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Female Culinary Knowledge: Exchange and Isolation between Cookbooks from
the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands (1850s-1910s)

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Iolanda Anaïs Munck

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Univ.-Prof. Dr. Anna Maria Echterhölter M.A.

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Abstract (English)

This thesis examines the interregional isolation and transfer of the diversity of knowledge within female colonial domestic networks of culinary knowledge between the Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies and the corresponding women from the middle- and upper-classes in the Netherlands between the 1850s and the 1910s. Using a comparative approach of the culinary cultures of The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies this thesis documents their complex interrelations with regard to Dutch Colonial narratives. Additionally, the thesis analyses the wide-ranging impacts of the increased interregional travel of commodities, are highlighted for individuals, and knowledge between the two regions after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal by effects such as the increased hybridisation of dishes, and of culinary knowledge. The comparison primarily centres *Aaltje De Volmaakte Keukenmeid: Nieuw Nederlands Keukenboek voor Koks, Keukenmeiden en Huismoeders*, published by D. Noothoven van Goor in 1867, the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproefde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken* collected by G. C. T. van Dorp and published in 1866, *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool* by A. C. Manden, published by de Gebroeders van Cleef in 1895, and the *Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland* by Catenius van der Meijden published by G. T. C. van Dorp in 1902. This comparison, thereby, distinguishes between different types of knowledge which was exchanged or isolated within these female colonial domestic networks of culinary knowledge. The first chapter, thus, specifically focusses on the exchange of ecological knowledge and socio-ecological knowledge by analysing the complex reciprocal exchange of ingredients between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Whereas the second chapter researches social knowledge and social contexts of food consumption by surveying the social implications of the dish concepts and culinary norms, as well as the explicitly referenced social context within these cookbooks, which were largely regionally isolated. Subsequently, the third chapter is based on technical and scientific knowledge and highlights the reciprocal exchange of preservation techniques, scientific culinary knowledge, and both culinary tools and the connected culinary techniques. The fourth chapter, thereafter, discusses the process of the knowledge exchange between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands itself, by emphasising the Malay-Dutch linguistic translation within these cookbooks as well as overviewing the processes of which these cookbooks adapted imported recipes to local culinary norms. Lastly, the fifth and final chapter outlines the specific processes of hybridisation of culinary knowledge caused by this interregional exchange and isolation of culinary knowledge within these female colonial domestic networks of culinary knowledge between the Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies and the corresponding women from the middle- and upper- classes in the Netherlands during this period.

Keywords: female knowledge networks, Dutch colonial history, food history, global history

Abstract (Deutsch)

Diese Masterarbeit analysiert den interregionalen Austausch sowie auch die Isolation von verschiedenen Wissensformen welche in den weiblichen kolonialen Netzwerken von Haushaltswissen zwischen den niederländischsprachigen Frauen in Niederländisch-Indien und den entsprechenden Frauen der sozio-ökonomischen Mittel- und Oberschicht in den Niederlanden zwischen 1850, und 1910. Mittels dieser detaillierten vergleichenden Struktur hebt diese Masterarbeit, außerdem das komplexe Verhältnis der Kochkulturen innerhalb dieser interregionalen Netzwerke zu den Niederländischen kolonialen Narrativen hervor. Darüber hinaus untersucht diese Masterarbeit die bestimmten Auswirkungen der Öffnung des Suez Kanals in 1869 auf diese interregionalen Netzwerke und den Wissensaustausch mit Schwerpunkt auf die folgende Hybridisierung des Kochwissens innerhalb Niederländisch-Indien und den Niederlanden. Diese Masterarbeit benutzt hierfür vor allem die folgenden Werke: *Aaltje De Volmaakte Keukenmeid: Nieuw Nederlands Keukenboek voor Koks, Keukenmeiden en Huismoeders*, herausgegeben von D. Noothoven van Goor in 1867, das *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproeftde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken* zusammengestellt von G. C. T. van Dorp und herausgegeben in 1866, *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool* von A. C. Manden, herausgegeben von De Gebroeders van Cleef in 1895, und, letztendlich, das *Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland* von Catenius van der Meijden herausgegeben von G. T. C. van Dorp in 1902. Innerhalb von dieser Analyse unterscheidet diese Masterarbeit zwischen unterschiedlichen Formen von Wissen innerhalb dieses Haushaltswissens. So konzentriert sich das erste Kapitel dieser Arbeit vor allem auf biologisches und sozio-biologisches Wissen über Zutaten welches in komplexen, wechselseitigen Strukturen zwischen Niederländisch-Indien und den Niederlanden ausgetauscht wurde. Das zweite Kapitel fokussiert sich dahingegen hauptsächlich auf die Analyse des sozialen Wissens, welches nur wenig ausgetauscht wurde zwischen Niederländisch-Indien und den Niederlanden. Anschließend, untersucht das dritte Kapitel den wechselwirkenden interregionalen Austausch von technischem Kochwissen welches Konservierungstechniken, wissenschaftliches Kochwissen und sowohl die Kochutensilien als auch die dazugehörigen Kochverfahren beinhaltet. Das vierte Kapitel bespricht die bestimmten Prozesse innerhalb dieser unterschiedlichen Formen des Wissensaustausches. Dies beinhaltet vor allem die wechselwirkenden sprachlichen Übersetzungen zwischen Malaiisch und Niederländisch sowie auch die lokale kulturelle Interpretation der importierten Rezepte, Zutaten, und Kochtechniken. Zuletzt, untersucht das fünfte Kapitel die unterschiedlichen Formen der Hybridisierung dieser verschiedenen Wissensformen, welche bedingt sind durch diesen interregionalen Wissensaustausch.

Keywords: weibliche Wissensnetzwerke, Niederländisches Kolonialwesen, Ernährungsgeschichte, Globalgeschichte

Introduction

“Menige kokkie doet een Hollandsche vrouw verbaasd staan over hare vaardigheid in keukenzaken. Vele moeilijke Europese gerechten bereiden zij op een goede en gemakkelijke wijze.” (“Many Indonesian female cooks will surprise a Dutch woman with her skill in the kitchen. They can prepare many difficult European dishes in good and easy ways.”) – Catenius van der Meijden, Semarang, 1902.¹

Catenius van der Meijden wrote this statement in the introduction to her Dutch-language cookbook of Dutch-Indonesian recipes for Dutch colonial home-makers in both The Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Van der Meijden continued by evaluating the culinary knowledge which, according to her, a Dutch colonial homemaker could expect from female Indonesian cooks depending on their previous employment either in urban or rural households.² Van der Meijden, thereby, forwarded a colonial hierarchy based on cultural performances and politics of knowledge rather than promoting a colonial segregation based exclusively on social-Darwinistic notions of race. This, moreover, reflected the overall construction of ethnic boundaries in Dutch colonialism during the nineteenth century. Van der Meijden herself was, for example, one of numerous colonial home-makers in the nineteenth century Dutch East Indies of Indische³ descent. Under the Dutch colonial administration of the time these homemakers were understood as exclusively “Dutch” despite their influences from both their Dutch colonial environment and their Indonesian mothers or grandmothers. As Christina Nope-Williams and Susie Protschky have argued, ethnicity and gendered colonial status in the nineteenth-century Dutch East Indies was, thus, centrally defined by both administrative status and the performance of Dutch social knowledge.⁴ Knowledge and the Management of knowledge was, therefore, central both in reflecting and in defining the gendered dynamics both within the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands during this time period.⁵ In this connection, this thesis specifically examined the interregional isolation and transfer of the diversity of knowledge within female colonial domestic networks of cooking cultures between the Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies and the corresponding women from the middle- and upper- classes in the Netherlands.

