. Brusati is particularly concerned with the self-portraits of artists which appear as tiny reflections on shiny objects within the painting, such as in Figure 8: Brusati, "Stilled Lifes," and *Artifice and Illusion*. Grootenboer focuses on the use of correct perspective as the way the Dutch still life convinces the viewer of its "reality," and the consequent connections of contemporary theories of vision to this genre of painting: Grootenboer, *Rhetoric of Perspective*

[25] Chong, "Contained Under the Name," especially 17.

century. "Pronk" comes from the Dutch verb *pronken*, to show off, so these paintings are the

kind of objects a Dutch burgher might display in the home to show off his wealth, or

alternately, they demonstrate objects made to do that.[26] Indeed, this type of object was often

referred to as a *pronkstuk* (pronk piece). The term sometimes has a slight negative

connotation, such as to show off with something that does not actually belong to one, or

something that was acquired in a questionable way, so it is difficult to capture the exact

translation of the term.[27]

There is continuity between the *banketje* and the *pronkstilleven*, as many object types

appear in both. The main difference between them is the broad display of the banquets,

where a number of objects are spread across a tabletop, representing a rich meal with lavish

accompanying objects, while the *pronkstilleven* are more intimate, with a smaller number of

rich objects, generally with fewer foodstuffs. The objects in a pronk still life are arranged

tightly, often in an asymmetrical triangular composition. The majority of *pronkstilleven*

depict a shallow space against a dark background. These subtypes also have a temporal

distinction: in the early 1650s, the banquet piece started giving way to the pronk still life,

even among the artists who painted both types, like Abraham van Beijeren. The pronk

subgenre reaches its peak in the late 1650s and 1660s, after which most examples are

derivative works, such as the still lifes of Georg Hainz, which copy compositions and even

specific objects from earlier painters. Amsterdam artists and their students were the main

painters of pronk: Willem Kalf (b.1619 Rotterdam, d.1693 Amsterdam), Abraham van

---

[26] Hochstrasser has shown that many owners of still life paintings were also owners of *pronkstukken*, disproving the notion that still life painting is about aspirations to own such pieces, or moralizing against consumption: Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Imag(in)ing prosperity: Painting and material culture in the 17th-century Dutch household," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* vol. 51 (2000): 194-235.

[27] Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 15.

Beijeren (b.1620/1 The Hague, d.1690 Overschie (Rotterdam)), and Jan Davidsz de Heem
(b.1606 Utrecht, d.1683/4 Antwerp). It is important to remember the 1660s as the height of
production of *pronkstilleven*, a decade that is key for understanding the fate of Dutch
overseas trade.

The objects in *pronkstilleven* are often lavish silver pieces, glassware, porcelain, and
exotica, alongside imported foodstuffs. The much-discussed painting by Kalf, presented at
the beginning of this chapter, serves as a prime example of the type (fig. 1). The work
contains expensive trade goods from within Europe and Dutch markets abroad. Such a
collection of objects, or a representation of these object types, displayed in the home would
be sure to impress a visitor.[28] Jan Davidsz de Heem, who also painted flower pieces and
banquets, was an early experimenter with the pronk type, such as in this example (fig. 7).
Here we see a lobster with citrus fruits and grapes, and a nut, and what appear to be seeds on
the left corner of the table. A glass in a gilded mount and a silver cup lie on their sides, and a
nautilus cups stands upright with a lemon peel laid casually across it. A lighter background
than typical of the mature genre can be seen, though it is mostly undefined like the later dark
backgrounds. The chaos of the tipped glasses suggests that perhaps this meal is already
completed, and will soon be cleared. A painting by Abraham van Beijeren draws from his
banquet pieces, but is a more limited depiction of a lavish meal (fig. 8). Again, a bright red
lobster is present in the foreground, here atop a bunched-up white cloth and a Persian carpet,
half escaping from its silver tray. Fruits are included again, some in a porcelain dish, as well
as a ham and – barely visible at left and in the background – nearly empty wine and beer

---

[28] Alan Chong makes a case for these paintings representing generous hospitality. Chong, "Contained Under the
Name."

glasses. The silver urn in the center reflects the surrounding items, including a self-portrait of the artist painting. This arrangement recedes into the background, with the brightest items in the foreground, while the glassware is nearly invisible at the back of the table, showing few reflections or definite outlines. While the far corner of the table at left is visible, it seems unlikely that it would be rounded as it appears, considering the visible corner at front, so it may be that the table is dissolving into the background like the glasses.

Willem Kalf's oeuvre represents the quintessential *pronkstilleven* in the 1650s and 1660s. With his precise rendering of the surfaces of his objects and the light interacting among them, Kalf's objects dissolve into his dark backgrounds, making the rendered details stand out boldly. This example from Amiens shows a different group of objects than the work discussed above, with a watch on the left corner of the exposed table, a class of red wine and a melon (fig. 9). A silver tray set on angle by the bunched up carpet holds a rose, pieces of bread, and a porcelain dish with a curl of butter and a twist of paper emptied of its pepper. On an elaborate mount is a German glass of white wine, and a large porcelain pot stands at right. Barely discernable between and behind the white wine and the pot is a tall beer glass.

Scholars increasingly are linking these pronk paintings to Dutch trade in the period, from surveys like Mariët Westernmann's that briefly mention still life to Julie Hochstrasser's comprehensive 2007 study, *Still Life and Trade*.[29] Many of the objects depicted are items that arrived in the Dutch Republic as a result of the global trade network. I have already established the role of the nautilus cup, which makes regular appearances in this subgenre, as

---

[29] Mariet Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996); and Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade.*

a product of trade as well as a representation of the Dutch Republic's monopolistic intents.

Objects like the nautilus cup, along with other domestic metalwork and craft, demonstrate the

abilities of domestic craftsmen working with materials sourced abroad. Objects that are

finished outside of the Dutch Republic include the Persian carpets that often (partially) cover

the table top, though it is a distinctly Dutch practice to use these on the table rather than on

the floor or wall, as can be seen in many Dutch genre paintings and sometimes in Dutch

brown cafes and homes today (fig. 10). These paintings also often include delicate

glassware, for which Venice was famous, although the Venetian style was being imitated in

other urban centers of Europe as well. Stouter glassware is often from the German

territories. Chinese porcelain appears regularly, or Japanese or European imitations, like

Dutch and English delftware. The foodstuffs depicted range in origin, from stone fruits

grown in the Republic and northern Europe, to citrus fruits from the Mediterranean, to locally

available seafood or herring from the North Sea. Pepper and salt were imported by the VOC

and WIC respectively, though salt was also imported via Iberian merchants. The beer shown

is most likely local or north German, while the wine was imported from the Rhine Valley or

France. Dairy products are a Dutch specialty, though the origin can be hard to determine

from a painting: for example, the Dutch exported their finest butter all over Europe, and

imported cheaper Irish butter for the regular citizen. Hochstrasser's excellent and

informative study explains the ways many of these products made their ways to the laid

tables depicted in still life painting, and identifies that many of the earlier paintings, mostly

breakfast pieces, depict locally produced items, while the later banquet and pronk paintings

show costly imported goods. She traces the labor that made these products available, as well

as the Dutch disregard of this often-brutal history, in her readings of contemporary

pronouncements on trade. The following section focuses on one of these imported items,

pepper, which was key to the initiation and success of the Dutch East India Company.

Pepper in Still Life and Trade

I will focus here on the pepper trade, because it was the spice central to Dutch trade

with the East, and also appears regularly in still life painting. Additionally, there is a broad

range of data to enable study of its rate of importation, because pepper was included in every

shipment arriving from the East. As was shown in Chapter Two, pepper and the other spices

of the East were the driving forces for the establishment of the VOC – in order to break the

Portuguese monopoly on these commodities, the Dutch expanded the range and volume of

their sea travel, and established this first international corporation. Historian Jonathan Israel

argues that the rich trades, dominated by spices, overtook the bulk trade with the Baltic as the

driver of the Dutch economy in the period.[30] Anthony Reid, writing from the perspective of

Southeast Asia, declares that pepper is the most important export: although it was priced

lower than the other East Indian spices (nutmeg, mace, and cloves), it was exported in ten

times the quantity.[31] Pepper was imported in huge quantities for consumers in the Republic

and across Europe, and pepper overwhelmed the other products imported in Dutch ships: Els

M. Jacobs describes how in addition to packaged pepper, loose peppercorns were poured

around other packaged goods to fill in empty spaces.[32]

---

[30] Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade: 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), introduction and 259.

[31] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Vol. 2: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 7.

[32] Els M. Jacobs, *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1991), 91. On the market for goods arriving in or triangulated via Amsterdam, see Renée Kistemaker and Roelof van Gelder, *Amsterdam: The Golden Age, 1275-1795* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983).

In addition to its importance to Dutch overseas trade, pepper has a recurring role in still life painting, depicted in the tiny cones of paper that were the typical way pepper was purchased.[33] In the Kalf painting in Amiens, a cone of pepper has been emptied into the Chinese porcelain bowl at center (fig. 9). Even though peppercorns are small and might go unnoticed, or seem unspecific in their rendering, the twisted paper is a firm indication that this is indeed pepper. What appears to be a small lemon peel seems to curl among the peppercorns. A painting by Willem Claesz Heda also has a central cone of pepper, here spilling into a plate of oysters (fig. 11). In Heda's Rotterdam painting, the pepper cone appears empty, but combined with the oysters and half-peeled lemon it can be assumed that this is a pepper paper (fig. 12). The combination of lemons, pepper, salt, and oysters occurs frequently, a point explained elsewhere by Hochstrasser: following the humoral approach to the human medicine, the dry heat of the pepper tempers the cold wetness of the oyster.[34] Pieter Claesz' elaborate banquet piece shows at the foreground all four of these ingredients (fig. 13).[35] Pepper is also referenced by the depiction of pepper shakers in still life paintings, as in Jan Davidsz de Heem's allegorical still life about the House of Orange, at right (fig. 14). This modest pepper shaker, despite its costly contents, is overshadowed by the magnificent peeled lemon, connected by a long curling peel to its own reflection in the German glass behind.

---

[33] Hochstrasser determined that these are often almanac pages, Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 96.

[34] Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Feasting the Eye: Painting and Reality in the Seventeenth-century 'Banketje'," in *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 75. She also mentions idea of lemons as powerful antidotes to poisons. The article is a really interesting argument about the relation of still life paintings to contemporary food and medical manuals.

[35] Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 120 correlates dated *banketjes* and *ontbijtjes* including pepper by Pieter Claesz in the first half of the century with several peaks in pepper price, suggesting that he might have deliberately depicted pepper when the price was up.

In the early modern period most pepper was grown in India and Indonesia.[36] The

black pepper plant (*Piper nigrum*) originated around Kerala in India, and spread throughout

the Malabar Coast (southwest India). It was cultivated as a cash crop, and was transplanted

to the island of Sumatra by the fifteenth century, where it also flourished and was cultivated

for export, at the time mostly to China.[37] Around 1500, all of Europe's pepper came from

India, but by the mid-seventeenth century Indonesian pepper dominated the market, as it was

cheaper to cultivate there, and because of the European incursion into this region.[38] Reid

provides a map showing the expansion of pepper cultivation in Southeast Asia (fig. 15). The

other types of pepper imported by the VOC, though in much smaller quantities, are white

pepper and long pepper. White pepper comes from the same pepper berries as black pepper,

but through a more intricate process: before the berry dries, the ripe black exterior is

removed, revealing a white kernel. The long pepper plant (*Piper longum*) produces a type of

small cone with pepper berries on it, and was primarily grown in India. Pepper was used in

European cooking primarily as an additive to cover up the flavor of old meat.

Pepper was a cash crop, cultivated by native planters, although contemporary

accounts describe the pepper-producing lands as lush and tropical, essentially producing the

spice itself.[39] On the contrary, Anthony Reid estimates that at the peak of production in the

middle of the seventeenth century, 200,000 people must have been working to cultivate that

---

[36] Today Vietnam is the main exporter of pepper, and Brazil is also a major supplier, in addition to the historical producers.
[37] Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 7 and 12. It is likely that Chinese traders were responsible for the transplantation of this crop.
[38] Ibid., 9.
[39] See Hochstrasser's discussion of Beverwijk (96), Linschoten (101-102), and Nieuhof (108-112) in *Still Life and Trade*.

pepper, or six percent of the population of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo.[40]   The

farmers generally sold their products through local rulers or indigenous traders, who paid

exploitative rates, and these middlemen then supplied the European traders with the spice.

While many of these farmers were cultivating their own land, others were slaves of the

middlemen. The Dutch East India Company also maintained its own slaves to harvest spices

other than pepper, as was mentioned in Chapters Two and Four. Reid describes conditions

for these workers as "often harsh, with high mortality, few women, and a poor cultural

life."[41]

Considering the importance of pepper both as a regular subject in Dutch still life, and

in the Dutch overseas economy, the question of its profitability and supply through the VOC

is important to consider in understanding this relationship. My research in the archives of the

VOC in The Hague and in the seventeenth-century periodical *Hollandse Mercurius* (monthly,

1650-1690) focused on the volumes and values of goods imported by the VOC. In addition

to handwritten accounts of prices on auction sheets, memoirs about trade goods, and

correspondence about trade, this information was recorded in a comprehensive way in cargo

lists that were compiled and published for each incoming fleet. Two types of documents

provided this information, the *Generale Carga* and the reprinting of this record in the

monthly periodical *Hollandse Mercurius*.[42] The cargo lists were printed as individual sheets

by a contracted VOC publisher, presumably for distribution among the merchants purchasing

---

[40] Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 33.
[41] Ibid., 35. For his broader discussion of cash cropping, see his 32-36.
[42] I am grateful that the Newberry Library in Chicago has the comprehensive set of the Hollandse Mercurius.
Considering the yearly title page and pagination, their version appears to be an annual compilation of individual
newsletters, reprinted as a bound volume in the year following initial publication.

bulk goods from the VOC for trade within the Republic and Europe.[43] The *Hollandse Mercurius* was compiled monthly as a small newspaper or newsletter, containing news from around Europe, such as notable births and deaths in the ruling families, accounts of battles and wondrous occurrences, and, most relevant for this project, news about ships coming in from overseas.

