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Master's Thesis

A Distant Mirror:

Violent Public Punishment in the VOC Batavia, 1729-1739

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Abstract

This thesis examines the violent colonial penal practice in VOC's Batavia by comparing it with the penal practice in Amsterdam. This thesis argues that colonial penal practice is different compared to the penal practice in the metropole in various aspects. Using various primary sources, this thesis identifies these differences in five fields: the legal codex, the persons directly involved in the event, the location of execution, the procedure of execution, and the spectators at the event. The thesis seeks to find the extent of the use of violent measures in colonial penal practice resembles that in the metropole and to what extent does it differ.

Keywords: Penal History, Capital Punishment, Colonial Punishment, Torture, Colonial, VOC, Batavia

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Introduction

Brief Historical Background

Sailing to faraway lands to gain fortunes, VOC ships carried many goods and commodities, in addition to that, it carried European ideas with them. One of these ideas was legal and penal tradition. In addition to that, the sailors and employees of the VOC had varied origins and backgrounds and life was hard for some of them, hence crime was inevitable. Sailors and the company's employees committed various crimes such as theft, smuggling, mutiny, and even murder. Besides, people died and often left behind not only wealth but also conflicts. The need for settling legal disputes appeared to be necessary for the company, as these problems must be settled in a judicial court. Furthermore, the need for a council of justice to be established was growing in light of the increasing power of the company in the Indies. Therefore, the Council of Justice was established, initially, in order to administer justice for the VOC employees in Batavia. The administering of justice in the early modern period was characterized by violent public punishment. Hence during the VOC's reign, the Batavian Council of Justice exerted violent public punishments.

Contextualizing the Violent Colonial Penal Practice

This thesis studies the “spectacular” violent colonial penal practice in VOC's Batavia. What is a violent colonial penal practice? The phrase “violent colonial penal practice” is made up of two important terms: “violent” and “colonial”. The term “violent” as understood in this thesis is an act of inflicting pain on a person. This thesis covers primarily its various forms in the judicial scene: painful interrogation, corporal punishment, and capital punishment. Here, the “violent penal practice” encompasses what Michel Foucault has termed as *supplice* or “torture” in his *Discipline and Punish*.¹ The next key term that is also made up the focus of this thesis is “colonial”. A colonial government is viewed here as an autonomous body of government that operates in a foreign land that falls into the government's rule. By using this view, this thesis considers the Dutch East India Company or the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (henceforth the VOC) rule in Batavia as a colonial government. Hence, a colonial penal

¹ Torture is the first part of *Discipline and Punish* and it marks the first phase of Western penal practice development. Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

practice is defined in this thesis as an act of punishing criminals by a colonial government. Finally, a colonial penal practice should be viewed here as dissimilar from Western penal practice.

When discussing the pre-modern period, asking whether a colonial society is less developed than the society in the metropole is not a fitting question. Durkheim argues that the penal practice in the less-developed societies is more violent and intense than that in more-developed societies.² Based on Durkheim's "Two Laws of Penal Evolution", both the pre-modern colonial and metropole societies are less developed than the modern colonial and metropole societies.³ Furthermore, violence characterizes punishments in this period. A better comparison to be sought, therefore, is that both societies are less developed than their respective later phases—the period where the society generally started applying the restriction of freedom as a form of punishment. Hence, a question better asked in this context is whether the penal practice in both the colony and the metropole would serve as an equal starting point for penal practice development. As we can see clearly in the later period that the penal practice development in the colony and the metropole took separate routes.⁴

The difference between Western punishment and colonial punishment is an important issue. It tells the story of divergence and of how a new type of punishment, the colonial punishment, emerged. Furthermore, colonial punishment that was characterized by violence in a public setting continued well into the twentieth century in the Dutch East Indies. It continues in almost every aspect, even in details such as the clothes of the condemned convicts. Concerning the continuity of penal practice, Sanne Ravensbergen has pointed out that the practice of capital punishment in modern-day Indonesia builds on the practice of the Dutch East Indies colonial government. The failure of the colonial government to abolish capital punishment, despite the advice from royal scholars and the growing movement to abolish it, lead to the prevalence of this practice.⁵ The continuity of the violent penal practice added the importance of the discussion on the colonial penal history.

² Emile Durkheim, "Two Laws of Penal Evolution," *Economy and Society* 2, no. 3 (August 1, 1973): 285–308.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The clearest example perhaps the prevalence of public hanging. The hanging in the Dutch East Indies was hidden from public in 1917, whereas the metropole has abolished the death penalty for ordinary crimes in 1870.

⁵ Sanne Ravensbergen, "Nederland hield doodstraf in Indië in stand," *historiek.net*, accessed September 19, 2017, <http://historiek.net/nederland-hield-doodstraf-in-indie-in-stand/47503/>.

By the time the Western forces entered the Southeast Asian archipelago, the region was a cornucopia of penal practices and legal systems. The Southeast Asian archipelago is located at the intersection of Chinese and Indic influence geographically and culturally. In addition to that, the spread of Islam from the fifteenth century onwards introduced the sharia and Islamic penal tradition to the archipelago. The region was a melting pot for Indic, Islamic, and, to some extent, Chinese legal traditions. For example, Java, the island on which Batavia was founded, exercised a mixture of Indic and Islamic legal traditions. In the Javanese judicial court, the Serambi and Pradata court, the Qur'an and Islam fiqh legal sources were used alongside old Javanese legal text such as *Serat Angger Raja Kapa-Kapa*, *Surya Ngalam*, and *Serat Jugul Mudha*.⁶ These penal and legal traditions do include violent measures. In the sense of exercising violent measures, the indigenous' penal practice in the early modern period is similar to the Western penal practice. As an illustration, the Javanese law employed various methods of capital punishment that are considered brutal by modern standards, for example, slow slicing, stabbing, impaling, cutting, beheading, head crushing, animal fighting, etc.

During the VOC's reign, a fully functional colonial government was established in Batavia. It had a working penal system complete with legal bureaucracy and penal facility. This includes the judicial court and execution ground. This penal structure was supposed to be a perfect imitation of the Dutch penal system. However, the specific colonial conditions in Batavia may have influenced the implementation of the Western penal system.

Historiography of Global and Colonial Punishment

Recently, the history of punishment has attracted increased attention. Various studies and research projects have been undertaken on the topic of penal history.⁷ Likewise, many large-

⁶ Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2008), 387–388; For the philological study of Javanese legal texts see Endah Susilantini, Dwi Ratna Nurhajarini, and Suyami, *Serat Angger Pradata Awal Dan Serat Angger Pradata Akir Di Kraton Yogyakarta Kajian Filologis Historis* (Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya (BPNB) Yogyakarta, 2014); Hoadley cited Brandes on the potential of Javanese sources. For Javanese legal tradition before the Western influence, see Mason C. Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competence: The Cirebon-Priangan Legal Administration, 1680-1792* (Cornell University Press, 2018).

⁷ To mention a few examples, an interdisciplinary study on Chinese's Lingchi see Timothy Brook, Jerome Bourgon, and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Most recently, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* dedicated a volume on punishment history. Some of the interesting titles include: Philip J. Havik et al., "Empires and Colonial Incarceration in the Twentieth Century," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, no. 2 (May 14, 2019): 201–212; Fran Buntman, "Prison and Law, Repression and Resistance: Colonialism and Beyond," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, no. 2 (May 14, 2019): 213–246; Nancy A. Rushohora, "Graves, Houses of Pain and

scale digitization efforts in the last two decades have led to new research opportunities.⁸ However, the combination of the increased popularity of the theme and the digitization sometimes also poses obstacles for researchers, more so for those who are unfamiliar with or untrained on the topic. As illustrated most recently by the debate concerning Naomi Wolf's book published in 2019, Wolf was criticized for mistakenly deducing the number of executed convicts in Victorian England.⁹

Formerly, the majority of the study on penal history concentrates on two popular themes: the history of prisons and the history of penal transportation.¹⁰ Prison history is the part of penal history that closely follows Foucault's premise. Its body of works has grown considerably in the decades following the publication of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. Nevertheless, before institutionalized imprisonment, there was public punishment, which was mostly violent. Violent public punishment has caught historians' attention too. For example, Pieter Spierenburg has studied violent public punishment in Amsterdam on several occasions.¹¹ Paul Friedland examines the spectacular punishment in early modern France.¹² These studies concern European history rather than global history.

Recent years have also witnessed an emergence of what Sherman Taylor called the second generation of penal historians. This second generation is characterized by their concern for other aspects that were left unexplored by Foucault and other former penal historians.¹³ The first generation of research that emerged after the 1970s was characterized by the framework it uses—a combination of Foucauldian perspective and subaltern history. According to

Execution: Memories of the German Prisons after the Majimaji War in Tanzania (1904–1908),” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, no. 2 (May 14, 2019): 275–299.

⁸ For instance, “Sejarah Nusantara,” <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/>; “TANAP,” <http://tanap.net/>; “Delpher,” <https://www.delpher.nl/>; *Prize Papers Online* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, n.d.), <https://brill.com/view/package/ppo>; “Old Bailey Online,” <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>; “Digital Panopticon,” <https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/>.

⁹ It is a slippery slope to read early modern legal documents without a proper context, as illustrated by Wolf's mistake. Due to misinterpretation of the term “death recorded” in the legal documents, Wolf mistakenly deduced the high number of executions. Richard Lea, “Naomi Wolf Admits Blunder over Victorians and Sodomy Executions,” last modified May 24, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/may/24/naomi-wolf-admits-blunder-over-victorians-and-sodomy-executions>.

¹⁰ Mary Gibson, “Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison,” *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (2011): 1040–1063.

¹¹ Pieter Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence in the Dutch Republic: Corporal Punishment, Executions and Torture in Amsterdam 1650-1750” (Dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1978); Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

¹² Paul Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done: The Age of Spectacular Capital Punishment in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹³ Taylor C. Sherman, “Tensions of Colonial Punishment: Perspectives on Recent Developments in the Study of Coercive Networks in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean,” *History Compass* 7, no. 3 (2009): 659–677.

Sherman, the second generation of research has widened the focus of colonial penal practice research. Different from the first-generation research, the second generation has paid attention to penal practice beyond Western penal history. To broaden the perspective on penal practice, in addition to geographical scope the second-generation historiography has also paid attention to punishment other than imprisonment.¹⁴

In the past decade, the development of colonial penal historiography has witnessed a significant shift.¹⁵ Some historians and scholars have focused on discovering the colonial penal history by trying to break away from Western-oriented research. For example, Richard Ward's edited volume on the history of execution and criminal bodies. This book discusses the history of capital punishment and criminal corpses and puts them in a global context by incorporating Chinese and African experiences into the discussion.¹⁶ However, although Ward's volume carries the term "global" in its title, the inclusion of only Chinese and African experiences is insufficient, as it neglects the rest of the world. Another example of this effort is Mark Brown's *Penal Power and Colonial Rule*, which examines the distinct route taken by penal development outside the metropole, particularly in British India. While doing this, Brown proposed a revised Foucauldian argument by putting it in the colonial context.¹⁷ Brown's work, however, focused on South Asian experience.

Three books concerning the penal practice in colonial Southeast Asia have contextualized the history of penal practice on colonial grounds. Peter Zinoman's *Colonial Bastille* has suggested that colonial prisons in France's Vietnam served as a melting pot or an incubation for Vietnam's independence struggle.¹⁸ Anoma Pieris' study on Singaporean prisons in the nineteenth century has enriched the historiography of punishment by positioning the intersection of penal history and urban history in a colonial setting.¹⁹ Going further back in temporal scope, Kerry Ward's *Networks of Empire* has shed light on the VOC's penal network.²⁰ Read as a group, these books contextualized the Southeast Asian penal history and

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Richard Ward, *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpse* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹⁷ Mark Brown, *Penal Power and Colonial Rule* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

¹⁸ Peter Zinoman, *The Colonial Bastille A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam 1862-1940* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁹ Anoma Pieris, *Hidden Hands and Divided Landscapes A Penal History of Singapore's Plural Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

²⁰ Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

provided a global view of it. However, while Zinoman and Pieris discuss the punishment in a colonial context, both of them focus on the modern period. Hence, the early modern period is neglected in their studies. Moreover, since both Zinoman and Pieris focus on prison, violent public punishment is also overlooked. While Kerry Ward's study does concern early modern period, it lacks the in-depth discussion on the penal practice other than penal transportation.

Batavia, this thesis' geographical scope, has been the focus of study for many historians. There are also rich archival sources concerning Batavia. There seems to be no shortage of work when it comes to the history of Batavia. Focusing on VOC Batavia, this thesis is built on the body of earlier works. The formation of the colonial society in Batavia has been the focus of Leonard Blussé.²¹ Susan Abeyasekere thoroughly examines the history of the city from its inception to New Order Indonesia.²² Likewise, Pauline Milone discusses the development of Batavia as a colonial capital.²³ Jean Gelman Taylor discusses life in VOC Batavia for Europeans and Eurasians.²⁴ The criminal side of Batavia has been discussed by Pamela Anne McVay²⁵ and Kerry Ward.²⁶ Remco Raben draws a comparison between the ethnic and spatial orders of Colombo and Batavia.²⁷ These works agree on the uniqueness of Batavia. However, these works focused mainly on the multiculturalism and diversity of Batavia's inhabitant, disregarding the judicial violence that was apparent in Batavia.

Related to the Batavian justice, from a wider perspective, John Ball²⁸ and Kat de Angelino²⁹ provide a general overview of Indonesian legal history. The Batavian legal history in the time of the VOC has been the focus of Jacobus La Bree's work.³⁰ Mason Hoadley in

²¹ Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht [etc.]: Foris, 1986); Leonard Blussé and Nie Dening, eds., *The Chinese Annals of Batavia, the Kai Ba Lidai Shiji and Other Stories (1610–1795)* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

²² Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta A History* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987).

²³ Pauline Dublin Milone, "Queen City of the East: The Metamorphosis of A Colonial Capital" (PhD. diss., University of California, 1967).

²⁴ Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, Second Edition. (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

²⁵ Pamela Anne McVay, "'I Am the Devil's Own': Crime, Class, and Identity in the Seventeenth Century Dutch East Indies" (PhD. diss., University of Illinois, 1995).

²⁶ Ward, *Networks of Empire*.

²⁷ Remco Raben, *Batavia and Colombo The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities 1600-1800* (PhD. diss., Leiden University, 1996).

²⁸ Ball provides an overview of Indonesian legal history in John Ball, *Indonesian Legal History 1602-1848* (Sydney: Oughtershaw Press, 1982) however, the part in this book which deal with the VOC period relied heavily on La Bree's work. Ball went in-depth in West Sumatra's legal history in John Ball, *Indonesian Legal History British West Sumatra 1685-1825* (Sydney: Oughtershaw Press, 1984).

²⁹ A. D. A. de Kat Angelino, *Colonial Policy*, vol. II (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931).

³⁰ Jacobus La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie en rechtbedeling te Batavia in de XVIIe eeuw* (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar N.V., 1951).

several occasions discussed Javanese and the colonial legal history.³¹ Sanne Ravensbergen discussed capital punishment³² and the legal plurality of colonial court in Java.³³ Nonetheless, none of them discussed the history of violent punishment in the early modern Batavia in respect with its metropole counterpart.

Considering the aforementioned discussion of the global and colonial penal historiography as well as the Batavian historiography, it is safe to deduce that the history of punishment in a colonial context, particularly in VOC Batavia is inadequately discussed. The gap from both geographical and temporal dimensions allows this thesis to discuss violent public punishment as one form of punishment in the colonial sphere. Historiographically, this thesis positions itself within the second generation of penal historiography and is built on the premise that spectacular violent punishment in early modern states can be perceived as a drama.³⁴ This thesis is also meant to answer Sherman Taylor's call on the new framework for the study of colonial punishment.

Sources, Opportunities, and Challenges

The availability of early modern legal documents of the VOC in the National Archive in The Hague (henceforth NA) makes it possible for us to examine the legal and penal practice of the period. In particular, this thesis utilizes the *Criminele Rollen* (Criminal Records). In this thesis, figures and percentages regarding crimes and punishment in Batavia are drawn by analysing the *Criminele Rollen*.³⁵ The *Criminele Rollen* can be found in Amsterdam as well as Batavia because the penal practice in Batavia was based on the penal practice in the Dutch Republic. One question that is not dealt with in this thesis is the difference between the criminal records in Batavia and those in the Dutch Republic. They possibly differ in some aspects, but most likely the essential information is stored in the same manner. Further, this thesis will admittedly

³¹ Hoadley focuses on Western Java in Hoadley, *Selective Judicial Competence: The Cirebon-Priangan Legal Administration, 1680-1792*; He focuses on the influence of adat law and Western law on Islamic legal system of Javanese courts in Mason C. Hoadley, *Islam Dalam Tradisi Hukum Jawa & Hukum Kolonial* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2009).

³² Sanne Ravensbergen, "Gered van de koloniale galg koloniaal strafrecht en gratieverlening toegepast op 'Inlanders' en Chinezen in Nederlands-Indië 1819-1848" (Master thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 2010).

³³ Sanne Ravensbergen, "Courtrooms of Conflict. Criminal Law, Local Elites and Legal Pluralities in Colonial Java" (PhD. diss., Leiden University, 2018).

³⁴ In the case of Western Europe, Huizinga argues that capital punishment was carried out as a drama with a moral lesson. See Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 11.

³⁵ The database table is presented as an appendix.

take for granted the information and statistics about the penal practice in the Dutch Republic provided by previous studies.³⁶

The *Criminele Rollen* is a court record produced by the criminal court practising the Roman-Dutch legal tradition. As a genre of a document, the *Criminele Rollen* was used and produced by the Amsterdam court and Batavian court. In the case of Batavia, the *Criminele Rollen* can be found in the *Kamer Zeeland* (Zeeland Chamber) of the VOC archives in the NA. It is a copy that was sent from Batavia to the Dutch Republic during the VOC's reign. The original *Criminele Rollen*, unfortunately, is lost, as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents from the *Raad van Justitie* that were kept in Batavia no longer exist.³⁷ In Batavia, the *Criminele Rollen* were written in order to inform the *Hoge Regering* about the crimes and punishments dealt by the *Raad van Justitie*. In the Zeeland Chamber, there are hundreds of bundles of these legal records, including the *Criminele Rollen*, *Criminele Processtukken*, *Brieven en Papieren*, *Eijsch* etc. The oldest *Criminele Rollen* in the NA is dated 1636 and the surviving archive stopped in 1790. According to the NA's inventory, the legal records from the *Raad van Justitie* Batavia in Zeeland Chamber amount to 321 bundles.

The *Criminele Rollen* does not provide only quantitative data of the criminal trials; in some cases, it also provides detailed accounts of criminal cases. For example, it contains details on how a murder was carried out. The information in the *Criminele Rollen* also enhances our understanding of how the criminal trial was performed. Interestingly, it also contains information about the wages of the offices of executor (*scherpreger*) and "Muslim priest" (*moorsepriester*).

The initial period chosen for this thesis is 1642-1766 because in this period the Batavian court was in its earliest stable form.³⁸ However, 1729-1739 is chosen for the focus of this thesis primarily due to the availability of the archival sources. Even though the *Criminele Rollen* exists in large number in the NA, some years are missing. Fortunately, the collection of the period 1729-1739 is complete. Besides *Criminele Rollen*, several additional sources are available for the decade chosen, namely: various pamphlets and report on Petrus Vuijst

³⁶ Such as Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*; Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence"; Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*.

³⁷ G. L. Balk, F. van Dijk, and D. J. Kortlang, *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 158.

³⁸ Indicated by the compilation of the *Statuten van Batavia*. The *Statuten van Batavia* was compiled in 1642. After 1766, the *Statuten van Batavia* was renewed and replaced by the *Nieuwe Statuten van Batavia*. The new statutes marked a new period.

execution³⁹ and Simon Fokke's and Johannes Rach's illustrations.⁴⁰ A decade is considered sufficient for the thesis' study since a trend could be adequately observed within a decade. Furthermore, the decade chosen bear similarity to Spierenburg's study (1650-1750).⁴¹ This is an advantage since it makes the comparison between Amsterdam and Batavia relatively easy. Furthermore, the thesis limits the period discussed prior to the infamous Batavian Chinese Massacre of 1740. The year 1740 is avoided since the chaotic event and many extrajudicial killings occurred in the incident would complicate the general view aimed by this thesis.

This thesis is not the first to utilize the *Criminele Rollen* of the year 1729-1739. It has been used as the primary source by Kerry Ward in her chapter in *Networks of Empire*, "Crime and Punishment in Batavia". Ward's chapter uses the *Criminele Rollen* and touches upon the same topic as this thesis. However, the focus of this thesis is different from Ward's *Networks of Empire*. While Ward used the *Criminele Rollen* to determine the legal and penal network, this thesis used the same source to reveal the nature of the violent public punishment in VOC Batavia.

As illustrated by the aforementioned critics of Wolf's work, studying old legal documents poses a challenge in its own right. One of the critics pointed out Wolf's mistake as "the most basic". The legal proceedings in the VOC world presents a rather different problem, but just as complex. Apart from the text and language problems, eighteenth-century Dutch is difficult to be deciphered. Therefore, textual and contextual problems exist for scholar trying to study eighteenth-century Dutch penal practice.

³⁹ Catharina Samperman, *De onregtveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den gouverneur Petrus Vuyst, tot Ceylon nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie des casteels Batavia* (Rotterdam, 1733); *Sententie gepronuncieert ende geëxecuteert op ende jegens Mr. Petrus Vuyst op dinsdag den 3. juny 1732. tot Batavia in Oost-Indien. (na een origineel copy van Batavia zoo ende gelyk het den gevange is voorgelese, getrouwelyk gedrukt 1733.)*, 1733; *Sententie gewezen by den wel ed: RAADE van India, tegens den heere en Mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen gouverneur van Ceylon. geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 mey, 1732. waar agter gevoegt is de lyst der opontboden en particuliere perzoonen, die met deze in den jare 1733. ingekomene elf Oost-Indische retourschepen zyn gerepatriëert.*, 1733; *Sententie, gewezen by den wel ed: RAADE van India, tegens den heere en Mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen gouverneur van Ceylon. geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 mey, 1732.*, 1732; *De onregtveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den gouverneur Petrus Vuyst, tot Ceylon, nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie, des casteels Batavia. (gedrukt naar de origineele copye)*, 1733; VOC, *Kort en naauwkeurig verhaal, van 't leven en opkomst van den heer en Mr. Petrus Vuyst. gewezen gouverneur op 't eiland Ceilon. als mede een waaragtig berigt, van alle zyne gepleegde gruwelstukken: als ook de namen van die geene die door hem onschuldig ter dood zyn gebragt*, 1732; NA 1.04.02 - 9524, "Processtukken van Den Ceijlons Govern: Petrus Vuijst En Desselvs Krijgsraat Aldaar, Door Den Raad van Justitie Op Batavia Herwoord Gezonden," n.d.

⁴⁰ Simon Fokke, *Vier episodes uit de vaderlandse geschiedenis illustraties vaderlandse geschiedenis*, Print, 1784 1722, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.111527>; Johannes Rach's illustration is presented in F. De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. III (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co, 1922).

⁴¹ Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence,"

When the *Criminele Rollen* provided limited information regarding some aspects of the topic, this thesis turned to other primary sources. Sketches, drawings, and maps are used to discover the spatial aspect of the punishment. Published sources are also utilized. Particularly in Chapter One, which deals with the legal codex, four volumes of Van der Chijs' *Nederlands-Indisch Plakaatboek*⁴² and Dekker's *Statuten van Batavia*⁴³ are consulted. De Haan's highly detailed *Oud Batavia* is used for information not included in the aforementioned sources. An interpretation based on newer sources is derived in the absence of other sources.

Thesis Statement and Research Question

Studies in similar but other areas suggest that the colonial penal practice is different compared to that of the metropole.⁴⁴ Likewise, studies of the social and economic aspect in the VOC Batavia suggest that Batavia in the time of the VOC was a colony in its own right. Deducing from the two premises, in Batavia, a difference must have existed in the form of colonial penal practice, hence, several questions come up. The main question addressed in this thesis is as follows: to what extent does the colonial penal practice follow the penal practice in the metropole? More particularly, what is the role of violence in both practices? Finally, if colonial penal practice diverges from the original European form, how to account for the difference?

In order to examine the deviation of the colonial penal practice with respect to the penal practice in the metropole, it is necessary to draw a comparison between the two practices, especially considering that the former was derived from the latter. In this thesis, Amsterdam serves as the original model, whereas Batavia serves as the mirror. By examining the differences between the two practices, this thesis shows the success and the failure of the VOC's efforts to imitate the Dutch penal culture in the Indies.