¹Catenius van der Meijden, *Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel*¹ met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland (G. T. C. van Dorp, 1902), vii.

²Ibid.

³See glossary for a translation and discussion of this term.

⁴This Dutch social and cultural knowledge included, for instance, knowledge of the Dutch language, of Dutch social norms, Dutch consumer culture, and, as illustrated by this statement by Van der Meijden, culinary knowledge.

⁵Christina Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction: The Impact of Colonization in Indonesian Society,” in *Routledge Handbook of Food in Asia*, ed. Cecilia Leong-Salobir (Routledge, 2019), 58-72, and Susie Protschky, “The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no. 3 (2008): 346-357.

The thesis, hereby, relied primarily on the comparative analysis of cookbooks published in the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands published between the 1860s⁶ and 1910s.⁷ By focussing on cookbooks published in this timeframe, the thesis particularly considered the wide-ranging impacts of both industrialisation and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 on the female knowledge networks in both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. More specifically this thesis compared the diversity of knowledge within the fourteenth print of *Aaltje De Volmaakte Keukenmeid: Nieuw Nederlands Keukenboek voor Koks, Keukenmeiden en Huismoeders*⁸ (*Aaltje 14*) by Aaltje, published by D. Noothoven van Goor in 1867, the first print of the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproefde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken*⁹ (*Indisch Kookboek*) collected by G. C. T. van Dorp, published in 1866, the first print of *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool*¹⁰ (*Haagsche Kookschool*) by A. C. Manden, published by De Gebroeders van Cleef in 1895, and the *Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel*¹¹ *met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland*¹² (*Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*) by Catenius van der Meijden published by G. T. C. van Dorp in 1902.

Through the analysis of specifically the various forms of culinary knowledge of female homemakers, including the ecological, socio-ecological, social, technical, scientific, linguistic, and interregionally hybridised knowledge within these cookbooks, this thesis offers an addition to the existing works on colonial foodways and female domestic knowledge networks in British colonialism, for example, by Troy Bickham,¹³ Cecilia Leong-Salobir,¹⁴ and Jonathan Robins,¹⁵

⁶The 1860s was when the first commercial cookbooks in the Dutch language were published in the Dutch East Indies. See G. C. T. van Dorp, ed., *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproefde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken* (G. C. T. van Dorp, 1866), 1.

⁷As, for example, illustrated by Lauren Janes et. al, the advent of the First World War introduced fundamental changes to culinary performance and the management of domestic knowledge globally. Therefore, cookbooks published after 1914 fall outside the scope of this thesis. See Lauren Janes, April Merleaux, Helen Zoe Veit, Alice Weinred, and Samuel Yamashita, "World War I and the Origins of the Modern Food System," *Global Food History* 5, no. 3 (2019): 224.

⁸*Aaltje, the Perfect Kitchen Maid: New Dutch Cookbook for Cooks, Kitchen Maids, and Homemakers*. Aaltje, *Aaltje De Volmaakte Keukenmeid: Nieuw Nederlands Keukenboek voor Koks, Keukenmeiden en Huismoeders* (D. Noothoven van Goor, 1867).

⁹*Cookbook from the Dutch East Indies with 456 Verified Recipes for the Dutch and Local Kitchens*. G. C. T. van Dorp, ed., *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproefde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken* (G. C. T. van Dorp, 1866).

¹⁰*Recipes from the Household school in The Hague*. A.C. Manden, *Recepten van de Haagsche Kookschool* (De Gebroeders van Cleef, 1895).

¹¹See glossary for a translation and discussion of this term.

¹²*Great New Complete East-Indian Cookbook: 1381 Recipes for the Complete Indische Rijsttafel with an important Addition for the Preparation of the Rijsttafel in Holland*. Catenius van der Meijden, *Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel*¹² *met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland* (G. T. C. van Dorp, 1902).

¹³Troy Bickham, "Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Past & Present* 198, no.1 (2008): 71-109.

¹⁴Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Routledge, 2011).

¹⁵Jonathan Robins, "Colonial Cuisine: Food in British Nigeria, 1900-1914," *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 10, no. 6 (2010): 457-466.

and in French colonialism, for instance, by Damian M. Mosley,¹⁶ Alexandre Granger,¹⁷ or Jane I. Guyer.¹⁸

There have, previously, been some works on the specific food culture of colonial households in the Dutch East Indies by Nope-Williams,¹⁹ Protschky,²⁰ Matthijs Kuipers,²¹ Kaoru Ueda,²² Ann Laura Stoler,²³ and Kathleen Burke.²⁴ However, these works did not include comparisons to the contemporary colonial food cultures in the Netherlands. Similarly, works by for instance, Adel P. Den Hartog,²⁵ or Michael Wintle,²⁶ specifically examined how the food culture, culinary knowledge, and overall domestic knowledge in The Netherlands were impacted by the expanding industrialisation and the rising professionalisation of the domestic sphere during the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet, these works did, once more, offer no comparative research with the impacts of the changes on the knowledge exchange between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.²⁷ By adding a comparative approach, this thesis specifically outlined how the aspirations of the interregional consumer cultures of women in the Netherlands and in the colonial households of the Dutch East Indies contributed to the creation, reflection, and resistance against colonial narratives.

¹⁶Damian M. Mosley, "Breaking Bread: The Roles of Taste in Colonialism," *Food, Culture & Society* 7, no. 2 (2004): 49-62.

¹⁷Alexandre Granger, "La Colonisation et les Représentation Médiatiques de l'Alimentation au Nunavik," (Ma Thesis, Université de Montréal, 2022).

¹⁸Jane I. Guyer, "The Food Economy and French Colonial Rule in Central Cameroun," *The Journal of African History* 19, no. 4 (1978): 577-597.

¹⁹Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 58-72.

²⁰See Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 346-357, Susie Protschky, "The Flavour of History: Food, Family and Subjectivity in two Indo-European Women's Memoirs," *The History of the Family* 14, no. 4 (2009): 369-385, Susie Protschky, "Tea Cups, Cameras and Family Life: Picturing Domesticity in Elite European and Javanese Family Photographs from the Netherlands Indies, ca. 1900-42," *History of Photography* 36, no. 1 (2012): 44-65, and Susie Protschky, ed., *Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia* (Amsterdam University Press, 2015).

²¹Matthijs Kuipers, "'Makanlah Nasi 'Eat Rice!': Colonial Cuisine and Popular Imperialism in the Netherlands During the Twentieth Century," *Global Food History* 3, no. 1 (2017): 4-23.

²²Kaoru Ueda, "An Archaeological Investigatin of Hybridisation in Bantanese and Dutch Colonial Encounters: Food and Foodways in the 17th- and Early 19th Century Sultanate of Banten: Java." (PD Thesis, Boston University, 2015)

²³Ann Laura Stoler, "A Sentimental Education: Native Servants and the Cultivation of European Children in the Netherlands Indies," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, eds. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 71-92, and Ann Laura Stoler, and Karen Strassler, "Memory Work in Java: A Cautionary Tale," *The Oral History Reader*, (2016): 370-395.

²⁴Kathleen Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," (Phd diss., University of Toronto, 2022).

