"Sometimes a Moor next to Virgins": The Colonial World Order in Dutch Art

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In the Netherlands, hierarchical depictions of the world order and the various groups that comprise it first appeared around the time that the Dutch trading companies were established in the early seventeenth century, and continued to be produced well after the abolition of slavery in 1863. In these visualizations, Europe stands at the top as the ruler, while the colonized parts of the world are assigned a role of servitude. In some cases, Europe, the white man, is depicted as an economic and technical pioneer and moral educator who offers guidance to other peoples.

The worldview underpinning these depictions remained the standard for a long time, leading to the emergence and persistence of what Gloria Wekker in 2016 called the "Dutch cultural archive." She examined the Dutch variant of what Edward Said in 1993 described—in reference to the Western world—as a "cultural archive," "the centrality of imperialism to western culture." Wekker was not speaking of a physical archive, but of a complex body of knowledge and frames of reference that legitimize Europeans' domination over a large part of the world. Her focus was on ideas, intangible heritage so to speak, and cultural production in the twenty-first century.[1] In this chapter, I will focus on the "carriers" of these ideas through the centuries: the tangible heritage, art, and artifacts produced during the colonial period. After all, the Dutch cultural archive is anchored in these visual images that were used as a means of communication, in private art collections, and, at a later stage, in art museums that reached a wider audience. I will examine the relationship between these objects, the Netherlands' self-image as a nation in the making, and the way in which the Black presence in the Netherlands was dealt with.

From the end of the colonial period in the nineteenth century, monumental museums were established in Europe. The establishment of these institutions went hand in hand with the rise of nationalist sentiments. Young nation-states used museums to craft a narrative about themselves. Each country's museum landscape had its own characteristics and message. In the Netherlands, the museum landscape was organized along the lines of a distinction between museums for Western history and art, "ethnographic" museums, and museums for modern and contemporary art. The first category focused on European achievements and heroism. These museums' collections emphasized power, wealth, and the specific aesthetics that glorified them. Ethnographic museums directed their gaze toward the non-Western world. They told the story of the parts of the world that Europe had conquered, and did so by means of objects made by "the Other," far from the Netherlands.[2]

This museum classification and specialization has also influenced how museum collections are interpreted: the interpretation mirrors the dichotomy between the Netherlands and the colonized countries, between the White Dutchman and the Other. But this dichotomy belies the reality that the Netherlands was a colonial power for hundreds of years, that people from colonized areas have resided in the Netherlands for centuries, and that the Kingdom of the Netherlands is still partly situated in the Caribbean. In this chapter, I advocate the need for research into the representation of the Netherlands as a colonial and post-colonial state. By this, I mean the works of art and objects collected by museums specialized in history and Old Masters: objects that are usually not recognized and presented as part of colonial history and heritage. I do not mean the art and objects directly related to colonized countries, collected in the Dutch museums for "ethnography," now called "world cultures." In fact, the separation between these collecting areas has created a false division between the Netherlands and the colonized world, between groups of people, and between the appreciation of art by Europe's upper class and the social reality of colonialism. A deeper understanding of these art collections is needed to gain more insight into the relationship between Dutch aesthetics, the colonial system, and the presence of colonized peoples in the Netherlands. In other words, more research is needed into the colonial period's influence on Dutch art and applied art. This will give us a more complete picture of the formation of the Netherlands as it is today. It will also enhance our understanding of how representation in art and the categorization of art

helped shape notions about Dutch society and the people who "belong" in the Netherlands.

I will begin by addressing the relationship between slavery, race, and the colonial system. Race, as a social construct, legitimized the colonial economic structure and simultaneously left behind a legacy in our thinking about society which was long ignored. Next, in the section titled "Colonial Elites Commissioning Art," I will examine the group that benefited from the system, namely the affluent class that paid for the production of art and artifacts. I use eight objects to illustrate the relationship between colonial thinking and the development of visual culture. In the last section, "Belonging in the Netherlands," I will use four more objects to focus on another group: Black people in the Netherlands.

