# Domestic Interiors in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Batavia

*Michael North*

**Abstract** This chapter focuses on the interior decoration of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Batavia homes. On the basis of probate inventories, I'll try to shed a special light on the households of non-Dutch people, such as the Chinese and the Muslim population. While Dutch families appear to have incorporated Asian decorative objects from the beginning, a greater exchange between Western and indigenous patterns in Chinese and Asian households seems to have been taken place only in the eighteenth centuries to a larger extent. In the following, I shall reconstruct facets of domestic interior decoration and answer the question to what extent the different ethnic groups accommodated specific styles and furnishings.

**Keywords** Batavia · Dutch East India Company (VOC) · Domestic interior decoration · Chinese · Muslims

M. North (✉)
University of Greifswald, Greifswald, Germany



R. A. G. Reyes (ed.), *Art, Trade, and Cultural Mediation in Asia, 1600–1950*, https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57237-0_5

## Introduction

In 1619, the new Governor General Jan Pietersz Coen of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) founded the fort of Batavia as a headquarters of the VOC in Asia which overtook the responsibility for all Company activities in the region. Batavia replaced the existing town, Jacatra, which had been a meeting place for Dutch ships and Chinese junks since the first Dutch fleet (under the command of Cornelius de Houtmans reached Java in 1595). Dutch ships sailing to the Moluccas, called at Jacatra for provisions and Chinese, Dutch and English merchants settled there. The merchants of the English East India Company were trying to gain land in Jacatra, Jan Piersz. Coen instead took control over this city. As Jacatra, Batavia was multiethnic and multicultural from the beginning.

The Dutch part of the population consisted of Company servants and so-called freeburghers, who were often former Company personnel. The men in this population either cohabited with indigenous concubines or else took Asian wives. Although towards the end of the seventeenth century, the upper echelons of Dutch society succeeded in marrying European women, in the long run the number of available Dutch women decreased. As a consequence, the frequency of marriages between Dutch men and Asian or Eurasian women rose, leading over the course of the eighteenth century to a significant increase in the number of descendants of Eurasian or Indoasian parentage.[1]

The Chinese, who outnumbered the Europeans, fell into several categories. There were merchants who had settled in Jacatra before the Dutch came. Then there were Chinese craftsmen who were brought to Batavia to satisfy local demand for their skills. Furthermore, Chinese landowners played a crucial role in sugar production. The sizeable group of Mardijkers were Europeanised Christian ex-slaves of Bengal or Tamil origin. Most of them had been freed by the Portuguese; they bore Portuguese names and spoke that language. Others had been given Dutch names on the occasion of their baptism. As a general rule, Mardijkers tended to marry into Eurasian families. An important component of Batavian society was formed by free Asian groups such as the Bandanese or the Balinese, who served as auxiliary troops in Dutch military campaigns. The Malay formed a closed group of Muslim

[1] U. Bosma and R. Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920* (Singapore, 2008), 33–38.

traders and shipowners. They were related to the "Moren" (Moors), a term applied to Muslims, often of Tamil origin, who had arrived from Southern India. Members of all these groups owned land in the surroundings of Batavia, with the Dutch and a few Chinese occupying the manor estates. The Dutch and the Chinese—but also Mardijkers and traders from the free Asian population—competed in the slave trade, importing slaves from the Indian Ocean littoral and around the Indonesian Archipelago to Batavia. Only a small number was owned by the VOC; in fact most slaves were privately owned, even by modest Chinese households. One can easily imagine that they formed a sizeable proportion of Batavia's population.[2] In the following, I shall reconstruct facets of domestic interior decoration and answer the question to what extent the different ethnic groups accommodated specific styles and furnishings.

## Sources

The most significant sources touching the possession of art objects and material goods in colonial households are the so-called probate inventories, registrations of the movables left behind by a deceased person. These inventories were kept by the orphanage or *weeskamer*. Several probate inventories from the *weeskamer* in Batavia can be studied in copies deposited in various Dutch archives. The majority, however, were drawn up for other courts, the estate chamber (*boedelkamer*) and the aldermen's court (*schepenbank*). These documents are preserved in the National Archives of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional) in Jakarta, where only some of them are presently accessible.

Unfortunately, the surviving inventories are not as detailed as those from the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. They seldom specify the subjects of paintings and as a rule do not mention attributes or motifs. Moreover, due to their inferior state of conservation, poorer rate of survival and different storage conditions, the Batavia inventories do not lend themselves as well as Dutch inventories to quantitative and statistical analysis. Still, they yield qualitative and quantitative evidence on the art objects owned in colonial households.