Discussing the penal practice in Batavia and Amsterdam, the argument of this thesis is twofold. **First**, based on the comparison between the violent penal practice in Amsterdam and Batavia, this thesis argues that the penal practice in the colony differs from that in the metropole. **Second**, the cause of the difference can be traced back to the social structure and condition of the colony. The difference in the penal practice was so deeply embedded into the

⁴² J. A. Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, 1602-1811, 1602-1642*, 17 vols. (Batavia: Batavia Landsdrukkerij, 1885), Subsequent quotations from the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek* will hereafter be cited as NIP.

⁴³ J. Dekker, *Statuten van Batavia*, 1762.

⁴⁴ For example, as suggested by Mark Brown based on British India's experience in Brown, *Penal Power and Colonial Rule*.

Dutch colonial culture that the colonial government preserved the pre-modern form of punishment well into twentieth-century Dutch East Indies. The problems analysed in this thesis aim to contribute to a larger argument: the VOC period indeed has a fundamental effect on Indonesian history.⁴⁵

Thesis Structure

In order to explain the history of the colonial violent penal practice and how it diverges from European practice, this thesis draws a parallel between the colony and the metropole. This thesis limits itself to discuss only the comparison between the two focal points. Based on the premise that pre-modern violent public punishment is a theatrical spectacle, this thesis examines the early modern bloody drama. The thesis starts with Chapter 1 (The Script & The Director), which touches the legal history in the colony and the metropole. The foundation of VOC's legal practice in Batavia was the Statutes of Batavia, which derived from Roman-Dutch Law. The chapter examines how it was formulated and how it changes its postulate to fit the conditions in the colony. Chapter 2 (The Characters) takes a closer look at the practice and provides the example of how the characters of this brutal spectacle played their part. This chapter examines three main characters of the violent penal practice—namely The Judge, The Executioner, and The Condemned—and their roles.

The spatial aspect of the penal practice is discussed in Chapter 3 (The Stage). Based on various sources, (pamphlets, criminal records, maps, and drawings), it analyses how colonial penal practice contributes in shaping public spaces and how it utilizes space to inspire fear and control. This chapter also provides a comparison between the location of penal practice in Amsterdam and Batavia. Chapter 4 (The Play) reconstructs the process and procedure of violent colonial punishment in Batavia and compares it with the practice in Amsterdam. This chapter deals with three representatives of violent punishments: violent interrogation, corporal punishment, and capital punishment. Chapter 5 (The Spectators) completes the view on the penal practice by discussing the public attitude towards violent public punishment.

⁴⁵ This grand argument has been suggested by scholars of Indonesian history. For example, Leonard Blusse suggested in 1981 that the effect of the Chinese Massacre of 1740 serves as the base for the general attitude towards the Chinese in modern-day Indonesia.

Chapter One: The Script and the Director

This chapter examines two legal instruments which made the violent penal practice possible, namely the legal code and the court. The first part of this chapter aims to identify the difference between the effective legal code in the Dutch Republic and VOC Batavia. The second part of this chapter investigates the judicial court in Amsterdam and VOC Batavia.

The Script:

The Dutch Republic and the Batavian Legal Code

Roman-Dutch Law

The connecting line between the legal tradition in the Dutch Republic and that in Dutch-controlled Asia is Roman-Dutch Law (*Roomsch-Hollandsch Recht*). Roman-Dutch Law is the legal code in effect in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic. Because of the concordance principle, the VOC was entitled to exercise Roman-Dutch Law in their territory in Asia.⁴⁶ The practice of legal jurisprudence in the Dutch Republic is complicated. While Roman-Dutch Law was exercised to the fullest in the province of Holland, the other provinces were not exercising it in entirety. Therefore, when the VOC had to administer justice to a plethora of employees from around the country and beyond, it faced a complex legal tradition.

Roman-Dutch Law is a mixture of several legal traditions that were obtained in the province of Holland during the existence of the Dutch Republic. The main components of Roman-Dutch Law are Roman Law, Canon Law, Germanic customs, and Dutch jurisprudence. The term “Roman-Dutch Law” itself was first coined by Simon van Leeuwen in the mid-seventeenth century. It first appeared as a subtitle of van Leeuwen’s *Paratitula Juris Novissimi*.⁴⁷ This amalgamation of European jurisprudence was brought on the ships of the VOC to Dutch-controlled Asia. Originally, based on the concordance principle, it was brought as an instrument to administer justice among the Dutch. However, following the expansion and conquest of the trading company in Asia, the jurisprudence was introduced to the indigenous society.

⁴⁶ Which dictated that people should be tried with the same law as the one that was in effect in the metropole.

⁴⁷ *Paratitula juris novissimi* was published at Leiden in 1652.

The source of Roman-Dutch Law consists of treatises, Statute Law, decisions of the courts, opinion of the jurists, and custom. Treatises are the works of Dutch jurists, and it is referred to as an authoritative statement of law. Among the known treatises are Hugo de Groot's *Inleiding tot de Hollandsche rechtsgeleertheyd*, Arnoldus Vinnius's *Commentarius in IV libros institutionum imperialium*, and Simon van Leeuwen's *Paratitula juris novissimi, Roomsche Hollandsche recht*.⁴⁸ Statute Law which is a formal written enactment of a legislative authority,⁴⁹ was written based on Roman-Dutch Law and included 1) the enactments of the States-General, 2) the enactments of the States of Holland and West Friesland, and 3) the Statutes of Batavia. The enactments of the States-General and the enactments of the States of Holland and West Friesland can be found in the *Groot Placcaatboek*, while the Statutes of Batavia is compiled—the new and old *Statuten van Batavia*—and printed by Van der Chijs.⁵⁰ Decisions of the jurists can also be found in print. A notable example of the decisions of the jurists are *Sententien en gewezen zaken van den hoogen en provincialen raad in Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland*, and *Decisiones Frisicae sive rerum in suprema Frisiorum cura judicatarum libri V*. As we can see, Roman-Dutch Law utilizes both Dutch and Latin. Opinions of jurists characterized the Roman-Dutch system of jurisprudence. The notable example is the collection published in 1645 by Naeranus with the title *Consultatien, Advysen en Advertissementen gegeven ende geschreven by verscheijden treffelijke rechtsgeleerden in Hollant en elder*. This collection is also known as *Hollandsche Consultatien*. In 1809, Roman-Dutch Law was superseded by Napoleonic codes. However, to some extent, in some colonies of the Dutch Republic, Roman-Dutch Law was still referred to, for instance, in Batavia, Ceylon, and Cape Town.

Statutes of Batavia

On 23rd April 1641, Joan Maetsuycker, the 'pensionaris' of the *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia, composed a code based on all then existing *plakkatens* and orders that had been issued in Batavia up to that date. This also included the legislation introduced from Holland that was still in force in the colonies. The legal code was written under the orders of Antonie van Diemen. On 5th July 1642, this compilation of *plakkatens* and orders written by Maetsuycker was declared to be the code of the Dutch East India Company. It is named the "Statuten van Batavia". Before

⁴⁸ R. W. Lee, *Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915).

⁴⁹ Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, (Minnesota: West Publishing, 1990), 1410.

⁵⁰ Lee, *Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law*, 13; The Hon. J. W. Wessels, *History of The Roman - Dutch Law* (Grahamtown, Cape of Good Hope: African Book Company Ltd., 1908); Van der Chijs, NIP.

1641, the ordinance in the city of Batavia was exerted in the form of placards. The placards were nailed on the door of the town-hall.⁵¹ The fragmented placards were written in Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, Malay, and Javanese.⁵²

Jacobus La Bree, a Dutch scholar who studies the VOC judicial organization and administration of justice in Batavia, argues that in the heart of the *Statuten van Batavia* lies discrimination. However, as La Bree further suggests, the discrimination was not based on race. Instead, it was based on occupational dichotomy. The *Statuten van Batavia* classified people based on their relationship with the VOC. There are two population groups (*bevolkingsgroepen*) that determine which court people should be tried in: 1) the Company's servant and 2) others.⁵³ For instance, if a person took oath as the Company's servant, they would be eligible to be tried in the *Raad van Justitie*, regardless of their ethnicity. In this case, wives would follow their husband's population group. Slaves belonging to Company's servants were also tried based on the status of their masters. Other European settlers, the Chinese, and indigenous fell into the category "others" or "non-company's servants". Therefore, on paper and as long as the VOC was involved in the case, the race and origin of the defendant did not matter in determining which court they should be tried in.⁵⁴

When seen from the civil law section, the *Statuten van Batavia* is a hybridized legal code.⁵⁵ It is merged, to some extent, with indigenous customs. Eric Jones argues that this comes from the spirit of pragmatism that fuelled the VOC's activity in Asia. Jones further called the *Statuten van Batavia* as a twice hybridized legal code because the code is not only a hybrid of Roman legal tradition and Dutch jurisprudence but also a hybrid with Asian customs.⁵⁶ It is quite logical since the hybrid characteristics are more noticeable in civil law than in criminal law. Civil law deals with possessions and family, where the interests of various social groups are intermingled. Jones further argues that discrimination in the statutes is caused by the rivalry between the Dutch company and the British. Jones said that "first, the desire to protect and promote VOC employees and their mostly Asian dependents, and the second, to discriminate

⁵¹ Dekker, *Statuten van Batavia*.

⁵² Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 4, 238.

⁵³ See La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 74; For personnel who could not be considered "Servant of Company" see Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie 1639-1701*, vol. 3 ('s Gravenhage: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatie, 1926), 173.

⁵⁴ Although it does not necessarily mean that slaves belong to the same social group.

⁵⁵ Eric Jones, "Courts and Courtship: An Examination of Legal Practice in Dutch Asia," *Leidschrift* 21, no. 2 (2006): 31–50.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

not by race but Company/non-Company, which again privileged VOC families and also excluded their European rivals, namely the British.”⁵⁷

The Director:

The Amsterdam and Batavian Legal Court

Amsterdam

The government of the city of Amsterdam was carried out by the City Council (*Vroedschap*) which consisted of *Burgomasters*, *Schout*, and *Schepenen*. The structure of the Amsterdam city government has remained the same from the latter half of the fifteenth century until the end of the *Ancien Régime*. The City Council consisted of 36 members, and their seats could only be removed by death or by the request of the *Stadtholder*. The *Burgomaster* was the highest and most powerful position.⁵⁸ The administration of justice in Amsterdam was carried out by the office of the *Schout* and *Schepenen*. These two offices enacted the so-called municipal law (*keuren*), and together, the *Schout* and *Schepenen* were referred to as ‘the court’. The *Schout* can be roughly translated as the sheriff of the town and had judicial and police functions. The *Schout* was responsible for apprehending criminals. On the other hand, the *Schepenen* acted as the judges in the court. The *Schepenen* consisted of nine members and were elected and installed every year. Among the nine members, two were elected every two years. These two became the president and vice-president of the court. When the death penalty sentence was about to be given, the *Schepenen* were required to consult the *Burgomasters*.⁵⁹

Batavia

The administration of justice in VOC settlements was carried out based on the concordance principle. It means that the law that was in effect in the metropole was also meant to be applied to the people overseas. Originally, the court was established in order to settle a legal dispute between the Company’s servants. The first trials were enacted on ships. The company and the directors had no intention to settle disputes among the indigenous people. However, in the later period, following the conquest and establishment of settlements throughout Asia, it became clear that legal disputes needed more attention than as originally thought.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Pieter Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 27.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ This eventually led to the rise of adat law.

After the establishment of the city of Batavia, the VOC's administration of justice in the Indies was carried out by the institution named the *Raad van Justitie*. Batavia soon became the central point of the VOC administration. Batavia was established in resemblance to a Dutch city; consequently, it also had its own administrative bodies besides VOC administrative bodies. Among these bodies were the *Raad van Justitie*, *Schepenbank*, *College van Heemraden*, and *Commissarissen van Huwelijks- en Kleine Gerechtzaken*. Only two of these bodies possessed the authority to try criminal cases: the *Raad van Justitie* and *Schepenbank*.

The *Raad van Justitie* was the highest court in the VOC settlement. Even though it was a lesser court in the initial days of its establishment, Alicia Schriker argued that in the latter half of the VOC's reign, Batavia was considered as the ideal place to seek justice by people under VOC's jurisdiction.⁶¹ She argued this by showing the case of a female slave in Ceylon who sought justice in Batavia for her freedom. In other important settlements, similar councils were established, for example, the *Raad van Justitie* Colombo, the *Raad van Justitie* Semarang, and so on. For smaller and less significant settlements, the structure was copied to some extent, but it was not called the *Raad van Justitie*.

The General Instructions of 1632 and the Instructions of 1617 contained essential provisions on the administration of justice. It noted that the administration of rightful justice was the foundation of a good and well-ordered government. The administration of justice in VOC territory must follow the instructions and customs usually observed in the United Netherlands Provinces.⁶² It also required justice to be administered quickly and efficiently.

In order to achieve quick and efficient justice, several regulations were issued. The jurisdiction and power of the the *Raad van Justitie* were regulated by the General Instruction of 1617, 1632, and 1650.⁶³ Furthermore, the guide for verdict and execution was regulated in *Statuten van Batavia*,⁶⁴ which came in effect in 1642. *Statuten van Batavia* was the guide for the administration of justice until a new *Statuten van Batavia* was compiled in 1766.

The *Raad van Justitie* had two different functions, which also determined its judicial territory. Firstly, the *Raad van Justitie* Batavia functioned as a local court (*plaatselijk*

⁶¹ Alicia Schriker, "Conflict Resolution, Social Control and Law-Making in Eighteenth-Century Dutch Sri Lanka," in *Exploring the Dutch Empire: Agents, Networks and Institutions, 1600-2000*, ed. Jos Gommans and Cantia Antunes (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015), 227.

⁶² P. Mijer, *Verzameling*, 49.; Ball, *Indonesian Legal History*, 10.

⁶³ Ball, *Indonesian Legal History*, 12.

⁶⁴ Dekker, *Statuten van Batavia*, 66.

rechtscollege) and secondly as an appeal body (*beroep instantie*).⁶⁵ When the *Raad van Justitie* acted as a local court, its jurisdiction was limited to within the Batavia castle, because outside the castle, the *Schepenbank* acted as the local court. As an appeal body, the *Raad van Justitie* Batavia covered entire Asia (*geheel Indie*) and was the highest and final institution (*'t hoogste ressort van Justitie in Indie*).⁶⁶ The *Raad van Justitie* in its capacity as a court in criminal cases could only settle cases in which a Company servant was the accused.⁶⁷ In some occasions, the *Raad van Justitie* also try crimes committed by accomplices of VOC servants⁶⁸ However, this court also became the final institution for appeal in Asia, as an appeal to the Dutch Republic was not allowed.⁶⁹

The *Schepenbank* was another court that was established as a local court in order to settle legal disputes. The *Schepenbank's* territory was the whole of Batavia except the castle.⁷⁰ The *Schepenbank* could settle legal disputes between Company servants and other social groups in the city.

The jurisdiction of both courts sometimes overlapped. In some cases, both the *Raad van Justitie* and the *Schepenbank* had the same jurisdiction and were equally competent. For instance, in the case of a mixed case (*gemengde zaken*) in which a Company's servant committed a crime in collaboration with another social group, the *Raad van Justitie* and the *Schepenbank* would both be competent to try a case.⁷¹ The trial could be carried out in the *Raad van Justitie's* trial court with *Baljuw's* assistance or in the *Schepenbank's* trial court with the assistance of *Advocaat Fiscaal*.

Both the *Raad van Justitie* and the *Schepenbank* trials took place inside the town-hall. The two courts took turns using the courtroom. The *Raad van Justitie* tried every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday,⁷² whereas *Schepenbank* tried every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.⁷³ The prosecutors in the *Raad van Justitie* were *Advocaat Fiscaal* and *Waterfiscaal*. In the *Schepenbank* the prosecutors were the *Baljuw* and the *Landdrost*.

⁶⁵ Several scholars had paid attention to this. For more details, see La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*; Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 1; Ball, *Indonesian Legal History*.

⁶⁶ La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 77.

⁶⁷ Court of First Instance can also be called a Local Court or *Plaatselijk Rechtscollege*.

⁶⁸ Ball, *Indonesian Legal History*, 19.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Binnen de stad Batavia behalve het kasteelgebied*.

⁷¹ La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 75-76, 125; Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 1, 62, 139.

⁷² La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 70.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 123.

Although its jurisdiction was limited to the castle area, the *Raad van Justitie* had several special jurisdictions that limited other courts' jurisdiction. The *Raad van Justitie* was the only court for *Forum Privilegiatum*.⁷⁴ It was also the local court that had the authority to try crimes committed by sailors *en route* to the Indies. In this case, the *Advocaat Fiscaal* would be accompanied by an *Opperkoopman* and a *Schipper*.⁷⁵ There were also special delicts (*bijzondere delicten*) that could only be prosecuted by the *Advocaat Fiscaal*, and therefore could only be tried in the *Raad van Justitie*. Those special delicts concerned the following:

1. State freedom, (*staetsvryheyt*)
2. Highness (*hoocheyt*)
3. Lordship (*heerlyckheyt*)
4. Rights (*rechten*)
5. Domains (*domeynen*)
6. Finance (*finantien*)
7. Loans (*leenen*)
8. Admiralty (*admiraliteyt*)
9. Piracy (*piraetschap*)⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Forum Privilegiatum* in principle means the privilege to be tried in a special court. A person with *forum privilegiatum*, for instance, cannot be tried by *Schepenbank*. Since any criminal case committed and tried in the Indies could not be appealed to the court in the Dutch Republic, the *Raad van Justitie* was the highest court for them. Baljuw and Drost were few of the officials who had *Forum Privilegiatum*.

⁷⁵ La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 77; Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 1, 64.

⁷⁶ La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 77; Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 1, 140–141; Dekker, *Statuten van Batavia*, 4e.

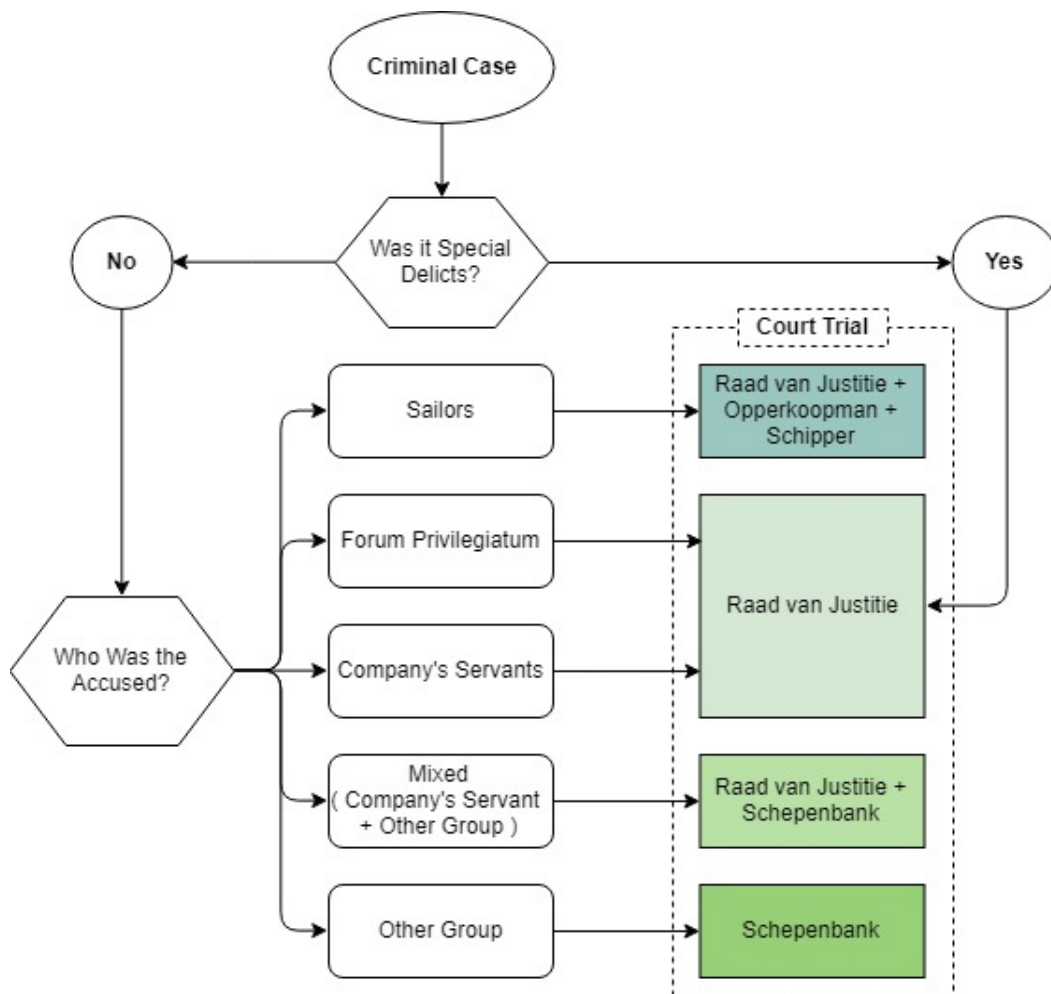


Figure 1. Flowchart on the jurisdiction of the local court (*plaatselijk rechtscollege*) in Batavia

The principal difference between Roman-Dutch Law and *Statuten van Batavia* lies in the population grouping. The dichotomy in the Batavian legal code is based on the oath taken by a person, whereas Roman-Dutch Law classifies its subject based on social class. The hybridization can be seen clearly in the territory of civil law, which deals with private matters such as marriage and family. The criminal code, however, remains close to Roman-Dutch Law. Nevertheless, discrimination is also prevalent within the Batavian legal code, and it plays a significant role in the punishment. The discussion and evidence of the legal code as a significant factor in the pattern of the penal practice will be presented in the next chapter when we deal with the victims of judicial violence. Due to the difference in the legal code and legal subject, the court characteristics in both cities is distinguishable. Batavia had two courts of justice, the *Raad van Justitie* and the *Schepensbank*. Amsterdam only had one court that consisted of the office of *Schout* and *Schepenen*.

Chapter Two: The Characters

This chapter aims to identify the difference between the practice of judicial violence in Amsterdam and Batavia by comparing the main characters of the bloody drama in both cities. Generally, there are three main characters in an execution; the Condemned, the Executioner, and the Judge.

The Condemned

One of the main characters of the play is the Condemned. He is the protagonist, the one who underwent a painful punishment. These are the people who had committed crimes and were sentenced to receive either corporal or capital punishment. The majority of the victims of the practice of violent punishment in Amsterdam came from different social groups, namely the guild members and other minorities such as Jews and gypsies. A member of a high social class was rarely found among the convicts. The most susceptible social group to corporal and capital punishment in Amsterdam came from the low-middle and lower social classes.⁷⁷

In contrast with the victims in Europe, the VOC's European employees in Batavia were somewhat susceptible to violent punishment but not as susceptible as the indigenous inhabitant, slave or free. Indigenous slaves remained the most susceptible social group to judicial violence and capital punishment in Batavia. After the slaves were the lower European groups such as soldiers, sailors, and colonists or *vrijburghers*. It was rare for a high official to be punished violently according to the criminal records.

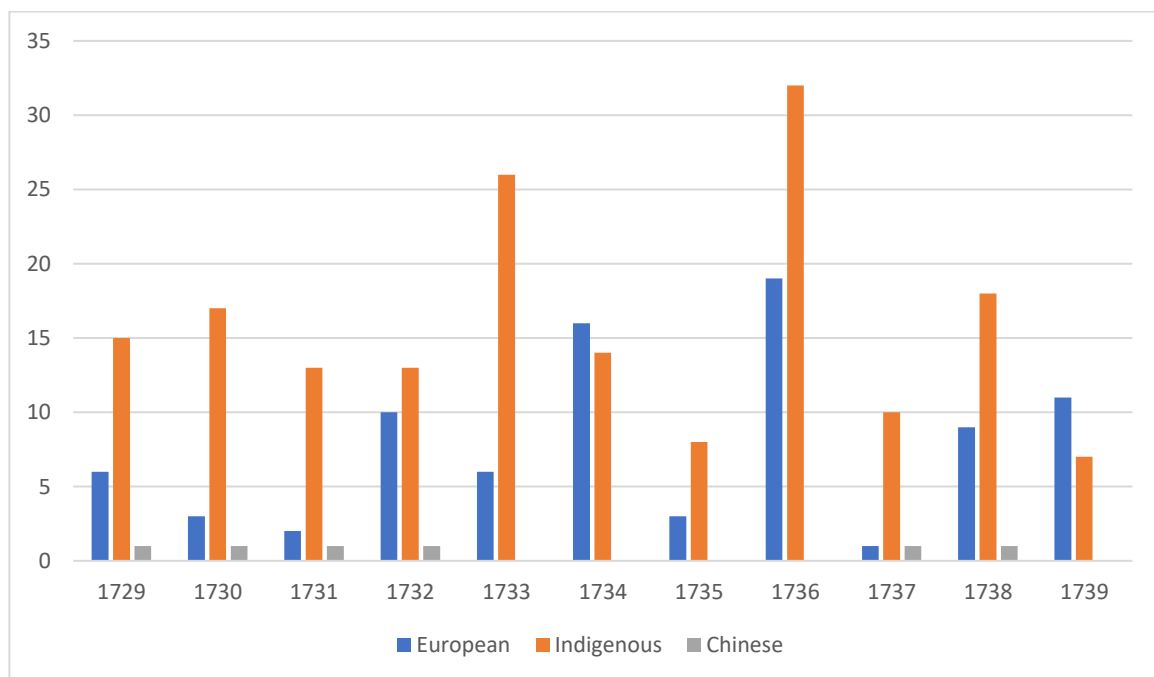
If we look into the social constellation in Batavia, slaves made up the majority of the inhabitants. They consisted of 30% of the total population. The Batavian population in the inner city in 1729 was 23701 and decreased to 18302 in 1739. From the total of 102658 in the year 1729, including *ommelanden* inhabitant, 1755 were European, 1050 were mestizo, 8026 were Mardijker, 12319 were Chinese, 49019 were 'other', and 30489 were slaves.⁷⁸ Although the slaves made up 30% of the total population, they also made up more than 50% of total persons

⁷⁷ Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 82.