Slavery, Race, and the Imagination of a New World Order

Slavery has existed throughout history, as has discrimination on a personal, individual level. During the colonial period, these two phenomena were linked and institutionalized. "Race" was used as a social construct to facilitate a new world order. In the Middle Ages, the Iberian Peninsula (Southern Europe) was still a society where Christians, Jews, and Muslims coexisted, and where skin color did not determine a person's rank or status. The dominant group consisted of a combination of Arabs, Berbers, and West Africans, collectively called "Moors," stemming from the Greek/Roman word for black and used by Medieval Europeans to refer to Muslims. During the "Moorish rule" over Spain, there was no relationship between that term and slavery. This era ended in the year 1492, when Europe's "voyages of discovery" began. European nations started conquering parts of other continents and turned them into places to obtain products that were in demand in Europe. In pursuit of profit, many countries, including the Netherlands, took to colonizing distant territories, creating a worldwide political, economic, and social hierarchy in which part of humanity was made to serve Europe.

Colonial slavery was a multinational profit model designed to benefit Europe. The system extended around the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. Its management was handled by trading companies, whose rules varied in different parts of the world. Colonial slavery was mainly imposed under European authority in the "colonies." There, people were forced to work on large plantations, in mines and other industries, as well as in and around the homes of the colonial elite. The system was designed to ensure the con-

tinuity of power for the group that controlled the economy. Slavery evolved from a personal, arbitrary, temporary phenomenon, such as the repayment of a debt, the serving of an imposed punishment, or the fate of a prisoner of war, to the "inherent" condition of the person of color. It became a condition passed down from generation to generation, legitimized by the Bible, further anchored by government rules and laws.

By and large, legislation pertaining to racialized slavery was not implemented in Europe. After all, the plantations where slave labor was utilized were elsewhere. However, the class who profited from the colonial slavery system did live in Europe: the administrators and rulers, absentee plantation owners, and others. They had a vested interest in perpetuating and maintaining colonial relations and dominance over the Other, underpinned by a hierarchical view of the world and humanity. These rulers regarded people in the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa, and Asia as their property, which they sometimes brought to the Netherlands. They fought court cases and lobbied government to retain ownership of these enslaved individuals in the Netherlands.

The colonial period saw the emergence of a group who liked to display their newly acquired power and wealth. The international nature of this elite's power figured prominently in their representation of themselves and the world. They could boast about their power and possessions in remote places by having an "exotic" servant physically present in their homes, and by having this "black servitude" committed to canvas. In the seventeenth century, portraits of the European elite accompanied by a colonial servant became very popular. In his painter's manual published in 1678, Samuel van Hoogstraten wrote, on juxtaposing white and black: "the eye also delights in sometimes placing a Moor next to virgins."[3] These words have often been interpreted by art historians as an encouragement to use color contrasts on the canvas in the interests of good composition and beauty. However, the text also discusses the contrasts between people in different stages and positions in life, such as the contrast between old age and a "frolicking child" and between the "armed" and the "naked." The choice of the word "virgin" expresses the idea that a Black man is the antithesis of a young Christian girl, in all her innocence, self-control, and virtuousness. After the Dutch threw off the Spanish yoke in 1648, "Moors," the rulers of medieval Spain, were increasingly depicted in Dutch paintings as heathen subordinates and servants.

Hierarchical imagery was used for centuries and has proven to be extraordinarily persistent. It remained in use during the long run-up to the abolition of slavery, though it did undergo a change. Abolitionists began to emphasize their self-proclaimed role as white "saviors" of the subordinate "races." Van Hoogstraten wrote about what he regarded as the characteristic difference between "black and white people": "a Moor ... due to his flat nose, short hair, round jaws, and a certain dullness around his eyes, all of which, to the intelligent observer, readily expresses that he is a black."[4] As the end of slavery drew near, another characteristic was attached to the depiction of Black people as "dull" and intellectually limited: the idea that Black people were incapable of being self-reliant.

The fact that racial thinking has had an impact on the representation of our reality shows the importance of epistemology: how do we arrive at our knowledge, how do we check for objectivity? In 1995, anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot demonstrated that power has an influence on the documentation of history.[5] His work is focused on authorship and the management of archives and historiography. The same observation applies to art: by seeing art and imagery as an objective and complete basis for historiography, we overlook other realities that are better taken into account when we combine various disciplines, fields, and sources. If we include in our perspective the historical context of enslaved people's resistance and the ways in which resistance undermined the colonial economy, we will reach different conclusions about the shifting depictions of Africa and Africans than if we merely describe the images. By critically analyzing not only the depictions but also the concepts used to legitimize the system, we arrive at new, interpretative insights. Based on that interpretation, we arrive at new terminology and a new categorization.