I have been able to consult the entire print run of the *Hollandse Mercurius* and a great number of the *Generale Carga* sheets, and for the years I am able to compare both, it is clear that the *Generale Carga* were the source for the *Hollandse Mercurius*'s information. The *Hollandse Mercurius* reprints the entire wording of the heading from the *Generale Carga*, and the volumes and order of the goods brought in. For example, in 1690, four ships arrived in the Republic that had left Batavia in March together, the Prince-Landt, the Borssenburgh, the Hoogergeest, and the Nieuwlandt. These carried a cargo of pepper, metals, wood, and Chinese textiles and porcelain. The *Generale Carga* lists the ship names, which chamber of the VOC they were supplying, the weight in pounds or number of pieces (for textiles) of each item, concluding with the name of the VOC publisher that printed this sheet (fig. 16). This example also includes handwritten notes about the prices of each item, the amount sold, and the calculation of the subsequent value for each item and the total value: here an impressive 1,548,661 guilders and 13 stuivers. The corresponding account in the *Hollandse Mercurius* abandons the layout of the *Generale Carga*, reproducing the information as an indented header in italics, followed by the list of goods in a paragraph, rather than a list, and omitting the publisher's information (fig. 17). This example shows the basic form both of these

---

[43] On the distribution of economic information distribution in Amsterdam, see John J. McCusker and Cora Gravesteijn, *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1991), 43-83.

documents take, though some variations occur. Sometimes the *Generale Carga* lists the goods going to each chamber, or separates the cargos by ship. Different units of measurement are employed, and usually a conversion is supplied. For the most part, the order of the goods begins with the spices followed by various raw materials and dyestuffs, and ends with the textiles. A general observation I made is that moving through the eighteenth century (for which a more complete body of *Generale Carga* remains), there is increasing emphasis on textiles, with a longer list of very specific types, colors, and patterns, which eventually merit a separate section of the *Generale Carga*.

From the cargo lists in both publications, I compiled the volume of black pepper brought for as many fleets and as many years in the seventeenth century for which it was available.[44] This proved a daunting and incomplete task, as comparison between the ship names and the data about each VOC ship made it clear that the extant *Generale Carga* did not represent every incoming cargo-carrying ship – and even the *Hollandse Mercurius* was not comprehensive.[45] I first limited the account for years in which I had complete data – a cargo-list representing every ship arriving in the Netherlands (figs. 18 and 19). This data only represents sixteen years of the seventeenth century. We see a steady rise in total pounds of pepper imported from 1635-1658, and then wild variation with a peak in 1670, followed by a dramatic fall to 1687, after which the import volume becomes more steady, but slowly declines.

---

[44] When white pepper was also included, I added this to the black pepper volume, since it comes from the same plant, but it should be remembered that the white pepper was more expensive. Black pepper is often also called brown pepper (*zwart* and *bruin* with many spelling variations). Data for the eighteenth century is much more complete, but less relevant to comparison to 17th c still life.

[45] Koninklijk Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, *The Dutch East India Company's shipping between the Netherlands and Asia 1595-1795*, http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS/EnglishIntro, accessed 20 November 2011. This database includes the name of the ship, the captain, the location and dates of departure, arrival, and whether/when it called in the Cape.

I then attempted a more comprehensive strategy, hoping to see whether the peak in 1670 was an anomaly, and whether the general trend was similar. Presuming that the composition of each fleet was somewhat regular, as most ships carried warehoused goods from Batavia, and all the cargo lists included pepper, I extended the ratio of pounds per ship to the size of the total annual fleet, which led to data from nearly every year from 1650-1699. This analysis unfortunately left little comprehensive data from 1602-1650, because for this period the remaining cargo lists are scarce, or incomprehensive, or lacked key information, such as how many ships the cargo volumes represented. This meant leaving the volumes of pepper from 1608, 1616, 1620, 1639-41 out of the calculations. The resulting trend, seen in Figure 20, shows that the steady rise from 1635 to the early 1650s is similar (though lacking in data for individual years), and then the supply wildly rises and falls each year from the mid-1650s through the 1660s, reaching a less dramatic peak in 1670. From this point, the amount of pepper brought in gradually declines into the mid-1680s, where it begins a steady but slight increase, with some variation, though not as dramatic (with the exception of 1694) through the end of the century.

My statistical analysis suffers from a lack of comprehensive data for every year of the seventeenth century, though I do believe it shows a general trend of increasing supply until mid-century, a series of dramatic dips and rises through the 1650s and 1660s, and then a calming of these trends, with a decrease between 1670 and 1680, followed by a more modest variation through the end of the century. These trends can be compared to the events discussed in Chapter Two, most notably the Peace of Münster in 1648, the three Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652-1654, 1665-1667, and 1672-1674), and the *Rampjaar* of 1672. This data is in accord with information compiled by other researchers about the changes in pricing of

pepper. Glamann follows the price of pepper over the course of the seventeenth century: prices rose, sometimes steadily, and sometimes steeply, from 1610-1627, followed by a decline; prices then peaked in 1639-41, after which the market was oversupplied, causing the price to drop through the 1650s; from a low price in 1656, the prices rose through the 1660s and 1670s, and then the supply rose as well.[46] Similar to my supply data, this shows uncertainty in prices in the 1650s and 1660s. Anthony Reid analyzed the selling price of pepper in Asia, the prices paid by foreign merchants to indigenous traders and rulers.[47] He shows a great variation between about 1600 and 1650, with a general overall rise in price, and then a steep drop into the mid-1650s, followed by a trend in lower prices. Because of the steep drop in the 1650s, the producers of pepper in Southeast Asia were less interested in cultivating the cash crop, which in turn led to a lower supply.[48] The vagaries of supply and price need to be combined in order to assess the profitability of this trade, in addition to the demand for pepper and also the costs the VOC incurred to secure its import. The VOC famously compiled records of profits and costs only for the company as a whole, making it impossible to isolate the profitability of a single commodity or region, so such an assessment is nearly impossible.[49] However, the available information on price and supply fluctuation leads to the conclusion that the period from the mid-1650s into the 1670s was a time of turmoil for the pepper market, with rapid changes in price both at the source and in Europe, a fluctuation that must have been palpable to the consumers of this product.

---

[46] Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade: 1602-1740* (Copenhagen: Danish Science Press, 1958), 73-90. Cited in Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 336, note 119.
[47] Reid, *Southeast Asia*, 300, figure 41.
[48] Ibid., 299-300.
[49] Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 441.

Indeed, this period was a turning point for the VOC, according to many historians.

Boxer identifies 1648 – the year of the Treaty of Münster that established the Dutch Republic

as a truly independent nation – as the peak of the Dutch Golden Age.[50] Jonathan Israel points

to 1672 as the end of the zenith of Dutch trade, which had begun with the restructuring of

Dutch trade after that same treaty. The cessation of the war with Spain allowed the Dutch to

expand their efforts in trade, rather than military exercises, though it should not be forgotten

that many Dutch trading activities, especially at the far reaches of their colonial holdings,

were as much military as trade ventures. Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude's far-reaching

study of the early modern Dutch economy from 1500-1815 similarly shows a peak in Dutch

trade in 1648, followed by three decades of challenges to the Dutch economy that would

have far-reaching effects.[51] While tied to the successes of the VOC, these economic changes

affected the Dutch Republic as a whole. The three Anglo-Dutch Wars of these decades

provided a challenge to the Dutch Republic, but did not devastate trade. De Vries and van

der Woude identify 1663 as the turning point of the entire Dutch economy, marking the end

of the Golden Age.[52] The challenges to Dutch monopolies in the East, especially by the

English East India Company, and the trade restrictions imposed by Japan, would put pressure

on VOC profits in the 1670s and 1680s.

An interesting element of de Vries and van der Woude's argument is that this was a

downturn in the economy that was immediately palpable, rather than only apparent in

retrospective. As a result, the Dutch government implemented investments in the VOC, the

Caribbean plantation system (slaves and sugar), and in whaling, all of which were expensive

---

[50] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965, 1990), 29.
[51] de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 675ff.
[52] Ibid., 674ff.

and risky – de Vries and van der Woude argue that this indicates the awareness of the

government of the impending downturn.[53] Interestingly, when looking at the profit statistics

of the VOC, this time period does not show a decline, merely a leveling of profits.[54] The

company remained profitable, but no longer showed the kind of astronomical gains that were

necessary to sustain growth, especially considering the huge costs of maintaining that

company in military and personnel expenditures.[55] The investments in the VOC also indicate

why the company profits slowed: the VOC strengthened its military operations in order to

maintain their current monopolies, and they expanded their product offerings in response to

European demand, such as more textiles, coffee, and sugar, areas in which the Dutch suffered

competition at the source, and lower prices in Europe.[56] These observations about the

constricting economy of the Republic match up with my findings above about the pepper

trade, showing that this period around 1663, the period which marked the end of the fabulous

wealth of the VOC, the popularity of the *pronkstilleven*, and the dramatic rises and falls of

the pepper market, all coincided.

In addition to the Dutch government's acknowledgement and action on the crisis, this

worry trickled down to through the Republic's populace. Despite Dutch pride in their trade

primacy, expressed through the kinds of *pronken* that will be discussed in the final section of

this chapter, signs of the impending downturn were obvious to the citizenry. These signs

caused a warranted anxiety in the populace as prices rose and wages fell. City and

agricultural land rents declined after reaching a peak in the 1660s, producing a temporary

---

[53] Ibid., 677-679.
[54] Ibid., 448.
[55] On the increasing costs of trade in the east, see Chapter Two, especially the argument about Batavia's marshland and the deadly malaria outbreaks that decimated the company workers.
[56] de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 678.

respite for renters, but ultimately making land investment values fall.[57] Investment in

building projects and polder creation ceased after 1672, as well as the building of

Amsterdam's new synagogue, ending major sources of employment for skilled workers.[58]

Dutch wages, which in 1660 were the highest in Europe, stagnated and then began to fall.[59]

The crisis was thus felt across all levels of society.

Many scholars have pointed out a sense of anxiety inherent in seventeenth-century

still life painting. Simon Schama conceived of an "embarrassment of riches" across all

aspects of Dutch life in the Golden Age, a deep sense of anxiety about the contradictions of

Calvinist morality and material wealth – and certainly material wealth is represented in

pronkstilleven. Hochstrasser considers the anxiety inherent in the repetition of forms as

objects are rearranged by the artist in new combinations, following Hal Foster's concern with

the fetishization of these commodities.[60] A body of breakfast pieces, like Willem Claesz

Heda's 1634 and 1649 pieces, seem to suggest an anxiety with overturned cups and broken

glasses, though these are from before this period (figs. 12 and 11). Norman Bryson identifies

this type of still life as "still life of disorder."[61] Anxiety is also suggested by a feature

common to many Dutch still lifes, the objects that protrude from front edge of the table,

representing an uncomfortable intrusion into the viewer's space, as well as the precariousness

of the arrangements. But are any of these visual anxieties unique to *pronkstilleven*, in this

period of economic crisis in the 1650s through 1670s? As the likelihood of these piles of

---

[57] Ibid., 674 – they point out that this was true in Amsterdam across all classes of housing.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 256-260; she reviews the literature on still life and anxiety, and includes a good discussion of this theme. See also Hal Foster, "The Art of Fetishism: Notes on Dutch Still Life," *The Princeton Architectural Journal* 4 (1992): 6-19.
[61] Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 121ff.

abundance being accumulated diminishes, the *pronkstilleven*'s popularity increases. These

paintings show wealth being celebrated and shown off, even as its potential for acquisition

shrinks. Might this act of *pronken*, a boasting or showing off, suggest an anxiety that the

wealth is slipping away? Do these paintings celebrate objects that had already arrived in the

Republic in the previous decades, rather than the cargo of the next fleet? In the final section

of this chapter, I will tackle these questions. The Dutch had a clear sense that their economy

would not continue to thrive as it had, even with the recognition of their statehood and the

past decades of success, so if their visual culture suggests an anxiety, the anxiety was well

founded.

Dutching Still Life

The Dutch pronk still life depicts an accumulation of rich objects from around the

globe brought together and lying still on a tabletop. These paintings show a pride or showing

off (*pronken*) about the trade prowess that brought these objects to the Republic, but also

reorganizes those great distances. Instead of long distances, the tight compositions of objects

share a small space, linked to one another by the play of light across their represented

surfaces. This celebration of trade is undermined by anxieties about the present and

inevitable future losses of the Dutch role in global trade. The Dutching that occurs in this

case study is this erasure of geographic specificity, a suggestion that this scene is only Dutch,

when really it is a mixture of the many contributing areas of the world that make the still life

a *bastaard*. This process of Dutching these objects through still life is easily reversed by

gaining an understanding of how these objects came to be in the Republic, demonstrating that

the Dutching cannot be complete. The knowledge of where these diverse objects came from

lends them a globalizing element, for lack of a better term, as the still life shows objects from East and West, as well as from within Europe. Here I trace the increasing erasure of distance in the depiction of trade in the Republic, culminating with the pronk still life.