[2] Ibid., 37–89; E. Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur, Batavia 1619–1725* (Amsterdam, 1996), 26. See also J. Gellman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*. New Perspectives in SE Asian Studies (Madison, 2009).

## "Dutch" Houses and Decoration

In terms of urban planning and layout for fortifications, canals, drawbridges, etc., Batavia very much resembles the Dutch prototype, reinforced not least by the fact that engineers, masons, and even building materials (brick) had been imported from Europe. But actual building design and architecture differed visibly from the Netherlands. In Batavia, the outer wall of buildings were plastered to protect the bricks from heat, heavy rain and corrosion characteristic of a tropical climate; roof ridges were constructed parallel (and not perpendicular as in Europe) to the street to facilitate flow-off and drainage during heavy rains; and broad overhangs were erected at the front and the back of houses to protect the entrances from sun, heat and tropical storms. The creators of this "Indische" architectural design were also representatives of a new type of domestic culture: the Dutch houseowners and their indigenous concubines (nyai), helped by their Chinese overseers (mandor), and Chinese and Javanese workers.[3]

Inside the house, Dutch objects prevailed, but the Europeans also bought and displayed Asian cultural goods such as notably porcelain, lanterns, lacquerware, artefacts and paintings. With reference to the private ownership of art in colonial households, the aforementioned probate inventories certainly serve as a principal source, but due to incomplete documentation and research for the case of Batavia, a fuller and more detailed picture of distinctly "Asian" inventories is still wanting and in any case remains difficult to quantify. Still, there are some known art collections collated and amassed by the Dutch company (VOC) servants. For example, in 1647, the court master of the Governor General, van Heck, left behind three portraits of members of the House of Orange, four allegories on the four-seasons and three landscape paintings.[4]

Already in the 1620s, Gillis Vinant, a merchant and burgher of Batavia, had amassed an impressive collection of paintings. Twenty-eight

[3] See Peter J. M. Nas, "'Indische' Architecture in Indonesia," in T. DaCosta Kaufmann and M. North, ed., *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam, 2015), 129–40.

[4] J. de Loos-Haaxmann, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en Compagnieschilders* (Leiden, 1941), 151–52. For Formosa see also K. Zandvliet, "Art and Cartography in the VOC Governor's House in Taiwan," in *Mappae antiquae: liber amicorum Günter Schilder*, ed. P. van Gestel-van het Schip and P. van der Krogt (t'Goy-Mouten, 2007), 579–94.

of these were auctioned together with his estate after his death in 1627. The paintings are specified as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 small rectangular painting | 11 reals of eight |
| 2 landscapes with ebony frame | 26 ½ |
| 2 rectangular paintings | 12 ½ |
| 2 Chinese paintings | 9 |
| 1 big rectangular painting | 5 |
| 1 ditto smaller | 10 |
| 2 landscapes framed | 10 |
| 1 ditto [landscape] without frame | 26 ½ |
| 1 big ditto [landscape] without frame | 25 |
| 1 ditto [landscape] | 41 |
| 1 ditto [landscape] smaller | 12 ½ |
| 1 ditto [landscape] a bit bigger | 14 |
| 1 ditto [landscape] framed | 16 |
| 1 ditto [landscape] framed | 12 |
| 2 Chinese paintings | 7 |
| 1 big Dutch painting framed | 30 ½ |
| 1 ditto | 10 |
| 3 Chinese paintings on paper | 3 ¼ |
| 2 small paintings in ebony frame | 17 ½ |
| 1 big painting, most of it damaged | 6.[5] |

This manifestly cross-cultural collection was the result of intensified market relations between Western Europe and Southeast Asia as well as Japan and China. That is why, collections in Jakarta and also in Cape Town contained Dutch landscapes, Chinese paintings on paper and Japanese lacquer objects of art.[6]

At the end of the seventeenth and across the eighteenth century, the number of bequeathed estates rose considerably. Numerous paintings are

[5] National Archief Den Haag, NA 1.04.02, 1093. Partly published by A. M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, "Een oude indische inventaris," in *Cultureel Indië* 8 (1946), 211–20.