Colonial Elites Commissioning Art

In this section, I will focus on the people that stood to gain from colonialism: the affluent class that commissioned the art and artifacts. I will use eight objects to discuss the relationship between colonial thinking and the development of visual culture.

In the colonial system, Europeans held high positions in the subjugated areas. They acquired property in the colonies which they passed on to the next generation. Through family inheritances, their children, grandchildren, and other relatives in Europe became the owners of colonial planta-

tions, including enslaved human beings. Thus, the colonial elite consisted not only of those residing in the colonized areas known to the Dutch as "the West" and "the East," but also included the elite who lived in the Netherlands in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, because of their strong political and economic ties with the colonial system.

Traditionally, members of the royalty and nobility sought and found marriage partners elsewhere in Europe. Marriages strengthened political ties and economic positions, and built networks in which tastes, cultures, customs, and rituals were shared. The elite in various European countries were in contact with one another, and this fostered the emergence of trends. Art historians often claim that mimicry can explain the popularity of some imagery at the time. Yet, this analysis lacks specificity: what was the origin and where was an image first used? What is the relationship between that image and the area where it originated, with its local rules and economic interests? These are important questions for further research, which can provide us with more insight into the message conveyed by this imagery and the reasons why it came into being.

As I mentioned earlier, we can see a development in the imagery that has to do with the beginning and end of slavery.[6] When slavery began, its depiction served to legitimize the practice. A hierarchical worldview was created in which race was instrumental, with references to the Bible. One example of this is the cabinet in Figure 1, made between 1670 and 1690. This piece of furniture was made using materials from the tropics and decorated with Old Testament scenes. At the bottom center, we see Noah after the flood, with the rainbow. The cabinet is supported by dark-skinned men and women. Does this depict the fate of Noah's descendants? The figures wear headgear that resembles a "Moorish" turban, as often seen in depictions of the three wise men in the story of the birth of Jesus. The clothing and footwear resemble the attire of a Roman gladiator, a reference to slavery in antiquity. The next object in Figure 2 is a clock dating from 1715–1725, which shows evidence of a symbolism whose development is more specifically associated with transatlantic slavery: the two Black figures on top of the clock wear skirts of tobacco leaves, no shoes, and bands around their upper arms, wrists, and necks.

In addition to these rather abstract references to slavery, there were instances of applied art that included direct references to slavery. Such objects incorporated images of the labor performed by Africans, as we can see

Figure 1. Cabinet, creator unknown, ca. 1670–1690.

Figure 2. Clock, creator
unknown, ca. 1715–1725.

on the commemorative drinking glass in Figure 3, for example. Commem-
orative glasses were specially cut for the families who managed colonial
enterprises to propose a toast during festive occasions. The work depicted
on this particular glass seems to be performed in a leisurely manner, while
in fact the daily reality of enslaved individuals on plantations was harsh,
exhausting, and exploitative. Figure 4 shows a spittoon, which also depicts
plantation labor. The elite used this pot during social gatherings to spit
tobacco juice in, while conversing, making music together, and playing
games. The imagery on the object links the European elite's pleasurable
pastimes with African servitude.

Figure 3. Commemorative glass, creator unknown, ca. 1725–1750.

Figure 4. Spittoon, creator unknown, ca. 1715–1725.

Figure 5. Portrait of Maria of Orange with an African servant, Jan Mijtens, 1665.

Objects like these make clear that to fully understand the images depicted on them, we need to know more about the interests of the clients who commissioned them. In recent years, multidisciplinary research has changed our interpretation of paintings. For a long time, art historical literature referred to the Black supporting figures in portraits of the elite, such as Figure 5, as "pages" or "tropes." The first designation is a euphemism, as the role of page was reserved for young, upper-class men. Pages were educated and had career prospects that were unattainable for young African men living in the Netherlands. But calling these figures a trope, as in "a purely symbolic presence," is also misleading. We now know from archival research into ship's manifests, notarial records, and ecclesiastical sources that there was an actual Black presence in the Netherlands. In some cases, a link can be established between a painting and specific families with their Black servants.[7] However, this does not mean that every depicted African youth is a representation of an actual person, so further research is needed to distinguish between models and imitations if we are to understand the rationale behind such portraits.