Celebrating the goods arriving in the Dutch Republic was a popular activity in the visual culture of the 1660s. Proud of the height their trading empire had reached, Amsterdam erected a new town hall, beginning in 1648, designed by Jacob van Campen.[62] The decoration of this building represents the great pride of the Dutch in their trading prowess, an opportunity for them to *pronken*. Schama points to an anxiety underlying this great pride, as seen in some contradictory imagery in the building's frieze showing the worship of the Golden Calf from Exodus.[63] Following van Campen's designs, Artus Quellinus and assistants completed a monumental pediment for the town hall, depicting Amsterdam, figured as a woman, receiving tribute from the world's oceans (fig. 21). Julie Hochstrasser includes similar proud imagery, some of which dates from the beginning of the century, in her first chapter.[64] This body of visual culture depicts the goods of the world being given to Amsterdam from a very short distance, rather than them being taken from – or even traded fairly with – those faraway lands. Overseas trade is implied, but not shown, and the specific identification of place with product remains unaccounted for. This is surprising given how important it was for the Dutch gains in trade that they reached the sources of goods on their own, rather than purchasing them though a middleman like the Portuguese.

Jan Vos' 1662 *Vergrooting van Amsterdam* (the growth/expansion of Amsterdam) is a lengthy poem about the city's development, celebrating trade and water traffic, with

---

[62] Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 46, 223-225, and on 117 he discusses the importance of this timing as a historical juncture in Dutch Republic's development.

[63] Ibid., 119-121.

[64] Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 18-20.

classicizing references to Roman gods.[65] He writes about immigration to help build the city,

both in construction and population growth, and about the importance of the products

available in Amsterdam, including local dairy products and foreign-sourced flowers. He

praises the merchant, acknowledges the importance of Swedish forests in providing wood for

building, vaguely mentions the faraway lands they traded with (by continent), and, most

frequently, the bodies of water that bring the ships in, notably the IJ, the Amstel, and the

"Zuider-meir" (Zuiderzee, since 1932 the IJsselmeer).[66] The products brought into

Amsterdam become conflated with the rivers on which they travelled, rather than where they

originated, ultimately discounting the further overseas routes, and implying that it is

Amsterdam's location at the meeting of bodies of water that fated the city to become a great

trading center. Vos' longest celebration, about six couplets, of a place outside of the

Republic is about the mines of Sweden, from which copper, iron, and steel arrive thanks to

the IJ River.[67] Meanwhile, all the silver and gold from the Americas and Asia are mentioned

in a single couplet.[68] My research in the cargo lists of the VOC showed that copper and other

metals were imported in large volume from Japan, yet this specificity is elided in the poem.[69]

While Vos spends many lines in his epic poem celebrating trade, the specific places to which

the Republic's ships traveled are lost in descriptions of role of the local waterways in

bringing them to the shores of Amsterdam.

---

[65] Jan Vos, *Vergrooting van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1662). Facsimile available at
http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Facsimiles/VosVergrootingAmsterdam1662/source/vosverg01.htm
, accessed Jan. 9, 2012

[66] For other Dutch poetry on water, see Maria A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen, *Dutch Literature in the Age of
Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1991), 104-113.

[67] Vos, *Vergrooting*, 15: "Het kliprijk Zweedenrijk ontsloot het hardt gebergt,/ Om kooper, yzer, staal, tot dienst
van 't Y, te haalen."

[68] Ibid., 28.

[69] In addition to the cargo lists, see also the list of products available in each trading port the VOC visited, from
1701: Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Archief Jacob van Ghesel, archive no. 1.10.31, inv. no. 195 Lijsten van de
kantoren van de VOC in Indië en de daar verhandelde producten. (1701).

The still life paintings that are the subject of this chapter take this erasure of distance one step further, eliminating any reference to where the items on the table came from, mixing together domestic, European, and East and West Indian goods, essentially reorganizing the geography of trade.   For example, the silver pieces in van Beijeren's Boymans piece demonstrate Dutch metalwork skills, with silver sourced from the Americas, alongside porcelain from China, and foodstuffs from within Europe (though the citrus could be from northern Africa), balanced on a bunched up Persian carpet (fig. 8). Such a table might be imagined to exist in one of the Republic's wealthier cities, like Amsterdam, Delft, or Middelburg, but in reality exists only the artist's imagination, suggested by studio props. Devoid of a narrative – depicting "stilled" life – these paintings show only one moment, freezing these objects on a table in the only place in the world they could all come together in this period: the Dutch Republic. The only action or movement occurring in the pronk still life is that provided by the bouncing of light around the canvas, between the depicted items – a movement created by the artist and followed by the viewer. Of the painters of pronk, Willem Kalf exemplifies this trend most clearly, so I will focus on his work in this final section.[70] These arguments can be extended to the work of Abraham van Beijeren and Jan Davidsz de Heem, as well as to their imitators.

Willem Kalf was born in Rotterdam in 1619, and was painting in Paris by 1642, at the age of 23.[71] After three years in Paris, he returned to the Dutch Republic, working in Rotterdam, then Hoorn, finally settling in Amsterdam in 1653, where he lived and worked

---

[70] Also I focus on him because of the recent exhibition of his work at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, and the well-illustrated catalogue, which makes his work the most accessible. Peter van den Brink and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007).

[71] Biographical information here is from the Boijmans catalogue, which draws partly on Grisebach: Brink and Meijer, *Willem Kalf*.

until 1693. Kalf's time in Paris gives an international dimension to this artist – he began

painting *pronkstilleven* there, while working with a circle of Flemish artists. His paintings

remained popular in France well into the eighteenth century, and immediately after he left,

local painters were already imitating his style and compositions. Despite this time in Paris,

Kalf remained firmly identified as a Dutch artist. This painting, one of the two earliest dated

works, both from 1643, depicts a typical pronk arrangement of objects: a porcelain dish filled

with olives, a nautilus shell, textured glasses, a pumpkin, and a reflective tin flask (fig. 22).

This composition shows the reflections Kalf would become known for, though it is highly

imaginative for the flask to so clearly reflect the glass of red wine and the pumpkin.[72] Unlike

later works, the tabletop is well-lit, and there is a hint of a space in the background. As a still

life painting, what is depicted is understandably devoid of narrative – the objects rest across

the tabletop, and the only potential movement is the sense the viewer has that the nautilus

shell might slip from the table, were it to be jostled. Potential movements like these are one

aspect that leads scholars to identify some anxiety in the scene, despite it depicting objects

stilled.

This next work by Kalf is one of his earliest from his time in Amsterdam, though it is

undated (fig. 23). It shows a specialized shell collection, with rare and expensive specimens,

as well as a mounted turbo nautilus.[73] This arrangement is set against a lacquer box and a red

curtain. The points of light where these shells reflect a light source outside of the picture

plane show Kalf's interest in the play of light, but the objects do not yet seem to have an

---

[72] Ibid., 80 – Brink and Meijer specifically contradict Grisebach's identification of this as a silver flask – it seems to appear in another work by Kalf (cat. 21), where its material is more matte.

[73] On the shells that were collected avidly in this period, see Karin Leonhard, "Shell Collecting. On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177-214.

interaction among them – this composition remains without narrative or movement. An early

dated Amsterdam work, from 1653, the year he settled there, is more typical of the

pronkstilleven that Kalf produced over the next decades (fig. 24). A small triangular group

hangs over the edge of the table, a silver tray piled with a half-peeled lemon and an open

pomegranate, next to a glass of white wine. Behind them stands a porcelain pitcher with

metal fittings. The fruits are bright while the rest of the objects recede into the background, a

trait that is more typical of this subgenre of still life. In fact, we can barely see the edge of

the wine glass, were it not for the tiny reflection at the top, which looks like a window.

Similarly shaped reflections are visible on the gleaming porcelain. These create the illusion

of the reality of the laid table – set up in the artist's studio or in a patron's home, the light

from outside of the painting seems to interact with the objects within. Like the previous

painting, these suggest the light source is outside the painting, coming from the space where

the viewer stands. What is most interesting here for this project is the way the objects in the

painting interact. Their unspoken connections to the places where they arrived from, the

Mediterranean fruits and the Chinese porcelain, give way to the connections to one another

made by the play of light. The light reflecting on the lower globe of the wine glass

illuminates peaches slightly in the background, and the pomegranate provides a red highlight

on the lower left of the glass. This play of light provides this painting with the slightest of

narratives, that of light moving about the objects depicted. Accordingly, the viewer's gaze

moves around, impressed by the perceived virtuosity of the artist. This bouncing of light

replaces the network of real movement across oceans that brought these objects to the table,

reorienting the objects to one another, rather than the world outside of the painting. Another

example by Kalf further explores the reflections among objects (fig. 25). Here the by-now

familiar porcelain bowl reflects the light bouncing from the knife handle, and – most

impressively – the mottled light coming through the wine glass at left. Barely visible is the

tall wine glass at the rear (again, only visible for the reflection at the top) and the leaves still

attached to the citrus fruit sink into the background. All the action of this stilled life occurs

in a very narrow plane bounded by the half-painted silver tray, the white wine glass, and the

porcelain bowl. The connection among the objects has been redefined as this muted

dialogue, rather than references to the world outside the painting and outside the Republic.

This movement of light requires the objects to be shiny, which seems to be necessary

for the *pronkstilleven*. The artists choose objects that would provide these types of

reflections, even though there are other exotic and expensive objects being imported from

around the world. The cargo lists show a wide variety of objects that never made it into still

life painting: beyond raw materials like saltpeter (used for gunpowder) and benzoin (an

ingredient in incense), textiles made up a large amount of the goods imported from the East,

especially silks, and these rarely appear in still life. The expensive spices – nutmeg, mace,

and cloves – rarely appear in these paintings alongside the less-expensive pepper that appears

frequently. One exception includes a half of a nutmeg at lower right (fig. 26). Spices, those

most expensive and trade-motivating foodstuffs, are of course difficult to depict in detail – a

pile of whole nutmegs would look like a pile of any other nuts, unless enlarged out of

proportion. Pepper, imported in larger volume, was easier to reference because it could be

depicted in the twists of paper as discussed above. Instead of showing these types of goods

that were so important to VOC coffers, painters show a preference for objects made of silver,

glass, and porcelain, all materials with a high gloss. The focus on silver may show pride in

Dutch craftsmanship, but glass and porcelain were made elsewhere, despite local attempts to

imitate these wares.[74] This recalls Foster's Freudian *glanz* (reflection), and Barthes' sheen –

I read this instead as an erasure of the trade network that brought these objects to the Dutch

table, replacing it with a reorganized geography of trade, present now only in the Republic,

rather than along trade routes. Seventeenth-century viewers prized these reflections, as

Celeste Brusati's reading of Karl van Mander on *reflexy-const*, or art of reflection, makes

clear.[75] In her reading, this *reflexy-const* moves the viewer's gaze around the painting,

asking the viewer to compare the objects and textures of the various objects, encouraging the

consideration of relationships between objects and of the skill of the artist. She thus marries

an understanding of the objects with the pictorial mode used to represent them, allowing for a

deeper approach than the symbolic reading of object types preferred by the iconologists.

Brusati also points out that Kalf is tricking the viewer into believing he represented the

objects faithfully, when in fact he provided only enough details to make us believe he has.

She notes how the edges of the glassware disappear against the background, and their outline

is only implied by other details.[76]

The richness of the objects remains a subject of the *pronkstilleven*, though the objects

appear chosen for their ability to reflect light in a variety of ways. Bringing together these

objects on a tabletop removes them from the context of trade, fixing them into the domestic

sphere, where the long journeys that brought them here are only known if one looks into the

history of trade of each of these objects. The work that Hochstrasser did in her 2007 *Still

Life and Trade* is an invaluable companion to these paintings, filling in the untold stories of

these paintings and reminding that these paintings are *bastaarden*, juxtaposing the various

---

[74] Especially delftware: see Christiaan J. A. Jörg, *Oosters porselein Delfts aardewerk, Wisselwerkingen* (Groningen: Uitgeverij Kemper, 1983).
[75] Brusati, "Natural Artifice," especially 152ff.
[76] Ibid., 157.

reaches of the Dutch Republic. This Dutching of the objects of still life, through the means of illusionistic depiction, serves to make the far reaches of the Republic appear unimportant – it is only the riches have are already arrived that matter. This mirrors the disavowal of the importance of the colonial reach, and of hybridity, that were discussed in Chapter One. The *pronken* that occurs boasts of a rich Dutch Republic, rather than a rich trading empire, and the development of the *pronkstilleven* as the Golden Age begins to wane seems timely. As the Republic loses its grip on its monopolies, and the consumers of Europe demand goods that are subject to more competition, like tea and sugar, England and France began to make inroads into the free seas until then controlled by the Dutch.

Coming full circle, I end with the painting that began this chapter, Kalf's oft-commented-upon still life in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (fig. 1). The golden light reflecting on the porcelain lid from the gilded shaft of the nautilus cup inches away reminds us of the wide distances that have become small through the efforts of the Dutch merchant ships. No longer will such objects be imported and created in the Republic at such an astonishing rate – the fortunes of the VOC and the Republic begin to wane at this point, until they become the dream of the past. This golden light informs us that the Golden Age of the Republic is coming to an end, becoming instead a proud past for subsequent generations of Dutch people to look back on in their collective memory.