²⁵Adel P. Den Hartog, "Dietary Change and Industrialisation: The Making of the Modern Dutch Diet (1850-1985)," *Ecology of Food and Nutrition* 27, no. 3 (1992): 307-318.

²⁶Michael Wintle, "Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson (Rodopi, 1994), 63-85.

²⁷Although it is notable that there have been some approaches to related topics. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, for instance, compared the engagement with the women's rights movements in both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands during the late nineteenth century. Likewise, Elise Van Nederveen Meerkerk systematically compared the role and paid employment contexts of women in the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands between 1830-1940. See Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam University Press, 2000), and Elise Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java, 1830-1940: Comparisons, Contrasts, and Connections* (Utrecht University Repository, 2019).

The addition of this comparative approach, furthermore, defined the specific mobility and the isolation of knowledge within these female colonial domestic networks of knowledge, thereby, highlighting both the centrality and limitations of these networks. Lastly, this added comparative approach within this thesis, likewise, emphasised the establishment of new hybrid forms of culinary knowledge through these movement and isolation of colonial female domestic knowledge.

Chapter overview

By centring the overall knowledge contained within these cookbooks, this thesis specifically featured five chapters each examining a different form of knowledge within these cookbooks.

The Dutch Potato and the Colonial Lemon: Ecological Knowledge²⁸ and Socio-Ecological Knowledge²⁹

The first chapter reviewed the ecological knowledge and socio-ecological knowledge within these cookbooks. It, thereby, specifically focussed on the ingredients used within the cookbooks as well as the described seasonality, availability, and specific preparation methods of these ingredients.

Easter Bread and Military Sambel Serdadoe: Social Knowledge and Social Contexts of Consumption

The second chapter concentrated on the social knowledge contained within these cookbooks. The thesis, thereby, specifically analysed the references within these cookbooks to the social norms and contexts of consumptions of both certain individual ingredients and fully prepared dishes. A specific example is that as Van der Meijden described, sambel serdadoe was a dish which was particularly durable and was, therefore frequently used for military rations.³⁰ Another example is how certain foods such as Easter Bread were only consumed within specific religious settings and only during a specific time of the year.³¹

Using Pepper Preservation and Poffertjes Pans: Technological and Taught Knowledge

The third chapter analysed the technological and taught knowledge within these cookbooks. For the technological knowledge, the thesis specifically examined the tools, utensils and kitchen appliances such as poffertjes pans used throughout these cookbooks.³² The thesis, moreover, considered references within these cookbooks to canonised knowledge taught in household schools during this time period. References to this taught knowledge included, for example, canonised usage of certain preservation techniques such as using vast quantities of spices such as pepper to preserve ingredients.³³ This taught knowledge, furthermore, entailed certain preparation techniques for specific culinary processes such as caramelising sugar.³⁴

²⁸For a discussion of this term, see Theoretical Framework.

²⁹For a discussion of this term, see Theoretical Framework.

³⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 45-46.

³¹*Aaltje* 7, 280.

³²See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 156.

³³See, for example, *Aaltje* 14, 284-295.

³⁴Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 271-275.

This taught knowledge, likewise, incorporated various forms of economic considerations and the systematic accounting of the culinary expenses within the overall management of household expenses.³⁵

Djeroek, Chinaasappel or Oranje?: Transfer of Knowledge and Translations

The fourth chapter focussed on the transfer and isolation of knowledge contained within these cookbooks between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands through the presences and absences of both linguistic and cultural translations. These linguistic translations included, for instance, the translations between Dutch and Malay terms for certain ingredients. A specific example were the terms for orange which differed widely between the different cookbooks between the Malay “Djeroek” and the Dutch “Oranje” and the older Dutch term “Chinaasappel”.³⁶ Whereas these cultural translations contained the adaptation of certain imported culinary techniques to local logistic and cultural conditions. These cultural translations encompassed, for instance, the consistent replacement of gelatine with agar agar in Dutch recipes prepared in the Dutch East Indies to account for the absence of the availability of gelatine in the Dutch East Indies prior to 1869.³⁷

Familiarisation with Foreign Dairy and Fabled Spices: Creation of Hybrid Forms of Culinary Knowledge

The final chapter outlined how the transfers and isolation of knowledges described in the previous chapter, likewise, resulted in the establishment of new dishes, new culinary techniques, and new overall culinary knowledge which combined different forms of knowledge and ingredients from both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Specific examples of this new hybrid knowledge were dishes in the Dutch East Indies which added dairy into local dishes such as nassie goreng³⁸ or dishes in The Netherlands which added spices and products from the Dutch East Indies which were known throughout Europe but had not been widely available before the 19th century such as coffee.³⁹

Glossary

After the final chapter, the thesis featured a glossary which translated and discussed the following Malay and Dutch terms used untranslated throughout the thesis:

Dutch

Indisch

Cultuurstelsel

Ethische Politiek

Rijsttafel

VOC

³⁵See, for example, the price lists of household appliances in Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 395-397.

³⁶See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 49, 52, and 156.

³⁷See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 395.

³⁸See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 112.

³⁹See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, viii, xvi, xxxvi, 180, 206, 216, 238, 285, 290.

Malay

Achar

Kokkie

Nyai

Nyonya

ToTok

Theoretical framework

Firstly, this thesis utilised a global historical approach⁴⁰ by centring the interregional transfer, isolation, and interaction of knowledge. The thesis, moreover, referenced several additional topics common to global historical approaches such as colonialism, intercontinental migration and various commodity networks including food products, household appliances, and the cookbooks themselves.⁴¹ More specifically, this thesis underpinned the global historical academical efforts against both Eurocentrism⁴² and methodological nationalism⁴³ to understand the female culinary knowledge within these cookbooks as collective products of interregional transfers and isolations of knowledge. Consequently, this thesis applied an interregional comparative approach by comparing the interregional and local female colonial domestic forms of knowledge within the two cookbooks *Indisch Kookboek* and *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, published in the Dutch East Indies contemporaneously with the two cookbooks *Aaltje 14*, and *Haagsche Kookschool* published in The Netherlands.⁴⁴ Secondly, this thesis, likewise, applied methodologies from both food historical and culinary historical approaches by specifically centring food itself, the process of cooking, and the social contexts of both cooking and food consumption.

⁴⁰In this context, it is relevant to briefly note that this thesis understands global history itself as the study of primarily interregional multicentric exchange, connections, and isolations, as described, for instance, by Sebastian Conrad in connection to comparative history. See Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton University Press, 2017), 64-67.

⁴¹For a general summary of topics common in global historical approaches see, for example, Conrad, *What is Global History?*.

⁴²This specifically entails the overall decolonisation of historical research, and a general multicentric approach to historical writing through the provincialisation of Europe. See, for instance, Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁴³This entails the overall academic understanding of historical processes, events, and individuals as phenomenon which were shaped and impacted by factors and events both within and beyond current national borders. See, for one of many specific examples showcasing this approach, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Covering the World: Textile Workers and Globalization, 1650-2000, Experiences and Results of a Collective Research Project," in *Labour History Beyond Borders*, ed. Marcel van der Linden (ITH, 2010).

⁴⁴More specifically, this thesis used a comparative method structured according to the food historical aspects of analysis as described below as well as adding the global historical research element of centring interregional transfers and isolations of knowledge.