[6] M. North, "Art Dealing as Medium of Cultural Transfer," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, held at the University of Melbourne in January 2008 (Melbourne, 2009), 1027–32. For the material VOC World see: *Contingent Lives. Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. N. Worden (Rondebosch, 2007), see also M. North, "Production and Reception of Art Through European Company Channels in Asia," in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges Between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900*, ed. M. North (Farnham, 2010), 89–108, here pp. 92–96.

recorded, although they were often specified only with respect to the size or the quality of the frame, as in the case of the officer and member of the Indian Council, Isaac de l'Ostal de Saint-Martin. In his testament of 1695, Governor General Johannes Camphuys bequeathed numerous portraits to his friends and relatives in Batavia, and four volumes containing Chinese, Japanese and "Moorish" (Southeast Asian) drawings were passed on to Pieter van Dam, historian and syndicus of the VOC in Amsterdam.[7]

All subjects known in the Dutch Republic, such as allegories, classical and religious histories, landscapes, still lifes, genre paintings and above all portraits were represented in the households of the upper VOC personnel. Unfortunately, we cannot quantify the relative proportion of the different subjects in the collection, and therefore we cannot yet definitively reconstruct a secularisation of taste as was the case in the Northern Netherlands; for sure, however, landscapes assumed an important role in the collection of the aforementioned Gillis Vinant. During the eighteenth century, pictures became were widely seen in Dutch households in Batavia, although concrete evidence still remains scarce. In 1780, the burgher Johannes Nicolaas Cestbier left behind seven *schilderijtjes* and 34 *schilderijen*, six of which were evidently on glass ("ses schilderijen op glas") (Schepenbank 742). Even in the modest household of Salomon Pieters and Johann Elisabeth Piot (1792), 22 inexpensive paintings and a portrait are registered.[8]

Dutchmen, who often cohabitated with their Eurasian wives or concubines, created a kind of Asian "Dutchness" in their households by merging European and Asian lifestyles and displaying a cross-cultural selection of artefacts in their home.

## Chinese and Muslim Households

Other groups comprising Batavian society offer a contrast to the Europeans and Eurasians in terms of art ownership. It would appear that the majority of Chinese households did not display paintings.

[7] J. de Loos-Haaxmann, *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en Compagnieschilders* (Leiden, 1941), 152 ff.

[8] Arsip Nasional Republic of Indonesia: Schepenbank 749, see also M. North, "Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. T. DaCosta Kaufmann and M. North (Amsterdam, 2015), 111–28.

One reason may very well have been the comparatively modest means of the deceased Chinese persons and their household. The process of embellishing and decorating a Chinese home followed certain patterns. Among the first objects acquired for the household were the bird cage, followed by lanterns, copper lamps, mirrors and clocks. Only after these objects were featured in a household, then the Chinese proceeded to acquire decorative paintings and prints, but judging by the taxes levied on the bequeathed estates, it would appear however that these prints and paintings were generally of a modest value. Certainly, it was not that the Chinese could not necessarily afford collectable objects, but they preferred to store their wealth not in artefacts, but in manpower (i.e. slaves and indentured labourers). In addition, households that had no paintings may have instead featured expensive furniture, such as lavishly decorated (Chinese) beds, *dernier cri* gueridons, mirrors and clocks. Certain conditions of fashion and taste, and a certain urge for refinement had to be met before the master of a household or his spouse would decorate the interior walls with objects of art.

Although many Chinese were inclined to splurge on themselves (e.g. clothing, grooming) before buying and collecting art, mention is still made of paintings together with other decorative objects in Chinese households. Some are expressly categorised as Chinese paintings, but most are listed simply as *schilderijen*. A few examples will suffice to provide a general impression (Tables 1 and 2).

Paintings of Chinese and Western origin gained increasing significance in Chinese households where they were displayed together with expensive birdcages, mirrors, clocks and lamps.[9] They reflect thus an intensified cultural exchange between different ethnic groups and households. This is further confirmed by a glance at Muslim households. Especially interesting are the paintings in the estates of members of other ethnic groups.

Although Muslim men and women tended to splurge on personal effects and grooming, including especially lavish clothing and jewellery, they increasingly also came to decorate their households with fashionable East-Asian (Chinese) and Western objects. This, however,

[9]This is a very different situation than in the Cape, where the modest household of a Chinese woman named Thisgingno, who had no wall decoration apart from curtains, can be regarded as typical; J. C. Armstrong, "The Estate of a Chinese Woman in the Mid-Eighteenth Century at the Cape of Good Hope," in *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. N. Worden (Cape Town, 2007), 75–90.