⁷⁸ Raben, "Batavia and Colombo," 89–90.

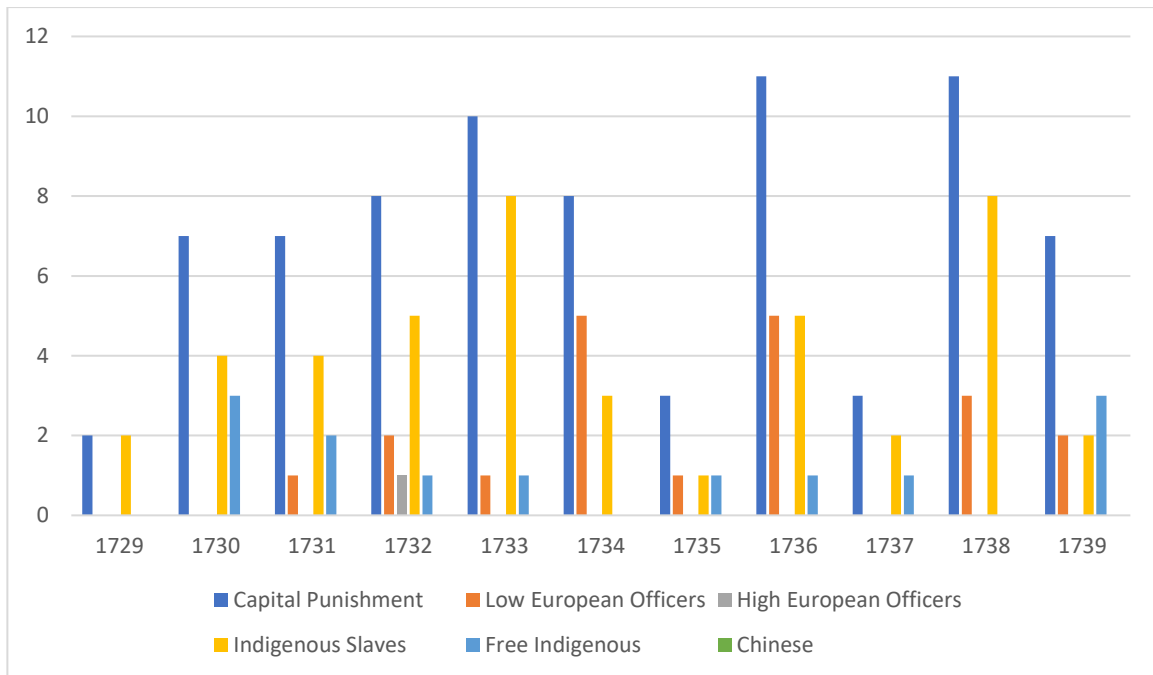
receiving capital punishment in 1729-1739. On the other hand, the Chinese inhabitants, which made up 12% of the total population, formed less than 1% of the persons receiving capital punishment. The Chinese were not susceptible to capital punishment. The same goes for the mestizo and Mardijker populations, who formed slightly over 1% and slightly over 7% of the total population, respectively; they made up less than 1% of the persons receiving capital punishment. However, these percentages disregard the Chinese massacre of 1740.

Table 1. Judicial Violence Trends Based on Ethnicity⁷⁹



⁷⁹ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia 1636-1782,

Table 2. Capital Punishment Trends Based on Ethnicity and Status⁸⁰



Discussing the Condemned, the main question is why these people were exposed to the most violent punishments and for what crimes? From a survey of the *Criminele Rollen* for the period 1729-1739, there are at least six categories of crime that were punishable by violent measures as per Batavian law.⁸¹ This is in line with Spierenburg's categorization of cases in Amsterdam.

⁸⁰ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782,

⁸¹ One category, professional negligence, is not included here because it is not considered as a crime in this thesis, although this category makes up the majority of the trials in the *Criminele Rollen*. An example of this category is sailors missing the departure date of their ship and soldiers being absent on their duty. This category also serves as the base for Ward's *Network of Empire*, since a violent punishment was often issued along with banishment.

Table 3. Criminal offences and the probability of capital punishment for crimes in Batavia.⁸²

Crime	Offences	Capital Punishment	Probability
Adultery (for the male indigenous)	1	1	100%
<i>Crimen Laesae Majestatis</i> (High Treason)	2	2	100%
Disturbing the public order and running amok - <i>Publica geweld en amok speelen</i>	2	2	100%
Murder – <i>Moord</i>	51	44	86%
Sodomy	15	9	60%
Theft	60	1	2%
Theft - <i>Slaven Dieverij</i>	2	1	50%
Theft - <i>Stealing and Quetsen</i>	13	1	8%
Theft (big case) - <i>Enorme en Geweldadige Diefstal</i>	1	1	100%
Theft and Breaking	11	3	27%
Theft and Effraction	1	1	100%
Theft from Company's <i>Pakhuijs</i>	1	1	100%
Theft - <i>Steelen en vervoeren van slaven</i>	1	1	100%
Theft - <i>Steelen van buskruit uit voormalige Tanjongpouras</i>	6	3	50%
Theft, assault, and fugitive - <i>Fugie, Quetsen, Dieverij</i>	13	2	15%
Theft, Smuggling, and Illegal Trade of Spice- <i>Dieverij, Morsserij, en Sluijke Handel in Specerijen</i>	2	2	100%
Theft, Thievery, and Buying Stolen Goods	2	2	100%

The first category of crime discussed here is the crimes against property. In Amsterdam, in principle, theft was punished depending on the frequency of the theft. When the convict was tried for his first attempt of theft, he would be punished by flogging and branding. The second attempt was punished by flogging, branding, and banishment from Holland. Finally, the third

⁸² NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia 1636-1782,

attempt would result in a death penalty. The judges, however, possessed the authority to impose a death penalty on any occasion. For example, if the judges thought that the theft was enormous, they could impose the death penalty on the first occasion. On the contrary, if the judges thought that even if it was the third attempt, the theft was petty, they could spare the convict from the death penalty. In Amsterdam, theft made up the majority of criminal trials.

Similarly, in Batavia, theft—along with absence from duty—formed the majority of prosecuted offences. According to the data collected from the *Criminele Rollen*, theft alone was punished by flogging and branding.⁸³ If the theft was followed by another crime, the punishment became more severe. For instance, theft followed by an assault was punishable by death. Theft involving breaking into the house was punishable by death. Theft and collecting stolen goods were also punishable by death. Stealing and buying stolen spices could also result in a death sentence. A recidivist might be punished heavier than a first-timer. Similar to the practice in Amsterdam, an enormous theft (*enorme en geweldadige diefstal*) was punishable by death even if it was the first attempt. Interestingly, theft, when committed against the Company's facility, often resulted in the death penalty. Only 2% of regular theft cases resulted in the death penalty. However, theft was more likely to be punished by death if the perpetrator was a slave.

The second category discussed here is the crimes against a person. It covers various crimes; for instance: killing, assault, etc. The worst crime committed against a person is killing.⁸⁴ The murder was the second most often committed crime in Batavia in the period. Out of the 51 murder cases, 44 resulted in the death sentence. The *Criminele Rollen* provides details on some of these cases.

12th December 1733 was a busy day for the executioner, Johannes Prom and Johannes Susart. On that day, they had to perform 15 executions. Eight of them were capital punishment. Six of these eight death penalties were executions of slaves. The rest were the execution of a *vrijburgher* and of a European. The two executioners had to perform four breakings on the cross and four hangings. Of these executions, six persons were tried for the same criminal case,

⁸³ While an absence from duty was also punished by flogging, the punishment for theft was more complicated.

⁸⁴ Killing is a rather complicated crime because it can be broken down into several categories based on the intention of the killer. The general term is homicide; it simply means an act of killing a person by another person. Murder is an act of killing with malicious intention. Manslaughter is an act of killing without murderous intention. Accidental killing can fall into the manslaughter category. The majority of cases examined in the sources mentioned *moord* and *manslagt*.

the murder of the former *Ontfanger General* Joachim Guilbaut. The mastermind behind the murder was Guilbaut's wife, Susanna Elizabeth Roselaar. Aurora de Groote van Jambij, Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa, and Carel van Batavia were slaves owned by Elizabeth Roselaar and Joachim Guilbaut.

At first, Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa was giving the investigator and judges a hard time by refusing to confess or provide information. Therefore, the court of justice issued the *Eijsch ad Torturam* because her negative attitude persisted.⁸⁵ From the interrogation, the criminal court obtained a handful of information about the murder. Aurora de Kleene van Sumbawa had been promised freedom by Elizabeth if Aurora helped her kill the former's husband. However, this deal was valid only if her husband died, she said. On one morning in the year 1733, Aurora was preparing coffee for her master. It was apparently known that Joachim liked to sit in his residential yard (*de werf woonagtig*). When Aurora de Kleene was making the coffee inside the house, Martha Bientang came, and besides her was Elizabeth, Aurora's female master. Martha Bientang took the coffee from Aurora. Then Elizabeth took out "*eenig vergift dat swaart*", a black-coloured poison, from Martha's purse. The black-coloured poison was wrapped in a small piece of paper. Martha poured the poison into the coffee and stirred it. Aurora de Kleene then immediately proceeded to give it to Joachim. Joachim who was sitting in his residential yard then drank it and complained. Joachim said that the coffee was "*zuure en lelijke smaek*": tasted sour and terrible. However, he survived the poison. Later that day, Aurora de Kleene was asked to prepare a warm soup for Joachim. Like earlier in the day, Elizabeth, accompanied by Martha Bientang, again came to Aurora de Kleene and took out another kind of poison from her purse. This time, the poison was stored in a small bamboo tube. She mixed it with the soup and served it to Joachim. Some of Joachim's guests also accidentally were served the same poisoned soup. However, the poison apparently was not potent, as it had failed to kill Joachim and his guests. He now had survived two poisoning attempts.

Later, still under interrogation, Aurora de Kleene gave a testimony that she had seen Martha meet with Elizabeth in the middle of the night. This meeting took place in *Tijgersgracht* two or three times. She witnessed this meeting through her window. Martha and Elizabeth would talk about their plan. They discussed that when Tamatij van Boegis, another slave owned by Joachim Guilbaut, came back to Elizabeth's house, Martha, Elizabeth, Tamatij, and Carel

⁸⁵ *Eijschen gehoord zijnde bleeven als nog bij de negatieve persisteren*

van Batavia, another of Joachim Guilbaut's slave, would get a more potent poison in Stephanus Ingeman's house. Another account in the criminal record contained information obtained from Tamatij van Boegis through interrogation. Tamatij told that the poison's name was *Besie Malela*, which in Malay means dark-black iron. This poison was usually used for coating a Keris dagger to make it poisonous. The third attempt was made with this poison, and it was a success. Joachim was dead. The court immediately took the case and an investigation begun. The *Raad van Justitie* apprehended a total of seven persons. After a series of interrogations and trials, the council sentenced six people to death. Martha Bientang van Manippa/Ambon, Abdul van Batavia, Carel van Batavia, and Baris van Balijs were executed with breaking on a cross. Their bodies were taken outside the city to be eaten by birds of prey. Martha Bientang's post-mortem punishment, however, was different. She was the only free indigenous involved in this case. She also acted not only as a helper but also a co-mastermind and provider of the poison. She was executed by breaking on the cross, and the council of justice had her head impaled on a pike and then exposed. After that, her head and the rest of her body were burned under the scaffold. The crime was initiated by Susanna Elizabeth Roselaar, the wife of the deceased victim, Joachim Guilbaut. However, she had committed suicide during the trial.⁸⁶

Poisoning was not an uncommon crime in old Batavia. Murder by poisoning was deemed as a grave crime that the provider of the poison always dragged to the *Groonezoodje*. The story mentioned above is just an example of how complicated a crime could be in Batavia; how people from different social groups mingled in a crime and how the outcome was more severe for a certain social spectrum than the other. The intention of the punishment, clearly stated in the criminal records, was so that others would know what happened if they committed such a crime. For instance, in Martha Bientang's record, it was mentioned that “*haar hoofd met een bijl afgekapt, op een pen geset en zoo lange ten toon gestelt te werden tot dat de Justitie om trent alle de andere gevangene sal weten.*”, which translates to “her head will be severed with an axe, fixed on a pike, and put on display for so long that the prosecution would be known to the other prisoners.”⁸⁷

Other crimes that were punishable by death were assault (*quetsen*) and public disturbance. Assault was usually punishable by flogging and banishment. However, an assault was punishable by death if the victim was mortally wounded. One crime that was unique to the

⁸⁶ Drawing from the same source, this story is mentioned in Kerry Ward's *Network of Empire*.

⁸⁷ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia 1636-1782,

Malay world was “amok”. Amok often caused fatalities. Amok was punishable by death and deemed as a disturbance of public order. This was rather different from the circumstances in Amsterdam, where public disturbance often resulted in simple whipping.

The next category of crime discussed here is the crimes against state. *Laesae Majestatis* was a rare and severe crime in both Batavia and Amsterdam, and the sentence involved even more severe consequences than other crimes. Amsterdam apparently experienced no *Crimen Laesae Majestatis* in the period. In Batavia, in 1729-1739, there were two cases of *Crimen Laesae Majestatis*. One was the case of Petrus Vuijst, and the other was the case of Abiaer van Balij. However, because of its unique attribute, this crime was not entirely recorded in the Criminal Record. Vuijst’s execution date, for example, was not mentioned in the Criminal Record and in the Executioner duty. Abiaer van Balij’s case was not as high profile as Vuijst’s case, and although Abiaer van Balij’s execution date was mentioned, his case only recorded once in the Criminal Record.

The next category of crime discussed here is the crimes against morality. In Amsterdam, the majority of trials for moral offenses centred around prostitution and procurership.⁸⁸ Amsterdam remained famous for its brothels until the eighteenth century. Before the eighteenth century, the authorities exploited the brothels. Spierenburg argues that this category is the least serious crime.⁸⁹ However, the condition in the colony was different. In Batavia, adultery could cost the perpetrator their lives.

Although this thesis had some difficulties recognizing gender in the source, because the gender is not always mentioned clearly in the sources, it is safe to say that gender also had a significant role in the practice of punishment, particularly in violent punishment. Moreover, in *Statuten van Batavia*, adultery between a Christian female and a non-Christian male is the only crime that explicitly mentions the death penalty as a punishment. There was inequality between male and female in judicial violence. The obvious example of inequality can be found in *Statuten van Batavia*. In the period examined in this thesis, inequality is examined in a particular case: the case of Alexander van Boegis and Anna Maria Keppelaar.

On 1st February 1736, Anna Maria Keppelaar van Batavia, Anthonij van Bougies, Cassandra van Batavia, Tjindra van Sumbauwa, and Sittie van Boegies were brought to trial.

⁸⁸ Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 45.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Anna Maria Keppelaar was a housewife of Govert Christiaanszoon van Dramme. Alexander van Boegis was a male slave of Justinus Vinck, a *landdrost*. Cassandra van Batavia, Tjindra van Sumbauwa, and Sitie van Boegies were female slaves of Govert Christiaanszoon van Drammen. Anna Maria Keppelaar had sexual intercourse with Alexander van Boegis. Anna Maria Keppelaar and Alexander van Boegis were charged with adultery, while the three female slaves were accused of seduction.⁹⁰ In the court record dated 1st February 1736, Anthonij van Boegis was the only one who was sentenced to die. Anna Maria Roselaar was spared of physical punishment. The court sentenced her to fifteen years in a women's penitentiary (*vrouwe tugthuijs*) and to pay a hundred real fine. The other three were sentenced to be flogged and banished. The court had used a lower case of Susanna Dolmaker and Paris as the reference for the case of Anna Maria and Alexander van Boegis. Susanna Dolmaker and Paris were sentenced to death. The court minutes do not mention the exact date of Susanna Dolmaker's case. The court did consider the death penalty for the other three slaves but eventually decided to spare their lives. Anthonij van Boegis was punished to death by hanging. His dead body was left outside the city to be eaten by birds of prey.⁹¹

The case mentioned above shows that inequality in gender was apparent in the Batavian court. A European man could not be punished for adultery when he had sexual intercourse with his female slave. On the other hand, according to *Statuten van Batavia*, a woman had to be severely punished when she had been caught committing adultery with her male slave. This imbalance, however, could also be seen the other way around through the slave's perspective. A female slave who had sexual intercourse with her master would not be punished. On the other hand, a male slave who had sexual intercourse with his female master would be punished severely. He would be sentenced to die by hanging, or, even worse, breaking on a wheel. In the context of adultery, a male slave, therefore, was more susceptible to violent punishment. The masters, however, could buy their way out of harsh punishment. Furthermore, for the masters, there was an option of paying a fine instead of getting punished with violence, like what Anna Maria Keppelaar did. This option, however, was not made available for people from classes with less money.

Another crime that was related to gender was sodomy. Concerning the inequality in gender as discussed above, no female was tried for sodomy in Batavia in the 1730s, and most

⁹⁰ The original term used in the *Criminele Rollen* is "*lenocinio proximum*", which I translated freely in this thesis as "seduction".

⁹¹ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia 1636-1782,

likely no female was ever executed for sodomy. Both in the Dutch Republic and Batavia, homosexual activity was punishable by death. As cited by Spierenburg in *Judicial Violence*, Diderik van Hogendorp wrote in 1752 that:

“sodomy has always been capitally punished in this country. This was often done by secretly strangling the convict and throwing him into the sea, in order to prevent remembrance of such evildoers. Likewise, a public punishment should not make an unnatural crime well-known to those unacquainted with it. But when the commission of this crime had become a habit of many in 1730, a public death penalty was instituted.”⁹²

Even more, the persecution of male homosexuals broke out in the Dutch Republic in the 1730s. However, the age of the convict could save him from a death penalty. Around the 1750s, nine sodomy trials took place in the Dutch Republic; only one of the nine defendants was spared from the death penalty. The reason for the pardon was that the convict was too young. The boy was punished with placing a rope around his neck and whipped. However, his partner was executed.⁹³

In the *Criminele Rollen* of Batavia, sodomy is mentioned in a various term, one of them being an ‘act against nature’. The most infamous case of homosexual execution by the VOC probably was the execution of Joost Schouten, who was burned at a stake in 1644. The practice of executing homosexuals continued well into the nineteenth century. From 1729 to 1739, there were 14 cases of sodomy in total, but only 9 involved the death penalty. All those condemned to the death penalty were executed by drowning, and only one of them was thrown into the sea after execution. Because of young age two of the condemned were spared from capital punishment, even though they confessed and pleaded guilty to the crime.⁹⁴ Instead of actual capital punishment, their punishment involved faux capital punishment. Their actual punishment involved an element of display. They were punished by standing under the gallows with the noose around their neck. In addition to that, the two were flogged, branded, and ultimately banished. One of the spared boys was the accused in one case from 1738 which concerned the young *matroos* Jacobus Josephus Staat van Antwerpen, and the other was

⁹² Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 82.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ These are two separate cases, in one case the accused was a fourteen years old boy.

involved in a 1736 case concerning Patani van Ternaten. The fate of the rest of the people who were convicted of sodomy is unknown, as the criminal records stopped recording their trial before the final sentence was given, for example, the case of Ferdinand van Amboina, a slave of a widow of Gale in 1734. Ferdinand van Amboina went through "*scherpe examen*" twice before disappearing from the court record. This was perhaps because the prisoner was dead before the final trial. Concerning the multiculturalism, sodomy was a balanced crime. Seven of the total 14 persons accused of sodomy cases were Europeans, and the rest were South or Southeast Asian. All the cases of sodomy tried in the court in 1729-1739 were unsurprisingly related to or had taken place on a ship.⁹⁵ While the homosexual trial told us the male side of the story, VOC was actually controlling the colonial society's sex life regardless of gender. The extent of control, however, was unequal.

To sum up, the victims of judicial violence in Batavia and Amsterdam are different and similar in terms of social groups. Drawing a conclusion based on the pattern shown, social identity played a significant role in the pattern of judicial violence, both in Amsterdam and Batavia. The victims in Batavia were dominated by the lower social groups. Slaves and low-ranking company officers, together with the *burgher* made up the majority of victims in Batavia. While the Batavian legal code dictated discrimination based on a dichotomy of the Company's employee and non-Company's employee, in practice, the discrimination in Batavia also took place in a poor-rich dichotomy as rich convicts could be spared from violent punishment whereas poorer convicts—such as sailors, soldiers and low ranking officials—were susceptible to violent punishment.

The Executioner

The next main character discussed in this chapter is the antagonist of the play: the Executioner or the Hangman.⁹⁶ These are people who were assigned to execute the condemned. Historians have shown the importance of the office of the executioner in Europe.⁹⁷ The office of the executioner is an important and unique aspect in the history of penal practice; however, it is

⁹⁵ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den *Raad van Justitie* in Batavia 1636-1782.

⁹⁶ The term used in modern Indonesian for hangmen is *algojo*, and it is derived from Portuguese *algoz*, which means executioner or tormentor. The fact that the Indonesian vocabulary is related to violent punishment derived from Portuguese indicates the depth of the influence of European penal practice in the colony.

⁹⁷ Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*; "Judicial Violence"; Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*; Ward, *A Global History of Execution*; Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*.

rarely discussed in the context of colonial practice. This sub-section tries to fill in the gap and shed light on the dark corners of colonial penal practice.

Amsterdam and Western Europe

Friedland advised us to view the executioner in Europe as a race of outcasts rather than a profession.⁹⁸ In Western Europe, executioner were often originally criminals who were condemned to death. The court then offered them the chance to escape death by becoming an executioner to fellow convicts. Due to the task, which is to kill another human, the executioner was despised by the people. A notion of infamy then was attached to the executioners. Some scholars have tried to trace the root of the executioners' social position back to a Germanic taboo, a reversal of pagan values by Christianity, and popular magical beliefs.⁹⁹

Several studies concerning the executioner in Europe suggest that the social position is vital in the development of penal practice.¹⁰⁰ The significance of the executioner's role in the development of early modern European penal practice was due to the notion of infamy. Executioners were often persecuted when they failed at their job. When an execution went wrong, for instance, when the executioner needed more than one blow to behead a convict and thus prolonged the suffering of the condemned, spectators often shifted their anger and disgust from the condemned and channelled it towards the executioner. The spectators turned to the executioner and started throwing things at him. In some cases, the spectators turned into an angry mob and killed the executioner. The infamy of a hangman in Western Europe was so intense that the touch of a hangman was equal to punishment. A person who was touched by the hangman would be ostracized.¹⁰¹ Therefore, the preferred method to harass the hangman when he failed at his job was by throwing things at him. It was also very difficult for a hangman in early modern Europe to change his profession. The European office of executioners was hereditary; an executioner son would become an executioner too. Furthermore, no honest person was willing to let their offspring marry an executioner's son or daughter. Hence, executioner usually married their offspring with other executioner's offspring. This condition

⁹⁸ Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 72.

⁹⁹ Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence," 121.

¹⁰⁰ Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*; Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*; Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence."

¹⁰¹ For instance, when the person who was touched by a hangman went to a baker to buy bread, the baker would throw the bread to him. This was done in order to avoid touching the person touched by the hangman, because the baker wanted to avoid the person's touch. This person, in turn, became infected with the infamy of the executioner. It was so bad that if the person could not "heal" his infamy, he would later find no place in the city and was forced to leave. On some occasions, this could also be the origin of a hangman. A person who was infected by the touch and infamy of a hangman and could not get "healed" found no place in society but in the office of the executioner.

led to the birth of a dynasty of executioners, which spanned across Western Europe.¹⁰² In addition to an outdoor executioner, Amsterdam also had an indoor executioner. The difference between the two executioners lay in the place of execution as well as their tasks.