Conclusion

One compelling way to interpret the *pronkstilleven* is as a means of reordering the geography of trade so that it occurs only in the still life, only in the Republic, or like Jan Vos' epic poem, only on the bodies of water immediately adjacent to Amsterdam. This is an

example of *pronken*, or arrogant showing off of the Dutch trade prowess, but this barely masks the irony of Dutch anxieties about the many signs that they were reaching the end of this period of astronomical growth. By Dutching the objects within the paintings through the representational means of convincing realism and perspective, these objects lose their geographic specificity, becoming located only in the painting, in the Republic. The shine or sparkle of the object becomes the means of reorganizing the object types into a tight network *within* the painting. This reorganization of the distances of trade into the intimate setting demonstrates a pride that these objects have arrived here, even if the modes of arrival are turning less profitable. In the pronk still life, the Dutch show their pride in the prowess that is starting to slip away, as the Dutch Golden Age draws to a close. The still life painting nostalgically celebrates this past, reimagining it to mask present anxieties. The conclusion that follows examines how a group's memory of their history relates to collective identity formation, and the role of objects like the case studies of this dissertation in shaping this collective identity.

Figure 1. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Nautilus Cup*, 1662. Oil on canvas. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 131: cat. nr. 31.)

Figure 2. Ambrosius Bosschaert, *Still Life of Flowers*, undated. Oil on wood. Alte Pinakothek, Munich. (Source: Schneider, Norbert. *Still Life: Still Life Painting in the Early Modern Period* (Cologne: Taschen, 2009), 6.)

Figure 3. Willem Claesz Heda, *Breakfast Still Life*, 1637. Oil on wood. Louvre, Paris. (Source: Schneider, Norbert. *Still Life: Still Life Painting in the Early Modern Period* (Cologne: Taschen, 2009), 104.)

Figure 4. Abraham van Beijeren, *Lobster, Oysters, and Fruit on a Table*, 1650s. Oil on canvas. Heinz Collection. (Source: Wheelock, Arthur K., ed. *Still Lifes of the Golden Age: Northern European Paintings from the Heinz Family Collection* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989), 51: cat. nr. 5.)

Figure 5. David Bailly, *Self-portrait with Allegorical Still Life*, 1651. Oil on wood. Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden. (Source: Chong, Alan, and Wouter Kloek. *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 189: cat nr. 38.)

217

Figure 6. Jan Jansz van de Velde, *Glasses, Tobacco Materials, and Playing Cards*, 1653. Oil on canvas. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Source: Chong, Alan, and Wouter Kloek. *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 207, cat. nr. 45.)

Figure 7. Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Still Life with Nautilus Cup and Lobster*, 1634. Oil on canvas. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart. (Source: Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995), 174, fig. 166).

Figure 8. Abraham van Beijeren, *Still Life with a Silver Pitcher*, detail, 1660-65. Oil on canvas. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. (Source: postcard.)

Figure 9. Willem Kalf, *Still Life*, no date. Oil on canvas. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 143: cat. nr. 35.)

Figure 10. Jan Vermeer, *Girl Asleep*, ca. 1656-57. Oil on canvas. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Source: *In situ*, University of Madison, Wisconsin, Art History Department, no. 204732.)

Figure 11. Willem Claesz Heda, *Nautilus Cup and Plates with Oysters*, 1649. Oil on wood. Staatliches Museum, Schwerin. (Source: Chong, Alan, and Wouter Kloek. *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), 155: cat nr. 22.)

Figure 12. Willem Claesz Heda, *Still Life with Oysters and a Silver Pronk Piece*, 1634. Oil on panel. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. (Source: postcard.)

Figure 13. Pieter Claesz, *Still Life with a Turkey Pie*, 1627. Oil on wood. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Source: postcard).

Figure 14. Jan Davidsz de Heem, *Vivat Orange*, 1658. Oil on canvas. Private collection. (Source: Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 79.)

Figure 15. The Extension of pepper growing in Southeast Asia, 1500-1680. (Source: Reid, Anthony. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Vol. 2: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 9, map 2.)
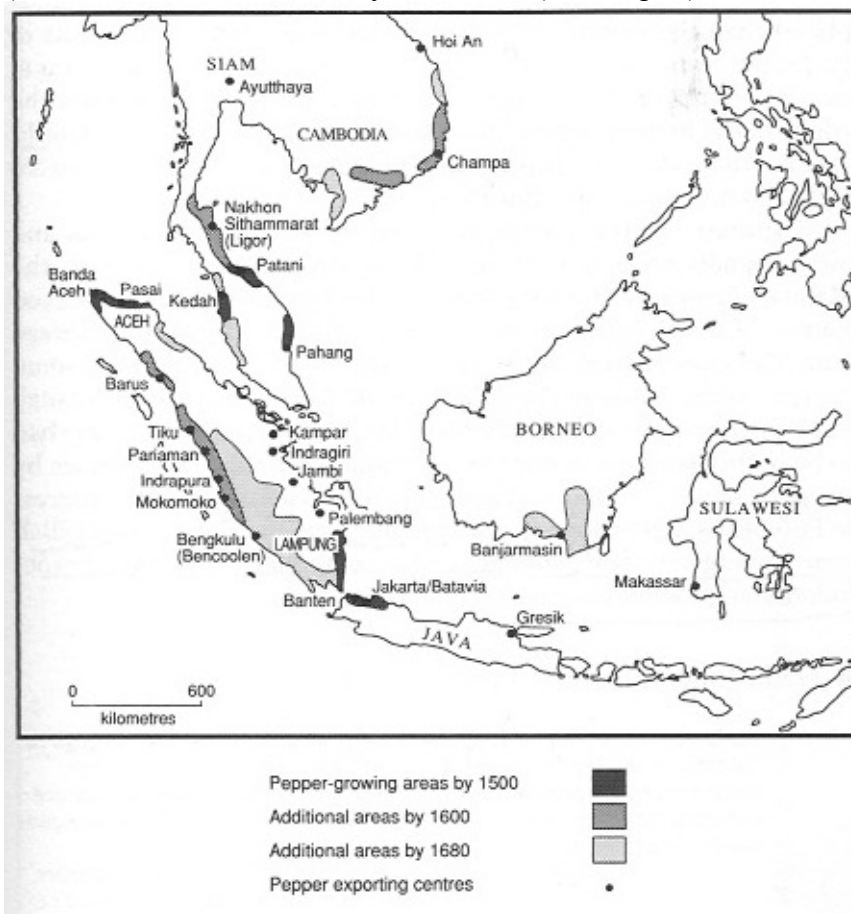
Figure 16. *Generale Carga*, 1690. (Source: Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Archief van Johannes Hudde (1628-1704), archive no. 1.10.48, inventory no. 17, photo author.)

Figure 17. "Generale Carga." *Hollande Mercurius* v. 41 (1690) (Haarlem: Pieter Casteleyn), 336. (Source: Newberry Library Collection, photo author.)
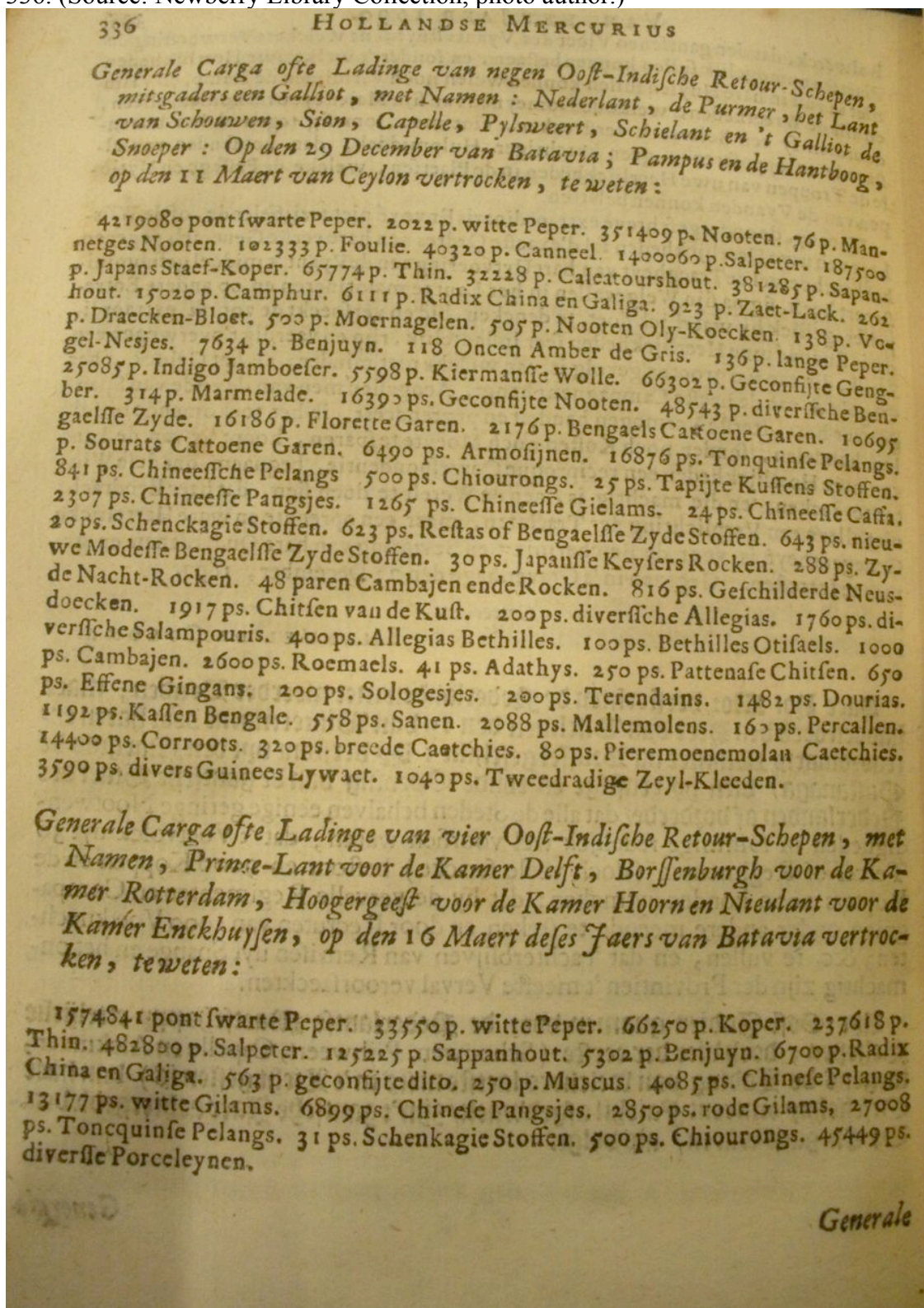

336   HOLLANDSE MERCURIUS

Generale Carga ofte Ladinge van negen Ooft-Indifche Retour-Schepen, mitsgaders een Galliot, met Namen : Nederlant, de Purmer, het Lant van Schouwen, Sion, Capelle, Pylsweert, Schielant en 't Galliot de Snoeper : Op den 29 December van Batavia ; Pampus en de Hantboog, op den 11 Maert van Ceylon vertrocken, te weten:

4219080 pont fwarte Peper. 2022 p. witte Peper. 351409 p. Nooten. 76 p. Man-netges Nooten. 102333 p. Foulie. 40320 p. Canneel. 1400060 p. Salpeter. 187500 p. Japans Staef-Koper. 65774 p. Thin. 32228 p. Caleatourshout. 381285 p. Sapan-hout. 15020 p. Camphur. 6111 p. Radix China en Galiga. 923 p. Zaet-Lack. 262 p. Draecken-Bloet. 500 p. Moernagelen. 505 p. Nooten Oly-Koecken. 138 p. Vo-gel-Nesjes. 7634 p. Benjuyn. 118 Oncen Amber de Gris. 136 p. lange Peper. 25085 p. Indigo Jamboefer. 5598 p. Kiermanffe Wolle. 66302 p. Geconfijte Geng-ber. 314 p. Marmelade. 1639o ps. Geconfijte Nooten. 48543 p. diverfiche Ben-gaelffe Zyde. 16186 p. Florette Garen. 2176 p. Bengaels Cattoene Garen. 10695 p. Sourats Cattoene Garen. 6490 ps. Armofijnen. 16876 ps. Tonquinfe Pelangs. 841 ps. Chineeffche Pelangs 500 ps. Chiourongs. 25 ps. Tapijte Kuffens Stoffen. 2307 ps. Chineeffe Pangsjes. 1265 ps. Chineeffe Gielams. 24 ps. Chineeffe Caffa. 20 ps. Schenckagie Stoffen. 623 ps. Reftas of Bengaelffe Zyde Stoffen. 643 ps. nieu-we Modeffe Bengaelffe Zyde Stoffen. 30 ps. Japanffe Keyfers Rocken. 288 ps. Zy-de Nacht-Rocken. 48 paren Cambajen ende Rocken. 816 ps. Gefchilderde Neus-doecken. 1917 ps. Chitfen van de Kuft. 200 ps. diverfiche Allegias. 1760 ps. di-verffche Salampouris. 400 ps. Allegias Bethilles. 100 ps. Bethilles Otifaels. 1000 ps. Cambajen. 2600 ps. Roemaels. 41 ps. Adathys. 250 ps. Pattenafe Chitfen. 650 ps. Effene Gingans. 200 ps. Sologesjes. 200 ps. Terendains. 1482 ps. Dourias. 1192 ps. Kaffen Bengale. 558 ps. Sanen. 2088 ps. Mallemolens. 160 ps. Percallen. 14400 ps. Corroots. 320 ps. breede Caetchies. 80 ps. Pieremoenemolan Caetchies. 3590 ps. divers Guinees Lywaet. 1040 ps. Tweedradige Zeyl-Kleeden.