This thesis, hereby, specifically, distinguished these two disciplines according to the disciplinary principles as described by Kyri W. Claflin, Peter Scholliers, and Ellen Messer et al. Messer et al. specifically defined culinary history as “Culinary history studies the origins and development of the foodstuffs, equipment, and techniques of cookery, the presentation and eating of meals, and the meaning of these activities to the societies that produce them. It looks at practices on both sides of the kitchen door, at the significance of the food to the cook and to those who consume it, and at how cooking is done and what the final product means.”⁴⁵ Whereas Claflin and Scholliers broadly described the diversity within food historical research as “Food historians, too, have been engaged in very diverse aspects of food, including consumer practices, commodity biographies, markets and trade, nutrition, obesity, famine, institutions of urban provisioning, agriculture, restaurant menus, and questions of taste and disgust.”⁴⁶ More particularly, this thesis combined the analytical framework defined by Barbara Ketchum Wheaton with the additional analytical attention to colonial processes of the hybridisation of food and food knowledge as implemented by Cecilia Leong-Salobir. Throughout this analysis, this thesis, primarily relied on the qualitative hermeneutic analysis of each individual recipe within each of the previously outlined cookbooks. The thesis, thereby, specifically analysed the knowledge in each recipe within each of the cookbooks according to Wheaton’s analytical framework and, thus, distinguished between the ingredients,⁴⁷ culinary equipment,⁴⁸ social context of the meal,⁴⁹ the linguistic and publishing contexts of the cookbook itself,⁵⁰ and the taught knowledge of the individual using the cookbook⁵¹.⁵² Additionally, this thesis considered the colonial processes of the hybridisation of food and food knowledge as delineated by Leong-Salobir in the context of the British colonial context in India⁵³.⁵⁴ Thirdly, this thesis, moreover, added general methodological influences from women’s history, and environmental history.

⁴⁵Ellen Messer, Barbara Haber Joyce Toomre, and Barbara Wheaton, “Culinary History,” in *The Cambridge World History of Food: Volume Two*, eds. Kenneth F. Kiple, and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1367.

⁴⁶Kyri W. Claflin and Peter Scholliers, “Conclusion: Contours of Global Food Historiography,” in *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, eds. Kyri W. Claflin and Peter Scholliers (Berg, 2012), 167.

⁴⁷See chapter 1.

⁴⁸See chapter 3.

⁴⁹See chapter 2.

⁵⁰See chapter 4.

⁵¹See chapter 3.

⁵²See Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, “Cookbooks as Resources for Social History,” in *Food in Time and Place: The American Historical Association Companion to Food History*, eds. Ken Albana, Joyce E. Chaplin, and Paul Freedman (University of California Press, 2014), 277, and Mártín Mac Con Iomaire, “Towards a Structured Approach to Reading Historic Cookbooks,” *M/C Journal* 16, no. 3 (2013).

⁵³See chapter 5.

⁵⁴See Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Routledge, 2011), and Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Empires of Food* (Routledge, 2017), 80-89.

The methodological influences from women's history primarily entailed the overall academical focus on the significance of both women generally and female knowledge networks specifically in shaping interregional migration patterns,⁵⁵ domestic consumer cultures,⁵⁶ and both the social and political expressions of colonialism.⁵⁷ In connection to women's history, this thesis, likewise, contained methodological influences from feminist epistemology when considering the central role of gender within the production, exchange and isolation of the different forms of knowledge from specifically female homemakers discussed throughout this thesis.⁵⁸ Whereas the methodological influences from environmental history primarily encompassed the overall academical emphasis on the centrality of nonhuman agents in historical research such as ingredients.⁵⁹ This thesis, furthermore, used the specific theoretical concepts of ecological knowledge and socio-ecological knowledge from environmental historical approaches. More specifically, this thesis used the theoretical concept of ecological knowledge presented by Tim Ingold as "The essence of practitioners' environmental knowledge lies in skills, that is in developmentally embodied capacities of awareness and response built up through a history of involvement with the land and its inhabitants."⁶⁰ This thesis, likewise, applied the wider theoretical concept of socio-ecological knowledge which, as, for example, Christian Azar et al. defined generally centred "the societal activities and interactions with nature and internal societal resource."⁶¹ As, for instance, Anne-Laure Achard et al. added, the overall theoretical concept of socio-ecological knowledge is, thus, primarily based on the fundamental understanding of the human and natural spheres as inherently interconnected.⁶²

⁵⁵See, for instance, Katharine M. Donato, Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, and Martin Manalansan, "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies," *The International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (2006): 3-26, J. C. Dumont, J. P. Martin, and G. Spielvogel, *Women on the Move: The Neglected Gender Dimension of the Brain Drain* (The Institute of the Study of Labor (IZA), 2007), Parin Dossa, and Isabel Dyck, "Place, Health and Home: Gender and Migration in the Constitution of Healthy Space," *Health & Space* 13, no. 3 (2007): 691-701, and A. Bell, C. Meares, and R. Peace, "Migration, Gender, and Economic Integration: International Scholarship (2006-09) and an Aotearoa New Zealand Research Agenda," *Kōtuitui* 5, no. 2 (2010): 61-63.

⁵⁶See, for example, Karen Bescherer Metheny, "Modelling Communities through Food: Connecting the Daily Meal to the Construction of Place and Identity," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 42, (2013): 147-183.

⁵⁷See, for instance, Frances Gouda, "Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide: White Women in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1942," *Gender & History* 5, no. 3 (1993): 318-342.

⁵⁸See, for instance, Pieranna Garavaso, "Introduction to Feminist Epistemology," in *The Bloomsbury Companion to Analytic Feminism*, ed. Pieranna Garavaso (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 171-186.

⁵⁹See, for example, Anita Guerrini, "A Natural history of the Kitchen," *Osiris* 35, no. 1 (2020): 20-21, and Warren Belasco, "Food History as a Field," in *Food in Time and Place: The American Historical Association Companion to Food History*, eds. Ken Albana, Joyce E. Chaplin, and Paul Freedman (University of California Press, 2014), 6-7.

⁶⁰Tim Ingold, "Two Reflections on Ecological Knowledge," in *Natural Knowledge: Ethnoscience, Cognition, and Utility*, eds. Gherardo Ortalli, and Glauco Sanga (Berghahn Books, 2004), 301. This thesis, thus, added Ingold's understanding of ecological knowledge to Wheaton's analysis of ingredients within cookbooks.

⁶¹Christian Azar, John Holmberg, and Kristian Lindgren, "Socio-Ecological Indicators for Sustainability," *Ecological Economics* 18, no. 2 (1996): 90.

⁶²Anne-Laure Achard, Fanny Arnaud, Carole Barthélémy, Georges Carrel, Emmanuel Castella, Anne Charpentier, Emeline Comby, Marina Coquery, Maxence Forcellini, Nicolas Lamouroux, Yves-François Le Lay, Jean-Michel Olivier, Hervé Piégay, Clara Poirier, Olivier Radakovitch, and Dad Roux-Michollet, "Publications Reveal How Socio-Ecological Research is Implemented: Lessons from the Rhône Long-Term Socio-Ecological Research Platform," *Anthropocene* 45, (2024): 2.

