

## Trade, Research and Science Under the Dutch in Asia

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On July 15, 1779, a group of Dutchmen in the service of the East India Company visited the longhouse of a Dayak group in West Borneo with the intention of carrying out scientific observations. In the event, they did not stay long because the many human skulls, some of which were no more than a few days old and “from which the fluid was still continuously running”, stank so badly that “we quickly went back again”.<sup>1</sup> They were, moreover, unnerved by the inquisitive inhabitants who gazed at them from all sides. Two days later, the group had more time to devote to their science, spending the best part of a day chasing around and trying to capture a live orang-utan. When that proved unsuccessful—not least because the orang pelted the expedition with branches—they shot the beast dead and stuffed it in a barrel of arak to preserve it and take it back to Batavia. The leader of this minor expedition was Adriaan Palm, a junior merchant in service with the East India Company (the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, or VOC), who was visiting Borneo in pursuit of trade. In fact, economic and political activities take a much more prominent place in the report of his journey than these rather superficial ‘scientific’ forays.<sup>2</sup>

The trip to the Dayak village and the attempt to catch the ape were in fact direct responses to a circular that had been sent around six months previously by the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* [the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences],<sup>3</sup> which

asked the personnel of all the VOC offices in Asia to collect anything of an interesting nature, be it related to humans, animals or plants.<sup>4</sup> The Society had been founded in Batavia in 1778 on the model of the learned societies in the Netherlands,<sup>5</sup> but differed from the latter in one important respect: the members of the Batavian Society were all in service with the VOC, the Dutch trading organization that had held a monopoly on trade between the Netherlands and Asia since 1602. Up until then, the directors of the VOC, as far they were able, had kept their knowledge about Asia a secret. The founding of the Batavian Society was thus a break with the dominant practise of secrecy. In the first publication issued by the committee of the new Society, the chairman, the Zeelander J. C. M. Radermacher, incorporated the report of the journey to West Borneo into an account of that island, while the ape was sent back to the Netherlands and offered to the Stadholder Willem V for his Natural History and Art Collection. The animal, the first such adult specimen ever to reach Europe, was to play an important role in research on great apes.<sup>6</sup>

In this tale, trade and science worked together harmoniously to extend knowledge of both the natural sciences and of Asian ethnology: economic activities went hand in hand with the collection of data about the area. Should one conclude from this unproblematic collaboration that this was normal practise, or are we dealing with an exception? It has been alleged repeatedly that the Company was exclusively a trading organization that was wholly indifferent to the arts and sciences. Only if the managers saw some potential advantage were they prepared to proactively do anything; and therefore any interest they had would

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have been mainly in the applied sciences. Historian H. A. M. Snelders further points to the secretive stance adopted by the Company's management as a factor that may have been an obstacle to the advancement of knowledge about Asia.<sup>7</sup> Further, he draws a connection between the paucity of interest in the arts and sciences and the decline of the VOC during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of which cuts were introduced curtailing all aspects of company activities that did not contribute directly to profits. The *Bataviaasch Genootschap* would have been more concerned with the practical than the 'pure' sciences.<sup>8</sup>

I believe, however, that this view should be questioned more closely. Firstly, the myth that the Company was on a constant trajectory of decline during the 18<sup>th</sup> century is no longer accepted. The beginning of the end came with the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784), as a consequence of the heavy financial losses suffered by the Company.<sup>9</sup> But even so, the Company subsequently remained a considerable power in Asia, one which the indigenous rulers certainly took into account.<sup>10</sup>

Another reservation concerns the question of secrecy. The directors of the VOC indeed had no desire for competitors to be able to discover easily what the company was up to; naturally they preferred to keep the most important information concerning trade and cartography to themselves. A good example of knowledge gathered exclusively for a restricted group is the famous *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* [Account of the East India Company] by the director, Pieter van Dam. This lengthy manuscript describes all the Company's offices and possessions, and summarizes everything that was known around 1700. This knowledge was restricted to a small circle; only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has a printed edition of this work been published.<sup>11</sup> But the fact that this secrecy was guarded should not be taken to mean that there were no scientific activities. Science and research begin with the phase of collecting, describing and investigating the phenomena one encounters, against which one can test already existing theories or assumptions. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, gathering data was thus of major significance in the scientific enterprise. The emphasis on the assemblage of data also offered many amateurs the opportunity to participate. Moreover, Asia offered the European a range of new opportunities to extend his knowledge in virgin territory: social institutions, religion, flora

and fauna were all different from their counterparts at home. The languages often had their own script and a different structure from those of Europe. The encounter with this, in various regards, different world also led to a reflection on one's own values. In Europe, reports of this other world led to the idea of the Noble Savage and to the use of the learned Persian, Chinese or other Oriental as a mirror for European society.<sup>12</sup>