Generale Carga ofte Ladinge van vier Ooft-Indifche Retour-Schepen, met Namen, Prince-Lant voor de Kamer Delft, Borffenburgh voor de Ka-mer Rotterdam, Hoogergeeft voor de Kamer Hoorn en Nieulant voor de Kamer Enckhuyfen, op den 16 Maert defes Jaers van Batavia vertroc-ken, te weten:

1574841 pont fwarte Peper. 33550 p. witte Peper. 66250 p. Koper. 237618 p. Thin. 482800 p. Salpeter. 125225 p. Sappanhout. 5302 p. Benjuyn. 6700 p. Radix China en Galiga. 563 p. geconfijte dito. 250 p. Muscus. 4085 ps. Chinefe Pelangs. 13177 ps. witte Gilams. 6899 ps. Chinefe Pangsjes. 2850 ps. rode Gilams. 27008 ps. Toncquinfe Pelangs. 31 ps. Schenkagie Stoffen. 500 ps. Chiourongs. 45449 ps. diverffe Porceleynen.

Generale

Figure 18. Table from which the following chart was derived. (Source: author.)

Year	Black and White Pepper imported, in pounds
1635	2,180,067
1653	3,258,378
1654	3,430,930
1657	5,897,289
1658	5,779,949
1659	4,732,333
1661	5,531,608
1664	6,362,614
1667	4,887,451
1670	9,256,268
1687	3,775,021
1688	4,961,981
1689	4,614,862
1694	4,489,036
1695	4,543,455
1696	3,268,909

Figure 19. Volume of pepper imported by VOC, for years in which entire fleet is known to author. (Source: author.)

Black and White Pepper Imported, in pounds
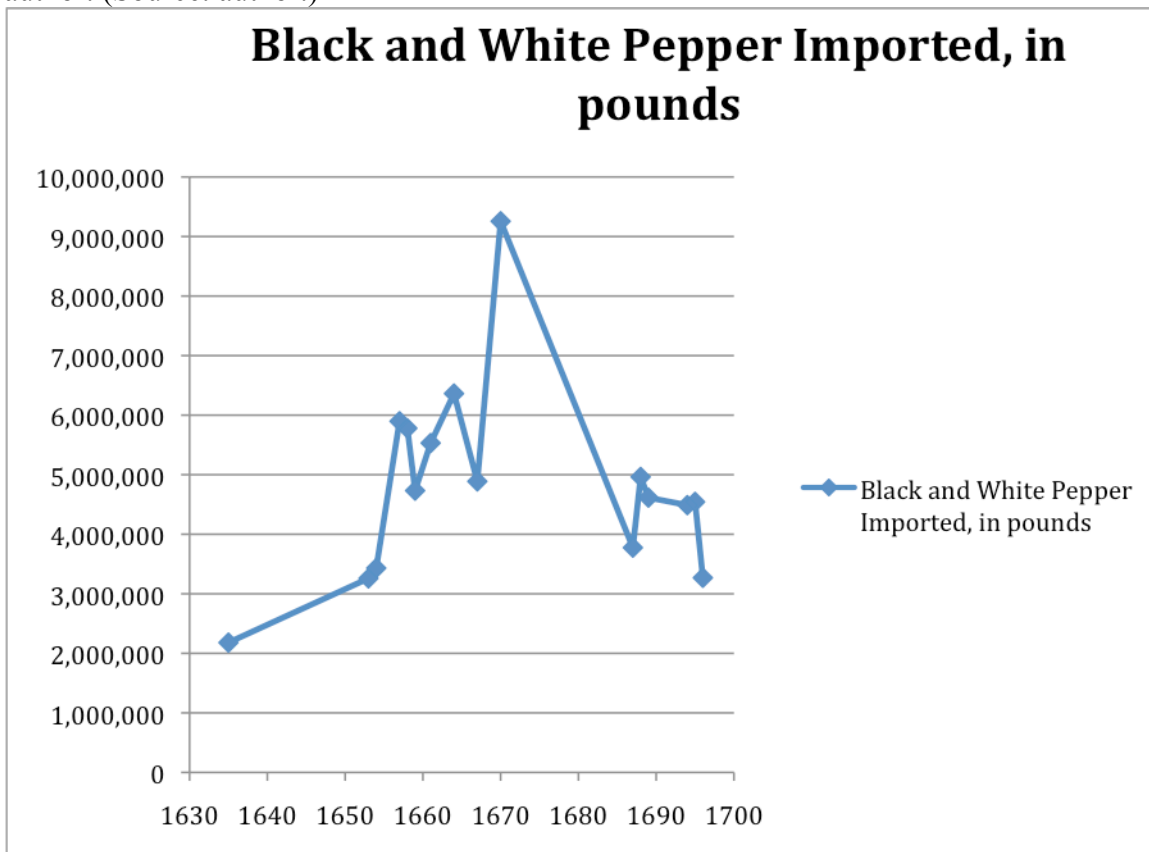
Figure 20. Estimated volume of pepper imported by VOC in the 17th century. (Source: author.)
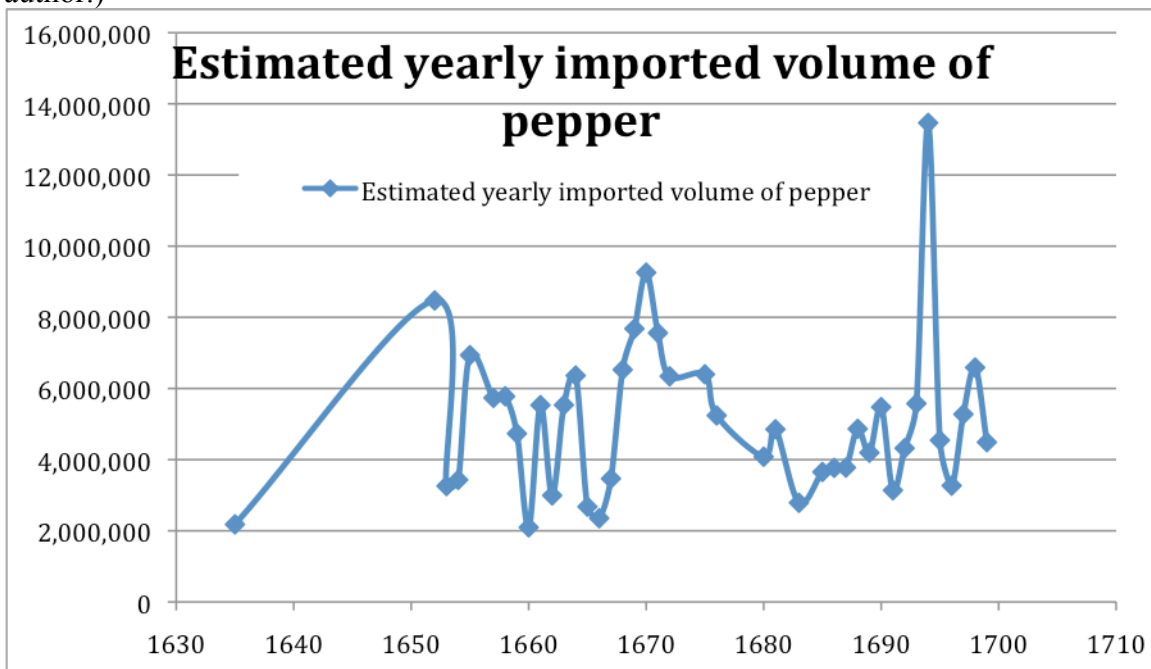

Figure 21. Artus Quellien and assistants, back pediment, Amsterdam Town Hall (now Royal Palace), 1650-1665. Marble. (Source: Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 19, fig. 5.)
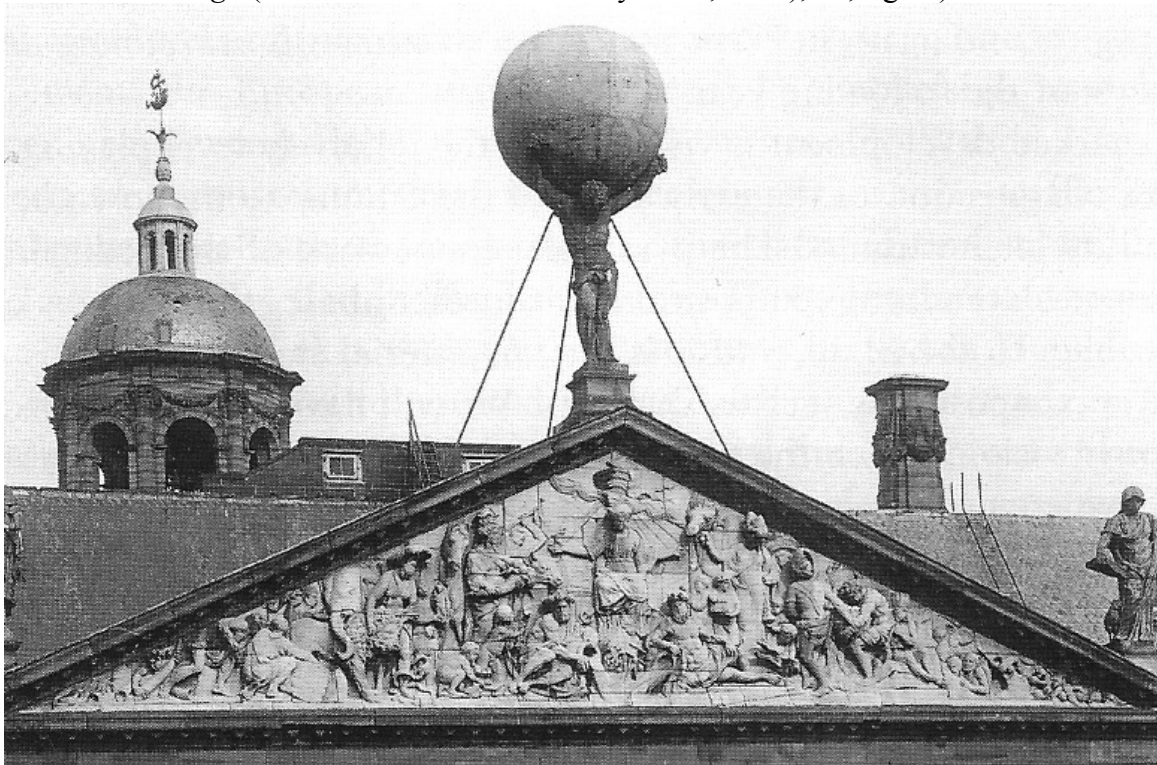
Figure 22. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with a Nautilus Shell*, 1643. Oil on canvas. Musée de Tessé, Le Mans. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 81: cat. nr. 16.)

Figure 23. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Shells*, no date. Oil on canvas. Museum de Fundatie, Heino. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 107: cat. nr. 23.)

Figure 24. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with a Porcelain Pitcher*, 1653. Oil on canvas. Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 109: cat. nr. 24.)

Figure 25. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with a Glass Goblet*, no date. Oil on canvas. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. (Source: Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), 117: cat. nr. 26.)

Figure 26. Pieter van Roestraeten, *Still Life with Silver Candleholder*, no date. Oil on canvas. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. (Source: Hochstrasser, Julie Berger. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 152, fig. 83.)

1. Conclusion: Forming a Dutched Collective Identity

The Netherlands is currently facing an identity crisis. Waves of immigration from the former colonies and guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as continuing immigration by asylum-seekers, are changing the social fabric of the country. Most notably, non-white Muslim immigrants and citizens have come to be seen as a challenge to dominant notions of the Dutch nation and its European identity. According to certain political commentators in the Netherlands, the practice of tolerance of difference – operative since the early modern period in the welcoming and toleration of different practitioners of various Christian and Jewish denominations from around Europe – may have reached its limit. The high-profile murder of conservative anti-immigrant journalist Theo van Gogh in 2004 by young Moroccan-Dutchman Mohammed Bouyéri showed the strain on the practice of tolerance. The subtitle of Ian Buruma's account of the murder includes the phrase, the "Limits of Tolerance."[1]

A reaction to these perceived challenges has manifested in a desire by some governmental officials to shore up Dutch culture through linguistic expression. In 2006, Rita Verdonk, Minster for Integration and Immigration (2003-2006), controversially proposed

---

[1] Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

that only the Dutch language should be spoken in public.[2] A 2008 opinion poll suggests that

a majority of respondents, "native Dutch" as the article calls them, agree.[3] Contemporary

terminology for pointing out difference also shows unwillingness to concede that the

Netherlands has a diverse population. The term *allochtoon*, which technically means at least

one parent was born elsewhere, as opposed to *autochtoon* (autochthonous or indigenous), has

come to be colloquially applied to any descendant of immigrants, suggesting that perceived

ethnicity has a greater role than place of birth. While seemingly more inclusive than

designation as "foreign" or "immigrant," this term as used popularly nonetheless fixes the

immigrant's offspring as forever other and their residence as temporary, regardless of

birthplace or citizenship. Since the nineteenth century, the social and political structure of

the Netherlands has been organized as a series of pillars, each representing a distinct political

or religious group, which are equally supported and supporting, yet do not integrate – a

concept at odds with other models of multicultural societies such as the United States'

problematic melting pot.[4] With changes in migration patterns since the mid-twentieth

century, pillars have been added representing new ethnic groups, some of whom differ in

race, religion, and political leanings. Paul Scheffer, in a controversial and widely reprinted

essay, suggested in 2000 that the divisions between Dutch society and migrant (mostly

---

[2] Michiel Kruijt, "Verdonk: op straat alleen Nederlands," *Volkskrant*, 23 January 2006, http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2824/Politiek/article/detail/766625/2006/01/23/Verdonk-op-straat-alleen-Nederlands.dhtml, 11 May 2012.