From the 1750s onward, the slavery system came under increasing pressure. The enslaved had always resisted slavery, and now various revolutions in North America, France, and Saint-Domingue (later Haiti) further undermined the European elite's position. Gradually, a shift in thinking came to the surface, as the voice of protest within the church swelled and joined forces with a political anti-slavery lobby. The dish in Figure 6 is an example of Dutch abolitionism. The text refers to God, and slavery is given a human dimension by not showing a biblical curse or everyday work, but a mother and child. However, this new perspective does not yet put an end to the depiction of Black people as subordinate to white. The French pendulum clock from 1806 in Figure 7 shows a scene from the French novel *Paul et Virginie* (1788), in which two lost white children on the island of Mauritius are brought home by Maroons, people who have escaped slavery. Although these men are free, there is a clear and poignant contrast between them as Black porters and the children on the gilded sedan chair.[8] Similarly, Van Hoogstraten's idea that Black people's eyes were "dull" would continue to be repeated until long after abolition. For example, the four directional wind gods in Figure 8 are part of the exterior of the Rijksmuseum building, which opened in 1885. Each figure has distinct features, yet the Black man is the only one blowing with his eyes wide open, a characteristic that recurs frequently in the portrayal of people of African descent.

Figure 6. Dish, Etruria Works, ca. 1853–1863.

Figure 7. Pendulum clock, depicting a scene from *Paul et Virginie.*

Figure 8. The four wind gods on Rijksmuseum's clock tower, ca. 1885.

Belonging in the Netherlands

In this last section, I will shift my focus to another group: Black people in the Netherlands. Using four art objects, I will address their position and experience in Dutch society.

A handful of studies provide us with an overview of objects depicting the Black presence in the Netherlands.[9] This overview, in conjunction with additional archival and historical research, could reveal much more about people of color in the Netherlands from the sixteenth century onward. As interest in colonial history grows, public collections are being expanded, creating a broader basis for research. Aside from shedding light on the world of the elite, these objects can also illuminate the lives of other social classes. For example, the Jan Verheijen painting from 1820, titled *Market Scene with an Exhibition of Wonders of the New World,* in Figure 9 appears to provide new information that can help to further explore how the phenomenon of putting people of color on display at fairs and in nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial exhibitions developed.

Figure 9. *Market Scene with an Exhibition of Wonders of the New World,* Jan Verheijen, 1820.

Figure 10. *Inspection of a Cavalry Regiment*, Cornelis Troost, 1742. Note the Black drummer front right.

Figure 11. Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Count Dumonçeau with an African man, Hennequin and Couvelet, 1809.

Another possible starting point is to zoom in on representations of the military. In these paintings, men of African descent are often depicted as drummers, sometimes with a collar, marking them as enslaved, as someone's property. At the same time, it seems that there was room for equality in the army: in the painting of a cavalry regiment from 1742 in Figure 10, the Black man is not a servant but rides on horseback ahead of the other soldiers. Shortly after slavery was abolished in French Saint Domingue, the Netherlands was placed under French rule (1795). In France, enslaved people and free Black citizens who climbed the social ladder were increasingly represented in art and artifacts.[10] It would therefore be interesting to explore whether a similar shift in the representation of Black people occurred in the art of the Batavian Republic. To this end, more research needs to be conducted, using sources such as the French painting in Figure 11, depicting a Black man who resembles more of an assistant than a servant.