**Table 1** Sample of Chinese inventories in Batavia with works of art (Compiled by the Author)

| *Year* | *Deceased person* | *Art objects owned* | *Hammer price* | *Arsip Nasional* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1779 | Be Loeykong, Chinese captain of Ambon | 1 painting | 0.3 Rd. | Schepenbank 635 |
| 1783 | Tjoa Tjienthouw | 1 Chinese cage | 27 Rd. | Schepenbank 743 |
| | | 1 pendulum clock | 11.2 Rd. | |
| 1789 | Nie Bokseeng | A bunch of Chinese paintings | | Boedelkamer 63 |
| 1789 | Tje Tjoenko | 2 porcelain elephants | | Boedelkamer 63 |
| | | 1 copper lanthern and 3 Chinese paintings | | |
| | | 1 guilded cage and 3 paintings | | |
| | | 7 Chinese paintings | | |
| 1790 | Thee Imkon | A big Chinese painting | | Schepenbank 751 |
| | | 2 oval mirrors with guilded frames | | |
| 1790 | Tan Zinko | 1 Frisian clock (a *friese Klok*) | | Schepenbank 751 |
| | | 2 mirrors | | |
| | | 2 oval mirrors | | |
| 1790 | Vrouw Oey Tjoenko | 1 Chinese painting on glass | | |
| | | 1 Chinese painted and guilded shelf (*rak*) | | |
| 1791 | Njo Samtijauw, living close to the *Crocolse* bridge | 2 paintings in golden frames | 6 Rd. | Boedelkamer 82 |
| 1791 | Lim Hantan, bankrupt | *5* bunches of paintings | 3.36 Rd. | Schepenbank 748 |
| | | (*5 ps. [partijs] schildereyen*) | 16 Rd. | |
| | | 3 small mirrors | 48 Rd. | |
| | | 2 mirrors | | |
| 1794 | Tan Koeko | One mirror and two paintings beside his rich holdings of textiles | | Schepenbank 755 |
| | | 1 table clock | | |
| 1795 | Lauw Tamtjong | 2 bunches of Chinese paintings | 4.36 Rd. | Schepenbank 757 |

(continued)

**Table 1** (continued)

| *Year* | *Deceased person* | *Art objects owned* | *Hammer price* | *Arsip Nasional* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1796 | Tan Tjoeyseeng | 2 mirrors<br>2 small mirrors<br>1 copper hanging lamp | | Schepenbank 758 |
| 1796 | Tan Soeyko | 1 shelf, 2 small mirros and 3 chinese paintings (*1 rak, 2 spiegeltjes en drie Chines Schilderyen*)<br>2 mirrors<br>1 Frisian clock | 9 Rd. 36<br>20 Rd.<br>24 Rd. | Schepenbank 758 |
| 1796 | Lim Konghiem | One Chinese painting<br>4 paintings on glass<br>6 paintings are listed and were sold together with other goods<br>1 Frisian clock | 9.24 Rd.<br>13 Rd. | Schepenbank 759 |
| 1800 | Tjoa Tjouwko | 2 mirrors<br>1 mirror and 3 paintings<br>1 chandelier (*een glase kroon*)<br>1 copper hanging lamp | 11.24 Rd.<br>12.24 Rd.<br>27 Rd.<br>36 Rd. | Schepenbank 761 |
| 1804 | Tjan Tjeengko | 9 paintings<br>24 paintings<br>23 paintings<br>2 mirrors<br>1 Frisian clock | 37 Rd.<br>58 Rd.<br>43 Rd.<br>39 Rd.<br>67 Rd. | Schepenbank 762 |
| 1805 | Tan Teengko | A bunch (*parthy*) of paintings, worth more than his Chinese books and maps | 22 Rd. | Schepenbank 744 |
| 1812 | Vrouw Giam Hongnio | 8 damaged paintings | 20 Rd. | Boedelkamer 80 |
| 1812 | Lie Djoeseeng | 11 paintings | 25 Rd. | Boedelkamer 80 |
| 1813 | Lie Leenio (Chinese widow of a Dutchman) | 2 Chinese lantherns<br>3 paintings | | Boedelkamer 67 |