[3] "Survey backs Dutch only in public," *Dutch News.nl*, 14 July 2008, http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives /2008/07/survey_backs_dutch_only_in_pub.php, 11 May 2012.

[4] Paul Arblaster, *A History of the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 2, 236-237. Arblaster also suggests that while many of the original pillars are religious, and most Dutch do not adhere strongly to their religious group, the social divisions persist specifically in school choices and, oddly, television channels.

Muslim) society are so great that the migrant pillars are not even holding up the same building as the Dutch pillars.[5]

Contemporary ideas about Dutch identity are based in part on the constructed memory of the past, in which the triumphs and flowerings of the Golden Age play a large role. This dissertation has demonstrated that the culture of the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century was more diverse than it has come to be remembered, drawn from the reaches of the global trading empire. The objects and landscapes of my case studies, among other material and visual culture, demonstrate the rich mixing of the foreign and domestic. For many scholars, as well as in the popular imagination, the Dutch Golden Age has come to reflect only a singular white Dutch domestic history, excluding the diverse foundation of the period, where identity was constantly under negotiation as the (proto)colonial state sought to extend its reaches and influence. The erasure of the global dimensions in perceptions of this state was already beginning at the close of the Golden Age, as Chapter Five asserted in the case of still life painting. This project seeks to recover this important diversity in order to critique the development of a single Dutch collective identity that today excludes, or is merely tolerant of, the multicultural elements of contemporary society. In moving forward in studies of the Dutch Golden Age, we must continue to trouble the idea of the domestic and foreign as fixed and separate categories and instead look at their dynamic interaction.

This project has helped make the hybridity of Golden Age material and visual culture more apparent. I used the period term *bastaard* to foreground the senses of illegitimacy, impurity, and degeneration that were associated at the time with cultural mixing in the

---

[5] Paul Scheffer, "The Land of Arrival: The Multicultural Fiasco," in *The Challenge of Diversity: European Social Democracy Facing Migration, Integration, and Multiculturalism*, ed. René Cuperus and Karl Duffek (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2003), 25. This article was initially published in 2000 in the *NRC Handelsblad*.

Netherlands, which shows a hostility to such intermixture of the foreign and domestic even as my case studies show different ways that such mixing occurred. I adopted the term "Dutching" to collectively describe these processes by which the Dutch disavowed foreign elements even as they became integrated in a pivotal way into their everyday lives at home and in the (proto)colonies. These examples have demonstrated that the term "Dutch" and the Golden Age have never represented a single, pure ethnicity, but have long been multicultural. This redefinition of the Dutch Golden Age is important for understanding the sense of Dutch collective identity as it has developed since the seventeenth century. In this conclusion, I suggest ways in which memory and history helped shape a sense of identity, and propose a path towards an updated understanding of the Dutch Golden Age, in which foreign elements and influences, as well as the active Dutching that altered them, are recognized, and consider how they can change understandings of what "Dutch" might mean to residents in the Netherlands today. It is not possible to understand the Dutch Republic without looking also at the way it reached outwards to the rest of the world through trade and (proto)colonialism.

Forming a Dutched Collective Identity

Acknowledging the diversity of the past is essential to understanding Dutch collective identity in the early modern and subsequent periods. The sense of a collective "native Dutch" identity today is based on the assumption of a shared and unified past, when in fact the Golden Age was an integration of many different elements, similar to the concept of social pillarization. Some of these pillars remained separate in the early modern period, like Chapter Four's population of Batavia that was divided and arranged by the city plan, while some fit snugly together, like Chapter Three's nautilus shell and its mount. Rather than

collapsing these elements into a singular conception of Dutch, I suggest taking a cue from the names of the political and economic units that comprise this study – the *Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden* (Republic of Seven United Dutch Provinces), and the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) – which both make use of *verenigde*, "collected" or "united," suggesting that multiplicity can exist in that unity. If we recapture the multiplicity of the Golden Age, we can broaden what "Dutch" means in today's Netherlands.

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic was nascent; the Republic had just declared its independence from the Spanish Empire in 1581 with the *Plakkaat van Verlatinghe*. While a budding sense of Dutch nationalism may have emerged out of the initial separation from Spain, a sense of collective identity among the general population developed as the nation expanded its reach and solidified its national boundaries. The Dutch people initially identified more with their local environments, such as the city, rather than the Republic, and even continued with outside alliances, like the privateers who would work for whichever government commissioned them, or even the Dutch national hero, William the Silent, who continued to identify as German, despite his role in securing the early Dutch nation. Throughout the seventeenth century this identity began to coalesce into a collective national identity – one that became stronger during the following centuries and which has contributed to the sense of the "Golden Age" as celebrated today. By the early seventeenth century, before Spain had even conceded its independence, the Dutch Republic had already established itself as a formidable economic and military power within Europe, and it also

grew as a cultural and intellectual power, producing what has retrospectively been called a

Golden Age in the fine arts and sciences in the seventeenth century.[6]

This exponential flourishing at home and the expanding global trade were intimately

connected, yet these aspects have generally been considered separately in scholarship. This

Golden Age helped to shape an emerging Dutch collective identity, and later generations

would look back to this period as integral to forming their collective identity. My thinking

about collective identity derives from the work of Maurice Halbwachs who argues that a

group's perception of history is integral to the development of a collective memory and the

collective identity that follows.[7] Theorists of memory have established that groups of people

revise their memory of history to suit the needs of the present, constructing a view of the past

that is not entirely rooted in historical fact.[8] Halbwachs introduced the notion that objects

and symbols have a role in shaping and reinforcing memory, thus expanding on the ideas of

sociologists such as Émile Durkheim.[9] This role of objects enables an extension to the realm

of Benedict Anderson's imagined community, where members have not met, yet they share

common repeatable symbols, which serve the collective, even if approached individually.[10]

---

[6] On the various successes of the Dutch Golden Age, see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); and Chapter Two for the basic history of the Dutch Republic.

[7] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[8] This follows the arguments in the following works: Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 1992; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); David W. Blight, "Historians and 'Memory'," *Common-Place* 2, no. 3 (2002). My desire to define exactly what I mean by memory answers Confino's criticism that memory studies use loosely-defined terms and methodology: Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review* (1997): 1386-1403.

[9] Aby Warburg similarly saw objects as a location for collective memory – see Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique* 65 (Spring-Summer, 1995): 129.

[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, 1991). In order to conceive of a collective in a nation of individuals with different allegiances, I have considered objects with a range of audiences and various collective identities. This approach is

This dissertation has focused on objects and a landscape that demonstrate varying means of the assimilation of Dutch and foreign. I have hoped to show that even if a collective memory of the Golden Age has reconceptualized these objects as typically Dutch, their hybridity remains as a shaper of collective identity in the Netherlands.

Over time, the Dutched objects and landscape of this project have come to be understood as representing Dutch culture, with an erasure of the foreign elements that exist in tension with the Dutching elements. This dissertation aims to recapture this tension and to reintroduce it into today's understanding of the Golden Age. I wish to revise our memory of this past so it can more closely reflect the reality of this period than hopeful imaginings of an isolated and culturally homogeneous Golden Age. This actively works against notions of "Dutch" representing a monolithic culture, instead reminding us of the collected elements that still define Dutch culture today. As I continue to ask questions about the development of Dutch collective identity in my research, I will seek to anchor understanding of the Dutched objects and landscapes of the sort discussed here to specific moments in time when they became representative of an ostensibly monolithic Dutch culture. The eighteenth-century descriptions of Batavia by François Valentijn suggested that the straight streets exemplify Dutch building ideas; I want to know at what point straightness enters into conceptions of Dutchness. A discussion of when and how the Dutch collective identity developed can be found in studies of literature, such as the work of Joep Leerssen, and in studies of Dutch

---

recommended, in order not to prize one group's experience over that of another, by Confino, "Collective Memory," and several of the essays in Michael A. Tomlan, ed., *Preservation of What, for Whom? A Critical Look at Historical Significance* (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998).

nationalism.[11] I am interested in developing a further understanding of the role of objects

and landscapes in shaping this identity after the Golden Age.

Expanding the Dutching Model

      In this project, I looked at how the nautilus cup, the city plan of Batavia, and *pronk*

still life painting show different processes of the integration of foreign and domestic. The

nautilus shell, brought from the Spice Islands to the Republic, and mounted by Dutch

goldsmiths, altered foreign-derived material and deliberately juxtaposed Dutch craftsmanship

and natural exotica. The city plan of Batavia exported Dutch ideals onto the Javanese

landscape in order to shape and divided a diverse population into a social hierarchy. Still life

painting in the 1660s celebrated trade goods arriving in the Republic, at the same time as

anxieties about the slipping of trade prowess were felt throughout the nation. These case

studies represent objects and symbols that worked to shape a collective identity among those

who handled and viewed them. In these Dutched examples, there are a variety of elements in

tension, such as Javanizing and globalizing elements, and an individual who encounters the

object may have an array of responses to any combination of them. It is not the effect of the

singular aspects within the object that I am interested in, but the effect of the whole in

making a multivalent and hybrid Dutch collective identity.

      Additionally, it is difficult to quantify the effect of this *bastaardering* on the

collective Dutch identity. While hybridization may go unacknowledged in the traditional

means of capturing an understanding of a historical collective identity, such as historical

---

[11] See for instance the work of Joep Leerssen: *De Bronnen van het Vaderland: Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2006); or *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

texts, I maintain that the *bastaard* nature is visible and impossible to ignore in the objects

that are so important to reinforcing this collective identity. Finally, as should be clear from

the presence of 'Dutch' in Dutching, I have limited myself in this study to looking at Dutch

collective identity, even though the objects and landscapes I include affected the formation of

other identities, and the concept can be extended beyond the Dutch. The most obvious

counterpart to this study is the effect on those who have different cultural claims to these

objects – for example, what affect did the Dutch plan of Batavia have on the Javanese whose

land it was etched into? This is a fruitful vein for further study, but is outside of the scope of

this project. Another example of Dutching on Java, the shrine of Sunan Gunung Jati, will

serve to demonstrate a possible extension of this concept.

A shrine outside of Cirebon celebrates the Muslim saint, Sunan Gunung Jati, a

sixteenth-century sultan on Java who was responsible for converting the western regions of

the island to Islam.[12] The shrine dates to shortly after the death of the saint and has

developed into a grand series of nesting enclosures. The shrine is decorated with Chinese

blue-and-white porcelain vases and plates, as well as Dutch delftware blue-and-white tiles.

These tiles signal a Dutching element on the shrine; though their immediate means of arrival

on the shrine is unclear, they are certainly the result of the seventeenth-century Dutch

presence in the region. Both the saint and his shrine date to before the Dutch arrival on Java,

so there is no hagiographical justification for the tiles, which were a later addition. The

Chinese porcelain decorates the shrine because one of the important relics of the saint is a

Chinese blue-and-white porcelain plate he received as wedding gift when he married a

---

[12] Paramita R. Abdurachman, ed., *Cerbon*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Mitra Budaya Indonesia, Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982); A. G. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Jakarta: Centre for Research and Development of Socio-Religious Affairs Office of Religious Research, Development, and In-Service Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2004), 245-9.

Chinese princess. The repurposed Dutch tiles, however acquired, have the advantage over the Chinese porcelain as a wall decoration because they are square and flat, and were designed to fit into a wall, unlike Chinese plates which here and elsewhere in the surrounding region are also set into walls, somewhat awkwardly. Delftware ceramics were explicitly designed to have an affinity with the Chinese porcelain being imported to Europe, so the re-export of this aesthetic introduces layers of appropriation and repetition. These tiles first Dutched the Chinese porcelain aesthetic as they work to approximate it and capitalize on a Dutch interest in cheaper versions of this object type, and then Dutched the interior of a European-style house on Java. Finally, their appropriation by decorators of this shrine can be seen as an example of Dutching as practiced by a different agent, or as a "Javanizing" of the Dutch tiles.

This shrine is featured in a film about the diversity of Muslim practice. The narrator pointed out that the local worshippers seem unbothered by what he deems the most noticeably discordant aspect of the tiles: their Christian pictorial motifs.[13] This apparent invisibility of the tiles attests to their very slight effect on the actual users of the shrine. The narrator is interested in creating a conflict for viewers of this shrine between Islam and Christianity, when this example instead suggests that the Javanizing of these Dutch tiles is a comfortable translation or assimilation of difference, one that shows an aspect of the hybridity of Islamic practices and its long-term relationship with Christianity and Judaism. This example complicates the model of Dutching discussed in this dissertation, and illustrates how it might be extended outside of the Dutch example to other instances of hybridity and

---

[13] Akbar S. Ahmed, director, *Living Islam 3: Paradise Lies at the Feet of our Mother*, video (BBC-TV and Ambrose Video Publishing, 1993).

cultural appropriation. While I look forward to considering the ways in which quintessentially Dutch objects were translated outside of the Republic and the VOC's trading scope, I have limited my study here to case studies that illuminate the complex techniques by which the Dutch attempted to assimilate foreign materials into the domestic and impose the domestic model onto the site of Batavia. This concept of Dutching, which can be renamed for other cultures, provides a model for understanding hybridity as a process that continually produces tension among meeting cultures as objects and motifs are shared and appropriated.