This wider theoretical concept of socio-ecological, thereby, encompasses a number of more specific theoretical terms such as ethnobotanical knowledge based on the specific biological knowledge and societal uses of plants,⁶³ or biocultural knowledge which applies environmental, biological, as well as social knowledge in the specific context of food production and consumption. This thesis, hereby, primarily concentrated on the specific socio-ecological knowledge described as biocultural knowledge by Claudia Leyva Aguilera et al. as “The term bioculturality is addressed with the approach of the relationship that integrates the biological and cultural realms, manifested through the knowledge, uses, and customs of peoples who have developed a close relationship with nature. [...] This knowledge encompasses various aspects of food, including preservation, fermentation, cooking techniques, and resource acquisitions methods like fishing, gathering, agriculture, all closely related to the natural resources of their environment.”⁶⁴ The main difference between ecological and the socio-ecological knowledge considered in this thesis is thus, that ecological knowledge exclusively described the immediate knowledge of the natural environment and the organisms within it⁶⁵, whilst the socio-ecological knowledge considered within this thesis centres knowledge of the specifics and social consequences of human-nature interactions.⁶⁶

Corpus

What is a Commercial Cookbook?

In the context of the theoretical framework and methodological approaches used within this thesis, it is, likewise, necessary to discuss the corpus of the thesis. In this connection, it is, firstly, necessary to define the four central sources in this thesis as commercial cookbooks in contrast to recipe books, kakavin texts, manuscript cookbooks, or community cookbooks. Throughout history, there were many sources both verbal and printed which contained information on cooking and food. As Gilly Lehman highlighted, the majority of culinary and food knowledge was transferred verbally up until the twentieth century.⁶⁷ In Europe specifically, commercial cookbooks were immediately preceded by books of secrets and chemical remedy books. Neither books of secrets generally nor chemical remedy books were exclusively specialised in recipes and culinary information.

⁶³See, for example, Noémie Boulanger-Lapointe, Alain Cuerrier, Sarah Desrosiers, José Gérin-Lajoie, Luise Hermanutz, Gregory H. R. Henry, Esther Lévesque, Laura Siewart Collier, and Carmen Spiech, “Berry Plants and Berry Picking in Inuit Nunangat: Traditions in a Changing Socio-Ecological Landscape,” *Human Ecology* 47, (2019): 81-93.

⁶⁴Claudia Leyva Aguilera, Sandra Montes Carrillo, Lluvia Dorantes Herrera, Rebeca Moreno-Santoyo, Lorena Pedrín Rivera, and Carolina Gutiérrez Sanchez, “Living Community cookbook: Transdisciplinary Collaboration for Constructing Recipes with Biocultural Value,” *Ecology and Society* 29, no. 4 (2024): 12-13. This thesis, thereby, combined Aguilera et al.’s concept of biocultural knowledge with Wheaton’s analysis of the social context of both cooking and eating within cookbooks.

⁶⁵A specific example of ecological knowledge would be the interaction patterns between ungulates migration and environmental cues. See N. Thompson Hobbs, “Challenges and Opportunities in Integrating Ecological Knowledge Across Scales,” *Forest Ecology and Management* 181, no. 1 (2003): 223-238.

⁶⁶This includes, for instance, the complex dynamics of what animals were eaten at what time and in what social context. See Guerrini, “A Natural history of the Kitchen,” 20-21.

⁶⁷Gilly Lehman, “Reading Recipe Books and Culinary History: Opening a New Field,” in *Reading & Writing Recipe Books 1550-1800*, eds. Michelle DiMeo, and Sara Pennell (Manchester University Press, 2013), 94-98.

Instead, Elizabeth Spiller described that chemical remedy books merely included nutrition and food as central parts of medical treatment. Whereas books of secrets were generally printed collections of instrumental and practical knowledge philosophically intended to control nature through practical arts. Books of secrets, therefore, included topics ranging from husbandry and agriculture to architecture. A Spiller highlighted, many of these books of secrets incorporated some information on food, cooking, and eating. Still, there were two specific types of books of secrets which specialised on information on food, cooking, and eating. Firstly, dietary writers such as Thomas Cogan and William bulletin specialised in the Galenic humoristic understanding of food consumption without specific information on the preparation of said foods. Secondly, recipe books centred the ideological application of galenic humourism to the socio-ecological transformation of nature into culture within the kitchen. Consequently, recipe books focussed more on the ideological implications of dishes and meal preparation rather than the process and instructions on cooking itself. As Spiller argued, only the gradual shift away from galenic models of the body from the 17th century onwards created an intellectual space for specific cookbooks which focussed principally on the practical instructions of cooking itself.⁶⁸ Henry Notaker added that with the advent of the printing press in the late 15th century, first recipe books and later cookbooks became increasingly commercialised. Like the preceding recipe books, these specifically commercial cookbooks were, thus, primarily intended for commercial distribution and the usage by the wider population of cooks and homemakers with the necessary literacy skills and socio-economic resources.⁶⁹ On the Javanese archipelago, the vast majority of culinary and food knowledge was, likewise, transferred verbally up until the twentieth century. Yet, as Tom Hoogervorst and Jiří Jáki stressed, the Javanese written culture included a diversity of both precolonial and colonial Javanese written texts containing information on food, cooking, and nutrition. However, as Hoogervorst and Jáki added, unlike European sources, rarely any of these documents were preserved. Alex West added that the main reason for this absence was the hot, humid climate and abundance of leaf-chewing insects which destroyed the vast majority of organic manuscript material.⁷⁰ Hence, despite the extensive cooking cultures which ranged from home-cooks to various specialised professional cooks in both public and court settings, only marginal written references remained to these established pre-colonial Javanese food and culinary practices. As Hoogervorst and Jáki highlighted, the majority of the preserved written references to Javanese pre-colonial food and culinary practices were either contained in the kakavin texts,⁷¹ court literature, and the occasional marginal references in Indian culinary texts.

⁶⁸Elizabeth Spiller, "Recipes for Knowledge: Maker's Knowledge Traditions, Paracelsian Recipes, and the Invention of the cookbook, 1600-1660," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Routledge, 2010), 55-67.

⁶⁹Henry Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (University of California Press, 2017), 38-40.

⁷⁰See Alex West, *Bujangga Manik: Or, Java in the Fifteenth Century* (Brill, 2025), 4.

⁷¹Kakavin texts were the dominant surviving poetical practice within pre-Islamic Javanese society which, as Hoogervorst and Jáki portrayed, "They reflect a sort of "hyper-reality" in which humans, animals, and supernatural beings all participated in a divinized mytho-poetical world." Tom Hoogervorst and Jiří Jáki, "The Rise of the Chef in Java," *Global Food History* 6, no. 1 (2020): 4.

Although it is, in this connection, necessary to acknowledge that, as Hoogervorst and Jáki outlined, the references to food and eating within both kakavin texts and court literature were primarily utilised as stylised metaphors and rarely contained practical information on the preparation of food.⁷² In the absence of surviving Javanese written texts specialising primarily on cooking and food preparation, the first surviving cookbook produced within specifically the Dutch East Indies was, as discussed below, the commercial cookbook *Kokkie Bitja*, which was published multiple times at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Dutch colonial context by the Indische homemaker Nonna Cornelia.⁷³ Apart from recipe books, kakavin texts, and commercial cookbooks, the private sphere, furthermore, featured manuscript cookbooks which Avery Blankenship defined as self-authored written books centring collections of recipes and culinary preparation techniques by homemakers. These manuscript cookbooks were intended to be read only by individuals within the household and the close social contexts of the author. Hence, the main distinction between commercial and manuscript cookbooks was both the absence of commercial interactions and the highly limited intended audience. Although it is necessary to note that prior to twentieth century, these manuscript books were rare due to the low rates of literacy of non-elite homemakers.⁷⁴ Lastly, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, numerous religious and non-religious women's organisations globally published community cookbooks. Community cookbooks were, as summarised by Elizabeth J. Fleitz, collectively compiled by members of these organisations and subsequently sold for fundraising purposes. One of the principal differences between these community cookbooks and the majority of the commercial books was that the profit from commercial cookbooks was commonly divided between the author and the publisher of the commercial cookbook, whereas the profits from community cookbooks were intended to be donated at large to the organisation which compiled the community cookbooks. Scholars have, moreover, argued that through the explicitly collective nature of community cookbooks, they reflect a broader selection of the food and culinary practices of a community instead of merely reflecting the selection of food and culinary practices of one individual. This is especially relevant in the context of representativeness as discussed below.⁷⁵

⁷²Ibid, 3-21.