Arsip Nasional, Schepenbank and Boedelkamer

**Table 2** Sample of Batavia inventories of non-Dutch, non-Chinese inhabitants (Compiled by the Author)

| *Year* | *Deceased person* | *Art objects owned* | *Hammer price* | *Arsip Nasional* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1788 | Free Buginese woman Saliera | 4 mirrors and 2 candlesticks (*blakkers*)<br>2 copper lamps | | |
| 1789 | Moor Bamba Sa Assan Miera left behind | 5 paintings,<br>pendulum clock (*a stand hoorlogie*)<br>a guilded cage | | Boedelkamer 64 |
| 1790 | Arab *vrouw* Sariepa Aloeya Binli Achmat Aboeff Tayheep | 2 Chinese cages<br>3 white copper hanging lamps | 65 Rd.<br>45 Rd. | Boedelkamer 64 |
| 1790 | Free Macassar Abdul Ilalik, when he died in 1790 | Building materials, mirrors<br>4 paintings<br>1 frisian clock (*friese Klok*) | | Boedelkamer 64 |
| 1790 | Abdul Cadier Balinese Captain (*from Macassar*) | 1 double Chinese cage<br>2 candle sticks<br>1 copper hanging lanthern<br>3 mirrors with guilded frames<br>2 big and 2 small mirrors<br>A part from rich clothing and modest jewelry | | Boedelkamer 64 |
| 1791 | Insolvent *overledene Moor* Bappoe Ibrahim Poele | 6 paintings in a decorative golden frame<br>3 mirrors<br>1 Chinese cage<br>2 candlesticks<br>A silver pocket watch | | Schepenbank 749 |
| 1794 | Moor Smaon Oesien Bandarie | 1 painting | | Boedelkamer 152 |

(continued)

**Table 2** (continued)

| *Year* | *Deceased person* | *Art objects owned* | *Hammer price* | *Arsip Nasional* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Year?] | Mochamad Miera Sase | One small round Dutch table (*kleyne ronde nederlandse tafel*)<br>one big painting, 13 prints, 2 broken mirrors and<br>4 broken candlesticks (*blakkers*)<br>3 copper hanging lamps<br>3 English copper lantherns<br>A part from expensive jewelry | 3 Rd.<br>6.24 Rd.<br>50 Rd.<br>90 Rd. | Boedelkamer 152 |
| 1804 | Balinese Captain Abdul Kadier Babandam | 3 lantherns<br>3 mirrors<br>A golden pocket watch | 35 Rd.<br>15 Rd.<br>20 Rd. | Schepenbank 764 |
| 1811 | Free Balinese vrouw Asamie | A part from rich jewelry<br>A copper hanging lamp<br>4 vitrines<br>4 damaged paintings | 40 Rd.<br>350 Rd.<br>18 Rd. | Boedelkamer? |
| 1813 | Free Balinese Kaliep Oemar | Wooden candlesticks (*blakkers*)<br>3 paintings and a handing case with indigedions books (*hang kastje met inlandsche boeken*) | | Boedelkamer 67 |

Arsip Nasional, Schepenbank and Boedelkamer

requires further investigation by differentiating between the various ethnic groups. Most of the Malays and Balinese did not leave any traces in the archives, and as result we nearly know anything about their domestic interiors.

## Cultural (Secondary) Markets

Estate auctions played a significant role in facilitating the interaction of the different ethnic groups and their respective (material) cultural markets. Although the few existing auction protocols of the seventeenth century lead us to assume that it was above all Dutch burghers who purchased paintings, furniture and even Asian objects from the estates of their fellow citizens, by the eighteenth-century auctions had clearly become a cultural touchpoint and an art forum for all ethnic groups. A curious example arises from the auction protocol of the late and bankrupt Armenian merchant Cosorop Petrus, whose belongings were sold off in November 1798.[10] In addition to a large stock of Madeira wine, this rich household was brought under the hammer with Dutch, Chinese and Muslim bidders purchasing different objects. One Chinese named as Sim Tjimko appears to have had an eye for decorative objects. First of all, he purchased a large painting (*Een grote schilderij*) for the price of 17 Rd. The size and the price let us suppose that this was a large Dutch painting that found its way from an Armenian household into a Chinese household and perhaps even further if Sim Tjimko acted as an agent, or proxy, for yet another client. He also acquired three hanging lamps made of copper for a total of 27 Rd, four copper spittoons for 22 Rd and an ensemble of day beds (*rustbanken*), wicker chairs and other chairs, gueridons and two gambling tables for a total of 94 Rd. Apart from several bottles of wine, Piro Mochamat (who might be a Muslim or possibly even a Christian Mardijker, according to his first name Piro = Pero) purchased an expensive copper lantern and a precious table clock encased in glass for 74 Rd.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the successful bidders on this and other estate sales. Most of the buyers seem to have been in the business of purchasing in any case, as merchants or small traders. Others probably tried to obtain some decorative objects for their homes.