Implications

This project has implications for three veins of related scholarship: studies of the Dutch Golden Age and contemporary Dutch identity, of other colonial powers, and of hybridity. This project complicates our understanding of the Dutch Golden Age by integrating the domestic and colonial histories. Scholars of this period cannot continue to look at the visual and material culture without considering the colonial context: for example, how might an understanding of the importance of global trade to the domestic economy affect our understanding of Rembrandt's commissioned work? In addition to demonstrating how the colonial was essential to the Dutch identity of the seventeenth century, I complicate our understanding of the Dutch identity today – in a society where Dutchness is increasingly contested especially in issues of immigration, I show that Dutch identity has always been hybrid.

The Dutch colonial situation represents a more complicated encounter between European and Other than is seen in many studies of European colonialism. Analyses of colonialism in the so-called New World often show a meeting of two distinct groups,

representatives of a particular European empire and the local indigenous – a model with flaws. With the Dutch encounter in the East, we follow one European power's ships filled with seamen from many cultures, and supported by international investors, as the Dutch insinuate themselves into a fully developed international Asian trade.[14] This requires a more nuanced look at encounter, which should inform these studies of Europeans in the West. While my model is called Dutching, and thus is clearly linked to the project of the Dutch Republic, I believe that by renaming and revising the concept to reflect different modes of translation and appropriation it can be productively extended to studies of other imperial powers.

Finally, I hope that this project offers to studies of hybridity a model for looking at hybridity as an active process that creates tension as objects and ideas are appropriated and altered by the metropole. The negative implications of the term *bastaard* recall the racist baggage of concepts of hybridity and the negative responses to the Others encountered in the course of colonialism, as well as impurity and illegitimacy. This concept emphasizes the condemnation of difference that masks a desire for the Other and the exotic, as seen in this dissertation with the importance of the global in the economic growth of the Republic, and in the specific desire of collectors for Dutched objects. When foreign material is Dutched, it may come to be perceived as quintessentially Dutch, like the tulip, but pointing out the *bastaardering* of that object shows the illegitimacy of any claims of pure unquestionable Dutchness.

---

[14] On the inadvisability of attaching these diverse Southeast Asians to specific geographical space, see Eric Tagliacozzo, "Navigating communities: race, place, and travel in the history of maritime Southeast Asia," *Asian Ethnicity* 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 97-120.

Works Cited

Archives

Delft Archives 234: Archief van het Gilde van Goud- en Zilversmeden, 1502, 1536-1807: Deel 2 Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande stukken van de dekens 1576-1727

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling, nummer toegang 1.11.01.01, inventarisnummer 541: Geschreven prijslijsten van goederen van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, en gedrukte carga- en prijslijsten, 1670-1695, 1777-1782 (Abbreviated: NL-HaNA, Aanw. 1e afd. ARA, 1.11.01.01, inv.nr. 541)

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Archief Jacob van Ghesel, nummer toegang 1.10.31, inventarisnummer 195: Lijsten van de kantoren van de VOC in Indië en de daar verhandelde producten. (1701) en z.j. 3 stukken (Abbreviated: NL-HaNA, Ghesel, Van, 1.10.31 inv.nr. 195)

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Archief van Johannes Hudde (levensjaren 1628-1704), nummer toegang 1.10.48, inventarisnummer 17: Gagelijsten van retourschepen der O.I.C. (Gedrukt)., 1680-1703. (Abbreviated NL-HaNA, Hudde, 1.10.48, inv.nr.17)

Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), nummer toegang 1.04.02 (Abbreviated: NL-HaNA, VOC)
Inventory numbers:
603: Facturen van de lading van het schip Bantam, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1608
604: Factuur van de lading van het schip Grote Zon, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1608
607: Facturen van de ladingen van de schepen Wapen van Amsterdam, Vlissingen en Witte Leeuw, gaande van Bantam naar de Republiek 1612 dec. 5
5003: Ladinglijst van een in de Republiek gearriveerde vloot van zes VOC-schepen. Gedrukt, 1635
5004: Ladinglijsten van binnengekomen retourschepen, 1670 - 1678

Published Material

Abdurachman, Paramita R. ed. *Cerbon*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Mitra Budaya Indonesia, Penerbit Sinar Harapan, 1982).

Abeyasekere, Susan. *Jakarta: A History*, 2nd ed. (Singapore/Oxford/NYC: Oxford University Press, 1989).

---. "Slaves in Batavia: Insights from a Slave Register." In *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia,* ed. Anthony Reid, 286-314 (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

Ahmed, Akbar S., director. *Living Islam 3: Paradise Lies at the Feet of our Mother*, video (BBC-TV and Ambrose Video Publishing, 1993).

Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983, 1991).

Andrzejewski, Anna Vemer. *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 2008).

Arblaster, Paul. *A History of the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Artschwager, Ernst and Edwina M. Smiley. *Dictionary of Botanical Equivalents* (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1925).

Assmann, Jan. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." Trans. John Czaplicka. *New German Critique* 65 (Spring-Summer, 1995): 125-33.

Bakker, Boudewijn. "A New Atlantis: The Geometric Ideal and Amsterdam's Ring of Canals." In *The Low Countries. Arts and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands,* 54-64 (Rekkem: The Flemish Netherlands Foundation 'Stichting Ons Erfdeel,' 2003).

Balk, G. L., F. van Dijk, and D. J. Kortlang. *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Barthes, Roland. "The World as Object." Trans. Richard Howard. In *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France,* ed. Norman Bryson, 106-115 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Baucom, Ian. *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Bergevelt, Ellinour and Renee Kistemaker, eds. *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1992).

Bergevelt, Ellinour, Debora J. Meijers, and Mieke Rijnders, eds. *Verzamelen: Van Rariteitenkabinet tot Kunstmuseum* (Heerlen: Open universiteit, 1993).

Bergh-Hoogterp, Louise E. van den. *Goud en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (The Hague: G. Schwarz/SDU, 1990). 2 vols.

Bergström, Ingvar. *Dutch Still Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956).
Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004).

---. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 152-160 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

---. "Signs Taken for Wonders." Reprinted in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd ed., 102-122 (London: Routledge, 2004).

Blakely, Allison. *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

Bleichmar, Daniela. "Painting as Exploration: Visualizing Nature in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Science." *Colonial Latin American Review* 15, no. 1 (June 2006): 81-104.

---. "Training the Naturalist's Eye in the Eighteenth Century: Perfect Global Visions and Local Blind Spots." In *Skilled Visions: Between Apprenticeship and Standards*, ed. Cristina Grasseni, 166-190 (New York: Bergahn Books, 2007).

Blight, David W. "Historians and 'Memory'." *Common-Place* 2, no. 3 (2002).

Blockmans, William Pieter. *Emperor Charles V: 1500-1558* (London: Arnold, 2002).

Blussé, Leonard. "An Insane Administration and an Unsanitary Town: The Dutch East India Company and Batavia (1619-1799)." In *Colonial Cities,* ed. Robert J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp, 65-86 (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985).

---. *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia*. 2nd ed. (Dordrecht-Holland/Providence-USA: Verhandelingen van het KILTV, 1988).

Boogert, Bob van den, ed. *Rembrandt's Treasures* (Zwolle: The Rembrandt House Museum, 1999).

Boogaart, Ernst van den. "Infernal Allies: The Dutch West India Company and the Tarairiu." In *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen: A Humanist Prince in Brazil and Europe*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, 519-538 (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979).

---, ed. *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen: A Humanist Prince in Brazil and Europe* (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979).

Boxer, C. R. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York: Penguin Books, 1965).

Brah, Avtar and Annie E. Coombes, eds. *Hybridity and its discontents: politics, science, culture* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Bredero, G. A. *Lucille*, first performed 1616, 4th act, scene 3. Published by Project Laurens Jz Coster, Klassieke Nederlandstalige literatuur in elektronische edities, http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/ljc/bredero/, accessed Jan. 29, 2012.

---. *Spaanschen* Brabander Jerolimo, Published by Project Laurens Jz Coster, Klassieke Nederlandstalige literatuur in elektronische edities, http://cf.hum.uva.nl/dsp/ljc/bredero/, accessed Jan. 29, 2012.

Brewer, John and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Brienen, Rebecca Parker. *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

Brink, Peter van den and Fred G. Meijer, eds. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* exh. cat. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007).

Brook, Timothy. *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008).

Brug, Peter H. van der. "Unhealthy Batavia and the decline of the VOC in the eighteenth century." In *Jakarta/Batavia: Socio-cultural essays*, ed. Kees Grijns and Peter J. M. Nas, 43-74 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000).

Brusati, Celeste. *Artifice and illusion: the art and writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).

---.. "Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life." In *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits, 144-157 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

---.. "Stilled Lives: Self-Portraiture and Self-Reflection in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Still-Life Painting." *Simiolus* vol. 20, no. 2/3 (1990-1991): 168-182

Bryson, Norman. *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambrdge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

Camerarius, J. *Symbolorun et emblematum ex aquatilibus et reptilibus desumptorum centuria quarta.* (Heidelberg, publisher unknown, 1604). For facsimile, see *Fondo Antiguo*, Universidad de Sevilla, n.d., http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/682/107/symbolorum-et-emblematum-ex-aquatilibus-et-reptilibus-desumptorum-centuria-quarta/. 1 February 2011.

Carrera, Magali Marie. *Imagining identity in New Spain: race, lineage, and the colonial body in portraiture and casta paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

Casid, Jill H. *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

Castles, Lance. "The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta." *Indonesia* 3 (April 1967): 153-204.

Chong, Alan. "Contained Under the Name of Still Life: The Associations of Still-Life Painting." In *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek, 11-37 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999).

Chong, Alan, and Wouter Kloek. *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999).

Cobban, James L. "The Ephemeral Historic District in Jakarta." *Geographical Review* 75, no. 3 (July 1985): 300-318.

Confino, Alon. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method." *American Historical Review* (1997): 1386-1403.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Cook, Harold. *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Coomans, Henry E. "Schelpenverzamelingen." In *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735,* ed. Ellinour Bergevelt and Renee Kistemaker, 192-203 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1992).

Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Culture in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Cordingly, David. *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates* (New York: Random House, 1995).

Crouch, Dora P., Daniel J. Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo. *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982).

Dash, Mike. *Tulipomania: the Story of the World's Most Coveted Flower and the Extraordinary Passions it Aroused* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1999).

Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

Dean, Carolyn and Dana Liebsohn. "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America." *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5-35.

Deursen, A. Th. van. *De Last van veel Geluk: De Geschiedenis van Nederland 1555-1702* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2005).

---. *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, religion, and society in seventeenth-century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Dijksterhuis, E. J. *Simon Stevin: Science in the Netherlands around 1600* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).

Dumbauld, Edward. *The Life and Legal Writings of Hugo Grotius* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969).

 "(Dutch) Act of Abjuration, 1581 July 26, Modern English translation." *From Revolution to Reconstruction*, http://www.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1501-1600/plakkaat/plakkaaten.htm, 1 June 2010.

Emmer, Pieter C. *De Nederlandse slavenhandel, 1500-1850* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 2003).

Epstein, Mikhail. "On the Concept of Transculture." Paper from *Re-placing Cultures: An Inter-Disciplinary and Inter-World Conference* at Emory University, 28 January 2005.

Fairchilds, Cissie. "Consumption in Early Modern Europe. A Review Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 4 (Oct. 1993): 850-858.

Filipczak, Zirka Zaremba. "A new studio practice of Claesz and Heda: composing with real objects." In *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive, presented on his seventy-fifth birthday*, ed. Cynthia P. Schneider et al., 271-307 (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995).

Foster, Hal. "The Art of Fetishism: Notes on Dutch Still Life." *The Princeton Architectural Journal* 4 (1992): 6-19.

Fox, James. "'For Good and Sufficient Reasons': An Examination of Early Dutch East India Company Ordinances on Slaves and Slavery." In *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia,* ed. Anthony Reid, 246-262 (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

Franits, Wayne. *Looking at seventeenth-century Dutch art: realism reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Fraser, Valerie. *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Freedberg, David and Jan de Vries, eds. *Art in history, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Los Angeles: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991).

Gaastra, Femme S. *The Dutch East India Company: Expansion and Decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

Gelder, Roelof van and Jaap van der Veen. "A Collector's cabinet in the Breestraat: Rembrandt as lover of art and curiosities." In *Rembrandt's Treasures*, ed. Bob van den Boogert, 83-88 (Zwolle: The Rembrandt House Museum, 1999).

Gerson, Horst. *Ausbreitung und nachwirkung der holländischen malerei des 17 jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Haarlem: De erven F. Bohn n. v., 1983).

Gill, Ronald. "Jakarta's Urban Heritage: Restoration of the Urban Memory of Kota." In *Issues in Urban Development*, ed. Peter J. M. Nas, 65-97 (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1995).

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Glamann, Kristof. *Dutch-Asiatic Trade: 1602-1740* (Copenhagen: Danish Science Press, 1958).