⁷³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, i.

⁷⁴Avery Blankenship, "Nineteenth-Century Manuscript Cookbooks and Memoirs of Taste," in *Consumption and the Literary Cookbook*, eds, Roxanne Harde, and Janet Wesselius (Routledge, 2020), 177-182.

⁷⁵See, for example, Elizabeth J. Fleitz, "The Multimodal Kitchen: Cookbooks as Women's Rhetorical Practice," (PhD Thesis, Bowling Green State university, 2009), 13, Kennan Ferguson, "Intensifying Taste, Intensifying Identity: Collectivity through Community Cookbooks," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 3 (2012): 695-717, and Sarah Black, "'Kiddies' Delight': Children and Community Cookbooks in Australia, 1900-2000," *Food, Culture, & Society* 9, no. 3 (2006): 345-354.

Commercial Cookbooks as Historical Sources

Commercial cookbooks have been sources of academic interest from as early as the late second century when Athenaeus wrote *Deipnosophistae*, a study analysing Egyptian cookbooks and culinary texts from this period.⁷⁶ However the usage of commercial cookbooks as primary sources in academic research has, likewise been disputed for several reasons.⁷⁷ Still, with the rise of social history and women's history, commercial cookbooks have since the late twentieth century, once more, received considerable scholarly consideration.⁷⁸ Many contemporary food historians have even praised commercial cookbooks as valuable sources which contained unique combinations of information relevant for a diversity of academic disciplines. Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry, for instance, specifically highlighted commercial cookbooks in connection to women's history and economic history as a reflection of female consumer cultures. According to Le Dantec-Lowry, the usage of commercial cookbooks as historical sources could, thus, particularly emphasise the agency and impact of women as both cultural and economic agents.⁷⁹ Although it is in this connection important to acknowledge that, as Ken Albala stressed, commercial cookbooks reflected the aspirations of domestic consumer cultures rather than accurately defining household expenses and purchases.⁸⁰ Wheaton specified that the female domestic readership of these commercial cookbooks frequently had many socio-economic restrictions. These socio-economic restrictions included, for instance, limited financial resources, logistic restrictions such as proximity to stores or markets, political or religious ideologies, or gendered socio-economic domestic hierarchies^{81, 82} Laurel Forster and Heidi S. Hakimi-Hood et al., on the other hand, emphasised the centrality of the recipes in commercial cookbooks as responsive mediums which portrayed networks of intersocial collaborations and forms of resistance.⁸³ More specifically, Hakimi-Hood et al. highlighted that commercial cookbooks were collective sources. Hence, the author of a cookbook especially prior to the late twentieth century, did not invent all recipes inside the commercial cookbooks.

⁷⁶See Ken Albala, "Cooking as Research Methodology: Experiments in Renaissance Cuisine," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Routledge, 2010), 73.

⁷⁷See, for instance, and Blankenship, "Memoirs of Taste," 179-185.

⁷⁸See, for example, Claflin and Scholliers, "Conclusion," 167.

⁷⁹Hélène Le Dantec-Lowry, "Reading Women's Lives in Cookbooks and Other Culinary Writings: A Critical Essay," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 2, no. 116 (2008): 106-119.

⁸⁰Ken Albala, "Cookbooks as Historical Documents," in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, ed. Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Oxford University Press, 2012), 229.

⁸¹In this context, it is relevant to acknowledge that as, for instance, Mark A. Swienicki portrayed in the specific example of nineteenth and twentieth century United States, while less visible, the monetary value of male consumerism was on average twice as large as women's. See Mark A. Swienicki, "Consuming Brotherhood: Men's Culture, Style, and recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," *Journal of Social History* 31, no. 4 (1998): 773-774. Charlotte Brown, likewise, summarised literature on male domestic consumerism in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Brown, thereby, likewise, emphasised both the active participation of men in domestic and household expenses and the frequent prioritising of male domestic expenses as a reflection of gendered socio-economic domestic hierarchies. See Charlotte Brown, "Material Patriarchs: Elite Men, Consumption, and Domestic Material Culture" (Ma Thesis, University of London, 2017), 40-51. Patriarchally gendered socio-economic domestic hierarchies were, thus, one of the factors which can further limit the domestic expenses of ingredients and household appliances referenced in cookbooks.

⁸²Wheaton, "Cookbooks as Resources for Social History," 286.

⁸³Laurel Forster, "The Cookbook as a Responsive Form," *Food & Foodways* 31, no. 3 (2023): 242-250.

Instead, authors or publishers of cookbooks added their own original recipes to a wide collection of recipes from various sources. These collected recipes included recipes from earlier or contemporary commercial cookbooks, verbally transmitted recipes from family members, neighbours, or the wider community, and recipes from commercial sources such as magazines or newspapers from their socio-economic, religious and political environment.⁸⁴ Consequently, Forster argued that the authors or publishers of commercial cookbooks, thereby, established an individual form of collective engagement in the culinary cultures of their environment. Forster further added that through this collective engagement, authors or publishers of commercial cookbooks could express both allegiance or resistance against contemporary culinary and social norms through the specific selection of which recipes to include or exclude from their collections.⁸⁵ This is especially relevant in the context of the commercial cookbooks from the Dutch East Indies examined in this thesis and their engagement or resistance against colonial narratives through their selection of local and Dutch recipes and culinary knowledge. Lastly, Emelyn Rude highlighted the significance of commercial cookbooks as unique sources in the context of environmental history. Rude, more specifically, emphasised that the changes in availability of ingredients within commercial cookbooks offered a unique perspective on the agency and environmental stressors on the plants and animals used in cooking. Rude, for instance, specifically traced the gradual extinction of the Eastern Oyster in the United States during nineteenth century through commercial cookbooks.⁸⁶

Despite these multifaceted academic usages of commercial cookbooks, food historians such as Blankenship and Le Dantec-Lowry have noted that specifically commercial cookbooks had been, as previously mentioned, disputed as a useful historical sources for two main reasons.⁸⁷ Firstly, cookbooks generally as well as other sources which primarily centred the domestic sphere had, before the academic establishment of women's history and social history in the late twentieth century, been unfairly disregarded as inconsequential.⁸⁸ Secondly and more relevantly, as, for example, Blankenship and Le Dantec-Lowry outlined specifically commercial cookbooks have been disregarded as useful sources within food historical research due to questions of representativeness. As Blankenship and Le Dantec-Lowry elaborated, commercial cookbooks were throughout history most commonly written by and for literate, White, upper-and middle-class women. As Blankenship and Le Dantec-Lowry stressed, commercial cookbooks, thus, rarely represented the food habits of the majority of the population who had access to significantly fewer socio-economic resources.⁸⁹

⁸⁴Heidi S. Hakimi-Hood, and Amanda Milian, "Cookery and Copyright: A History of One Cookbook in Three Acts," *Gastronomica* 19, no. 4 (2019), 1-9.