A third reservation concerns the strong bias toward Batavia in all matters of judgement of the Company's cultural activities. The Académie de Marine and the Latin School, both founded in Batavia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, did not in fact last long;<sup>13</sup> but the failure of these schools stands in stark contrast to the highly successful seminaries in Ceylon, where the Company maintained educational institutions for native clergy and the sons of the local elite for over a hundred years. The need for education was so great that after the English conquest of the island these schools were re-opened at the request of the local population. In Ceylon, a number of Singhalese, Tamil and European youths were educated to a sufficient level for them to be sent to the Republic for further studies. Several present-day prominent families in Ceylon, among them the Bandaraiké family, can count the pupils of the seminary among their ancestors. Indeed, it would seem that the success of this secondary education was to a considerable extent due to the ready supply of pupils.

Batavia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was an unhealthy city with a high mortality rate among the European population. During the same period, in contrast, there were European families in Ceylon who had been established for five generations. Estimates of the expenses incurred by the Company for the Church and for education vary from two and a half to four percent of the total annual expenditure for the island, which in absolute terms meant almost fifty thousand guilders for the salaries of ecclesiastical staff and the maintenance of buildings.<sup>14</sup>

When one considers the relationship between trade and science, one has to ask first of all what purpose was served by science within the Company. The VOC in fact was the framework within which all the activities of the Dutch in Asia took place, and in this perspective it is difficult to distinguish science from the social life of which it was a part.

The knowledge the Company needed was mainly of a practical nature, for specific situations. For the

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functioning of the enterprise, the practise of science as such was at best a diversion, the sole exception being for the spread of the Christian religion. This did not mean, however, that science and culture fell outside the field of vision of individual personnel, or that the Company was not prepared to cooperate in research investigation. Among the higher-ranking personnel there were many who were interested in science and culture. Besides, a great deal of scientific information was recorded in letters and reports for the Company bureaucracy. The VOC archives are a gold mine for discovering what was known of Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; yet with a few notable exceptions, such as the splendid work of the religious minister François Valentijn (1666-1727), this material has hardly ever been exploited for publications.<sup>15</sup> In the seven sturdy volumes of *Oud- en Nieuw Oost Indiën* this minister gave a descriptive account of the history of the different offices of the VOC, from the Moluccas to Japan and Mauritius, from Persia to Timor. After Valentijn, there was little more published on the VOC during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The founding of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences was in fact a conscious departure from this pattern.

There are several striking aspects about the organization of this Society.<sup>16</sup> The first is the typically utilitarian thinking of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The idea was that a better, preferably more Christian, society would arise through the advance of agriculture, trade and welfare by means of scientific research. The second aspect is the strong bias toward solving practical problems in the East Indies and especially in Batavia. The third, very important element was the personal interweaving of executive functions in the Society with high positions in the Company. The first chairman, J. C. M. Radermacher (1741-1783), was an extraordinary member of the *Raad van Indië* [the Council of the Dutch East Indies] and furthermore a son-in-law of Governor-General Reinier de Klerk (r. 1777-1780).<sup>17</sup> These relations ensured that one could take advantage of Company facilities, but at the same time they imposed restrictions on the possibilities for research. Although they were nowhere defined, it was understood that the Company's affairs must not be affected. In actuality, there was a close link, both before and after the founding of the Society, between the practise of science and the Company's existence. Even after the Company was discontinued in 1799, the

connection with the employer or government was not wholly dissolved: in 1816, permission had to be asked from the Dutch-East Indian government before any research was conducted. Travelling in the archipelago was also subject to the approval of the government well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> It was the Company, and subsequently the Dutch-East Indian government, that determined the boundaries of research.