Batavia

In Batavia, we are provided with modest but ample sources to investigate the executioners' salary and tenure. However, the sources do not touch upon the public attitude towards them. With the available sources, I will try to investigate the nature of this office in Batavia. The office of the executioner could be held by several persons at once. In contrast with the executioner in the Dutch Republic, the origin of the executioner office in Batavia is rather unclear.

Despite the effort of the VOC government to model its legal and penal practice on that of the Dutch Republic, Batavia failed to copy the social structure and constellation of European society. The profession of executioner had lost its infamy in Batavia. As explained previously, the infamy of the executioner was vital to penal development in Europe. The public's disgust and anger were channelled towards the executioners and executions, and eventually helped give rise to the new penal sensibility in Europe. The social construct in the colony, however, was freed from the concept of infamy. Unlike in the Dutch Republic, or Western Europe in general, there are no reports or stories found regarding the public persecution of executioner in Batavia when they failed their duty. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the anger and disgust towards executioners were not prevalent in early modern Batavian society, or at least it was not as malignant as it was in Western Europe. Thus, the element of infamy, which was also vital in explaining the development of penal practice in Europe, was absent in Batavia. While Friedman has suggested viewing the executioners in Europe as a race of outcasts rather than a profession, the same is not true for executioners in the colony.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, the importance of this bloody profession remained the same. One account told the story where execution by breaking on the cross was changed to hanging because the professional hangman who was able to perform the complicated and gruesome task was not available in the city at the time. This shows not only the importance of the profession but also the appreciation for the skill.

¹⁰² The dynasty of executioner has been discussed in Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*; Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*.

¹⁰³ For Friedland's argument on the office of executioner in Europe see Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 72.

As stated in the Amsterdam experience, being an executioner was a profession considered low for Europeans; hence, only a handful of people were willing to take this job. For the period discussed, in Batavia, the profession was probably still regarded as bad and low but the VOC Batavian executioner did not serve for a lifetime, let alone building a dynasty. For instance, Johannes Susart was an executioner with the longest tenure, which lasted for more than seven years. During the period of 1732-1734, Susart served together with two other executioners, Johanna Prom and Marcus Dresscher. Marcus Dresscher only lasted for one and a half years, from 1732 until early 1733, while Johanna Prom shared the office with Susart until the end of 1734. After that, Susart worked alone. The frequent changes in the Batavian executioner office indicate that the office was open and flexible, unlike the European executioner office which operated much like a dynasty. It could also mean that this job required high expertise and high standards as well so that not just any person could become an executioner. During the VOC's reign, the executioner and his assistants who were employed in Batavia were mostly European personnel.¹⁰⁴ However, in other territories around the same time, the VOC employed locals.¹⁰⁵ In addition to these officers, there were the “*dieflijders*” whose job was to help the Executioner and his assistants. While the Batavian office of the executioner was exclusively Europeans, the *dieflijders* was consisted of Blacks originated from Angola. The *dieflijders* and *politieoppassers* (pre-modern police officer) were together called the *kuffers*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ “*De beul en zijn knecht waren steeds Europeanen, [...]*” F. De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to compare the condition of executioners in VOC's Batavia with other colonial territories. For example, in the Cape of Good Hope, the VOC employed black executioners. For executions in the Cape colony in the time of the VOC see Victor De Kock, *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (Pretoria: Union Book Sellers, 1963), 167; The black Cape hangman is depicted by Lady Anne Barnard. For the discussion concerning the depiction see Russel Viljoen, “‘Cape of Execution’: The Gallows at the Cape of Good Hope as Represented in the Colonial Art of Johannes Rach and Lady Anne Barnard,” *SAJAH* 26, no. 1 (2011): 165.

¹⁰⁶ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

Table 4. The Tenure of the Office of the Executioner in Batavia¹⁰⁷

Name	1729	1730	1732	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738	1739
Coenraad Meijer van Bremen										
John van Den Berg										
Jan Berent										
Mancus Dresscher										
Johanna Prom										
Johannes Susart										

Unfortunately, no source has so far been found regarding the notion of infamy attached to the executioner in eighteenth-century Batavia. The faintest hint of the absence of the stigma attached to a professional executioner may be a story from the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁸ In contrast with European experience, in Java executioner was respected or at least had no stigma attached. It is reported that an indigenous hangman held a feast (*selametan*) in his house because he was assigned a job to execute a person.¹⁰⁹ This occurrence is unimaginable in Europe. Furthermore, in an interview with a Javanese executioner, who worked for Jogjakarta Sultanate, we know that the position of an executioner was actually high. The leader of Javanese executioner was titled Lurah, a title that belongs to the low Javanese noble (*priyayi*) class.¹¹⁰ Javanese people thus perceived Javanese executioner without a notion of infamy. Due to this condition, the European VOC executioner might be perceived by the Javanese as a regular, if not high, servant of the Batavian court. Hence, the executioners in the Dutch Indies had no infamy. Their touch meant a common human's touch. Nonetheless, it may be a long stretch to link the absence of the stigma from a practice in the twentieth century to that in a practice in the early eighteenth century. The absence of information from the perspective of the public leaves us wondering about the situation at that time.

The office of the executioner stood in a paradoxical position. Although regarded as one of the lowest professions, his salary was high. The office of the executioner in early modern

¹⁰⁷ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782,

¹⁰⁸ By the twentieth century, the office of hangmen in the Dutch East Indies was exclusively held by indigenous officers, so it may pose a different situation.

¹⁰⁹ This story is related to the infamous case of Fientje de Fieniks murder in 1912. See Rosihan Anwar, *Sejarah Kecil "Petite Histoire" Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 155-157. Tineke Hellwig, "Gramser Brinkman, de moordenaar van Fientje de Feniks Maleise literaire teksten," *Indische Letteren* Jaargang 11 (1996): 3-15; Peter van Zonneveld, *De Moord Op Fientje de Feniks* (Den Haag: Uitgeverij Conserve, 1992).

¹¹⁰ H. C. Zentgraaff, "Herineringen van een beul," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblaad* (Batavia, July 10, 1915), No. 186 edition, sec. Tweede Blad; H. C. Zentgraaff, *Op Oude Paden*, vol. II (Koninklijke Drukkerij De Unie, 1934).

Western Europe was paid handsomely. They were paid so handsomely that they could financially afford to act like a nobleman.¹¹¹ The same occurrence can be seen to some extent in Batavia, where executioners were paid a huge amount. The executioner was entitled to monthly wages. In addition to that, when he performed an execution, he was also rewarded a sum of money for every execution. The amount of reward depended on the performed task or method. In the period 1729-1739, the Batavian government spend 1378.5 guilders only on execution rewards.¹¹² In addition to that, the executioner in Batavia was paid monthly wages of 40 guilders together with a ration of an *onderkoopman* or board wages.¹¹³ or board money

The reward and salary of the executioner were regulated in the Statutes of Batavia of 1642.¹¹⁴ The executioner received 6-8 real and 48 *stuijver* for every execution. The salary for Batavian executioner varied from one execution to another, although a clear pattern can be seen. The executioner in Batavia was paid according to the difficulty of the task, almost similar to the executioner in Amsterdam—even the amount was quite similar. The pattern for both cities went as follows: ‘the more complicated the task, the higher the reward.’ For example, breaking on the cross and quartering were compensated with a higher reward than hanging. The highest wage for a single execution in Batavia was capital punishment by breaking on a cross, which amounted to 20 *rijksdaalder*. Hanging was rewarded with 8-12 *rijksdaalder*. For torturing, regardless of the function, whether as punishment or as interrogation, the executioner was paid less. The reward was ranged between 1 and 6 *rijksdaalder*, with the highest reward for torture requiring a public appearance of the executioner, for it was related to punishment for a crime that was meant to be punished by capital punishment. *Statuten van Batavia* provides the guide on how the office of the executioner worked. It also contains a surprisingly detailed description of the cost for each execution.¹¹⁵

An executioner’s task was not confined within a legal jurisdiction. For instance, Amsterdam hired executioners from Haarlem. In the period 1732-1741, the city of Amsterdam paid a total of 3123 guilders to the Haarlem executioner. In the island of Java, where the VOC had several important settlements, the executor could be assigned from one settlement to the

¹¹¹ As a matter of fact, some regulations were issued to prohibit them to “walk around like a nobleman or a merchant” see Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 124.

¹¹² Execution rewards means the amount that was paid for each execution, not including material and transport fee.

¹¹³ “*De scherprechter f40 en onderkoopmans rantsoen of kostgelt*” see Van Dam, *Beschrijvinge*, vol. 3, 192.

¹¹⁴ Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 1, 493.

¹¹⁵ Van Dam, *Beschrijvinge*, vol. 3, 192; Dekker, *Statuten van Batavia*.

other. For instance, the executioner could be sent from Batavia to Semarang and vice versa as long as a means of transportation was possible. The unrestricted working area meant a better chance to get paid, thus making them wealthier.

Table 5. Salary and Wages of the Office of the Executioner in Amsterdam¹¹⁶ and Batavia¹¹⁷

Actual Punishment	Amsterdam	Batavia
Breaking on the wheel	3 (per blow)	6
Breaking on the wheel (for strangling or cutting off the head afterwards)	6	N/A
Breaking on the wheel and dragging the body outside the city	N/A	8; 10;
Breaking on the wheel, cutting off the head, and setting the head on a pike		12.5 to 17
Drowning in a barrel	12	12
Drowning in a barrel and throwing the body into the sea	N/A	20
Drowning in a barrel (for lifting the body out of the barrel)	3	N/A
Hanging	6	6
Hanging and dragging the body outside the city	N/A	8
Hanging, cutting off the hand, and burying the body	N/A	11
Garroting	6	N/A
Impaling	N/A	12
Beheading	6	10
Piercing a tongue	3	N/A
Piercing a tongue (for the awl)	3	N/A
Cutting off a thumb	3	N/A
Burning sword on the back	6	N/A
Cut in the cheek (or elsewhere)	6	N/A
Hitting the head with a hammer or stone	6	N/A
Waving a sword over the head	6	4.5 to 5
Exposure with a rope around the neck under the gallows	9	3 to 6

¹¹⁶ The numbers for Amsterdam are taken from Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence," 126–127.

¹¹⁷ The number for Batavia is drawn from the *Criminele Rollen* 1729-1739. NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782,

Exposure with a rope around the neck and knife over the head under the gallows	N/A	7.5
Exposure with rods hanging from the shoulders	3	3 to 6
Exposure with letter or object at the railing of the scaffold	3	3; 4.5; 6
Exposure with rope and letter/object	6	
Branding	6	3
Whipping	3	1; 1.5; 2; 3; 6
Acts Performed on Dead Bodies		
Cutting off a head	3	N/A
Cutting off another part of the body	3	6
Scorching a face	3	N/A
Putting a head on a stake on the scaffold	4	N/A
Taking away a corpse from the gallows, cross, or garotte	3	N/A
Taking off a head from the stake	3	N/A
Taking off and putting in a sack another part of the body	3	N/A
Bringing a corpse into the town-hall	6	N/A
Coffining	3	N/A
Dragging a corpse to Volewijk	3	1
Putting a corpse on a wheel or hanging it from the gallows on the Volewijk	6	N/A
Putting a head on a stake on the Volewijk	3	N/A
Putting another loose part of the body on its trunk on the Volewijk	3	N/A
Dragging a corpse to the IJ or to the sea and throwing it into the water	3	N/A
Burying the bodies	N/A	3
Tying a weight to the body	3	N/A
Acts with Objects		
Hanging a weapon above a convict's head (also on the Volewijk)	3	N/A

Hanging an object symbolizing stolen property above a convict's head (also on the Volewijk)	3	N/A
Burning the corpus delicti	3	N/A
Costs of Material		
For ropes and cords	12	N/A
For the sword (with beheading as well as with sword over the head)	3	N/A
For the cloth (with the same)	3	N/A
For the knife (with a cut in the cheek)	3	N/A
Miscellaneous		
Day money	12	
Mile money	12	
For assistance	12	
Rent of a carriage	7	
Wagon freight	10	

The Judges

The last main character is the Judge. They are people who decided the fate of the condemned. It is important to note that the court relied heavily on the judges' decision for criminal sentences.¹¹⁸ Clemency on the death penalty could only be given by the Governor-General starting from the year 1657. Prior to 1657, Governors and *Opperhoofden* of the *Buitenkantoren* could issue clemency for the condemned.¹¹⁹

Amsterdam

Schepenen and *Schout* are the dynamic duo that made up the court of justice in Amsterdam. In court, the *Schout* acted as the prosecutor. There the *Schout* made his demands and the *Schepenen* would then base their sentence upon the demands of the *Schout*. In addition, the *Schout* acted as a police officer, which granted him the authority to apprehend criminals. The *Schepenen* acted as the judge in the court of justice in Amsterdam. The position of *Schepenen* was based on privileges. Law education was not necessary for being a member of the

¹¹⁸ Jones, "Courts and Courtship,"

¹¹⁹ Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 2, 249.

Schepenen. In addition to these two, the court in Amsterdam also relied on the decision of the *burgomaster*. *Burgomaster* was the supreme authority in the Amsterdam city council. The court could only sentence the death penalty if the *burgomaster* allowed it.¹²⁰

Batavia

The scene of a court trial in Batavia was more complicated than in Amsterdam since there were two active courts in Batavia. In the *Raad van Justitie*, the *Advocaat Fiscaal* acted as the prosecutor whereas in *Schepenbank*, the prosecutor was the *Fiscaal*. To become a *Fiscaal* in Batavia one required a law education. However, to become a member of the *Raad van Justitie* and *Schepenbank*, law education was not necessary. However, legal education did not guarantee that the *Fiscaal* was an honest person. The former governor of Ceylon, Petrus Vuijst, who was executed in Batavia in 1732 had completed his legal education at Leiden University before applying as *Advocaat Fiscaal* through the Zeeland chamber.¹²¹ Petrus ended up as not only a dishonest governor but also a tyrant. The Governor-General also played an important role in determining the sentence. He was the only person in all of Dutch Asia who had the authority to prevent the death penalty. The death penalty was not allowed without his permission.

To sum up, the characters of an early modern execution in Batavia and Amsterdam have several differences. Both in the metropole and colony marginalized people, such as gipsies and immigrants in Amsterdam and indigenous slaves in Batavia, made up the majority of the condemned. To become a member of the judges in the metropole and colony one required a legal education. The apparent difference is found in the office of executioner. While in the metropole the executioner had a notion of infamy attached, the executioner in the colony seems to be cleared from such notion. While in the metropole an executioner held his profession for life and changing job is nearly impossible for them due to the notion of infamy, the office of the executioner in Batavia seems to be more flexible. This is indicated by the frequent change of the active executioner in the Batavian office of the executioner in the discussed period.

¹²⁰ Spierenburg, "Judicial Violence," 42.

¹²¹ Catharina Samperman, *De onregtveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den Gouverneur Petrus Vuyst, tot Ceylon nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem Gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie des sasteels Batavia* (Rotterdam, 1733).

Chapter Three: The Stage

In theatre, the stage is a designated space for the performance of a drama. In the context of a sixteenth-century execution, the stage was the execution ground. Using the locations of the punishment, it seeks to find the difference between penal practice in the metropole and the colony by comparing the execution ground—the stage of a bloody drama. While this thesis is focused on the practice of violent punishment, it is also important to include other forms of punishment practised in Amsterdam and Batavia into the discussion. The first part of this chapter discusses the locations of non-violent punishment. The second part of this chapter discusses the locations of violent punishment.

Correctional Facilities

In Amsterdam, the penal practice was concentrated in four places: *Rasphuijs*, *Spinhuijs*, Dam Square, and Volewijk. These four locations could be further divided into two categories: correctional facilities and sites of violent punishment. Correctional facilities (*tuchthuis*) were made up by the *Rasphuis* and *Spinhuijs*. Sites of violent punishment were the place where judicial violence was exercised, and it comprised two locations: Dam Square and Volewijk. The execution was performed in Dam Square, whereas the corpses of the condemned were displayed at Volewijk. The first category of the punishment sites discussed in this chapter is the correctional facilities. The pre-modern correctional facilities aimed to reform the convicts by limiting their freedom, almost similar to the modern concept of prison.

However, a common misconception in understanding early modern punishment is the anachronistic perception of the concept and form of punishment. For instance, the underground cell in *Stadthuis* Batavia at the time of the VOC was not designed for imprisonment as practised today. The *Stadhuis* is now Fatahillah Museum and the subterranean detention cell is preserved there. It can be visited by museum visitors. One with an anachronistic perspective might see the subterranean detention cell in the museum today and think that it was used to imprison criminals similar to the practice of the modern prison. While it is true that it is inhumane to lock up a person in a tiny underground cell for a long time, the prison in the *Stadthuis* was not the same as a modern prison. The *Stadhuis*' cell was a waiting chamber. It was meant to detain convicts who waited for their trial and actual punishment. The detention could last for a few

days to a few weeks. In this period, corporal and capital punishment were the main forms of punishment. In addition to the two forms of punishment, the VOC recognized and exercised banishment, forced labour with chains, and a combination of them.

The concept of prison or incarceration as a form of punishment, however, did exist in VOC's Batavia. Pre-modern correctional facilities predate the modern prison. These facilities used deprivation of freedom to reform the delinquents. In Amsterdam, the correctional facilities were divided based on gender, *Rasphuis* for male delinquents and *Spinhuis* for female offenders.¹²² Batavian *Spinhuis* was also referred to as the *Vrouwe Tugthuijs*. While *Rasphuis* was meant for young male delinquents whose crime range from disobeying their parents to thievery, *Spinhuis* and *Vrouwe Tugthuijs* were dedicated to reform women who had disturbed the morality. Hence, *Spinhuis* and *Vrouwe Tugthuis* were inhabited by prostitutes and female delinquents. In Batavia, in some cases, European convict was sent to this facility. Since it was exclusively for women, the convict who was sent here must be a woman. The case of Anna Maria Keppelaar van Batavia and Anthonij van Bougies which mentioned in the previous chapter is the example of the case in which European convicts were sent to the correctional facility instead of facing violent punishment.

Another incarceration site that appears in VOC documents is “*boeien*”, which can be translated as “prison cell.” In the Amsterdam context, it means a place of temporary detention under the town-hall.¹²³ This term also faithfully applies in the colony. The term *boeien* in Batavia was used to refer to the same area of the town-hall. De Haan also notes that one particular detention room was dedicated to debt evasion. The room was called the “*treurkamer*” and the criminal who was kept there could only be kept for a maximum period of six months.¹²⁴ The *boeien* was used to keep the condemned prior to his execution. The use of *boeien* for this purpose is mentioned in the story of Peter Vuijst's execution which discussed in chapter four.

¹²² For the Amsterdam Houses of Correction see Thorsten Sellin, *Pioneering in Penology: The Amsterdam Houses of Correction in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

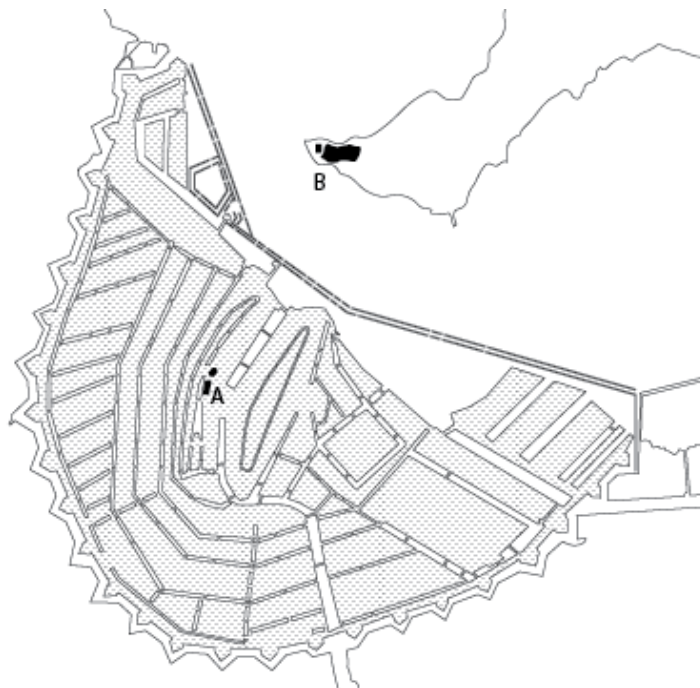
¹²³ Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 74.

¹²⁴ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

Sites of Judicial Violence

Violent punishment is one of many forms of judicial violence. Oftentimes violent measures taken for punishment (ie. death penalty) and other purposes (ie. acquiring confession or interrogation) was practised in the same location. In order to show the general attitude of the early modern Government regarding violent measures, it is important to include other purposes of judicial violence. Therefore, while this thesis concerns violent punishment, this section broadens its perspective by covering the sites of judicial violence. Judicial violence is defined here as the infliction of pain to a person in the name of the judicial institution. It covers violent interrogation, corporal and capital punishment. Furthermore, in this thesis, the definition of violence is extended to cover not only the infliction of pain to a living person but also to the bodies of the executed. Hence, the location of the practice of post-mortem violence is also discussed in this part. This part consists of the Chamber of Pain, Execution Grounds, and Field of Displayed Bodies.

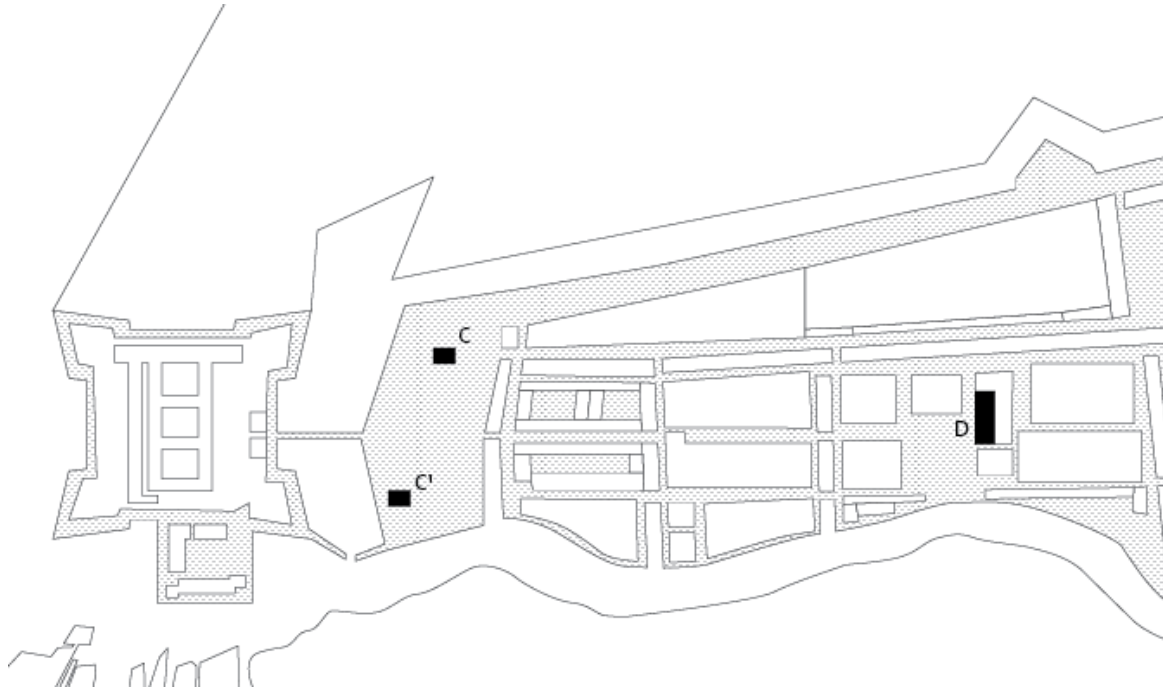
Map 1. Sites of Punishment in Amsterdam



A is the location of Dam Square and the Amsterdam town-hall, where capital punishment execution took place.

B is Volenwijk, where the bodies of the condemned were put on display.

Map 2. Sites of Punishment in Batavia



C is the location of the execution ground, as depicted in the map attributed to Frans Floriszoon van Berckenroede, probably drawn for Jan Pieterszoon Coen after his return to Java for his second term of office as Governor-General (1627-1629).

C¹ is the location of the execution ground, as depicted in Venant Fecit's map painted in 1629.

D is the location of the *Stadhuis*

Chamber of Pain

The placement of the punishment sites was closely linked to the general attitude of the early modern Government. Violence was public if it conveyed a message to the public: be it a symbol of authority or a lesson on moral value. In Batavia, we can see that when coercive measures were taken for a purpose other than punishment—for example, to acquire confession or testimony, the violence was moved away from the eyes of the public. Take the location of the *Pijnkamer* for example, which was used specifically for torture and interrogation (*streng/scherpe examen*). Interrogation is not a punishment, instead, it is a mean to acquire

the judicial truth—ie. confession or testimony, which in turn would be used in the criminal court. The *Pijnkamer* was an enclosed room and hidden from public spectators. The precise location of this notorious room is unknown, although it was most likely located inside the town-hall. The *Pijnkamer* was used to interrogate and conveyed no message to the public. Therefore, the location of this practice was set away from the public.