⁸⁵Forster, "The Cookbook as a Responsive Form," 242-250.

⁸⁶Emelyn Rude, "Cookbooks and Menus as Ecological Sources: An Example of the Eastern Oyster," *Environmental History* 30, no. 1 (2025): 145-167.

⁸⁷See Blankenship, "Memoirs of Taste," 177-185, and Le Dantec-Lowry, "Reading Women's Lives in Cookbooks and Other Culinary Writings," 101-103.

⁸⁸See, for instance, Fleitz, "The Multimodal Kitchen," 13.

⁸⁹See Blankenship, "Memoirs of Taste," 177-185, and Le Dantec-Lowry, "Reading Women's Lives in Cookbooks and Other Culinary Writings," 101-103.

What is more, is that as Albala and Vanina Leschziner added, commercial cookbooks were, as previously outlined, aspirational sources and, thus, reflected a lifestyle which remained inaccessible even for the majority of these White middleclass women.⁹⁰ Albala, Blankenship, and Leschziner, therefore, concluded that commercial cookbooks portrayed what their intended audiences wanted to consume not what was eventually consumed.⁹¹ However, as Leschziner emphasised, despite this limitation, commercial cookbooks did accurately reflect the cognitive culinary concepts and knowledge which were commonly used by both the author of the commercial cookbooks and its primary intended audience. Consequently, it is significant to distinguish that this thesis, likewise, focussed specifically on the knowledge and consumer culture aspiration contained within these commercial cookbooks.⁹² This thesis, therefore, did not centre the concrete food consumed by homemakers in the Dutch East Indies or The Netherlands during this time period.

Corpus

In this context, it is, likewise, necessary to highlight that this thesis only analysed Dutch-language commercial cookbooks. This thesis, thus, only concentrated on the knowledge of the principal target audience of these commercial cookbooks which was restricted by literacy, socio-economic boundaries, as well as linguistic and social colonial barriers. Hence, this thesis did explicitly not centre domestic knowledge performed by the local majority populations in the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century. This thesis did, likewise, not particularly focus on either the rural population⁹³ or the urban poor within The Netherlands during this period. Instead, the thesis specifically compared the female domestic knowledge of the literate urban-based middle- and upper-class women in The Netherlands and the diversity of literate urban-based Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies.⁹⁴

⁹⁰Albala, "Cookbooks as Historical Documents," 229, and Vanina Leschziner, "Epistemic Foundations of Cuisine: A Socio-Cognitive Study of the Configuration of Cuisine in Historical Perspective," *Theory and Society* 35, no. 4 (2006): 422-424.

⁹¹Ibid., and Blankenship, "Memoirs of Taste," 179.

⁹²Leschziner, "Epistemic Foundations of Cuisine," 422-424.

⁹³It is in this context, it is necessary to acknowledge that the rural population of both Southeast Asia and Europe had, likewise, vastly extensive food knowledge based primarily on local ingredients. However, due the wide-ranging differences between the used ingredients and food knowledge used in urban and rural households, this thesis explicitly excluded female domestic knowledge from rural households. See, for instance, Messer et al., "Culinary History," 1367, and Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia*, 13.

⁹⁴Although it is, in this connection, relevant to note that many of homemakers with fewer socio-economic resources would, unlike women from the upper and middle classes, worked in addition to their household responsibilities. Since the one of the most common employments for women in urban areas in The Netherlands during the nineteenth century was domestic service, many of these women would have, moreover, gained additional knowledge on the preparation of more expensive foods. See Ariadne Schmidt, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Reconsidering the 'First Male-Breadwinner Economy': Women's Labor Force Participation in The Netherlands, 1600-1900," *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (2012): 69-96. This food and culinary knowledge was further increased in the second half of the nineteenth century when it was customary that both homemakers and kitchen staff from urban-based upper- and middle-class households attended one of the newly expanded household schools. See Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1992-2010, Laurie J. Sears, "Introduction: Fragile Identities, Deconstructing Women and Indonesia," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 33-35, Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 62- 67, Sylvia Tiwon, "Models and Maniacs: Articulating the Feminine in Indonesia," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed.

In this context it is relevant to outline the specific commercial cookbooks analysed within this thesis.

Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid

Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid was, as confirmed by Johannes van Dam and Joop Witteveen, the most widely used cookbook in The Netherlands during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ From the first edition of this book published in 1803, the author of the books was claimed to be a kitchen maid with the name Aaltje. However, as Witteveen stressed, Aaltje was a fictional character used by the various publishers of the different prints of the book to invoke relatability and legitimacy.⁹⁶ Notaker added that during this period, experienced female cooks were regarded as the most reliable sources of culinary knowledge. Consequently, both male publishers, and male authors, publishing cookbooks during this period would frequently publish under a female name to reassure the audience.⁹⁷ As Witteveen illustrated, the various publishers of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid*, likewise, legitimised new prints of the highly successful cookbook by adding new, and frequently contradicting fictional letters and additions to the narrative of the kitchen maid called Aaltje.⁹⁸ The seven first prints of this books were published alternately by J. B. Elwe, B. Ouwekerk, and F. Kaal and were initially titled: *Het Echte Aaltje, de Volmaakte en Zuinige Keukenmeid; Leerende het Braden, Koken, Stoven, Inleggen, Confijten, Droogen, enz, van alle Spijzen, die in een Burgerkeuken Worden Toebereid, op de Zuingste Gemakkelijkste en Smakelijkste Wijze, Benevens een Aantal Beproefde en Heilzame Huismiddelen*⁹⁹ Particularly the inclusion of the term “zuinig,” (“frugal”) in the title was highly significant. Firstly, it reflected the centrality of Calvinism in The Netherlands during this period and its inherently minimalistic approach to consumer culture.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, it represented the intended audience of the cookbook.

Unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* was initially intended for audiences from the lower middle classes with limited financial resources.¹⁰¹ Although it is necessary to note that as Michael Wintle highlighted, the intended audience of the initial *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* were not the poor classes who constituted the vast majority of the population of The Netherlands during this time.

Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 56-59, and Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Ruud Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw: Geschiedenis van het Amersfoortse Huishoudonderwijs* (Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), 13-26. This thesis, therefore, considered specifically urban-based kitchen staff as part of the knowledge network of the of the literate urban-based middle- and upper-class women in both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands.

⁹⁵Johannes van Dam, and Joop Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden: Amsterdamse Kookboeken uit de Gastronomische Bibliotheek en de Bibliotheek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 2006), 26-33.

⁹⁶Joop Witteveen, “Aaltje and her Publishers,” *Quaerendo* 16, no. 4 (1986): 281-297.

⁹⁷Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 44-45.

⁹⁸Witteveen, “Aaltje and her Publishers,” 281-297.

⁹⁹*The Real Aaltje, the Frugal Kitchen Maid; Teaching the Frying, Cooking, Steaming, Preservation, etc., of all Dishes which are Prepared in Middle-Class Kitchens in the most Frugal and Delicious Ways, with the Addition of Several Verified Home Remedies*. This thesis primarily considers the fourteenth print published in Leiden in 1834.