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The question of how the Dutch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century responded to the Asian environment, and whether they took the trouble to understand it through systematic research and to bend it to their own purposes, has no simple, unambiguous answer. A great deal depended on the position taken by the particular Dutch in question, and that differed from place to place. This was partly due to local circumstances, but also partly depended on Company politics. In some ports, as in India, Persia, Siam and China, Company representatives were no more than traders among traders. What was needed there was knowledge of tolls, of the possibilities for trade and the quality of goods on offer, and the skills for dealing with Asian traders and administrators. In such cases, the emphasis lay on knowledge of the necessary codes of behaviour a foreigner should observe in trading and social interactions.<sup>19</sup>

Over the course of time, however, the Company did not limit itself in Asia to trade alone. From the very beginning, certainly in the Indonesian archipelago, it was involved in governing indigenous subjects. There were conquests that had given the Company

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sovereignty over Asian territories and Asian subjects. In Ambon, the oldest possession, the VOC governed some fifty thousand Asian subjects,<sup>20</sup> while in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ceylon the number ran to some three hundred and fifty thousand.<sup>21</sup> The non-European population of Batavia around 1730 consisted of several thousand Chinese, slaves and larger or smaller groups originating from various parts of the archipelago.<sup>22</sup> In the course of time, political and economic alliances were formed with local rulers. The administration of parts of Asia and the conduct of relations with Asian rulers made demands on the knowledge of the people concerned that differed from other places where one could simply limit oneself to trading. Knowledge of and research into other societies, however limited, did not stand apart from, but rather had its function within, the global context of management and administration. But neither should one draw this connection too tightly. There was often room to follow one's own interests and to pursue research based purely on interest. An additional factor was that both individual Company servants and the organization as such were in contact with the scientific establishment in the Republic of the United Netherlands, whence issued questions and directions concerning botany or zoology, languages or natural phenomena that were needed to guide the collection of material and data. In Ceylon, for example, herbs, fruits and plants were collected each year for the herbaria and botanical gardens in Leiden and Amsterdam. In Asia there were neither the people nor the resources to process the collected data, whereas the universities in the Republic had the requisite infrastructure for further research and systematisation of the material sent back home.<sup>23</sup>

Research can result from inquisitiveness, aroused by the new world in which one finds oneself, but it can also follow from the desire to find solutions to problems that one confronts. Sometimes research was necessary in order to be able to administer a recently conquered territory; sometimes it was a consequence of a scientific training or an academic education. It is no accident that most (and often the best) accounts of lands and peoples date from the early phase of the VOC's presence in a given region, when the Company was still establishing itself: this was the period when the VOC had the greatest need for knowledge of the customs, laws, rights and obligations of their new subjects. Later, when administrators had more experience to rely on,

there was less need for such extensive accounts; but that does not gainsay the fact that in all offices a so-called memorandum of transfer was drawn up on the assumption of authority: a knowledgeable survey of the territory that allowed the successor to settle in.<sup>24</sup> The influence of the environment is also evident when one compares the Transactions of the Batavian Society with those of similar institutions in the Republic: the Batavian Transactions contain a far higher percentage of geographical articles.<sup>25</sup>

Assuming the reasons already cited for conducting research, one can group those individuals who manifested a scientific interest during their time with the Company into several different categories. In the first place, there were the enthusiasts and the generally interested; then those who needed practical knowledge for the contacts made during their work; and thirdly, the chroniclers of the conquest. The one profession for which only persons with a university background were accepted by the Company were the ministers of religion. Academically trained doctors hardly ever entered into service with the VOC, most of the medical work being done by surgeons. As a result of this situation, ministers of religion formed a large and specific group within the Company's personnel as a whole. Their main job was the spiritual care of the European employees and administrations in Asia, with missionary work being a secondary activity. Insofar as they were scientifically active, their work can be compared with that of individuals in the other three categories, some examples of which—if one can speak at all of scientific activity in a pure sense—follow below.

The amateur with an interest in his surrounding environment existed in all ranks of the Company. Many of the authors of travel journals had come out as soldiers, among them Germans, young men from good families who saw no chance of being accepted into the higher ranks of their own society.<sup>26</sup> It is not always easy to draw a line between pure curiosity and a certain scientific interest in these works. In many cases, the author goes no further than the description of people, landscape, flora and fauna; there is no purposeful research unless one calls it research when a deliberate detour is made in order to see particular statues or to catch an animal.<sup>27</sup> Excursions to visit temples were very popular. In this way, for example, a junior merchant and several soldiers brought back, from a visit to the temple complex of Prambanan in the interior of Java,