[10] Arsip Nasional, Schepenbank 1718 (1798).

Whether family connections (as documented in other estate sales)[11] played a role, is not always evident or conclusive.

## Representation of the VOC in Asia

Art, however, was not only present in private households and circulated via estate auctions. To create legitimacy the Dutch East India Company commissioned portraits of the Governors General. These portraits form—as artistic testimony of the Dutch presence in Asia—a special corpus of paintings that has for a long time dominated our view on Dutch colonial painting. This gallery of portraits, "*de oude landvoogdsportretten*" represented continuity and thereby legitimacy of Dutch power in Southeast Asia. They are influenced by the tradition of European princely portraits, especially the portrait galleries of European dynasties. Accordingly, the VOC gave portraits of the Dutch Republican "surrogate dynasty", the House of Orange, as presents to Asian rulers.[12] Furthermore, it stimulated to a considerable, but varying extend also the presence of art in colonial households.

The model for the gallery of portraits in Batavia was the still-extant gallery of the Portuguese viceroys of Goa, which had been visited and admired by Dutch visitors on their way to the east. The origins of the portrait gallery date back into the mid-seventeenth century, when the VOC commissioned a series of ten portraits that could been have painted by Philips Angel. Later, it became common for a Governor General at the end of his period of service to commission a portrait of himself. The majority of the portraits was painted in Asia, although in the eighteenth-century portraits of the Governor Generals were increasingly painted in the Netherlands. The representational quality of the individual portrait compared with the portraits of the predecessor was a major issue of the portrait commission. However, the portrait of Governor General in the assembly hall of the VOC in Batavia constituted only one of several family portraits. For example, Rijcklof van Goens, who established

[11] T. Randle, "Patterns of Consumption at Auctions: A Case Study of Three Estates," in *Contingent Lives. Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. N. Worden (Cape Town, 2007), 53–74.

[12] O. Mörke, *"Stadtholder" oder "Staetholder"?: Die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster and Hamburg, 1997).

the Dutch power in Ceylon and the Malabar coast, commissioned in the mid-seventeenth century several portraits and other subjects from Luttichuys, van der Helst, Govert Flinck and the van de Velde painter family "tot de voyagie nae India" (for the voyage to India). Some of the portraits remained as memoria in Holland, other paintings were shipped for representative purposes to Asia.[13]

In the eighteenth century, it became common for Governors General to have themselves depicted holding the staff of office and richly decorated coat of arms. Moreover, it seemed most fashionable to commission a portrait by a prominent painter in Holland. The East Frisian Governor General sat for a portrait from Philipp van Dijk in The Hague, and commissioned another by J. M. Quinkhard. He took both portraits to Asia, where a copy integrating elements of both was made. The final stage of aesthetic transfer from Europe to Asia occurred with the portrait of Willem Arnold Alting by Johann Friedrich August Tischbein. The German court painter Tischbein seems to have finished the portrait in the Netherlands, using perhaps an already existing portrait. The salon piece of 1788 depicts Alting, a corrupt and greedy Governor General in the declining years of the VOC, as an elegant French-style representative of the Ancien Regime.[14]

Interestingly, it was not only the portraits of governors that decorated the council room of the government at Batavia Fort. Contemporary images, such as the image from Johann Wolfgang Heydt's 1744 travel account from the East Indies show not only a big umbrella (parasol) under which the councillors gathered. Moreover, the entrance of the

[13] E. Schmitt, et al. (ed.), *Kaufleute als Kolonialherren. Die Handelswelt der Niederländer vom Kap der Guten Hoffnung bis Nagasaki 1600–1800* (Bamberg, 1988), 121–22; Hugo K's Jacob, "Father and Son van Goens in Action: War and Diplomacy in the Relations Between the Malabar Rulers and the Dutch East India Company 1658–1682," in *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans 1500–1962*, ed. Kuzhippallil Skaria Mathew (Kolkata, 2003), 313–28.