It is not only paintings but also other objects that can help us to reimagine what the experience of enslaved people in the Netherlands must have entailed. Until recently, collars in Dutch museum collections, such as the one in Figure 12, were consistently classified as dog collars, even though collars frequently appear as a painted motif for African servants, and the physical objects themselves are found in various European countries. From

Figure 12. Golden collar bearing the coat of arms of Nassau, 1689.

archival research, we know that collars were made specifically to be worn by colonial servants. In 1696, for example, a reader placed a classified ad in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* for a lost gold watch with "a silver key, serving to lock a collar of a Negro."[11] It would be interesting to explore how the use of these dreadful collars relates to local laws regarding the possession of enslaved people in a specific European country, and to dissect the economic and political interests of the individuals who had those collars made. Was such a collar practical or primarily symbolic? Did it represent the desire to enforce colonial slavery laws in the Netherlands? Unlike the objects in the previous section, this horrific implement brings us closer to the lived experience of colonial servants in the Netherlands. To them, it must have been deeply disturbing to see people like them depicted as inferior, on a cabinet or a spittoon. But having to wear a collar is a visible marker of personal enslavement and ownership. It is telling that an object of such deep emotional significance to both the colonial ruler and the wearer remained obscured from the public eye for so long under an incorrect designation, thus masking the true impact of colonialism in the Netherlands.

Altogether, the research that has been done elsewhere, the existing overviews of Dutch art, and the objects that I have discussed in this chapter form a basis for extensive and diverse follow-up research. Only thorough studies that bring together various disciplines, sources, and perspectives can deepen our understanding of how the Netherlands was shaped and visualized, and further broaden our views on "belonging" in this country.

Notes

1   Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books (Random House), 1993).

2   Valika Smeulders, "Postkoloniale onderhandelingen, de plaats van Antilliaans erfgoed in Nederlandse musea," in *Antilliaans erfgoed, Vol. 2: Nu en Verder*, ed. Gert Oostindie and Alex van Stipriaan (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2021),93–130.

3   Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst. Anders de*

zichtbaere werelt (1678), 141.

4   Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 25.

5   Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA, Beacon Press, 2015 [1995]).

6   David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Volume III. From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition, Parts 1–3* (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2010–2011); David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Volume IV. From the American Revolution to World*

War I, Part 2. Black Models and White Myths. (Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2012).

7 Esther Schreuder, *Cupido en Sideron: Twee Moren aan het hof van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2017).

8 Alette Fleischer and Bart Krieger, *Gilded Splendor: The pendules au Bon Sauvage & au Noir Enchaîné. Iconography of the pendules au noir in the Parnassia Collection* (Edam: LM Publishers, 2022), 31–32.

9 Allison Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture,* translated from the Dutch (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995 [1990]); Esther Schreuder, *Black is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas, catalog* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008); Elmer Kolfin and Epco Runia, eds., *Zwart in Rembrandts tijd* (Zwolle: Wbooks, 2020).

10 Thomas Bender, Laurent Dubois and Richard Rabinowitz, eds., *Revolution! The Atlantic World Reborn* (London: D Giles, 2011). This was also illustrated by the 2019 exposition in Musée d'Orsay in Paris, titled *Le modèle noir: De Géricault à Matisse.*

11 Advertisement in the *Amsterdamsche Courant,* September 25, 1696, # 115.

Mark Ponte

Slavery in the Netherlands?

In July 1683, *De Belachelijke Jonker* (The Ridiculous Squire), a play written by Pieter Bernagie (1656–1699), premiered in Amsterdam's Stadsschouwburg (city theater). It was an instant hit and was performed dozens of times in the years that followed. One of the protagonists is Joris, who has returned to Amsterdam after a career spanning over thirty years in Asia. In the penultimate scene, it appears that this VOC veteran has brought home more than luxury goods and beautiful Asian clothing. He has also brought back two Black servants, not for himself but for an important lord. "Well, well, brother. Did you bring along two blacks?" his sister asks him. "Yes," he answers. "They're for a powerful lord. They know how to fight, they can dance."[1] While the play is fictional, it reveals that the act of bringing servants home and giving them away was a normal occurrence in the Dutch Republic. We know that several people of African descent worked for the House of Orange in The Hague, some of whom were still children when they were "gifted" to the court.[2] Black servants also worked in many other places in the Republic, some of them far outside of Holland, in provinces such as Guelders, Groningen, and Frisia.