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several statues of the Candi Kalasan, while in 1690 a Christian minister in Ceylon measured all the statues on the Adamsberg. But it is hardly surprising that most enthusiasts were to be found among the higher ranks, since they had the education, the position, the means, and the time necessary for such pursuits. Lower-ranking personnel with particular skills were occasionally appointed to carry out specific tasks, such as making drawings or collecting plants and animals. The Asian environment offered plenty of opportunities for building up collections of curiosities. Governor-General Johannes Camphuys (who governed from 1681 to 1684) was so devoted to his collections of Japanese curios and Indonesian animals that he had no further desire at the end of his period of office, in 1684, to return to his fatherland.<sup>28</sup> He spent his old age between the city of Batavia and his country houses nearby. The increased security after the 1680s in the territory around Batavia enabled the local elite, very much like the patrician class in the Dutch Republic, to keep up a country residence. Batavia itself offered few opportunities for excursions otherwise. The country houses were undoubtedly a good investment,<sup>29</sup> but they were also prized for the status associated with them.<sup>30</sup> They also offered their owners the chance to carry out tests on animals, plants and seeds introduced from elsewhere. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, another Governor-General, Johan van Hoorn (r. 1704-1709), raised in his garden the first cultivated coffee shrubs from beans that the VOC had sent from Mokka. His horticultural test gave the first proof that coffee could be cultivated beyond Arabia, and marked the beginning of the highly successful coffee culture in West Java.<sup>31</sup>

The VOC's major sphere of activity between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan brought extensive opportunities for gathering information and acquiring many species of plants and animals. Just as in the case of the coffee bean, the line between individual curiosity and the interests of the Company are not easily drawn. Another, albeit less successful, example of an attempt to introduce a new form of agriculture was that of Governor-General Mattheus de Haan (who governed from 1725 to 1729), who tried to transplant the cultivation of silk from Bengal to Batavia. In both his official and private capacities, De Haan urged his acquaintances and the staff and subjects of the VOC to plant mulberry trees. Various members of Company staff actually purchased land for the purpose. The

authorities further decided that Chinese residents had to surround their cemeteries with mulberry bushes.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, all these efforts came to nothing; yet the cultivation of silk continued to exercise many minds: fifty years later, one finds the Batavian Society offering prizes for a good method of cultivating Batavian silk.

When one studies the first programmes of the Society, questions about agriculture strike one most forcibly. Thus, for example, the Rev. J. Hooijman, one of the active members from the very outset, wrote on the cultivation of sugar, an interest pursued by many Society members on their estates. Another learned enthusiast of the natural sciences was the Rev. J. M. Mohr, who carried out astronomical observations from a tower built at his own expense.<sup>33</sup>

Interest in the flora of Asia was in the first instance prompted by the need of doctors and surgeons to have knowledge of medicinal herbs. Indeed, the Company repeatedly encouraged their collection. The work of the great collectors Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1692) and G. E. Rumphius (1627-1702), however, went far beyond these practical objectives, making major contributions to the botanical knowledge of both the west coast of India and the Indonesian archipelago. Rumphius took the opportunity, as a merchant and the chief of Hitu in Ambon, to write extensive descriptions, illustrated with drawings, of approximately a thousand plants. With the cooperation of the authorities in Batavia, he was further able to supplement his work with descriptions of plants from elsewhere.<sup>34</sup> He also collected and described many of the shellfish found in the Moluccas. Holding a variety of high-ranking positions, the nobleman van Reede had plants collected and described by Asian, Dutch and other European graphic illustrators and experts,<sup>35</sup> and had these descriptions published in a sound and reliably scientific edition in the *Hortus Malabaricus*. Even in its incomplete form, this (both literally and figuratively) magnificent work is a monument to his scientific interest and patronage. Van Reede was also the founder of the highly successful seminaries for Tamils and Singhalese in Ceylon.

The transition from enthusiastic amateur to researcher who needed knowledge for practical applications was a gradual one. This was also true of the clergymen who, while in service with the Company, concerned themselves with Asian languages and religions. There was often a fine line between inquiry

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and application, as is nicely illustrated by the example of the minister Philippus Synjeu in Ceylon.<sup>36</sup> In the Netherlands, Synjeu had been strongly influenced by the ideas of French philosopher René Descartes and Amsterdam clergyman Balthazar Bekker, who fought the belief in witchcraft. In his work, Synjeu comes across as a rationally driven opponent of non-Christian thought. On his first meeting with Buddhists and Hindus in 1704, he tried to understand their “innate” conception of God and to test it by reason. He attempted something of the same sort when training Singhalese youths in confirmation classes: in order to strengthen them against other faiths he developed a series of propositions, in which, with the help of Cartesian ideas, he tried to show that the migration of souls, polytheism and astrology were superstitions. Synjeu undertook a study of the elements of Christianity that could also be found in Hinduism, and in this respect his basic principle was not dissimilar to that of the Amsterdam regent, amateur scholar and patron Nicolaes Witsen (1641-1717). One of Synjeu’s propositions that strikes one as remarkable—and that was contested by his colleagues—was that a minister of religion had no need to know other languages in order to convert other peoples to Christianity, since reason alone was sufficient.<sup>37</sup>