Goldgar, Anne. "Nature as Art: The Case of the Tulip." In *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, 324-346. (New York: Routledge, 2002).

---. *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Greer, Margaret R., Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Grisebach, Lucius. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1974).

Grootenboer, Hanneke. *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Grotius, Hugo. *The Freedom of the Seas, or The Right Which Belongs to the Dutch to Take Part in the East Indian Trade*. Edited by James Brown Scott, trans. Ralph van Deman Magoffin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1916).

Gruzinski, Serge. *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. Deke Dusinbere (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Haan, F. De. *Oud Batavia,* 2 vols. and plate album. (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1922).

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memor*y. Ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Harley, J. B. and David Woodward, eds. *The History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987-1994), 6 vols.

Hedinger, Bärbel. *Karten in Bildern: zur Ikonographie der Wandkarte in holländischen Interieurgemälden des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1986).

Heezen-Stoll, B. A. "Een Vanitasstilleven van Jacques de Gheyn II uit 1621; afspiegeling van neostoische denkbeelden." *Oud Holland* 93, no. 4 (1979): 217-45.

Hochstrasser, Julie Berger, "Feasting the Eye: Painting and Reality in the Seventeenth-century 'Banketje'." In *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek, 73-85 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999).

---. "Imag(in)ing prosperity: Painting and material culture in the 17th-century Dutch household." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* vol. 51 (2000): 194-235.

---. *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Hollandse Mercurius, 41 vols. (Haarlem: Pieter Casteleyn, 1650-1690).

Honig, Elizabeth Alice. "Making sense of things: on the motives of Dutch still life." *Res* 34 (Fall 1998): 166-183.

Impey, Oliver and Arthur Macgregor, eds. *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiousities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

Israel, Jonathan. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade: 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

---. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Jacobs, Els M. *Koopman in Azië: De handel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie tijdens de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 2000).

---. *In Pursuit of Pepper and Tea: The Story of the Dutch East India Company* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 1991).

Jansen, Guido M.C. "'On the Lowest Level': The Status of the Still Life in Netherlandish Art Literature of the Seventeenth Century." In *Still-Life Paintings from the Netherlands 1550-1720*, exh. cat., ed. Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek, 51-57 (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999).

Japin, Arthur. *De Zwarte met het Witte Hart* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 1997).

Jardine, Lisa. *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2008).

Jongh, Eddy de. *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt* exh. cat. (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery, 1982).

---. *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Nederlandse Stichting Openbaar Kunstbezit, 1967).

Jörg, Christiaan J. A. *Oosters porselein Delfts aardewerk, Wisselwerkingen* (Groningen: Uitgeverij Kemper, 1983).

Katzew, Ilona. *Casta Painting: images of race in eighteenth-century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science, and Humanism in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Keene, Edward. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Kehoe, Marsely L. "The Nautilus Cup Between Foreign and Domestic in the Dutch Golden Age." *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 3 (November 2011): 275-285.

---. "The Paradox of Post-Colonial Historic Preservation: Implications of Dutch Heritage Preservation in Modern Jakarta." *e-polis: Online Student Journal of Urban Studies* (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), Issue 2, Spring 2008.

King, Anthony D. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

Kistemaker, Renée and Roelof van Gelder. *Amsterdam: The Golden Age, 1275-1795* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983).

Kohlhaussen, Heinrich. *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit 1240 bis 1540* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968).

Koninklijk Nederlands Historisch Genootschap. *The Dutch East India Company's shipping between the Netherlands and Asia 1595-1795*. http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten /DAS/EnglishIntro, accessed 20 November 2011.

Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

Kruijt, Michiel. "Verdonk: op straat alleen Nederlands." *Volkskrant*, 23 January 2006, http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2824/Politiek/article/detail/766625/2006/01/23/Verdonk-op-straat-alleen-Nederlands.dhtml, 11 May 2012.

Küchen, Ulla-B. "Wechselbeziehungen zwischen allegorischer Naturdeutung und der naturkundlichen Kenntnis von Muschel, Schnecke und Nautilus: Ein Beitrag aus literarischer, naturwissenschaftlicher und kunsthistorischer Sicht." In *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie: Symposion Wolfenbüttel 1978*, 478-514 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979).

L. A. Unleashed Blog, Los Angeles Times: Local, November 13, 2008. http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/unleashed/2008/11/page/3/, 1 February 2011.)

Leben, Ulrich "The Waddeson Manor nautilus shell and triton: A Masterpiece from the William Beckford Collection." *The Magazine Antiques* 164 no. 4 (2003): 114-121.

Leerssen, Joep. *De Bronnen van het Vaderland: Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2006).

---. *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

Leonhard, Karin. "Shell Collecting. On 17th-Century Conchology, Curiosity Cabinets and Still Life Painting." In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 177-214 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

Lesger, Clé. *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange*. Trans. J.C. Grayson (Hants: Ashgate Publishing, 2006).

Levenson, Jay A. ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. Exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

Lowenthal, Anne W. "Contemplating Kalf." In *The Object as Subject*, 29-39 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Lunsford, Virginia West. *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Lunsingh Scheurleer, Th.H. "Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities." In *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiousities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, 115-120 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

Maek-Gérard, Michael, ed. *Johannes Vermeer: der Geograph und der Astronom nach 200 Jahren wieder vereint* exh. cat. (Frankfurt am Main: Das Kunstinstitut, 1997).

Markley, Robert. *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Mauriès, Patrick. *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

McCusker, John J. and Cora Gravesteijn. *The Beginnings of Commercial and Financial Journalism: The Commodity Price Currents, Exchange Rate Currents, and Money Currents of Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1991).

Mehta, Uday S. "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 59-86 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Meilink-Roelofsz, M. A. P. *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1962).

Metcalf, Thomas R. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989).

Mette, Hanns-Ulrich. *Der Nautiluspokal: wie Kunst und Natur miteinander spielen* (Munich: Klinkhard & Biermann, 1995).

Miksic, John N., ed. *Icons of Art: the collections of the National Museum of Indonesia* (Jakarta: BAB Pub. Indonesia, 2007).

Moer, A. van der. *Een zestiende-eeuwse Hollander in het Verre Oosten en het Hoge Noorden: Leven, werken, reizen en avonturen van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563-1611)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979).

Montias, John Michael. *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

---. "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions." In *Art in History, History in Art*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries, 331-372 (Santa Monica: The Getty Center, 1991).

Muhaimin, A. G. *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Jakarta: Centre for Research and Development of Socio-Religious Affairs Office of Religious Research, Development, and In-Service Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2004).

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Rotterdam and Kunsthalle Wien. *Yinka Shonibare: Double Dutch* exh. cat. (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2004).

Nellen, Henk J. M. *Hugo de Groot: een leven in strijd om de vrede, 1583-1645* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2007).

Ng, Su Fang. "Dutch Wars, Global Poems: Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1666) and Amin's *Sya'ir Perang Mengkasar* (1670)." Lecture at University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1 April 2011.

Nieuhof, Johannes. *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense zee- en landreis* English translation (London: Awnsham Churchill, 1703).

North, Michael. *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*. Trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

Nunn, George E. *The Diplomacy Concerning the Discovery of America* (Jenkintown, PA: Tall Tree Library, 1948).

Odell, Dawn. "Clothing, Customs, and Mercantilism: Dutch and Chinese Ethnographies in the Seventeenth Century." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53 (2002): 139-159.

Oers, Ron van. *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600-1800)* (Zutphen, Walberg Pers, 2000).

Oostindie, Gert and Bert Passman. "Dutch Attitudes towards Colonial Empires, Indigenous Cultures, and Slaves." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring, 1998): 349-355.

Osborne, Harold, ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 584.

Pemberton, John. *On the Subject of "Java"* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Philippa, Marlies, ed. *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*,4 vols. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003).

Pollan, Michael. *The Botany of Desire* (New York: Random House Inc., 2001).

Porter, Bernard. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Postma, Johannes Menne. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Prak, Maarten. *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*. Trans. Diane Webb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Reid, Anthony, ed. *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

---. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, Vol. 2: Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Rossacher, Kurt. *Der Schatz des Erzstiftes Salzburg; ein Jahrtausend deutscher Goldschmiedekunst* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1966).

Rumphius, Georgius Everhardus. *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*. Trans. and ed. by E. M. Beekman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, [1993] 1994).

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1987).

Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen, Maria A. *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1991).

Schmidberger, Ekkehard ed. *Nautilus: Zeitreise im Perlboot, Katalog zur Studioausstellung* (Kassel: Staatliche Museen, 1996).

Schmidt, Benjamin. *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Schneider, Norbert. *Still Life: Still Life Painting in the Early Modern Period* (Cologne: Taschen, 2009).

Schramm, Helmar, Ludger Schwarte, and Jan Lazardzig, eds. *Collection – Laboratory – Theater: Scenes of Knowledge in the 17th Century* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005).

Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Segal, Sam. *A Prosperous Past: The Sumptuous Still Life in the Netherlands, 1600-1700*, exh. cat. (The Hague: SDQ Publishers, 1988).

Seters, W. H. van. "Oud-Nederlandse Parelmoerkunst: Het werk van leden der Familie Belquin, parelmoergraveurs en schilders in de 17e eeuw." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 9 (1958): 173-238.

Shorto, Russel. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan & the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America* (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

Slive, Seymour. *Dutch Painting: 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Smith, Pamela H. and Paula Findlen, eds. *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Spenlé, Virginie. "'Savagery' and 'Civilization': Dutch Brazil in the Kunst- and Wunderkammer." *JHNA: Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (summer 2011): www.jhna.org/. 7 July 2011.

Stenuit, Robert. "De 'Witte Leeuw'. De schipbreuk van een schip van de V. O. C. in 1613 en het onderwateronderzoek naar het wrak in 1976." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 25, no. 4 (1977): 165-178.

Stevin, Simon. *Materiae Politicae. Bvrgherlicke Stoffen: vervanghende ghedachtenissen der oeffeninghen des doorluchtichsten Prince Maurits van Orangie* (Leiden: Justus Livius, 1650).

---. *Principal Works*. Edited by Ernst Crone, ed. and trans. C. Dikshoorn, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: C. V. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1955-1966).

Stoler, Ann Laura. "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures." In *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in*

Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice, ed. Jan Breman, et al, 35-70 (Amsterdam: CASA Monography #3, 1990).

---. "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 198-237 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

Sullivan, Scott A. *The Dutch Gamepiece* (Totawa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1984).

"Survey backs Dutch only in public." *Dutch News.nl*, 14 July 2008, http://www.dutchnews .nl/news/archives/2008/07/survey_backs_dutch_only_in_pub.php, 11 May 2012.

Tagliacozzo, Eric. "Navigating communities: race, place, and travel in the history of maritime Southeast Asia." *Asian Ethnicity* 10, no. 2 (June 2009): 97-120.

Tax, C. J. H. M. "Jan van Kessel en een Delftse nautilusbeker." *Antiek* 27, no. 6 (Jan. 1993): 307-312.

Taylor, Jean Gelman. *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

Tebbe, Karin. "Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst - Formtypen und stilistische Entwicklung: Natur und Kunst. Fassungen von exotischen und kostbaren Materialien." In *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1541-1886, Band II: Goldglanz und Silberstrahl*, ed. Karin Tebbe, 154-164. (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2007).

Temminck Groll, C.L., ed. *The Dutch Overseas: Architectural Survey: Mutual heritage of four Centuries in three Continents* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2002).

Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

---. *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

Tomlan, Michael A. ed. *Preservation of What, for Whom? A Critical Look at Historical Significance* (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998).

Traub, Valerie. "Mapping the Global Body." In *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, 44-97 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

Upton, Dell. *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

---. "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions." *Historical Archeology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 1-7.

Valentijn, François. *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, 5 vols. (Dordrecht and Amsterdam: Joannes van Braam, Gerard Onder de Linden, 1724-1726).

Vink, Marcus. "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (June 2003): 131-177.

Vos, Jan. *Vergrooting van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1662). Facsimile available at http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Facsimiles/VosVergrooting Amsterdam1662/source/vosverg01.htm, accessed Jan. 9, 2012.

Vries, Jan de. *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age: 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

Vries, Jan de and Ad van der Woude. *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Ward, Peter Douglass. *The Natural History of Nautilus* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

Welu, James. "Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources." *Art Bulletin* vol. 57, no. 4 (1975): 529-547.

Westermann, Mariet. *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996).

Wheelock, Arthur K., ed. *Still Lifes of the Golden Age: Northern European Paintings from the Heinz Family Collection* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989).

Whitehead, P.J.P. and M. Boeseman. *A portrait of Dutch 17th century Brazil: Animals, plants and people by the artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*.Koninklijk Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Vol. 87 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1989).

Wollheim, Richard. "More than meets the eye?: Dutch still-life painting." *Modern Painters* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 68-71.

Wolloch, Nathaniel. "Dead Animals and the Beast-Machine: seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings of dead animals, as anti-Cartesian statements." *Art History* 22, no. 5 (Dec. 1999): 705-27.

Woodard, Colin. *The Republic of Pirates: Being the True and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down* (Boston: Harcourt, 2007).

Young, Robert. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York, Routledge, 1995).

Zandvliet, Kees, ed. *The Dutch Encounter with Asia: 1600-1950* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 2002).

Zandvliet, Kees. *Mapping for Money: Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International: 1998).

Zantkuijl, H. J. *Bouwen in Amsterdam: Het woonhuis in de stad* (Amsterdam: Vereiniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, 1993).