[14] H. Seemann, *Spuren einer Freundschaft. Deutsch-Indonesische Beziehungen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Jakarta, 2000), 45–49; Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)* (Nijmegen, 1997), 185–87; F. S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen, 2002), 166–70; D. van Duuren, "Governors-General and Civilians. Portrait Art in the Dutch East Indies from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Pictures from the Tropics. Paintings by Western Artists During the Dutch Colonial Period in Indonesia*, ed. M.-O. Scalliet, K. van Brakel, D. van Duuren, and J. ten Kate (Wijk en Aalburg, 1999), 90–102, here pp. 95–97.

chamber was decorated by a Chinese teak screen, which documents the cross-cultural decoration of the VOC council chamber.[15]

After the re-establishment of Dutch power in Indonesia in 1815, the Gallery of Governors General was continued, and indigenous painters, as the Javanese painter of landscapes, Raden Saleh, took part in the production.[16] The portrait gallery came to an end during decolonisation after the Second World War II, when the portraits were removed and sent back to the Netherlands.

The governor portraits, however, also influenced portraits of indigenous rulers, such as Sayfoedin, Sultan of Tidore. Together with the Sultan of Ternate, Sayfoedin had been pressed by the VOC to sign an exclusive supply contract that was supposed to ensure a Dutch monopoly in cloves and nutmeg. In 1667, the Sultan of Tidore, whose power in the Moluccas was supported by the Dutch, served as their ally in the campaign against Macassar (1667). Probably in this context, Sayfoedin's portrait was painted and handed over in exchange for a portrait of his ally, the Dutch commander in the Macassar campaign Cornelis Speelmans. The portrait made its way to Holland and via the Amsterdam art market into the collection of the Polish noble family Czartoryski in Pulawy. There Sayfoedin's portrait was integrated into a gallery of heroes struggling for freedom (together with paintings of William Tell, Joan of Arc, George Washington, Tipu Sultan, etc.).[17]

## Conclusion

This chapter has traced the emergence of a domestic material culture across ethnicities and cultures in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Batavia. When people moved to Batavia from Europe or East Asia,

[15] D. Odell, "Public Identity and Material Culture in Dutch Batavia," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art*, ed. J. Anderson (Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, CIHA). The University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008 (Carlton, VIC, 2009), 253–57, here p. 255.

[16] Ibid., 98–100.

[17] M. North, "Koloniale Kunstwelten in Ostindien. Kulturelle Kommunikation im Umkreis der Handelskompanien," in *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 5 (2005): 55–72, here p. 65; K. Zandvliet (ed.), *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië 1600–1950* (Zwolle, 2002), 120–22; and National museum Krakow, Collection Czartoryski (Warsaw, 1978), 6–21.

they brought with them only a small number of art objects for essentially decorative or commemorative purposes. If they wanted more art and decorative elements in their homes or wished to climb the social ladder through a conspicuous display of wealth, they had to commission art objects or buy them on the open market. An important market instrument for second-hand goods was provided by estate auctions. Thus the exchange assumed many forms and directions. On the one hand, "Dutch" decoration patterns were disseminated via the VOC and the upper social strata of the Company to the middle classes and the different indigenous groups. On the other hand, Chinese styles of decoration were received by Europeans in Batavia, who bought and displayed Chinese (and of course also Japanese) cultural goods of many kinds. Different identities emerged, although today we still know very little about the motives and the role that material objects played in constructing or reinforcing these identities. More evidence and research is required, in analysing the different mediating roles of the VOC, the Europeans and its/their host societies in Asia.[18] Furthermore, future research should examine the global aspects of material culture. There is a growing pool of evidence that the eighteenth century saw the gradual formation of a global material culture. Domestic interiors of the elites and upper middle classes across Europe, Asia and North America seem to be affected by remarkably similar fashions.[19] If this hypothesis can be sustained and validated, a crucial follow-up question would necessarily be how such trends and fashions were communicated, transmitted and received across continents, countries and cultures.

[18]T. DaCosta Kaufmann and M. North, Mediating Cultures, in *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. T. DaCosta Kaufmann and M. North (Amsterdam, 2015), 9–24.

[19]See, for example, D. Goodmann, and K. Norberg (eds.), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us About the European and American Past* (New York, 2007); A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England* (London, New Haven, 2009); and T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York, 2004), an early example of the materially connected Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds provides the catalog D. L. Krohn and Peter N. Miller (eds.), *Dutch New York Between East and West. The World of Margrieta Van Varick* (New York, 2010). See also M. North, "Towards a Global Material Culture. Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds," in *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper, and W. Stangl. The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy International Series, Vol. 6 (Bochum 2013), 81–96.