An account of interrogation mentioned that there was a pole for tying the person being interrogated in this room along with all the tools needed, such as pliers, rods, and knives.¹²⁵ This was in line with the practice in Europe at the time. As described by Lisa Silverman, judicial torture in early modern France took place in a particular room with various instruments of pain. She further suggested that early modern torture was highly regulated and judges had to be present when it was carried out.¹²⁶ While the nature of the room is in line with that of the European experience, in contrast in Batavia, we have no account describing the regulation of the use of torture for interrogation.

Execution Grounds

Execution Ground as understood in this thesis is defined as the designated location for executing convicts. Amsterdam dedicated one spot for execution and another spot was dedicated for display. Dam Square, the place where the execution was performed, is located in the heart of the city of Amsterdam. There stood the scaffold for executing convicts and criminals. However, the scaffold for execution was not built permanently. According to Munter's account, the scaffold was usually erected two days before the execution. The scaffold was only built after the *burgomaster* gave permission to erect it.¹²⁷

Following a similar principle, the Batavian court utilized three locations to exercise their judicial violence—the *Groenezoodje*, the *Pijnkamer*, and sites behind or in front of the town-hall. In the judicial record, the execution place was mentioned as “*het plain voor het stadhuijs*” (the square in front of the town hall) or “[*ter*] *plaetse alwaar men gewoon is crimineelee sententien te executeren*” (the place where men are usually executed). The assigned places were also determined by the purpose of the violent measure. For instance, the

¹²⁵ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

¹²⁶ Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects*.

¹²⁷ Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 46-47.

Groenezoodje was located in the open field south of the castle, where people from overseas were most likely to arrive. An open space for the *Groenezoodje* was chosen because it was the first place where people from outside Batavia set foot. The location also acted as the display of power. It functioned as a visual warning for people coming to Batavia.

The importance of the element of performance in early modern penal practice is indicated by the location of the execution place. It was always located in the centre of town. Furthermore, the importance of this site of violence is indicated by its depiction in various sources, for example, drawings, maps, and written documents. When the use of violence was not related to the function of “teaching” a moral lesson, the location moved away from public spaces, for instance, when the court used violence during interrogation.

Drawing information from images and maps not only complicates the exact location of the punishment sites but also reveals the nature of information making in early modern Batavia. The making of illustrations and maps was sometimes entrusted to artists who had never been to Batavia. In *Oud Batavia*, De Haan used Johannes Rach’s illustration of the Amsterdam Gate in Batavia, which includes the illustration of the *Groenezoodje* and the *Galgenveld*. Rach had spent his life in Batavia from 1764 to his death in 1783 and he drew the illustration when he was in Batavia. Russel Viljoen has discussed the depiction of the gallows in Rach’s *Het Kasteel Poort van Binnen* in comparison with Rach’s depiction of the gallows in the Cape colony.¹²⁸ To attest this account and illustration, we can add to Rach’s work the sketch of the scene of Petrus Vuyst’s execution that was drawn by Simon Fokke. Both illustrations do not contradict in terms of the location, as shown below.

Image 1. Johannes Rach, Public Execution in Batavia, *Het Kasteel Poort van Binnen*¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Viljoen compared the depiction of gallows in the Cape of Good Hope. He pointed out the interesting differences in Rach’s depictions of gallows in Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope. According to Viljoen, Rach’s depiction of gallows in Batavia is more “live”. See Viljoen, “‘Cape of Execution’: The Gallows at the Cape of Good Hope as Represented in the Colonial Art of Johannes Rach and Lady Anne Barnard.”

¹²⁹ Numbered K 1. in De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. III.



Image 2. A Detailed View of Rach's Depiction of the Gallows in Batavia & Fokke's Depiction of the Gallows in the Execution of Petrus Vuijst.



Johannes Rach



Simon Fokke¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Fokke, *Vier episodes*.

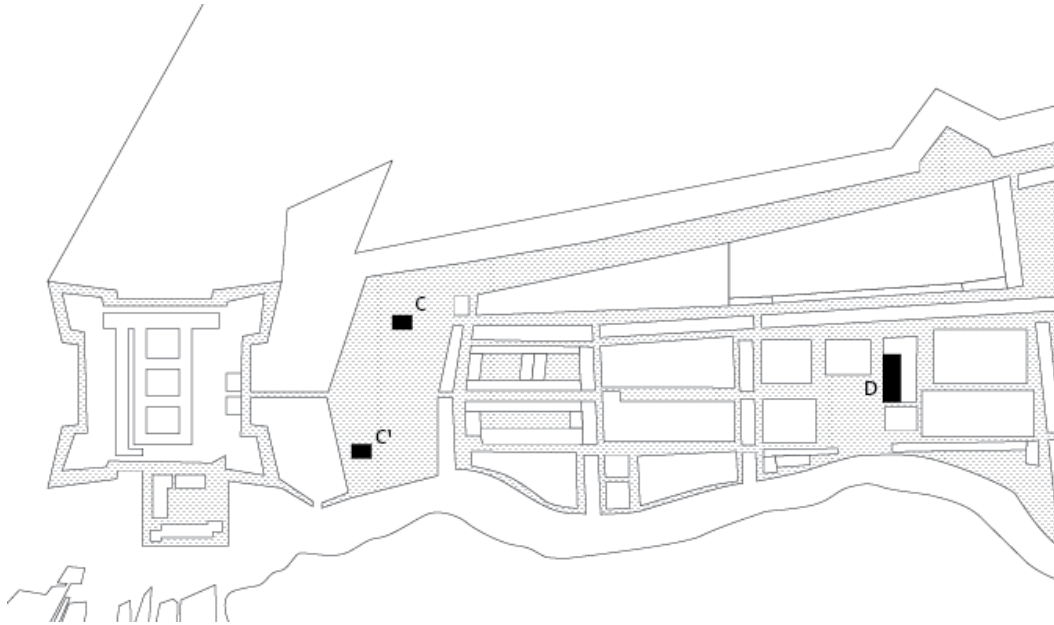
Maps are also one of the primary sources that can be used to reveal the location of the VOC's execution ground. However, finding the precise location of the execution place and gallows in old Batavia maps is complicated because the VOC sources show different spots for the execution ground. While Rach's drawing (created while Rach was living and working in Batavia around 1764-1783) and Fokke's drawing (created in 1735) seem to agree on the location of the *Groenezodje* and the scaffold, the maps sometimes contradict each other. The difference between the depiction of the execution ground in the maps is shown in Map 3. below. **C** is the location of the execution ground mentioned in the map painted around 1627.¹³¹ In this map, the execution ground is written as "*Platte van 't gherecht*"—"the Place of Law". The execution ground that appears on Van Berckenrodee's map also appears in the same location on a map painted in 1650. However, interestingly, the map from 1650 does not mention the name of the location. Instead, on the location where the gallows stand, a tiny scaffold is drawn. The same location is also shown on a map painted around 1700-1720. **C**¹ is the location of the execution place mentioned in Venant Fecit's map painted in 1629.¹³² In this map, the location is named *De Justitieplaets van 't Casteel*.¹³³ Another map from the same year also displays the same location for the execution ground.

Map 3. Sites of Punishment in Batavia

¹³¹ The map is attributed to Frans Floriszoon van Berckenrodee, probably drawn for Jan Pieterszoon Coen after his return to Java for his second term of office as Governor-General (1627-1629).

¹³² The map is attributed to G. Venant Fecit. Atlas van Stolk, no. 1672.

¹³³ Translated freely as The Justice Place of the Castle.



C is the location of the execution ground mentioned in the map painted around 1627

C¹ is the location of the execution place mentioned in Venant Fecit's map painted in 1629

D is the location of the *Stadhuis*

There are two possibilities for the difference in the location of the execution place in Batavia on maps. First, it is possible that the execution place was moved from the east side to the west side of the castle field. It is possible because the scaffold and the gallows were not built permanently. The scaffold and gallows in Batavia were made of wood. The material of the scaffold played an important role too. For the execution of a serious crime, the scaffold was burned together with the condemned body, like the execution of Petrus Vuijst in 1732. The second possibility is that there was an error in the drawing of the map. Map artists and painters made mistakes too and it was common for mistakes like this to occur. Despite this small difference, the characteristic of the location was still the same. The location of the sites of pain was on an open field so that the executions could be easily witnessed by the city inhabitants and visitors.

In another city, the location of the execution ground could be different. For example, according to a placard dated 14 June 1734, the VOC regulated that all Javanese who was sentenced to death in Semarang must be executed in the Paseban of the local Regent.¹³⁴ This

¹³⁴ Paseban is an open place that is part of the local Regent's residence, where the local Regent receives guests and visitors.

is issued by the request of the Susuhunan based on Javanese superstition, which the VOC views as a “small and indifferent” matter.¹³⁵ Despite the view, the VOC agreed to the Susuhunan’s request. Javanese superstition seemed to indirectly alter the VOC penal practice.

The *Groenezoodje* was the most notorious of the three Batavian violent punishment sites, and also probably the most European part of the Batavian execution grounds. The name *Groenezoodje* itself was derived from the name of the execution ground in The Hague. The name *Groenezoodje* means the Green Turf. The *Groenezoodje* in The Hague was truly coloured green. While the name *Groenezoodje* in Batavia referred to the scaffold on which the process of capital execution was performed, it was most likely not green in colour. In addition to the legal document, the name *Groenezoodje* was also mentioned in city plan and pamphlets.

Behind the town-hall was an area designated to punish lighter crimes. No capital execution was performed behind the town-hall—or at least the sources do not mention this. Although, there is a possibility that secret capital punishment, for instance, the execution of homosexuals, was performed here. Violent punishment that is recorded to be usually practised here was flogging.

Interestingly, there is also a striking similarity between the Javanese execution in the early twentieth century and the VOC’s hanging. The execution ground for Yogyakarta court was located in the Alun-Alun Lor, an open square north of the Kraton. One account from the late twentieth century reveals that the scaffold was made from wood. The scaffold was not built permanently. It was built a night prior to the execution under the supervision of the Lurah Singonegoro—the head of the executioners. Sitting on a *balai*, he oversaw the building of the scaffold by his assistants. The builders of the Pantjoko did *lek-lekan*, which means staying up all night. Various entertainment such as dance and musical performances were held during the making of the Pantjoko. Meals and drinks were also provided to the builders. It was a festive moment for the executioners.¹³⁶ Unfortunately, we have no detailed account describing the building of a scaffold and gallows in VOC Batavia, except the part of Peter Vuijst’s execution story, which states that it was built a few days prior to the event, similar to the building of the scaffold and gallows in Amsterdam.

¹³⁵ Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 4, 372.

¹³⁶ Zentgraaff, *Op oude paden*, vol. II, 92-98.

Giving the execution ground a name is another similarity of the Javanese and Dutch penal practice. The Hague's execution ground was called the *Groenezoodje*, while in the Javanese legal tradition the execution ground was called the *Pantjoko*. The execution ground in VOC Batavia was also named *Groenezoodje*. The Dutch term means Green Turf. While the Dutch term is related to the physicality of the execution ground—the turf in the Hague was originally coloured green, the Javanese term is related to the treatment of the bodies and can be traced to an older origin. The term *Pantjoko* is derived from Javanese Kawi, which means cremation ground. This term was used to describe the cremation ground for ancient Javanese kings. When the king died, his body was cremated before being put in a temple. This process of cremation and putting the ashes in the temple is called *Nyandi*, and the cremation ground is called *Pantjoko*. The similarities between the Javanese and VOC penal practice indicate the universality of the penal practice. Another interpretation that can be drawn is that the colonial penal culture intertwined with the indigenous penal culture.

Lionello Puppi, an Italian art historian, has stated that gallows were a concrete symbol of the law,¹³⁷ and Abidin Kusno has stated that the town-hall, including the *Groenezoodje* and the gallows which was part of it, was the absolute symbol of state authority.¹³⁸ The Batavian gallows, therefore, was a concrete symbol of colonial law and state authority.

Field of Displayed Bodies

Another location that characterizes the early modern penal practice is the place for displaying bodies of the executed convict. In Amsterdam as well as in Batavia, these are places where the post-mortem violence was carried out. In these places, the bodies of the executed convicts were hanged, put on a spike or wheel, or left to the element as animals' prey. The term used both in Amsterdam and Batavia to refer to the location was the same: *Galgeveld*. While *Galgeveld* means "Field of Scaffold/Gallows" it was not meant as a place of execution. The term *galg* here must be understood as a reference to the most basic function of a gallows: to hang. In this case, the gallows in *Galgeveld* was used to hang the bodies of the executed convict. The execution was carried out in the execution grounds; the *Groenezoodje* for Batavia and the Dam Square for Amsterdam.

¹³⁷ Puppi, *Torment in Art*, 380.

¹³⁸ Abidin Kusno, *After The New Order*.

Power resided in the bodies of the executed convicts. The terrifying state of the bodies had the power to instil fear to a reasonable living person. The power was harnessed by the government in the form of displaying the bodies in an open field. The display of bodies was meant to deter crimes. This was done in order to scare the public and would-be criminals. In the Dutch Republic, the designated area for this purpose was called the *Galgenveld*. A *Galgenveld* can be found in almost every Dutch town. Particularly in Amsterdam, the bodies were displayed in Volewijk. Volewijk is located in the north of the city of Amsterdam. It is a peninsula that can be seen by every ship coming to Amsterdam. The bodies of the convicts were put there as a lesson for every citizen and prospective citizen. However, as suggested by Foucault and other historians of punishment, this practice was becoming obsolete as the general public attitude towards the violent state of punishments changed. The public grew tired and disgusted by the gruesome scene.

The location of the field of bodies in Amsterdam is well known and consistent across sources. It was located in Volewijk, a peninsula north of the river IJ. Moreover, the toponym of the peninsula itself is said to originate from the violent penal practice. In Volewijk, the bodies of the executed convicts were put on display. The bodies were left in an open field and exposed to the eyes of spectators, natural element, and birds. The birds, attracted by human flesh, pecked on the bodies in flocks, hence the name Volewijk.¹³⁹ Sometimes, the body displayed in Volewijk was found to be missing. In some cases, it was stolen by the relatives of the condemned.

The equivalent of Volewijk in Batavia was the *buijten geregt*. The *Buijtengerecht* is mentioned numerous times in the *Criminele Rollen* and other legal sources to refer to the field in which bodies of the condemned were displayed. The *Buijtengerecht* was also known as *Galgeveld*. The *buijten geregt* is rarely mentioned on maps. This in contrast with the term *Groenezoodje* or even the long “[*ter*] *plaetse alwaar men gewoon is crimineele sententien te executeren*,” which appears in several written documents and was referring to the execution ground. Sources depict the location of *buijten geregt* so differently that even De Haan, who wrote the incredibly detailed *Oud Batavia*, has pointed out the difference of the location of the *buitengerecht* depicted in Clemendt’s map and Van der Parra’s map.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Volewijck can be translated freely as “birds’ quarter”. “Vole” is bastardized form of Dutch word “*vogel*” which means bird. Woordenboek Nederlandse Taal (WNT) Online. <http://wnt.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M081432&lemmodern=volewijk&domein=0&conc=true>

¹⁴⁰ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

To sum up, both forms of punishment, the correctional institution and the violent punishment, were transferred to the colonies. In Batavia, the violent punishment was carried out in three locations: the *Groenezoodje* (the Green Turf), the *Pijnkamer* (the Pain Chamber), and the areas behind or in front of the town-hall. The correctional facility existed in Batavia, but instead of the gender-based *Rasphuis* and *Spinhuijs*, Batavia had the *Vrouwe Tugthuijs*, which can be translated to “House for Chastising Women.”

Borrowing Edward M. Peters term, “A Prison before Prison” had already existed before its birth, as suggested by Foucault, in the late eighteenth century. Likewise, a form of incarceration facility existed before that in Amsterdam. Because Batavia’s penal practice form was owed to the Dutch, the same pre-prison incarceration facilities already existed in Batavia in the seventeenth century. The institution was called the *Spinhuijs* or *Vrouwe Tugthuijs*. It was aimed to reform women especially and while it was run partially by a private party, the government occasionally sent convicts to this institution.

In general, the sites of judicial violence in Batavia and Amsterdam are similar in characteristic. While the main stage—Dam Square—in Amsterdam was almost entirely enclosed by buildings, the stage of the display was located in an open space in Volewijk. The execution stage in Batavia was located in an open space and also functioned as a display stage. When painful and violent measures were taken for a purpose other than teaching a moral lesson, the government practised it privately, hidden from public eyes.

Punishments were vital to the early modern states, regardless of the continent. Three places are important for analysing the early modern violent penal practice: the place of interrogation, the place of execution, and the place of displaying the bodies of the executed. Interrogation sites functioned as the place to acquire the “judicial truth”, which was the key point in the inquisitorial judicial process. Execution sites were the place to perform the punishment. The display locations of the executed and mutilated bodies were meant to be warning sites. While the interrogation sites were not meant as a symbol of authority and justice, the execution and display sites were meant to be indisputable symbols of authority and power. The Government who enacted the execution and put bodies on display was the one who taught a moral lesson.

Power was embedded in the sites of Batavian public punishment. The execution ground was a part of the VOC Batavia urban landscapes, and the gallows and the scaffold that stood

on it symbolized, as Lionello Puppi said, the absolute power of the colonial law.¹⁴¹ It served as a warning with its gruesome display. In this sense, the execution ground followed what Martin Hall called as a site that “coded power in a landscape”.¹⁴² These places were the main sites where violent measures were carried out. In the Dutch Republic, the location of the execution ground was in front of the town-hall, and the display field was set outside of the city. The placement of both the execution ground and the field of bodies considered its visibility to the general public.

¹⁴¹ Lionello Puppi wrote: “Gallows were, in fact, a concrete symbol of the law.” Puppi, *Torment in Art*, p. 380.

¹⁴² Martin Hall called early Cape Town as a system of spaces that coded power in a landscape. Martin Hall, “Identity, Memory and Countermemory: The Archaeology of an Urban Landscape,” *Journal of Material Culture* 1–2, no. 11 (2006): 195.

Chapter Four: The Play

The previous three chapters deal with the prerequisites of the gruesome drama. After we acquired the general picture on how the stage was set up, who the characters were, and the crimes and reasons behind the punishment, we now move on to the most spectacular part of the practice: the execution. This chapter compares the practice of judicial violence—the drama itself—in Amsterdam and Batavia. In this thesis, the practice of judicial violence is explained as a three-act drama: pre-execution, execution, and post-execution. Pre-execution serves as the exposition, where the condemned is exposed to a painful interrogation. Execution serves as the climax of the drama, where the condemned face their fate. Post-execution serves as the resolution of the drama, where the bodies of the condemned end up as a tool to display the government's authority.

Act One:

Pre-execution

Before the execution was carried out by the court in early modern Amsterdam and Batavia, it was preceded by violence: the painful interrogation. Every process of justice administration began with the investigation of the crime. Regardless of the location, the function of judicial violence was not limited to punishment. Judicial violence in the Amsterdam and Batavian courts served two primary purposes: as a mean to punish and as a mean to extract information and confession.¹⁴³ The first purpose that is analysed in this part is judicial violence as a way to extract information and confession. Therefore, the form of judicial violence by the Amsterdam and Batavian courts that is going to be discussed here is torture.

Judicial torment is unique because it was one form of judicial violence that served both purposes in a criminal trial.¹⁴⁴ Criminals might be whipped in the scaffold as a punishment for their crime, but they might also be whipped because they were not willing to confess. Torment in Amsterdam and Batavia ranged from a simple whipping to body mutilation. The criminal investigation in both early modern Amsterdam and Batavia was inquisitorial. It means that the burden of proof lay with the claimant, and in this case, the criminal court. Furthermore, Dutch-

¹⁴³ This is viewed from a practical perspective. The underlying reason behind the implementation of violent measures, nevertheless, is to maintain power and social control.

¹⁴⁴ The other counterpart of it was a capital punishment. Capital punishment is the ultimate punishment and hence is always performed as a mean to punish.

Roman Law dictated that there were two acceptable forms of proof, a confession from the convict and testimony from witnesses.

The implementation of judicial torture in Batavia was the consequence of the implementation of the Roman-Dutch legal tradition. Firstly, Roman-Dutch Law allowed the use of violent measures for administering justice. Furthermore, in the early modern legal tradition, the use of violence was also common practice and was universally accepted. The judicial torture in the Roman-Dutch penal tradition was carried out by an executioner or a *Scherpregher*. Judicial torture was exercised as a form of punishment for less severe crimes. For instance, sailors who missed their departure date were flogged. Soldiers who failed their duty were also flogged. Crime such as theft and assault oftentimes were punished by flogging. This kind of punishment could also be seen as a way to discipline a member of society. When performed for this function, judicial torture was performed behind the town-hall, away from the public.

Secondly, confession was vital in Roman-Dutch Law. Therefore, it was also crucial for the Batavian court. According to Roman-Dutch Law, when confession was absent, it was necessary to acquire the testimony from witnesses. In this case, as stated by Roman-Dutch Law, at least three witnesses were needed before the verdict could be finalized. When a voluntary confession was absent, and the necessary witnesses were impossible to be obtained, as what happened in criminal cases, then the court would issue the Request for Torture (*Eijsch ad Torturam*) in order to acquire a confession from the convict.¹⁴⁵ In the criminal court record, the request was usually followed by the purpose of the torture, whether to extract information or to get a confession. The event of interrogation was termed as *scherper examen*, a sharper investigation. When practised for this reason, judicial torture functioned not as a way to discipline a member of society. Instead, it acted as an instrument of repressive power in its pure form.

In Amsterdam, the main purpose of the criminal procedure was to get a confession. A convict was first confronted with the denunciation and witnesses' account. If he persisted that he was innocent of the accusation, he would later be sent away to undergo the "sharper interrogation" (*scherper examen*). The painful interrogation would end with three possible outcomes: confession, innocence, or remain 'heavily suspected of guilt'. When the outcome

¹⁴⁵ Jones, "Courts and Courtship," 46.

was still ‘remaining heavily suspected’, the convict would be subjected to further torture until the confession was acquired.¹⁴⁶ In Batavia, the same procedure was practised.

Information gathering in the early modern world is an interesting and complicated matter, especially in the criminal court. This was even more complex in the colony, which was perceived as a crime-ridden world, and the people were deemed to be dishonest.¹⁴⁷ To understand why this happened, we have to look into the social condition of Batavia. The social stigma might have a role to play. The VOC in Batavia had a stereotype for the indigenous people—especially Javanese people—as being deceitful and untruthful. Therefore, the VOC had a hard time believing convicts with an indigenous background when they denied their crime. To validate the confession and testimony, the judicial court employed a priest. In Batavia, the necessity of the practice gave rise to the inclusion of a *Moorse priester* in the court’s agenda. When the witness or the accused was a Muslim, a *Moorse priester* would be summoned to validate their account and confession. The *Moorse priester* was paid one real for each confession or testimony.

The act of information gathering in the criminal court often, if not always, involved violence; it utilized knives, pliers, and rods. The criminal investigation in Batavia relied heavily on this practice. The use of torture was proven to be effective, as indicated by the fact that the investigators were able to extract a very detailed account of the crime through torture. The story of a colonial interrogation is provided in chapter two with the story of Aurora de Kleene. Under heavy interrogation, she revealed details of the crime.

In line with the Foucauldian notion about repressive power, the judicial torture conducted by the VOC was carried out only if the convict was not acting cooperatively. However, the real reason behind the uncooperativeness of the convicted is unclear. It may be because the convict was entirely innocent and telling the truth, hence refusing to confess. If the purpose of getting information was entirely to uphold justice, then it was ineffective, because under painful interrogation, people tend to do anything to stop the pain.

Corporal punishment in Amsterdam and Batavia employed the same method, namely whipping and branding. The corporal punishment was exerted for lesser crimes such as theft and assault. For capital crimes, the death penalty often resulted in different methods depending

¹⁴⁶ Spierenburg, “Judicial Violence,” 74.

¹⁴⁷ The VOC particularly saw the Javanese as people who could not be trusted to a point where the Javanese were not allowed to reside within the Batavian walls.

on the crime. The execution was exercised in the same designated place and by the designated officer, the *scherpreger*.

Act Two:

Execution

As mentioned above, confession was essential for the Roman-Dutch court. When it was acquired, the execution could be commenced, and the purpose of the violent measure was changed. For example, when the Batavian court, the *Raad van Justitie te Batavia*, had acquired a confession, the purpose of torture changed. It was no longer meant as a way of getting information and confession; it was then a form of punishment. It was to teach a moral lesson and acted as a symbol of authority.