The first Dutch ministers of religion in India always went to great lengths to become familiar with Hinduism, following the earlier outlook of the Portuguese Jesuits and other Catholic clergy in Asia who had considered this knowledge essential to their efforts to convert the heathen.<sup>38</sup> The most important studies of Hinduism in India conducted by Dutch clergymen were those by Abraham Rogerius and Philippus Baldaeus; the central parts of these works are considered to this day to give a good account of this religion in certain parts of India in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> The work of Baldaeus, however, is based hardly at all on his own observations, most of it being taken from his Portuguese predecessors, a common practice at the time. In the early years of their expansion, the Dutch borrowed heavily from their Portuguese forerunners.<sup>40</sup> Apart from Valentijn, no further Dutch works of this quality were published after the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although Jacob Haafner’s stories from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century about his wanderings through India and Ceylon display great sympathy and knowledge of the country, they were scarcely intended as a scientific account.<sup>41</sup>

Over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the main advance to be made was in translating the Bible. In Ceylon, large parts of the Old and the New Testaments were translated into Singhalese and Tamil, a project carried out by a large group of ministers who were set to this purpose at the Company’s expense, together with a number of Tamils and Singhalese educated at the seminary in Colombo.<sup>42</sup> In the Indonesian archipelago, a Malay translation of the Bible was completed after much wrangling.<sup>43</sup> The translated works were printed and published by the Company.

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Knowledge of Asian scripts and languages was of course needed by the VOC for its contacts with traders and rulers. Personnel of higher rank were selected for positions in field offices, ensuring that attention was paid to the linguistic and other skills needed for dealing with indigenous peoples.<sup>44</sup> In various different offices there were interpreters and translators of *mestizo* or European origin in the Company’s service, although, especially in the beginning, their own knowledge of languages was rudimentary and they were dependent on indigenous helpers for translation. Given the extent of the correspondence conducted with Asian rulers, one finds surprisingly few complaints about mistranslation. It was a very different matter with Biblical translation, where on several occasions conflicts arose over the correct use of words. Whether in Singhalese, Tamil or Malay, it was difficult to determine what was the purest, most accurate form, the problem arising from the question

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of which regional variant of the language should be chosen.<sup>45</sup> Along the coasts and in the ports, there was evidently considerable intermixture and bastardization of languages. Until far into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for example, it was not realized that Tamil and Singhalese belonged to different language families.<sup>46</sup>

An interest that was in some sense comparable also developed in the legal field. In places where the VOC had become sovereign over great numbers of Asian subjects, they needed to familiarize themselves with the prevailing legal systems. In Ceylon, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *tessawellamai*, the customary law of the Tamil population of Jaffna, was codified. For another group, a start was made to codifying the laws of the Islamic “Ceylon Moors” around 1780. This was unnecessary in the Singhalese area, because there the Roman-Dutch law could be introduced.<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere, the Company spoke directly with the indigenous chiefs and/or religious leaders who interpreted the local law.

Another relationship between the acquisition of knowledge and professional practise was to be found in many accounts of countries and peoples. Various Company servants wrote descriptions of the regions they had to deal with. For example, Cornelis Speelman, Governor-General from 1681 to 1684, during whose regime there was huge territorial expansion, had several extensive studies carried out.<sup>48</sup> As head of the expedition against Gowa in South Celebes in 1666, he compiled a thorough and extensive description of that area. In a later, comparable action, he wrote an account of Mid-Java. In both cases, Speelman embarked on the conquest against the wishes of Batavia.<sup>49</sup> During the campaign, the information he gathered about the land and population, the tax system, the history and natural circumstances, was summarized in a memorandum or note, with indigenous informants providing the material. The physical taking of possession went hand in hand with a conquest of the mind: the information was necessary for the administration that was subsequently introduced. But Speelman’s descriptive activities went much further than was necessary for his official reports, and in this he may be compared with his contemporaries Rijklof van Goens sr. (1619-1682) and Van Reede tot Drakenstein. Van Goens kept a certain amount of material for himself and worked it into his subsequent writings.<sup>50</sup> Both Van Goens and