In recent years, several studies have been published about slavery in the Dutch Republic, and about people from colonized territories who ended up living in the mother country. So far, this research has focused on the bigger Dutch cities. The results show that it was two-way traffic: while the Dutch were fanning out around the world, the world was also coming to the Netherlands. Although it is true that colonization, enslavement, and slave labor took place in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, it was all organized from the Republic. From the very outset, it was not just products that were brought back to the Republic, but people, too. Even on the very first VOC expedition to Asia in 1595, the crew enslaved people and brought them home with them.[3]

In the early seventeenth century, there was already a small, free Black community in Amsterdam. Most of the women in this community had been brought back by Dutch merchants from Spain, Portugal, and Dutch Brazil, while the men were mainly Black sailors and soldiers. But the arrival of servants who were kept in slavery rekindled the issue and prompted the city to reiterate its legislation. From 1644 onward, the Amsterdam city lawbooks included an ordinance about slavery. It was copied verbatim from a sixteenth-century legal provision from Antwerp, and stipulates that slavery was formally prohibited in Amsterdam: "Within the City of Amstelredamme [Amsterdam]…, all people are free, and none are Slaves." This was no guarantee, however. Enslaved people had to personally claim their freedom. This meant that slavery could continue to exist in Amsterdam, just like it did in Antwerp (see Chapter 24 by Jeroen Puttevils). Recent research reveals that several enslaved women from Dutch Brazil actively invoked their right to freedom in Amsterdam in the 1650s.[4]

Dutch traders regularly brought back enslaved people from colonized areas in Asia as well as the West Indies. The VOC tried to put a stop to that. In 1636, the practice was banned, and the prohibition was frequently repeated through the years that followed. Exceptions were made for the enslaved owned by the highest officials and for enslaved women nursing infants. The Lords Seventeen, the executive board of the VOC, decreed that the owner of the enslaved had to pay a deposit in advance to cover the cost of the enslaved person's return trip. The enslaved people who made the voyage were formally free the moment they set foot in the Republic. But that does not mean that they were immediately able to leave their "masters." Usually, they continued to serve and thus remained in a completely dependent position for an extended period of time.

The eighteenth century saw an increase in travel to the Dutch Republic by merchants and plantation owners from the Caribbean plantation colonies of Suriname, Berbice, and Demerara. Some came on business, others to settle permanently. Often, they brought over enslaved servants, driving a sharp increase in arrivals of enslaved people over the course of the century. The Surinamese colonial governor's log shows the frequent arrivals and departures of plantation owners and other wealthy people along with their enslaved servants.

Until the late eighteenth century, little changed in terms of the status of the enslaved on Dutch soil or after their return to the colony. The opaqueness of city laws and the lack of enforcement meant that slavery was de facto continued in the Republic. Two Afro-Surinamese women, Marijtje Criool and her daughter Jacoba Leilad, forced a change in that situation in 1771, when they personally went to the States General to claim freedom papers so they could return to Suriname as free people. Based on the old seventeenth-century laws, the States General decided that slavery did not exist in the Republic and that freedom papers were therefore unnecessary. That decision caused consternation among planters in Suriname and investors in Amsterdam, who were worried that they would lose their "investments." The States General allayed their fears by amending the laws, such that from 1776, "slaves" who arrived in the Republic were not freed on arrival but only after a six-month period which could be extended to a year. If an enslaved person was not sent back to Suriname within that time limit, they were automatically considered free, even if they returned to the colony. But even after this amendment, slave owners successfully challenged the new law. This situation continued until slavery was formally abolished, in the Dutch East Indies in 1860 and in the Caribbean in 1863.

Notes

1   Pieter Bernagie, *De belachelijke jonker en Studente-leven* (Doetinchem: Misset, 1882 [1683]).

2   Esther Schreuder, *Cupido en Sideron: Twee Moren aan het hof van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2017).

3   Leendert van der Valk, "Jongens van goeden begrijpe," *Groene Amsterdammer*, 146, no. 25, June 23, 2022.

4   Mark Ponte, "Zwarte vrouwen in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw," in *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum: Alle Amsterdamse Akten: Ruzie, rouw en roddels bij de notaris, 1578–1915*, Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum 114, ed. Judith Brouwer et al., 114 (Amsterdam: Virtumedia, 2022), 130–143; Mark Ponte, "Black in Amsterdam around 1650," in *Black in Rembrandt's Time*, eds. Elmer Kolfin and Epco Runia (Zwolle: W Books, 2020); Mark Ponte, "'Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen.': Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam," *TSEG / The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 15, no. 4 (2019): 33–62. https://doi.org/10.18352/tseg.995.