Execution in Amsterdam

In early modern Amsterdam, corporal and capital punishments were performed simultaneously. Executions in Amsterdam were usually performed on Saturday. On Friday night, the night before the execution and after the court had condemned the convict with the death penalty, the *Schout* and two *Schepenen* came to visit the condemned prisoner who was held in the inner court of the town-hall.¹⁴⁸ The *Schout* then notified the condemned that he will be executed tomorrow, and instructed the condemned to prepare himself. Afterwards, a priest and a *ziekenrooster* took care of the prisoner and guided him to pray in a Christian way. On Saturday morning the *Schout*, *Schepenen*, and *burgomaster* appeared at the town-hall. The execution begun by the declaration of the sentence. Afterwards, the *Schout* ask the *burgomaster* and the *Schepenen* whether the time to do justice according to old customs and the privilege of the city had come. The *burgomaster* and *Schepenen* answered and confirmed that the time had come. The condemned was then declared as the ‘children of death’. After a few confirmations by the *Schepenen* and *burgomaster*, the secretary of the court announced the death sentence for the condemned. The condemned was then brought to the justice room. At the same time, the magistrates moved on to their seat in a gallery located on the second floor of the town-hall. The gallery provided them with a clear view of the scaffold. The bell tolled and the ‘rod of justice’ was hung from the window of the town-hall, signalling the beginning of the execution of justice. Next, the secretary announced the lesser punishments of other convicts. After that, the magistrates went into the ‘justice room’ once again and prayed together with the

¹⁴⁸ See chapter one for the role and position of *Schout* and *Schepenen* in Amsterdam court.

condemned and the priest. The magistrates then assumed their seats in the gallery, and the execution was performed. After the execution was finished, the ‘rod of justice’ was taken.¹⁴⁹ The body of the executed convict was then brought to the Volewijk to be displayed.

Batavia

In line with the practice in Amsterdam, in Batavia, corporal and capital punishments were also performed simultaneously. This is indicated by the salary list of the office of the executioner, where in one day an executioner could perform several capital and corporal punishments at once.¹⁵⁰ Capital punishment execution was held every month in Batavia. De Haan stated that the *Galgeveld* never lacked bodies to display. Due to the frequency of the capital punishment execution, the condemned never had to wait for their execution for too long. Usually, since their arrest, it only took approximately one week or less for a condemned to be executed. The condemned waited for their execution in the *donker gat*, or the *boeien*, a subterranean room located in the town-hall.¹⁵¹ As per regulation, the execution was set to be held early in the morning. However, according to De Haan in *Oud Batavia*, sometimes the execution was also carried out in the middle of the night.¹⁵² Capital punishment was carried out in the name of and from the Lord States-General of the United Netherlands.¹⁵³

During roughly the same period, the number of death penalty executions in Batavia was twice more than that in Amsterdam. For comparison, the Batavian population in the inner city in 1729 was 23.701 and decreased to 18.302 in 1739, including inhabitant in the *ommelanden* it amounts to 102.658,¹⁵⁴ whereas between 1730 and 1740 Amsterdam had more than 230.000 inhabitants.¹⁵⁵ Capital punishment in Batavia in 1729-1739 amounted to 55 executions. In Amsterdam, between 1731 and 1740, the court performed 20 executions.¹⁵⁶ Even if we limit the number of the execution in Batavia to European convicts, the number is still high. Between 1729-1739, which was a relatively normal time, the Batavian court executed 20 European. It

¹⁴⁹ This detailed description is based on the account of Hans Bontemantel written ca. 1660 and Balthasar Munter see Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 46–47.

¹⁵⁰ See the appendix for detailed account of the execution dates.

¹⁵¹ See chapter three concerning the *donker gat* and the *boeien*.

¹⁵² De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 291.

¹⁵³ “[...] *dat in vonissen, geweld in India, altijd opegenomen moet worden de formule: doende regt uit de naam en van weegen de Heeren Staten Generaal der Verenigde Nederlanden.*” Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 4, 286.

¹⁵⁴ Remco Raben, *Batavia and Colombo*, 89-90. See also the discussion in chapter two of this thesis.

¹⁵⁵ Marco H. D. van Leeuwen and James E. Oeppen, “Reconstructing the Demographic Regime of Amsterdam 1681-1920,” *Economic and Social History in the Netherlands*, no. 5 (1993): 61–102.

¹⁵⁶ Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 82.

is also important to note that European population in Batavia in that time was only 1755.¹⁵⁷ The Court in Amsterdam exercised various methods of capital punishment. Similarly and unsurprisingly, the Batavian court recognized and practised several methods of capital punishment. Known execution methods included hanging, breaking on a cross, drowning, beheading or death by the sword, burning on a stake, and impaling with an iron pike. The implementation and choice with which the condemned would be executed depended upon the crime they had committed.

Based on the data collected, hanging was the most often used method in Batavia. It made up 44% of the total capital punishment executions. Between 1729 and 1739, the Batavian court hung 34 persons to death. For a hanging execution, a scaffold had to be constructed, and gallows had to be erected. In 1732, four slaves were tried for theft (*diefstal*) and thievery (*dieverij*). Their names were Coridon van Mandhaer, Leander van Boutoun, Batjo van Mandhar, and Sidaulat van Bougis. Coridon was sentenced to death by hanging. The council then also decided that his body was to be brought outside the city and to be left for birds of prey. However, the other three slaves were spared from death. They were to be brought to the same gallows where Coridon was hung. The hangman would then put a noose around their neck. Instead of hanging them to death, the council decided to put them on display. This practice, as mentioned in Chapter One, was common in Western Europe. Then they would be banished to Rosingain Island and subjected to work for the company without pay for 25 years. Sidaulat van Bougis, one of the three slaves who were spared from capital punishment, however, died before the execution. His body was then buried in the Kerkhoff.¹⁵⁸

Breaking on a cross was the second most used method. It made up 36% of the total executions. Between 1729 and 1739, 28 criminals were executed by breaking on a cross. In this method, the convict was laid on a cross. Then, the executioner tied him to the cross. After that, the hangman would start breaking the convict's body with an axe or a hammer. The variation in this method was a wooden wheel being used instead of a cross. Another known variation was the direction from which the blow would be struck. Breaking from the bottom meant a painful and slow death and breaking from the top meant a quick death. Breaking from the bottom caused the condemned to scream in pain, and the executioner was told to hold on to his task. His task included giving no mercy, even if he felt pity for the condemned. The

¹⁵⁷ See the graphic table of execution in Batavia based on race and ethnicities provided in chapter two for the detailed view on the execution.

¹⁵⁸ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

direction of the blow also signified the judges' preference and this practice was also followed in the Netherlands. Breaking from the top entailed a merciful act from the judges.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, in the criminal records, the common word used to dictate the method for breaking from the bottom was “*van onderen op levendig geledebraekt zonder de slag van gratie*”. The sentence explicitly states that the punishment must be executed without mercy.¹⁶⁰ The other variation of this method was body mutilation. In some cases, the condemned's right hand was cut off before the executioner started breaking his body.

In Batavia, drowning was exclusively performed for the crime of homosexuality. It made up 11% of the total executions in Batavia. The convicted was either drowned in a river or a sort of a barrel. This method, different from the other methods, was usually performed secretly, away from spectators. Another method that was reserved for homosexuals was burning on the stake. The burning method, however, was a rare case. It was not performed by the Batavian court in 1729-1739. According to the Roman-Dutch legal tradition, the purifying nature of these methods was related to the crime which the convict had committed.¹⁶¹ The “crime against nature” naturally asked for purifying by a natural element.

In the metropole, the theatrical procession of execution was often carried out using military guards. According to Foucault, this was done for two reasons: to ensure the safety of the procession from an angry mob and to restore the King's authority since crime means the breaking of the law and law comes from the King.¹⁶² As indicated by various sources, Batavian executions were also carried out in the presence of military guards.¹⁶³

Similar to the execution in the metropole, the start of the execution in Batavia was signalled by sounds of a bell. On the Amsterdam Gate,¹⁶⁴ there hung a bell. This bell played an important role in the process of execution. The first bell signalled the beginning of the process. The condemned wore a white cloth¹⁶⁵ and with the first bell, he was brought to the courtroom

¹⁵⁹ Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*, 15.

¹⁶⁰ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

¹⁶¹ Ward, *A Global History*, 5; Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 120-124.

¹⁶² Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 55.

¹⁶³ Drawings of Rach and Fokke give a good insight on the presence of the military guards. See also De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 291.

¹⁶⁴ Amsterdam Gate is the name of one of Batavia's gates.

¹⁶⁵ A century later, the tradition of white-clothed convicts for capital punishment can be found in the Dutch East Indies colonial government. The custom indeed continued well into the twentieth century. For the execution on the twentieth century see Muhammad Asyraf, “Menegakkan Tiang Gantungan; Pelaksanaan Dan Perdebatan Pidana Mati Kolonial Di Jawa Dan Madura 1870an-1940an” (Undergraduate Thesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2017); and Sanne Ravensbergen, “Gered van de koloniale galg koloniaal strafrecht en gratieverlening toegepast op ‘Inlanders’ en Chinezen in Nederlands-Indië 1819-1848” (Universiteit Leiden, 2010).

(*vergaderzaal*). In the courtroom, the names of the condemned were announced. When the second bell tolled, the condemned was escorted out of the courtroom to the scaffold. The third bell signalled the final phase of the process. When the third bell tolled, the judges with their robes and regalia went to their designated seats. The Secretary of the court again announced the sentence in front of an open window. While the sentence was announced, a *Predikant* proceeded to join the executioner and the condemned on the scaffold. He then started to lead the condemned to pray in a Christian way. The prayers were recited, as much as it was possible, in the condemned's own language.¹⁶⁶

The most vivid source for the procession of execution in Batavia can probably be found in the story of the execution of Petrus Vuijst. An account states that an executioner and his assistants were instructed for Vuijst's execution a few days before the event. A group of guards was also kept ready by the court. Vuijst was taken from the *boeien* or detention cell in the town-hall, where he was held captive, at around four in the morning by a group of guards and was brought to the execution place. There, Vuijst waited for four hours before the execution began. The procession then started at eight o'clock in the morning. On the scaffold were an iron rooster and a wooden chair (*slagtbank*). Standing beside the two things was the executioner. When Vuijst was on the scaffold, the iron rooster was lit. The hangman had him sit on the wooden chair, which was made specially for this occasion. Some of the guards were also standing on the scaffold. The executioner then proceeded to take out his knife. He slit Vuijst throat and let him bleed. After that, the hangman severed Vuijst right arm, then put it on the iron rooster beside him. By now Vuijst was probably already dead. The executioner then picked his axe and started to break and cut Vuijst's body from below. Afterwards, the executioner disembowelled the already dismembered corpse, ripped Vuijst's intestines out and then cut off Vuijst's head. The spectators, consisting of all social elements in Batavia, were standing while this bloody drama went on. After the bloody procession was finished, the hangman stepped down from the scaffold. Vuijst's dismembered body was left on the scaffold. The hangman then lit up the wood under the scaffold, burning all that was above it. A big flame quickly rose. Due to the gravity of Vuijst's crime, all that left from the bloody procession, even Vuijst's blood, had to be destroyed. Vuijst's *dissecta membrae* along with his clothes, the knife, the wooden chair, and the iron rooster—all the tools that were used—were burned to ashes. According to the court's sentence, Vuijst's ashes would be thrown into the sea, together with

¹⁶⁶ The custom of praying in the Christian way was strengthened in the time of Maatsuijker (1653-1678).

the iron rooster. Vuijst's execution was unusual even for the VOC. However, it shed light on the procession of execution in Batavia.¹⁶⁷

It was quite common for executions of several different cases to be performed on the same day. The Batavian court usually hold the execution date until it reached the quota. But then again, penal practice in Batavia was a complicated matter, and it did not seem to be follow a rigid pattern. Nevertheless, for a more detailed explanation of corporal punishment in Batavia, such as the symbols used in the procession, we can only assume that it follows, to some extent, the procession of corporal punishment in the Dutch Republic.

Most of the methods of execution that were practised by the VOC were of European origin: drowning, breaking on a wheel (*radbraken*), hanging, and beheading. Nevertheless, due to the exposure to Southeast Asian culture and penal practice, the VOC adopted Southeast Asian methods as well. Impaling was the execution method that was practised by the VOC. Exercised for the first time in 1683, the Batavian court exercised the impaling method, in which the victims were impaled with an iron pike. However, as De Haan has pointed out that even in the traveller's accounts it was a rare occasion occurrence.¹⁶⁸ People who were subjected to this method usually did not die immediately. They were—still alive—put on display in the *Groonezoodje* and left to die. After some time, usually several days, when the corpse began to rot, the executioner would be assigned to bury them in the church's graveyard or put them outside the city.

¹⁶⁷ The execution of Petrus Vuijst recorded in several pamphlets that was first published in Batavia, then copied and circulated in the Dutch Republic. Surviving collection of these pamphlets can be found in the Leiden University's Special Collection and in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague. These pamphlets are: Samperman, *De onregtveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den Gouverneur Petrus Vuyst, tot Ceylon nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem Gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie des casteels Batavia*; VOC, *Kort en naauwkeurig verhaal, van 't leven en opkomst van den heer en Mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen Gouverneur op 't eiland Ceilon. als mede een waaragtig berigt, van alle zyne gepleegde gruwelstukken : als ook de namen van die geene die door hem onschuldig ter dood zyn gebragt*, 1732; *Sententie, gewezen by den wel Ed: RAADE van India, tegens den heere en Mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen Gouverneur van Ceylon. geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 Mey, 1732.*, 1732; *De onregtveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den Gouverneur Petrus Vuyst, tot Ceylon, nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem Gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie, des casteels Batavia. (Gedrukt naar de origineele cotype)*, 1733; *Sententie gewezen by den wel Ed: RAADE van India, tegens den heere en Mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen Gouverneur van Ceylon. geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 Mey, 1732. waar agter gevoegt is de lyst der opontboden en particuliere perzoonen, die met deze in den jare 1733. ingekomene elf Oost-Indische retourschepen zyn gerepatriëert.*, 1733; *Sententie gepronuncieert ende geëxecuteert op ende jegens Mr. Petrus Vuyst op dingsdag den 3. Juny 1732. tot Batavia in Oost-Indien. (Na een origineel copy van Batavia zoo ende gelyk het den gevange is voorgelese, getrouwelyk gedrukt 1733.)*, 1733.

¹⁶⁸ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

The surprisingly less common method was beheading, which only occurred for one case in 1729-1739.¹⁶⁹ The sword that was used by the executioner was kept in a wooden cabinet in the town-hall. The picture of the sword and its cabinet is provided in De Haan's *Oud Batavia*. There were actually two swords; however, the other smaller sword was hardly used because most of the time, the main sword was enough. Sometimes, a primitive guillotine was used for capital punishment.¹⁷⁰ According to a placate issued in 1681, shooting with arquebus was allowed to be carried out when beheading with other methods was not possible.¹⁷¹

Image 3. Executioner's Sword and Its Cabinet¹⁷²



Exposition/Humiliation

¹⁶⁹ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

¹⁷⁰ De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. I, 292.

¹⁷¹ Van der Chijs, NIP, vol. 2, 67.

¹⁷² Numbered D 2. in De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. III.

The scaffolds in Amsterdam and Batavia were not only a stage of pain and death but also a stage of humiliation. Several conditions caused the court not to carry out capital execution. Some crimes were regarded as not severe enough to be punished with death. However, to ensure people learned a lesson, the court still had to mete out the punishment. For instance, from 1729 to 1739, there were a total of 14 persons accused of sodomy, but only 9 persons were sentenced to death. Two of the nine condemned were given clemency. Instead of an actual capital punishment, their punishment made use of faux capital punishment. Faux capital punishment involved an element of display. They were punished by standing under the gallows with the noose around their neck. In addition to that, the two were punished by flogging, branding, and ultimately banishment.¹⁷³ The *Criminele Rollen* shows that another form of “exposure” punishment was exercised on the crime of counterfeit. The convict would be made to stand in the gallows with a plank tied in front of him with the word *FALSARIS* (counterfeiter).¹⁷⁴

In several circumstances, convicts were spared from capital punishment. In exchange for capital punishment, the court gave the convicts punishment which involved some form of display. This kind of punishment served as a symbol for the death penalty. In these cases, the sins were grave enough for capital punishment, but the court was gracious and merciful enough to spare the life of the condemned. This is the best illustration on the inconsistency of the court’s decisions. For example, in the case of murder, some criminals were supposed to be hung on the gallows. Instead, the court had them standing under the gallows, tied the noose around their neck, and had them displayed for a few hours. After that, the executioner would beat them and brand them with a hot iron. The above-mentioned punishment of sodomy convicts was an example of this. The other variation for this practice was a knife above the head.¹⁷⁵ The effectivity of symbolic punishment, however, is questionable. It may have the same effect as intended by the court when the condemned was European. However, the indigenous people might have a different view.

Act Three:

Resolution for The Condemned: Post-Execution

¹⁷³ See chapter two: the Condemned.

¹⁷⁴ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

¹⁷⁵ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

The end of the drama for the condemned of corporal punishment was bruised or mutilated body. For the condemned of capital punishment, however, death was not the end. The procession of an early modern capital punishment did not necessarily end in an execution. The punishment continued even when the condemned was dead. In Batavia, after execution on the *Groenezoodje*, the Judicial Board went in a solemn procession to the Governor-General to report the event while the condemned's body was dragged to the *Galgeveld*.¹⁷⁶

In Amsterdam, as well as Batavia, the executed bodies received further violence and/or was put on display. In the case of homosexuality, for example, the bodies were thrown into the sea. After execution, some of the criminals' bodies were brought outside the city and left in open to be eaten by birds of prey. There were cases in which these bodies were set on a pole. For graver crimes, there was a heavier post-mortem punishment. In some other cases, the corpse was mutilated. The head was cut off and put between the legs. The severed head was also sometimes put on a pike and exposed. In some other cases, the bodies were left without further disgrace.¹⁷⁷

Not all bodies were brought to Volewijk as birds' food. Some criminals were granted a proper burial. In Amsterdam, the decision over the fate of the corpse lay with the *Schepenen*. The *Schepenen* decided whether the body of the condemned was to be brought to Volewijk or granted a proper burial.

As described vividly by De Haan in *Oud Batavia*, after the execution the bodies of the condemned were dragged by the executioners to the *buitengerecht*. De Haan further states that the display was rarely empty. There was always a body there. De Haan says that in the *buitengerecht*, "the hanged [convict] was again being hanged, the [convict who was] broken on a wheel was put on a wheel, the severed head was put on a spike, all to warn the foreigners who enter the city so they behave themselves."¹⁷⁸

The geographical location of both Amsterdam and Batavia also supported this practice. As an illustration, in some parts of colonized Africa, the practice of displaying bodies caused new trouble rather than solving one. Wild animals such as lions and hyenas entered into the

¹⁷⁶ See chapter three for the location of the Galgeveld.

¹⁷⁷ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

¹⁷⁸ "Daar werden de gehangenen opnieuw gehangen, de geradbraakten op een rad gelegd, de afgeslagen koppen op pennen gestoken, alles tot waarschuwing van vreemdelingen om zich binnen de stad behoorlijk te gedragen."

city, invited by the smell of the rotting bodies.¹⁷⁹ In Batavia, however, such circumstances did not arise. Even though the city of Jakarta was razed to the ground, Batavia was founded on an already existing city, a centre of human population. The *Ommelanden*—the kampongs and villages—also acted as a barrier against wild animals, preventing them from disturbing the displayed bodies. Although wild animals such as alligators did inhabit the river Gede on some occasions, they did not cause trouble.

Exposing bodies or parts of the body was also the characteristic of early modern punishment.¹⁸⁰ The spectacle of pain was necessary for the VOC to instil fear in the criminals. Over the course of a decade the VOC displayed 54 bodies of the total 77 capital punishments. Out of the 54 bodies, more than 60% were slaves. All of them were charged with violent crimes. Serious offences such as *Crimen Laesse Majestatis* were subjected to post-mortem violence. In the 1730s there were two *Crimen Laesse Majestatis* cases. One was the Vuijst case, and the other was the Arie van Balij case.¹⁸¹

To sum up, the execution of judicial violence in Batavia and Amsterdam was similar in terms of method and function. While the methods in Amsterdam were dominated by beheading, the methods in Batavia were dominated by hanging. Another main difference between the practice of capital punishment in Batavia and that in Amsterdam is the high frequency of execution in Batavia. With regard to the different population number of the two cities, the total amount of execution in Batavia was four times as often than that of Amsterdam. Even if the discussion is limited to European population and disregard the rest of the population, the amount of execution in Batavia is still far exceeded that of Amsterdam. Post-mortem violence in both cities followed a similar principle.

¹⁷⁹ Stacey Hind, “Dismembering and Remembering the Body: Execution and Post-Execution Display in Africa, c. 1870–2000” in *A Global History of Execution and the Criminal Corpses*, ed. Richard Ward, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 229.

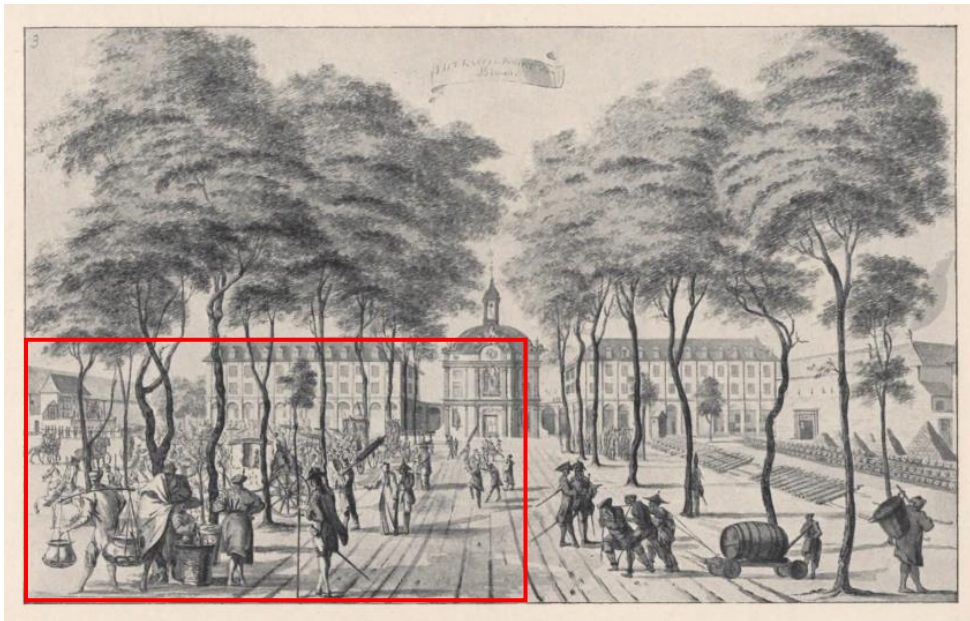
¹⁸⁰ Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 115.

¹⁸¹ NA: VOC, 1.04.02, 9295-9304, Kopie-criminele rollen van den Raad van Justitie in Batavia 1636-1782

Chapter Five: The Spectator

A drama is only complete with the presence of spectators. Previous chapters deal with the execution as a drama, its actors, stage, and script. This chapter completes the discussion by including the spectators. According to penal historians and scholars, the spectator is a key aspect in explaining the development of penal practice.¹⁸² While several accounts tell us the attitude of the general audience during European executions, there is barely any account that describes the capital punishment audience in VOC Batavia. The most lively source that can inform us about the spectators of the execution is Rach's depiction of capital punishment in Batavia.

Image 4. Johannes Rach, Public Execution in Batavia, *Het Kasteel Poort van Binnen*¹⁸³



¹⁸² Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*; Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*; Durkheim, "Two Laws of Penal Evolution."

¹⁸³ Numbered K 1. in De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. III.

Image 5. A Detailed View on Johannes Rach's Depiction of Public Execution



An execution in VOC Batavia is a festive and truly cosmopolitan event. People from all social elements came to watch the execution. Rach's depiction of execution in Batavia includes the Javanese, Chinese, and other ethnicities among the spectators. Among the depiction of the audience, we can see umbrellas (*payung*), which indicated that there were high-ranking locals among the audience. The guards are stationed between the spectators and the scaffold. There is also an open space, around a hundred-meter distance, between the crowd and the scaffold. Interestingly, Rach has also depicted drinks and snacks vendors in the scene. Carriages are parked beside the street facing the execution ground.¹⁸⁴ Another depiction of the Batavian execution scene is Fokke's illustration of Vuijst's execution.¹⁸⁵ Fokke's illustration enriches the scene in our spatial imagination by adding a different perspective. While Rach illustrates the scene from the south, Fokke illustrates the scaffold from the west. However, the rich and valuable details found in Rach's drawing is missing Fokke's depiction. For example, unlike Rach's, we cannot identify the spectators by examining Fokke's drawing. Fokke's drawing, nonetheless, provides details of the stage and the actors. It is a zoomed-in picture of an execution. The focus of Fokke's drawing is the scaffold, the executioner, and the condemned. The facial expression of the executioner and the condemned is somewhat visible in Fokke's illustration.