Van Reede tot Drakenstein belonged to that long line of generals-administrators who extended the Company’s power in Ceylon and India, often against the wishes of Batavia. Almost a century later we see a slightly different, yet comparable attitude in such a man as Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff, who, first as Governor of Ceylon (1736-1740) and later as Governor-General (1743-1750), undertook extensive overland journeys to inspect the territory under his administration.<sup>51</sup> He visited Buddhist temples, spoke with priests, and had inquiries made into all kinds of things. In the case of van Imhoff, one is also struck by another aspect of his reports on autochthonous society. His interest did not lead him to an unbiased judgement of this society; his journeys of inspection merely strengthened him in his conviction of the superiority of European government over Asian rule,<sup>52</sup> a prejudice that may have played tricks on him in his dealings with Asian rulers. The great Javanese war of succession, which erupted in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and led to the partition of Kartasura, can well be attributed to his clumsy and authoritarian behaviour toward a member of the ruling family.<sup>53</sup>

The combination of conquest and description, followed by the deduction from that description that further conquest was desirable, was a fallacious line of reasoning that was not unique to van Imhoff. It had to do with the way science was practised in the colonial situation. It has recently been argued that François Valentijn wrote his major work on the Dutch possessions in Asia as a deliberate glorification of Dutch power in the East. Anthropological descriptions were mainly intended to enhance a view of Dutch magnanimity.<sup>54</sup> The European standard was the point of reference in judging all moral and religious questions: the ethnography was not unbiased, but was linked to social conceptions drawn from their own environment. There are also various later and more egregious examples in which colonial officials combined their research into other societies with an active role in the process of expansion.<sup>55</sup> In this regard, it is certainly a case of “imperialists” *avant la lettre*.

Trade, science and European expansion cannot be studied independently of each another. Trade provided the stimulus for a considerable expansion of knowledge in Asia. The processing of this new knowledge occurred mainly in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere in Europe. **RC**

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## NOTES

- 1 Nationaal Archief (NA), VOC 3534, fol. 1494-1497. Relas van de tocht naar Landak, 29 juli 1779.
- 2 See J. van Goor, "Seapower, Trade and State Formation: Pontianak and the Dutch," in J. van Goor, ed., *Trading Companies in Asia, 1600-1830* (Utrecht, 1986), pp. 83-107; J. van Goor, "A Madman in the City of Ghosts: Nicolaas Kloek in Pontianak", in *Itinerario* 2 (1985), pp. 196-212.
- 3 *Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen gedurende de eerste eeuw van zijn bestaan 1778-1878*. Gedenkboek (Batavia, 1878), bijlage K.
- 4 *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 2 (1784), p. 49.
- 5 W. W. Mijnhardt, *Tot Heil van't Menschdom Culturele Genootschappen in Nederland, 1750-1815* (Amsterdam, 1987); Angelie Sens, *'Mensaap, heiden, slaaf' Nederlandse visies op de wereld rond 1800* (Den Haag, 2001), pp. 28-38.
- 6 R. P. W. Visser, "De ontdekking van de orang oetan 1641-1840", in *Spiegel Historiael* 10 (1975), pp. 258-265.
- 7 H. A. M. Snelders, "Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in de periode 1778-1816", in *Documentatieblad Werkgroep 18e eeuw* nr. 41-42 (1979), pp. 66, 75, 77.
- 8 Snelders, "Het Bataviaasch Genootschap", p. 81.
- 9 F. S. Gastra, *De Geschiedenis van de VOC* (Haarlem, Antwerp, 1982), pp. 153-155; J. van Goor, *De Nederlandse Koloniën Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse expansie 1600-1975* (Den Haag, 1994), pp. 171-202; J. van Goor "From Company to State", in J. van Goor *Prelude to Colonialism: The Dutch in Asia* (Hilversum, 2004), pp. 83-99.
- 10 Jurrien van Goor, "A Hybrid State: The Dutch Economic and Political Network in Asia", in Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak, eds. *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes* (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 193-215.
- 11 Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, four books in seven volumes, F. W. Stapel, ed. (vols. 1-6), C. W. Th. van Boetzelaar van Asperen en Dubbeldam, ed. (Vol. 7); (The Hague, 1927-1954) Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (RGP), main series vols. 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96.
- 12 For a brief account of Chinoiserie, see L. Blussé and R. Falkenburg, *Johan Nieuwoof beelden van een Chinareis 1655-1657* (Middelburg, 1987), pp. 9-11; J. van Goor, "Imperialism and Orientalism", in Jurrien van Goor, *Prelude to Colonialism*, pp. 99-115.
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