## Bibliography

Armstrong, James C. 2007. The Estate of a Chinese Woman in the Mid-Eighteenth Century at the Cape of Good Hope. In *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. Nigel Worden, 75–90. Cape Town: Rondebosch.

Bosma, Ulbe, and Remco Raben. 2008. *Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Breen, T.H. 2004. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

de Loos-Haaxmann, Jeanne. 1941. *De landsverzameling schilderijen in Batavia. Landvoogdsportretten en Compagnieschilders*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij.

Gaastra, Femme S. 2002. *De geschiedenis van de VOC*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

Gellman Taylor, Jean. 2009. *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*. New Perspectives in SE Asian Studies. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Goodmann, Dena, and Kathryn Norberg (eds.). 2007. *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us About the European and American Past*. New York: Routledge.

Jacob, Hugo K's. 2003. Father and Son van Goens in Action: War and Diplomacy in the Relations Between the Malabar Rulers and the Dutch East India Company 1658–1682. In *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans 1500–1962*, ed. Kuzhippallil Skaria Mathew, 313–328. Kolkata: Hope India Publications.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, and Michael North. 2015. Mediating Cultures. In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, 9–24. Amsterdam Studies in the Golden Age. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Krohn, Deborah L., and Peter N. Miller (eds.). 2010. *Dutch New York Between East and West. The World of Margrieta Van Varick*. New York: Yale University Press.

Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, A.M. 1946. Een oude indische inventaris. *Cultureel Indië* 8: 211–220.

Mörke, Olaf. 1997. *"Stadtholder" oder "Staetholder"? Die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert*. Münster and Hamburg: LIT.

Nas, Peter J.M. 2015. 'Indische' Architecture in Indonesia. In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Niemeijer, E.H. 1996. *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur, Batavia 1619–1725*. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam.

North, Michael. 2005. Koloniale Kunstwelten in Ostindien. Kulturelle Kommunikation im Umkreis der Handelskompanien. *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 5: 55–72.

North, Michael. 2009. Art Dealing as Medium of Cultural Transfer. In *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, 1027–1032. Melbourne: University of Melbourne (January 2008).

North, Michael. 2010. Production and Reception of Art Through European Company Channels in Asia. In *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges Between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900*, ed. Michael North, 89–108. Farnham: Ashgate.

North, Michael. 2013. Towards a Global Material Culture. Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds. In *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment*, vol. 6, ed. V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper, and W. Stangl, 81–96. The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy International Series. Bochum 2013.

North, Michael. 2015. Art and Material Culture in the Cape Colony and Batavia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, 111–128. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Odell, Dawn. 2009. Public Identity and Material Culture in Dutch Batavia. In *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32th International Congress in the History of Art*, ed. J. Anderson, 253–257. Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art (CIHA). Carlton, VIC: Miegunyah Press, The University of Melbourne (13–18 January 2008).

Randle, Tracey. 2010. Patterns of Consumption at Auctions: A Case Study of Three Estates. In *Contingent Lives. Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. Nigel Worden, 53–74. Basingstoke, Hampshire [u.a.]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schmitt, Eberhard, et al. (eds.). 1988. *Kaufleute als Kolonialherren. Die Handelswelt der Niederländer vom Kap der Guten Hoffnung bis Nagasaki 1600–1800*. Bamberg: Buchners.

Seemann, Heinrich. 2000. *Spuren einer Freundschaft. Deutsch-Indonesische Beziehungen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Jakarta: Cipta Loka Caraka.

van Duuren, David. 1999. Governors-General and Civilians. Portrait Art in the Dutch East Indies from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century. In *Pictures from the Tropics. Paintings by Western Artists During the Dutch Colonial Period in Indonesia*, ed. Marie-Odette Scalliet, Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren, and Jeannette ten Kate, 90–102. Wijk en Aalburg: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen.

van Gelder, Roelof. 1997. *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur: Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)*. Nijmegen: SON.

Vickery, Amanda. 2009. *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England*. London, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Worden, Nigel (ed.). 2007. *Contingent Lives. Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*. Cape Town: Rondebosch.

Zandvliet, Kees. 2007. Art and Cartography in the VOC Governor's House in Taiwan. In *Mappae antiquae: liber amicorum Günter Schilder*, ed. Paula van Gestel-van het Schip and Peter van der Krogt, 579–594. t'Goy-Mouten: Hes & De Graaf.