¹⁸⁴ Viljoen, "Cape of Execution."

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter 3 for Fokke's drawing.

In Europe, stories and accounts concerning the local uprisings caused by a failed execution were used by historians to explain the shift towards private punishment. Foucault notably states that uprising was one of the unintended consequences of public punishment. The sympathy of the spectators shifted to the condemned. However, at least in the period discussed, this thesis found no such occurrences in Batavia. While it is true that the absence of sources does not justify the conclusion that the Batavian audience was unsympathetic towards the condemned, but it is safe to assume that the Batavian audience's attitude was different from that of the European audience unless the sources stated otherwise.

The placards which constituted *Statuten van Batavia* were written in various languages. Furthermore, in Batavia, the execution was signalled with a universal attention-grabber: the sounds of a bell. The sound would intrigue even a person oblivious of the event. However, there was no guarantee that the understanding was the same across different social groups. Regarding the general public in the colony, Alicia Schrikker has hinted us to ask the important question of how the colonized indigenous people came to understand new rules and laws.¹⁸⁶ This can be understood as part of the bigger question: how did the colonized community interpret Western punishment? how did indigenous people perceive Western punishment? This can shed light on how the development of penal practice in the colony differed from that in the metropole. If one argues that the unintended consequences of violent public punishment—for example, the admiration and sympathy attached to the executed convict—came to be one that changes the penal practice, the continuity of violent public punishment in the colony, that is, the prevalence of the pre-modern form of punishment, can be linked to the absence of admiration and sympathy for the convicts.

¹⁸⁶ Alicia Schrikker, "Conflict Resolution," 232–233.

Conclusion

This thesis compares the legal codes, judicial courts, location of punishment sites, people involved in and the procession of the violent penal practice in Amsterdam and Batavia. By comparing these various aspects, this thesis concludes that the punishment in the colonial ground differed from that of the metropole. Using primary sources, at least in the early modern period, this thesis found that on the surface the differences are not substantial. As a matter of fact, the procession of capital punishment in Amsterdam and Batavia followed a similar procedure. The similarity between the two practices can be found even in the detail of the procession; such as the white clothes worn by the condemned and the sound of the bell that signalled the stages of the execution. Furthermore, the placement of the execution ground and field of bodies in Batavia followed a similar principle as that of the metropole. This indicates the VOC's effort to copy the metropole penal practice into the colony.

One of the main findings of this thesis is a striking contrast in the execution rate in Amsterdam and Batavia. Between 1729-1739 Batavia executed 50 people while Amsterdam executed 20 in the roughly same period. The Batavian population was 102.658 in 1729 while Amsterdam was more than 230.000 in 1730. Considering the difference in their population, the Batavian court had executed convicts around four times more than Amsterdam. Furthermore, the difference also emerged in aspects where Western penal practice must compromise with the colonial condition. Take, for instance, the production of judicial truth involving violent measures—the painful interrogation—in Batavia which was tainted by the colonial gaze. The VOC had an established stereotype towards the Javanese, as indicated by Maetsuijker's emphasis in his letter to the Heeren XVII in 1668 which stated that the Javanese were a lazy, thievish, and murderous nation. The VOC distrust the Javanese so bad that the Javanese was prohibited from living within Batavia's inner city. This sentiment and distrust might lead to the use of violence towards Javanese convicts, even more to those who denied their accusation. Another example of the differences that emerged from the colonial condition is the presence of the *Moorsepriester* in the Batavian court to accommodate a Muslim condemned. Likewise, the penal practice also embraced local penal tradition, as best illustrated by the adoption of impaling which is a Southeast Asian method of capital punishment. The public riot following a failed execution was also missing in the colonial scene. However, the seemingly small differences did underpin a marked difference in the development of the colonial penal practice. The thesis further suggests that no matter how hard the colonial government tried to model its

penal practice on that of the metropole, the difference between the practice in the colony and that in the metropole is inevitable.

The study of this thesis suggests that capital punishment in VOC Batavia was a festive and truly cosmopolitan event. With various ethnicities attending the event, and keeping in mind the European experience as stated by Foucault and other scholars, a failed execution should have sparked some kind of uproar but in Batavia it sparked nothing.¹⁸⁷ The absence of a public riot following an execution indicates the absence of sympathy and anger expressed by the spectators towards the bodies of the condemned. It further suggests that the VOC penal practice was distant and detached from the mind of the people of Batavia; even more so for the people in the colony settlement such as the *Ommelanden*'s inhabitant. The distance, thus, was situated in two aspects: spatial and socio-cultural distance. The first aspect, the spatial distance, was marked by the locations of the punishment sites. Following Martin Hall's phrase, the punishment sites in Batavia are spaces that encoded power in a landscape. The location thus became the symbol of colonial law and authority. Punishment sites were concentrated in the Company's enclave which is the inner wall of Batavia. The *Groenezoodje* and *Galgenveld*, which serve as the sites of the display, were visible for spectators within the Batavian wall and people on ships coming from abroad, however, the sites were located far from the sight of *Ommelanden*'s inhabitants. The *Stadhuis*, *Groenezoodje* and *Galgenveld* were sites far removed from the *kampongs* inhabitants. Furthermore, the slaves, which formed the majority of the condemned, often reside in the colony settlement. As a result, apart from when the bell was tolled and execution was carried out, the displayed bodies were infrequently seen by the people living in the colony settlement.

Colonial law did touch the colony settlement, however, its punishment was concentrated in a place located so far from the settlement. Consequently, a European person being broken on the wheel was as distant for the colonial society as a Javanese person being broken on the wheel. This phenomenon does not necessarily show that the colonial government punished people on an equal basis. Instead, it shows that the punishment was far removed from the town inhabitants' minds so that people were not able to relate to the executed and therefore such executions would not inspire sympathy. The distance in these two aspects combined with

¹⁸⁷ The only incident close to an uproar caused by execution in VOC Batavia is the Batavia Chinese Massacre in 1740. However, the reason behind the incident was not a judicial execution, instead, it was caused by a rumour spread among the Chinese inhabitant that the Governor-General would send the Chinese inhabitant on a ship and throw them into the sea *en route*.

the indigenous perception of death perhaps is one of the reasons for the absence of public riot. These distinct features of the colony caused the executioners to be relatively safe compared to their counterparts in the metropole.

Colonial penal practice, especially one that incorporates violent measures, is arguably more complex than the penal practice in the metropole. In the colony, the Western penal practice faces a more complex racial issue, unlike the metropole where punishments are exercised on a relatively homogenous society. While the Batavian population was made up of European and Asian inhabitants, it is also important to note that Amsterdam was also a cosmopolitan city with a huge immigrant population. Compared to Batavia, Amsterdam was more tolerant towards foreigners as it allowed immigrants to reside within the city whereas Batavia strictly prohibited Javanese from inhabiting the inner city. Another notable difference between Amsterdam and Batavia is the form of the city government. Batavia was a colonial government which imposing its rule from top-down with the *Hoge Regering* as the highest seat whereas the Amsterdam government was more bottom-up. The different situation in the colony caused the colonial penal practice to take a different turn in its development, compared to the metropole's penal practice. As discussed above, the evidence of this argument lies in the absence of social unrest related to public execution. In the early twentieth century, the Dutch East Indies colonial government seemed to recognize capital punishment as a possible cause for social unrest. This thesis further argues that the root of the difference lies in the period during which the colonial state was established.

Overall, drawing a comparison in various aspects, this thesis is best concluded in the absence of two things in Batavia. **First**, the absence of public uprisings caused by public execution; and **second**, keeping in mind the high execution rate in Batavia, the lack of source on the public treatment towards the executioner in Batavia indicates an absence of the notion of infamy attached to the office of the executioners. Based on the main findings of this thesis, the possible reasons for these absences is 1) the distance created by the colonial government and 2) the indigenous, especially Javanese, attitude toward the hangmen and capital punishment. Perhaps, the absence of these two aspects can help to explain how colonial penal practice develop differently compared to the metropole penal practice. As suggested by Foucault, in European experience a public riot following an execution was one of the unintended consequences of violent public punishment and it played a crucial role in the shift of penal practice towards a private punishment. Similarly, in European experience, the notion

of infamy attached to an executioner was also crucial in the development of penal practice. Hence, the absence of these aspects marked a difference in the development of colonial penal practice. However, it was based on the assumption that the silence of the source means the absence of the event. Only the Javanese attitude towards Javanese executioner, which stated that executioner was in fact belongs to the noble (*priyayi*) class, is available for consideration here. Therefore, discussion on the colonial public attitude towards colonial capital punishment, in general, need further research.

Finally, this thesis would like to point out that the history of penal practise in the Southeast Asian Archipelago requires further study. The development of colonial penal practice in Batavia stretched on for centuries: from the VOC period to as far as the late colonial period. The development has continuities and discontinuities in it. There are at least three aspects of the capital punishment practice that were continued into the twentieth century: 1) the place of the execution ground, 2) the clothes worn by the condemned, and 3) the procession of the execution. This practice can be traced as far back to the VOC period. There is also discontinuity in the penal practice, and our understanding of the development of colonial penal practice is fragmented. For example, the executioners who were European in the VOC period were substituted with indigenous executioners in the late colonial period. We do not know when the change was made, nor why it happened in the first place.

The development of the colonial penal practice progressed very slowly. Nevertheless, colonialism directly influenced the development of the local penal practice. Violent Javanese punishments, for instance, were abolished only in 1812, following the Sepehi Incident. In addition to financial, political, and military losses, the treaty forced the Javanese Courts to eradicate cruel corporal and capital punishment. As a direct result of the invasion, the Javanese' *picis*, a form of violent punishment comparable to Chinese' *lingchi*, was specifically eradicated on the request of the British colonial government.¹⁸⁸ However, this cannot be viewed solely as an enlightening act. Instead, we should also consider it as the act of changing one violent form

¹⁸⁸ British interregnum in Indonesia had a profound impact and changed the Javanese legal realm forever. The British Invasion, which is known in Indonesian history as Geger Sepehi or Geger Sepoy, ended with a peace treaty between the British and Surakarta and Yogyakarta court. While the content of the treaties is more or less the same, the treaties stripped the Javanese courts of their financial, political, and legal power. Scholars of Indonesian history have long been interested in its profound effect on Java's financial and political realms. But it seems that very few historians have considered its effect on Javanese penal practice. It is stated in article 9 of both of the agreements between the British colonial government and the Surakarta and Yogyakarta court respectively. While in article 7, it is stated that every foreigner and Javanese who was born outside the Sunanate and Sultanate's territory would fall under the colonial legal jurisdiction.

of punishment to another violent form. The *picis* and other ancient Javanese violent punishments might have been eradicated in 1812, but public hangings of criminals were still prevalent well into the first half of the twentieth century. These show that such a study requires a long temporal scope. This thesis provides a brief overview of the undiscovered past of colonial violent punishment. Hopefully, it becomes a starting point for any researcher interested in the study.

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Kort en naauwkeurig verhaal, van 't leven en opkomst van den heer en mr. Petrus Vuyst. Gewezene gouverneur op 't eiland Ceilon. Als mede een waaragtig berigt, van alle zyne gepleegde gruwelstukken : als ook de namen van die geene die door hem onschuldig ter dood zyn gebragt, 1732.

De onregveerdige justitie, uytgevoert door den gouverneur petrus vuyst, tot Ceylon, nevens het regtveerdig vonnis en regt, aan hem gouverneur gedaan, door den achtbaren Raad van Justitie, des casteels Batavia. (gedrukt naar de origineele copye), 1733.

Sententie gepronuncieert ende geëxecuteert op ende jegens mr. Petrus Vuyst op dingsdag den 3. Juny 1732. Tot Batavia in Oost-Indien. (na een origineel copy van Batavia zoo ende gelyk het den gevange is voorgelese, getrouwelyk gedrukt 1733.), 1733.

Sententie, gewezen by den wel ed: raade van india, tegens den heere en mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen gouverneur van Ceylon. Geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 mey, 1732., 1732.

Sententie gewezen by den wel ed: RAADE van india, tegens den heere en mr. Petrus Vuyst, gewezen gouverneur van Ceylon. Geëxecuteert tot Batavia, den 19 mey, 1732. Waar agter gevoegt is de lyst der opontboden en particuliere perzoonen, die met deze in den jare 1733. Ingekome elf Oost-Indische retourschepen zyn gerepatriëert., 1733.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Batavian Torture and Capital Punishment 1729-1739 Database

Year	Month	Date	Name	Crime	Status	Ethnic	In relation with	Punishment	Post Mortem	Executioner	Salary	1.04.02	Death or Alive
1729	7	26	Jantje van Bengale	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Volkman	Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	2		A
1729	8	26	Onsonko	Theft	Chinese	Chinese		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	David Alexander	Theft	Mardijker	Indigenous		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	Matthijs Matthijszoon van Slensburg	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	Pieter van Axel van Amsterdam	Eunemael nonn Axel van	Timmerman	European		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	Serap	Theft	Vrij Balijer	Indigenous		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	Jonas	Theft	Vrij Maccassaer	Indigenous		Flogging		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		A
1729	8	26	Tambi Andiappa Eentisf	Theft		Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	4.5		A
1729	8	26	Ephraim Paulus	Quetsen		European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	6		A
1729	8	26	Torabi van Bougis	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Schik	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen (Brought to <i>Buitengerecht</i> and left for birds of prey)	Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	8		D
1729	8	26	Jantje van Bengale	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Volkman	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen. Right hand cut	Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	11		D
1729	10	11	Sidondot van Palembang	Interogation - Slave Diverije	Subject	Indigenous	Palembangse Afgezanten	Torture		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	2	9295	A
1729	10	11	Simoelja	Interogation - Slave Diverije	Subject	Indigenous	Palembangse Afgezanten	Torture		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1729	10	12	Simoelja	Interogation - Slave Diverije	Subject	Indigenous	Palembangse Afgezanten	Torture		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4	9295	A
1729	11	18	Jurgen Knoop van Essen	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettingganger	European		Flogging		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1729	11	20	Ceba van Soemba	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Flogging		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1729	11	25	Jan van der Steck	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging with knife above his head		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4.5	9295	A
1729	12	13	Dipat van Cheribon	Interogation	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1729	12	14	Dipat van Cheribon	Interogation	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4	9295	A
1729	12	16	Opo van Timor	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	6	9295	A
1729	12	16	Titi van Timor	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	6	9295	A
1729	?	?	Barent de Witt van Haerlem		Matroos	European			Corpse Burried	Christiaan Smaels van Hessen Cassel	3		
1730	2	7	Tjnan van Balij	Interogation - Moord and Thievery	Vrij Baleijer	Indigenous		Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1730	2	8	October van Nagapatnam	Interogation - Slaave dieveije	Slave	Indigenous	Jacob de Roij	Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4	9295	A
1730	2	8	Tjnan van Balij	Interogation - Moord	Vrij Baleijer	Indigenous		Torture and Flogging with Rod		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4	9295	A

1730	2	28	Dorinda van Mandhar	Interogation - Moord en Dieverij	Vrij gegeven Slave	Indigenous		Torture		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	2	9295	A
1730	3	18	Baatjo van Bougis	Theft	N/A	Indigenous		Flogging		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1730	3	18	Arnoldus van der Ster	suppine negligentie, blasphemie, en dieverij	Soldier	European		Flogging		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1730	3	18	Cesar van Bengale	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Abraham de Sahaije	Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	3	9295	A
1730	3	18	Carel Gillis van Hessencasse	Fraud	Matroos	European		BEDRIEGER, Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4.5	9295	A
1730	3	18	Tjo Tjwako	Theft	Chinese	Chinese		Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4.5	9295	A
1730	3	18	Lawa van Malaijo	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of van Alsem	Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4.5	9295	A
1730	3	18	Dipat van Cheribon	Theft	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	4.5	9295	A
1730	3	18	Sapata van Bougis	Fugie, Quetsen, Resistentie	Slave	Indigenous	Coopman Dirk Blom	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	6	9295	A
1730	3	18	October van Nagapatnam	Slaven Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Coopman Jacob de Roij	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	6	9295	A
1730	3	18	Tjjanan van Balij	Moord en Dieverij	Vrij Balijer	Indigenous		Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	8	9295	D
1730	3	18	Barkat van Bougis	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Governor General Diderik Durven	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	8	9295	D
1730	3	18	Sidondot van Palembang	Slaven Dieverij	Subject	Indigenous	Palembangse Afgezanten	Death by Hanging		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	8	9295	D
1730	3	18	Dorinda van Mandhar	Moord en Dieverij	Vrij gegeven Slave	Indigenous		Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen, Right Hand Cut and Stuck on A Pole	Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	11	9295	D
1730	3	18	Mantaja van Bougis	Moord en Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous		Spiked with iron pen from below alive	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	12	9295	D
1730	3	28	Adriaan van Niewenhoven van Amsterdam	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging and Branding		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	1	9295	A
1730	5	5	Schuijt van Bengalen	Sodomie	Slave	Indigenous	Scheepe Timmerlieden David de Sitter	Death by Water		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	12	9295	D
1730	5	5	Boos van Bengalen	Sodomie	Slave	Indigenous	Scheepe Timmerlieden David de Sitter	Death by Water		Coenraad Meijer van Bremen	12	9295	D
1731	7	7	Daniel Martenszoon van Femren	Moord	Matroos	European		Death by Hanging	Laten Begraven, Righ Hand Cut	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	11	9296	D
1731	10	10	Laurens van Elsen	Theft		Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	10	26	Tiembol van Sumbauwa	Interrombtioan	Slave	Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	10	26	Barkat van Balij	Interrogation		Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	10	27	Phebus van Bengalen	Interrogation	Slave	Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	10	29	Phebus van Bengalen	Interrogation	Slave	Indigenous		Tied to a pole		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	1	9296	A
1731	11	24	Galaga van Balij	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Anthonij Huijsman	Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	11	24	Kinnio van Batavia	Herbergen van Wanna en Sara		Chinese			Flogging	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1731	11	24	Jan Abrahamszoon van den Zee van Amsterdam	Manslag	Molenaer/miller	European		Sword above head		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	5	9296	A
1731	11	24	Abiaer van Balij	Crimen Laesae Majestatis		Indigenous		Breaking on cross	Head on Pike and Exposed	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	12.5	9296	D
1731	11	24	Phebus van Bengalen	Effraction and Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Cornelis Koning	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	8	9296	D
1731	11	24	Sara van Batavia	Fugie, Quetsen, Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Oppercoopman Abraham Minnendouk	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	8	9296	D
1731	11	24	Wanna van Batavia	Fugie, Quetsen, Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Mardijker	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	8	9296	D

1731	11	24	Tiembol van Sumbauwa	Moord en roof	Slave	Indigenous	Chinese Tja Tonko	Met een ijzere pen van onderen op levendig gespit	Op een pael geset mitsgaders door den dienaers van de justitie zoolange bewaert te werden tot dat zij zullen gestorven zijn wijders als dan hunne doode lichamen na het buijten geregt gebragt om aldaer de vogelen des hemels ten prooije gelaten te werdern	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	12	9296	D
1731	11	24	Barkat van Balij	Moord en roof	Weggelopen Slave	Indigenous	Chinese vrouw Khouw Kinnio	Met een ijzere pen van onderen op levendig gespit	Op een pael geset mitsgaders door den dienaers van de justitie zoolange bewaert te werden tot dat zij zullen gestorven zijn wijders als dan hunne doode lichamen na het buijten geregt gebragt om aldaer de vogelen des hemels ten prooije gelaten te werdern	Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	12	9296	D
1731			Ontong van Nias	Theft and Quetsen	Slave	Indigenous	Pieter Eijen	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	6	9296	A
1732	1	26	Ignatio D'Croes van Bengalen	Theft, Thievery, and Buying Stolen Goods	Free Person	Indigenous		Death by Hanging	Buijten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	8	9296	D
1732	1	26	Esan van Batavia	Theft, Thievery, and Buying Stolen Goods	Slave	Indigenous	Sabandar of Malacca, Johannes Kuyper	Death by Hanging	Buijten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	8	9296	D
1732	3	12	Hans Thomas van De Rijpe	Manslag	Sailor	European	Company	Torture and Flogging		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	3	13	Hans Thomas van De Rijpe	Manslag	Sailor	European	Company	Torture and Flogging		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	3	23	Wierappa van Malabaer	Inverroalviovian	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Afgesneeden		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	3	23	Carel Gillis van Hessencassel	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettinggangene	European	Company	Torture		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	3	23	Pieter Fredriks van Carelskroon	Euverros vonedriks van		European	Company	Torture		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	3	29	Harmanus Christiaanszoon van den Uijthoorn	Quetsen van mede matroos	Matroos	European	Company	Knife bove head, Floggin, and Branding					A
1732	3	29	Hendrik Schaap van Amsterdam	Moord aan den timmerman	Soldier	European	Company	Death by Hanging		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	8	9296	D
1732	3	29	Claas Jacobszoon Duijndam	Moord - Manslag	Matroos	European	Company	Death by Sword		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent			D

1732	7	19	Djamat van Boegis	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Member of Raad van Justitie, Gerardus Gerlag	Flogging		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	3	9296	A
1732	7	19	Thee Haij	Verbergen van gestoold goederen en het plegen van geweld	Chinese	Chinese		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	4.5	9296	A
1732	7	19	Daniel van Bengalen	Theft from Company's Pakhuijs	Slave	Indigenous		Death by Hanging		Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	6	9296	D
1732	7	19	Trinang van Balij	Moordadig Quetsen van slavinne	Slave	Indigenous	Dirk van Cloon	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; John van Den Berg; Marcus Drescher; Jan Berent	11	9296	D
1732	10	11	Batjo van Mandhar	Thievery and Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Alexander Plack	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + 25 years banishment to Rosingain in Banda + work without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1732	10	11	Leander van Bouton	Thievery and Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Gerardus Gerlag	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + 25 years banishment to Rosingain in Banda + work without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1732	10	11	Coridon van Mandhar	Thievery and Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Gerardus Gerlag	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	8	9297	D
1732	10	26	Seker Vermoord Licham	Thievery and Theft	Coridon's body	Indigenous			Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	1	9297	X
1732	11	1	Fredrik Pieterszoon van Archangel	Moord	Matroos	European		Torture		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1732	11	8	Caesar van Batavia	Moord - Help	Slave	Indigenous	Maria van Sow widow of Ondercoopman Daniel Cartje	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + flogging + 50 years banishment to Rosingain in Banda + work in chain without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1732	11	8	David van Balij	Moord - Help	Slave	Indigenous	Maria van Sow widow of Ondercoopman Daniel Cartje	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + flogging + 50 years banishment to Rosingain in Banda + work in chain without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1732	11	8	Daniel van Batavia	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Maria van Sow widow of Ondercoopman Daniel Cartje	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	20	9297	D
1732	11	16	Carel Gilliszoon van Hessencasse	Theft		European		Flogging		Johannes Prom, Christoffel Lang	3	9296	A
1732	12	5	Jacob Cornelist van Pukhujiten	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging + 3 years banishment to Rosingain in Banda + work in chain without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	1	23	Theodorus Miekens van Middleburg	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettinggang	European		Flogging		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	1	23	Roel van Batavia	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettinggang	Indigenous		Flogging		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	1	28	Seker Schriptuur	X	X	X		Torn to Pieces and Burnt		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	X

1733	2	24	Abraham Fraus van Kinten	?	Matroos	European		Flogging		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	5	9	Barkat van Boegis	Injuring European Military Guard	Slave	Indigenous	Ondercoopman Diederik van Den Sandheuze	Flogging		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	5	9	Ontong van Maccassar	Injuring European Military Guard	Slave	Indigenous	Ondercoopman Diederik van Den Sandheuze	Flogging		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	3	9297	A
1733	5	9	Anthonij van Bengalen	Injuring fellow slave Juliana van Batam	Slave	Indigenous	Jonannes Heeden	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + flogging + 25 years work in chain without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1733	5	9	Miera van Mallabaer	Injuring fellow slave Leppe van Mallabar	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Rope around neck in gallows and expose + flogging + 25 years work in chain without payment		Johanna Prom; Mancus Dresscher; Johannes Susart	6	9297	A
1733	7	28	Martha Bintang van Manipa	Interogation - Moord	Inlands Burger	Indigenous	Widow of Inlands Burger Matthijs Lawalatoe	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	1	9298	A
1733	8	9	Aurora de Groote van Jambij	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture and Hair		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9298	A
1733	8	9	Augustus van Boegis	Moord - Murder of fellow slave Fortuijn van Batavia, Sipo, and Abdulla	Slave	Indigenous	Coopman Lambert van Muijden	Breaking on cross		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9298	D
1733	8	17	Abdul van Batavia	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture and Hair		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9298	A
1733	9	26	Tamatij van Boegis	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture and Hair		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9298	A
1733	9	28	Tamatij van Boegis	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9298	A
1733	10	12	Caranassang van Balij	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Raad Extraordinaris van India Jacob Christian	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	1	9298	A
1733	10	17	Balij van Balij	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	2	9298	A
1733	10	19	Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa	Interogation	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	2	9298	A
1733	11	4	Tamatij van Boegis	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Breaking on cross		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9298	D
1733	12	12	Raim van Maleijo	InnrrojonioM	Slave	Indigenous	Inlands heeren Alexander Anthonijsz	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9298	A
1733	12	12	Sweenie Kalkhoven van Utregt	Eunerrovenonalkhoven van	Soldaat	European		Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9298	A
1733	12	12	Batjo van Bengalen		Slave	Indigenous	Clerq Anthonij Uldrich Hellenaer	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4.5	9298	A
1733	12	12	Conraet Stockman uijt 't Graafschap	Quetsen	Soldaat	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4.5	9298	A
1733	12	12	Rijndeert Claaszoon van Leeuwarden	Eunjrrosznon Claaszoon van	Matroos	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9298	A
1733	12	12	Junius van Boegis	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9298	A
1733	12	12	Touroukia van Boegis	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9298	A
1733	12	12	Anthonij Radee van Brugge	Moord - Homicide	Timmerman	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	8	9298	D
1733	12	12	Aurora de Groote van Jambij	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Death by Hanging	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9298	D
1733	12	12	Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Death by Hanging	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9298	D
1733	12	12	Caranassang van Balij	Moord van medeslaav	Slave	Indigenous	Raad Extraordinaris van India Jacob Christian	Death by Hanging	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	8	9298	D
1733	12	12	Martha Bintang van Manipa/Amboina	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Inlands Burger	Indigenous	Widow of Inlands Burger Matthijs Lawalatoe	Breaking on cross	Head on Pike and Exposed	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9298	D
1733	12	12	Abdul van Batavia	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Slave	Indigenous		Breaking on cross	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9298	D

1733	12	12	Baris van Balij	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Slave	Indigenous		Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9298	D
1733	12	12	Carel van Batavia	Moord - Maritidii Veneficii et Affasinii	Slave	Indigenous	Joachim Guilbout	Breaking on cross	Head between legs and buiten geregt vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	20	9298	D
1734	1	29	Jacobus Verkroost van Utrecht	Interrogation - Sodomie	Matroos	European		Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	2	9298	A
1734	1	30	Jurgen Jacobsz van Smirna	Interrogation - Sodomie	Matroos	European		Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9298	A
1734	2	20	Cornelis Adriaanszoon Schooten van Amsterdam	Sodomie	Constapelmaat	European		Death by Water		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	12	9298	D
1734	2	20	Jacobus Verkroost van Utrecht	Sodomie	Matroos	European		Death by Water		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	12	9298	D
1734	5	4	Jacob Aldersen van Wittingen	Interrogation	Soldaat	European		Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	5	10	Willem Waserman van den Briel	Sodomie	Scheepetimmerman	European		Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	2	9299	A
1734	5	10	Ferdinand van Amboina	Sodomie	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Galle	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9299	A
1734	5	11	Ferdinand van Amboina	Sodomie	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Galle	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9299	A
1734	5	11	Oenoek van Macasser	Interrogation - Moord	Vrij Gegeven Slaaf	Indigenous	Chinees Ketjo	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9299	A
1734	5	12	Oenoek van Macasser	Interrogation - Moord	Vrij Gegeven Slaaf	Indigenous	Chinees Ketjo	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4	9299	A
1734	6	24	Pangoedjoe	Interrogation - Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Wilkene	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	6	25	Pangoedjoe	Interrogation - Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Wilkene	Torture		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	2	9299	A
1734	7	14	Jan Verbaars van Sas van gent	Falsiteit	Matroos	European		Falsaris, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	7	14	Jacobus Runnegam van ter veer	Falsiteit	Timmerman	European		Falsaris, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	7	14	April van Boegis	Stealing Garioffel-nagelen	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Verboom	Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	7	14	Jacob Aldersen van Wittingen	Theft	Soldaat	European		Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	3	9299	A
1734	7	14	Frans Keijaars van Brussel	Crimen Falsi		European		Falsaris, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4.5	9299	A
1734	7	14	David van Bengalen	Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4.5	9299	A
1734	7	14		Quetsen	Matroos	European		Flogging with knife above his head		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9299	A
1734	7	14	Augustus van Gorontalo	Stealing Garioffel-nagelen	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Rengers	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9299	A
1734	7	14	Cupido van Bengalen	Stealing Garioffel-nagelen	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Perx	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9299	A
1734	7	14	Fortuijn van Boegis	Stealing Garioffel-nagelen	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Rengers	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9299	A
1734	7	14	Frans Bavelaer van Lijden	Moord - Homicide	Timmerman	European		Death by Sword	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	10	9299	D
1734	7	14	Robia van Mandhaer	Moord - Poisoning Lijfheer and Lijfvrouw	Slave	Indigenous	Ondercoopman Hendrik Holstijn	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9299	D
1734	7	14	Pangoedjoe	Moord - Providing the poison	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Wilkene	Breaking on cross	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9299	D
1734	11	20	Jan Marteus van Bostgraafdiik	Quetsen		European		Flogging		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	4.5	9299	A
1734	11	20	Jurgen Michiis Jonkhans van Hamburg	Quetsen		European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	6	9299	A
1734	11	20	Jonas Kort van Delft	Sodomie		European		Death by Water		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	10	9299	D
1734	11	20	Hendrik Grovvelt van Amsterdam	Sodomie		European		Death then thrown to sea	Thrown to The Sea	Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	17	9299	D
1734	12	15	Leander van Boegis	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Krudop	Breaking on cross		Johannes Prom; Johannes Susart	20	9299	D
1735	4	5	Manbak	Quetsen van sigsleve	Javaan Kettingganger	Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1735	4	20	Augustus van Madagasker	Verfoeijelijke sonde met een hoen	Slave	Indigenous		Flogging					A
1735	4	23	Cesar van Bengalen	Quetsen van een slavin	Slave	Indigenous	Jacob Wognum	Noose, Knife above head, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	7.5	9300	A
1735	4	23	Oenoek van Macassar	Moord	Vrij Gegeven Slave	Indigenous	Chinees Ketjo	Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	6	9300	D

1735	4	23	Boegis van Banjar	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Ondercoopman Vincent van Wijn Garden	Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	8	9300	D
1735	5	4	Sigarrip	Breaking from their chain and running away	Javaan Kettingganger	Indigenous		Flogging					A
1735	5	9	Jan Andries Skaland van Alburg	Morshandel in Specerijen	Skieman	European		Torture		Johannes Susart	2	9300	A
1735	5	11	Evert van der Pel van Utrecht	Morshandel in Specerijen	Botteliers maat	European		Torture		Johannes Susart	2	9300	A
1735	8	3	Caba Caba van Balij	Moord	Kettingganger	Indigenous		Breaking on cross		Johannes Susart	8	9300	D
1735	10	1	Martin Janszoon van Schartogenbos	Sodomie	Matroos	European		Death by Water		Johannes Susart	12	9300	D
1735	10	7	Augustus van Boegies	Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding				9299	A
1736	1	25	Troesima van Boegis	Interogation - Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Oud Opperchirurgijn Joan Joachim Cogh	Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A
1736	2	1	Andries Kalleberg van Leeuwarden	Theft	Matroos	European		Knife bove head, Floggin, and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9300	A
1736	2	1	Jan de Chorida van Bengalen		Inlands Soldaat	Indigenous				Johannes Susart	4.5	9300	A
1736	2	11	Anthonij van Balij	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	Aris van Mandhar	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	September van Padang	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	Ambrosius van Mallabaer	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Anthonij Janzson	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	Februarij van Mallabaer	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Joan de Mauregnault	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	Pedro van Bengalen	Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	2	11	Job van Sumbauwa	Housebreak and Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4	9300	A
1736	2	11	Batjo van Mandhar	Quetsen	Slave	Indigenous	Horologiemaker Jacob Noorberg	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A
1736	2	11	Patani van Ternaten	Sodomie	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A
1736	2	11	April van Timor	Theft	Slave	Indigenous		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A
1736	2	11	Troesima van Boegis	Zware Suspicie van Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Oud Opperchirurgijn Joan Joachim Cogh	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A
1736	2	11	Alexander van Boegis	Lenocimio Proximum - Adultery	Slave	Indigenous	Landdrost Justinius Vink	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	4	9300	D
1736	2	11	Alexander van Ceylon	Quetsen - Stealing and Quetsen to two free person	Slave	Indigenous	Predicant Johannes HenricusHeijdeggers	Death by Hanging	Buiten geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9300	D
1736	3	17	Jacobus van Bunnegam van Terveer	Insolentien tegens den Schildwacht en feijtelijk attentatet tegen de Geene welke over hem gevangen den opas heeft gehad	Kettingganger	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9300	A
1736	3	24	Batjo van Boegis	Theft and Fugie	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Baillet	Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	3	24	Jacob Hanszoon van Tonderen	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	3	24	Matthijs Meijboom van Rotterdam	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	3	24	Theunis de Vrij Nieuwenhuijsen	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9300	A
1736	3	24	Moris van Aart van Gouda	Quetsen	Matroos	European		Galg		Johannes Susart	6	9300	A

1736	3	24	Cornelis van Meere van Pijn	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Flogging and Branding						A
1736	3	24	Floris van Aart van Gouda	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding						A
1736	3	24	Hendrik Barlets van Groeningen	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding						A
1736	3	24	Jan Oppe van Grijsserkerke	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding						A
1736	3	24	Jacob Hanszoon van Tonderen	Theft and Breaking	Matroos	European								A
1736	3	24	Arij Claaszoon van Pilworm	Theft and Breaking	Quartiermeester	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods					D
1736	3	24	Ferdinand Salomons van Gents	Theft and Breaking	Quartiermeester	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods					D
1736	3	24	Hendrik Meeuwes van Hamburg	Theft and Breaking	Quartiermeester	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods					D
1736	5	17	Djoemaet van Balij	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Oppercoopman Wijnerut	Breaking on cross	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	10	9300		D
1736	9	20	Catjong van Boegies	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Company	Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1736	9	26	December van Balij	Theft and Arson	Slave	Indigenous	Opperchirurgijn Cornelis Everhard	Flogging and Branding						A
1736	9	26	Meij van Boegis	Theft and Arson	Slave	Indigenous	Opperchirurgijn Cornelis Everhard	Flogging and Branding						A
1736	10	14	Johannes Zegelaar Oudruijn van Rotterdam	Vuijle faieten tegens de nature	10 year old matroos	European		Flogging						A
1736	10	17	December van Balij	Theft and Arson	Slave	Indigenous	Opperchirurgijn Cornelis Everhard	Flogging and Branding						A
1736	10	17	Meij van Boegis	Theft and Arson	Slave	Indigenous	Opperchirurgijn Cornelis Everhard	Flogging and Branding						A
1736	12	1	Bangza Wiria van Praccamontjang	Bedrog		Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Susart	1.5	9301		A
1736	12	1	Prama Jasa van Glongen	Bedrog		Indigenous		Flogging		Johannes Susart	1.5	9301		A
1736	12	1	Anthonij van Malabaer	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Ondercoopman Gregorius Metske	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1736	12	1	Mandora van Mandhar	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Schouten	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1736	12	1	Backar van Malleijer	Theft	Vrij Malleijer	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1736	12	1	Mannie	Theft	Vrij Malleijer	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1736	12	1	Tjandra Wiria van Praccamontjang	Bedrog		Indigenous		Bordje om den hals waer op de gevangen staet bedrigenrs te pronk, Flogging		Johannes Susart	4.5	9301		A
1736	12	1	Evert van der Pol van Utrecht	Morshandel in Specerijen	Botteliersmaet	European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9301		A
1736	12	1	Aron van Maccasser	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Abraham Fauconier	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9301		A
1736	12	1	Jan Andries Skaland van Alburg	Morshandel in Specerijen		European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding						A
1736	12	1	Marada van Balij	Publica geweld en amok speelen	Slave	Indigenous	Isaac van Schinne	* Breaking on cross - changed to Hanging	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9301		D
1736	12	1	Carang van Balij	Publica geweld en amok speelen	Slave	Indigenous	Isaac van Schinne	* Breaking on cross - changed to Hanging	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9301		D
1736	12	1	Jan Janszoon van Duffelen	Dieverij, Morsserij, en Sluijke handel in Specerijen	Boswagters	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Susart	8	9301		D
1736	12	1	Passchier Norbertus Dupree	Dieverij, Morsserij, en Sluijke handel in Specerijen	Boswagters	European		Death by Hanging	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Susart	8	9301		D
1737	2	28	Joeda van Tagal	Interogation - Moord en Dieverij	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1737	5	25	Ontong van Boegies	Moord en Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Elizabeth van Doornist widow of Schipper Adrian van Langestraten	Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A
1737	5	25	Oursson van Sendauwe	Seductie van de Slavinne Deember van Mallabaer en Mercurius van Ternaten	Slave	Indigenous	Pieter Hagedoorn	Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9301		A

1737	5	25	Que Hancko	Theft	Chinees	Chinese		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9301	A
1737	5	25	Batjo van Sumbauwa	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Krijnsigh	Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9301	A
1737	5	25	Philander van Batavia	Doodslag aan seker lijfeigen van den gewesene burger en eijkmeester Jan Pit in name Pat zara	Slave	Indigenous	Gerardus Gerlag	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9301	A
1737	5	25	Paul van Mallabaer	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Widow of Sas	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9301	A
1737	5	25	Tangerang van de Cust	Theft	Slave	Indigenous	Inlands Burger Pasquaaldelinga	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9301	A
1737	5	25	Maert van Boegis	Moord en Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Cornelis Jurriaens	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9301	D
1737	5	25	Lawang van Mandaer	Moord en Dieverij	Slave	Indigenous	Elizabeth van Doornist widow of Schipper Adrian van Langestraten	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9301	D
1737	5	25	Joeda van Tagal	Moord en Dieverij	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Death by Hanging	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9301	D
1737	6	28	Hendrik Barlets van Groeningen	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettingganger	European	Company	Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9301	A
1738	4	14	Adjang	Interrogation	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	4	23	Theodorus Wilkens van Middelburg	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettingganger	European		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	6	4	Jan Oppe van Grijsserkerke	Breaking from their chain and running away	Kettingganger	European		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	7	17	Laloe van Bengalen	Sodomie	Moor	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	5	9302	A
1738	9	25	Sangsie alias Gopen van Balij	Steelen en vervoeren van slaven	Slave	Indigenous	Balier Jonker	Death by Hanging	Buiten gereg voor vogelen				D
1738	9	26	Fortuijn van Boegis alias Bappa Sapia	Interrogation - Baucheren en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Burger Matthius Roos	Torture		Johannes Susart	1	9302	A
1738	9	26	Bappa Gomin alias Bappa Goentoer van Balij	Interrogation - Baucheren en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Mardijker	Indigenous		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	5	9302	A
1738	9	27	Bappa Gomin alias Bappa Goentoer van Balij	Interrogation - Baucheren en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Mardijker	Indigenous		Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	10	8	Fortuijn van Bengalen	Beklimmen van 't Compagnies post voor genomene diefstal en resistentie tegens den post houder	Slave	Indigenous	Kruijmakers Carel Gabriel	Flogging					A
1738	10	15	Cupido van Boegis	Verlijden en de Baucheren van Lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Burger Appolonius van Hoogstraten	Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	10	15	Cupido van Boegis	Verlijden en de Baucheren van medeslaav Thomas van Timoor	Slave	Indigenous	Coopman Pieterzoon	Torture		Johannes Susart	3	9302	A
1738	10	15	Waijhan van Balij alias Nieij Peek	Baucheren steelen en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen - van alles kennisse gehad en omtrend sommige de behulpzame hand geboden heeft	Slave	Indigenous	Chinees Nio Peek	Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9302	A
1738	10	15	Jacobus Josephus Staat van Antwerpen	Sodomie	Jong Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding					A
1738	10	15	Adjang	Moord	Vrij Javaanse Vrouw	Indigenous		Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	6	9302	D
1738	10	15	Fortuijn van Boegis alias Bappa Sapia	Moord - Baucheren en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Burger Matthius Roos	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9302	D
1738	10	15	Mambalmede van Balij	Moord - Vermoorden van een Bougineese jonge	Slave	Indigenous	Vrij Balijer vrouw Elsa	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9302	D

1738	10	15	Sanjang van Balij	Moord - Vermoorden van een Bougineese jonge	Slave	Indigenous	Vrij Balijer Kiej Bona	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	8	9302	D
1738	10	15	Sampoerna van Boegies	Moord - Baucheren steelen en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Vrij Balijer Crebacan	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	17	9302	D
1738	10	15	Tsieboer van Balij	Moord - Baucheren steelen en Vermoorden van Lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Vrij Balijer Bappa Ketjil	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	17	9302	D
1738	12	6	On Tienko	Morshandel in Specerijen nootmuskaten	Chinese	Chinese		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	4.5	9302	A
1738	12	6	Gerrit Crul	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding					A
1738	12	6	Hendrik Velker	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding					A
1738	12	6	Hendrik Wessel	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Matroos	European		Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding					A
1738	12	6	Januarij van Boegis	Moord	Slave	Indigenous	Schipper Willem Jurnhout	Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	8	9302	D
1738	12	6	Januarij van Boegis	Enorme en Gewelddadige Diefstal	Slave	Indigenous	Schipper Willem Jurnhout	Death by Hanging	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	1	9302	D
1738	12	6	Christoffel Wojs van Fredrikstad	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Matroos	European		Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	6	9302	D
1738	12	6	Claas Ernstmeijer van Enkhuijsen	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Quartiermeester	European		Death by Hanging		Johannes Susart	8	9302	D
1738	12	6	Jan Schaaffen	Steelen van buskruijt uijt voormalige Tanjongpouras	Quartiermeester	European		Death by Hanging					D
1739	2	28	Bopeng van Cheribon	Steelen van een Joeking en 't aufigeeren	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous		Torture		Johannes Susart	4.5	9302	A
1739	2	28	Pieter de Vries van Dortregt	Crime Furti Falsi apoculatus	Adsistent	European	Company	Noose, Pronk, Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9302	A
1739	4	11	November van Balij	Moord - Vermoorden van lijfeijgen	Slave	Indigenous	Boekhouder Steven de Leeuw	Breaking on cross	Buiten gereg voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	12	9302	D
1739	7	6	Alexander van Eijk van Amsterdam	Theft	Quartiermeester	European		Flogging		Johannes Susart	6	9304	A
1739	7	6	April van Bengalen	Quetsen	Moorse Matroos	Indigenous				Johannes Susart	6	9304	A
1739	7	7	Alexander van Eijk van Amsterdam	Theft		European				Johannes Susart	1	9304	A
1739	7	7	Seker request							Johannes Susart	3	9304	A
1739	7	25	Adam Wolff van Utrecht	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9304	A
1739	7	25	Jan Pieterszoon Onckergem van Meulen	Theft	Matroos	European		Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9304	A
1739	7	25	Bappa Akier van Balie	Getrampeert te hebben in het afkappen en steelen van een ende van het ankertouw van het inlading leggende retourschip Ruijven	Slave	Indigenous	Vrij Balijer Intje Mochamet	Flogging		Johannes Susart	3	9304	A
1739	7	25	Willem Laurens Wolberg van Keulen	Theft	Kok	European		Flogging		Johannes Susart	4.5	9304	A
1739	7	25	Jan van Soest van Onderbos	Quetsen van een ander met een mes		European		Flogging and Branding		Johannes Susart	6	9304	A
1739	7	25	Cornelis Kreddi van 'sGravenhage	Moord - Manslag		European		Onthofd		Johannes Susart	10	9304	D
1739	8	15	Manico van Bengale	Sodomie	Moorse Matroos	Indigenous		Death by water	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Susart	12	9304	D

1739	8	15	Simon van Bengale	Sodomie	Moorse Matroos	Indigenous		Death by water	Confiscation of goods	Johannes Susart	12	9304	D
1739	10	2	Dirk Vellhuijsen van Rotterdam	Theft	Matroos	European				Johannes Susart	1.5	9304	A
1739	10	2	Seker soldaat							Johannes Susart	3	9304	A
1739	11	15	Saremon van Balij	Moord aan medeslave	Slave	Indigenous	Sabandar en licentmeester Zacheus Storzak	Breaking on cross	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	10	9304	D
1739	11	15	Hans Hendrikszoon van Lubek	Moord - Manslag	Matroos	European		Breaking on cross	Buizen geregt voor vogelen	Johannes Susart	10	9304	D

Appendix 2. Time Delay between Torture date to Execution date in Batavia 1729-1739 Database

Year	Month	Date	Name	Status	Ethnic	Punishment	Post Mortem	Salary	1.04.02	DOA
1733	8	17	Abdul van Batavia	Slave	Indigenous	Torture and Hair		3	9298	A
1733	12	12	Abdul van Batavia	Slave	Indigenous	Death with Torture		17	9298	D
1738	4	14	Adjang	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous	Torture		3	9302	A
1738	10	15	Adjang	Vrij Javaanse Vrouw	Indigenous	Death by Hanging		6	9302	D
1733	8	9	Aurora de Groote van Jambij	Slave	Indigenous	Torture and Hair		3	9298	A
1733	12	12	Aurora de Groote van Jambij	Slave	Indigenous	Galg		6	9298	D
1733	10	19	Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		2	9298	A
1733	12	12	Aurora de Kleene van Sumbauwa	Slave	Indigenous	Galg		6	9298	D
1733	5	9	Barkat van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Flogging		3	9297	A
1730	3	18	Barkat van Bougis	Slave	Indigenous	Dead		8	9295	D
1733	10	12	Caranassang van Balij	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		1	9298	A
1733	12	12	Caranassang van Balij	Slave	Indigenous	Galg		8	9298	D
1730	3	18	Cesar van Bengale	Slave	Indigenous	Flogging and Branding		3	9295	A
1735	4	23	Cesar van Bengalen	Slave	Indigenous	Death by Hanging		7.5	9300	D
1730	2	28	Dorinda van Mandhar	N/A	Indigenous	Torture		2	9295	A
1730	3	18	Dorinda van Mandhar	N/A	Indigenous	Dead	Right Hand Cut and Stuck on A Pole	11	9295	D
1738	9	26	Fortuijn van Boegis alias Bappa Sapia	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		1	9302	A
1738	10	15	Fortuijn van Boegis alias Bappa Sapia	Slave	Indigenous	Death with Cross and Torture		8	9302	D
1734	1	29	Jacobus Verkroost van Utrecht	Matroos	European	Torture		2	9298	A
1734	2	20	Jacobus Verkroost van Utrecht	Matroos	European	Death by Water		12	9298	D
1738	11	1	Januarij van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		1	9302	A
1738	11	6	Januarij van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Death by Hanging		8	9302	D
1737	2	28	Joeda van Tagal	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous	Torture		3	9301	A
1737	5	25	Joeda van Tagal	Vrij Javaan	Indigenous	Death by Hanging		8	9301	D
1733	7	28	Martha Bintang van Manipa	Inlands Burger	Indigenous	Torture		1	9298	A
1733	12	12	Martha Bintang van Manipa	Inlands Burger	Indigenous	Death with Torture		17	9298	D
1730	2	8	October van Nagapatnam	Slave	Indigenous	Torture and Flogging with Rod		4	9295	A
1730	3	18	October van Nagapatnam	Slave	Indigenous	Dead		6	9295	D
1734	6	24	Pangoedjoe	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		3	9299	A
1734	6	25	Pangoedjoe	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		2	9299	A
1734	7	14	Pangoedjoe	Slave	Indigenous	Death with Torture		17	9299	D
1729	10	11	Sidondot van Palembang	Subject	Indigenous	Torture		2	9295	A
1730	3	18	Sidondot van Palembang	Subject	Indigenous	Dead		8	9295	D
1733	9	26	Tamatij van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Torture and Hair		4	9298	A
1733	9	28	Tamatij van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Torture		3	9298	A
1733	11	4	Tamatij van Boegis	Slave	Indigenous	Death with Torture		17	9298	D
1730	2	7	Tjinan van Balij	N/A	Indigenous	Torture		3	9295	A
1730	2	8	Tjinan van Balij	N/A	Indigenous	Torture and Flogging with Rod		4	9295	A
1730	3	18	Tjinan van Balij	Vrij Balijer	Indigenous	Broken		8	9295	D