¹⁰⁰See, for example, Zdzislaw Mach, “The Dilemma of Dutch Food: Some Observations,” *Ethnofoor* 4, no. 1 (1991): 112, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 352.

¹⁰¹Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 26-33.

As Wintle elaborated, the majority of the population of The Netherlands during this time period had not sufficient financial resources to purchase foods other than potatoes and occasional fruit, vegetables, or milk. These financial restrictions were further exacerbated by the wide-ranging financial hardships and consequent food scarcities experienced by the Dutch state at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By contrast, the initial prints of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* feature recipes for a large diversity of ingredients, many of which were meats which were inaccessible to the majority population during this time. As the financial resources of the Dutch state improved exponentially during the nineteenth century, the audience of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* was expanded to wider parts of the population.¹⁰² By the 14th print of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* published by D. Noothoven van Goor, the book had become a staple of the majority of Dutch households by mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰³ As the financial resources of Dutch population began to improve, *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid*, likewise, began to feature more diverse and internationally imported ingredients. This financial and social transition of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* is especially relevant since this thesis considered two different prints of *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid*. It, firstly, reviewed the 7th print from 1834, abridged as *Aaltje 7*. Secondly, the thesis examined the 14th print edition published by the D. Noothoven van Goor publishers in 1867, abridged as *Aaltje 14*, which was most closely published too the *Indisch Kookboek*. *Aaltje 7*, thus, still featured mostly local and widely available ingredients whilst still addressing only one specific segment of the Dutch population. Whereas *Aaltje 14* addressed multiple segments of the Dutch population and featured increasing numbers of more high-priced and imported ingredients.¹⁰⁴

The *Indisch Kookboek*

The *Oost-Indisch Kookboek: Bevattende 456 Beproeefde Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken: Gebakken, Confiture, Zuren, Sausen, enz.*¹⁰⁵ (*Indisch Kookboek*) was the second commercial cookbook publisher and printed in the Dutch East Indies. The first commercial cookbook was *Kitab Masak Masakan India: Njang Terseboet: Bagimana Orang Orang, Sediakan Segala Roepa Roepa Makanan, Manjesan, Atjaran dan Sambalan (Kokkie Bitja)*, which was written entirely in Malay by a Indische homemaker Cornelia and first published over ten years before the *Indisch Kookboek*.¹⁰⁶ As referenced in its introduction, the *Indisch Kookboek* featured translations of many of the recipes collected in *Kokkie Bitja* as well as adding more recipes from Dutch cookbooks.¹⁰⁷ The *Indisch Kookboek*, unlike *Kokkie Bitja* was collective cookbook with no indicated author of recipes from Indische homemakers collected by the colonial publisher G.C.T. van Dorp.

¹⁰²Though Wintle notes that the diet of the majority of the Dutch population continued to consist primarily of potatoes. See Wintle, "Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands," 65-74.

¹⁰³See, for instance, Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 26-33.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, the references to the normalisation of coffee-consumption of wider parts of the Dutch population. *Aaltje 14*, 42, and 338.

¹⁰⁵*The East-Indian Cookbook: Containing 456 Tested Recipes for the Dutch and Local Kitchens: Pastries, Jams, Preserves, Sauces, Etc.*

¹⁰⁶See, for instance, Cornelia, *Kitab Masak Masakan India: Njang Terseboet: Bagimana Orang Orang, Sediakan Segala Roepa Roepa Makanan, Manjesan, Atjaran dan Sambalan* (Ukena, 1843).

¹⁰⁷*Indisch Kookboek*, iii.

This process of collection is explicitly referenced within the preface of the subsequent prints of the *Indisch Kookboek*.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, this collective process is illustrated by the numerous repetitions and various variations on dishes with the same name throughout the cookbook.¹⁰⁹ The cookbook features a diversity of ingredients from both the Dutch East Indies and the Netherlands as discussed in the first chapter. Due to the high price of the majority of imported goods during this time in both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, the *Indisch Kookboek* was primarily intended for Indische and totok individuals from the upper and middle classes with the financial means to procure the required ingredients.¹¹⁰ In this context, it is, likewise, relevant to generally note that while the *Indisch Kookboek* mainly features Indische and local dishes, it, likewise, references the Dutch cookbook *Aaltje, de Volmaakte Keukenmeid* as an inspiration for some of the dishes which primarily contain Dutch ingredients.¹¹¹ It is, moreover, noteworthy that the *Indisch Kookboek* became widely used primarily by the general public of the Dutch East Indies as demonstrated by the numerous reprints throughout the nineteenth century as well as the prefaces in subsequent prints of the cookbook which state that by the fourth print: “A book that needs no further introduction.”¹¹² It is, in this context, relevant to note that this thesis only considered the first print published in 1866 and the fully remade edition of Catenius van der Meijden in 1902.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* by Catenius van der Meijden was a fully rewritten version of the previous *Indisch Kookboek*. Van der Meijden did, hereby, adopt some of the recipes from the previous *Indische Kookboek*. Yet, the entire structure, language usage, and the vast majority of the recipes were entirely adapted or newly introduced by Van der Meijden in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Van der Meijden was, as previously outlined, an Indische homemaker and, therefore, included Dutch recipes, local recipes from the Dutch East Indies, and new Indische recipes in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.¹¹³ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, reflected both canonized knowledge and culinary techniques taught at the Dutch Household schools, and a diversity of newly introduced household appliances such as refrigerators.¹¹⁴ Yet, Van der Meijden was, likewise, strongly influenced by the further professionalisation of ecological knowledge within the Dutch East Indies.

¹⁰⁸*Oost-Indisch Kookboek, Bevatende Meer dan 750 Beproefde Recepten, op Nieuw Vermeerderd en Verbeterd met Diverse Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken: Gebakken, Confituren, Zuren, Si Open, benvens Voorschrift voor het Dekken en Rangeeren der Tafel* (G. C. T. Van Dorp & Co, 1890), ii-vii.

¹⁰⁹See, for instance, the repetitions of recipes for turtle soup *Indisch Kookboek*, 12, 40.

¹¹⁰See, for example, Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 115-116, 78-76, and 28

¹¹¹*Indisch Kookboek*, iii.

¹¹²See *Oost-Indisch Kookboek, Bevatende Meer dan 750 Beproefde Recepten, op Nieuw Vermeerderd en Verbeterd met Diverse Recepten voor de Hollandsche en Inlandsche Keuken: Gebakken, Confituren, Zuren, Si Open, benvens Voorschrift voor het Dekken en Rangeeren der Tafel* (G. C. T. Van Dorp & Co, 1890), ii-vii.

¹¹³*Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.

¹¹⁴See, for instance, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iv-1, 271-275, and 350-351.

This was, for instance, well-illustrated by the *Wenken en Raadgevingen Betreffende het Gebruik van Indische Planten, Vruchten, etc.*¹¹⁵ published first in 1907 by the Indische J. Kloppenburgh-Versteeg which contained vastly detailed botanical and medical knowledge of plant species in the Dutch East Indies. The book, had quickly become a household staple in both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands and had become the most frequently referenced source for household remedies.¹¹⁶ Inspired by Kloppenburgh-Versteeg, Van der Meijden, likewise, collaborated with Dr. H. Treud, the director of Buitenzorg, the main botanical gardens and research centre of the Dutch East Indies, to add the scientific categorisation for the ingredients from the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was, furthermore, closely impacted by the introduction of the *ethische politiek* since it was published one year after to its official introduction in the Dutch East Indies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, for instance, reference the narrative of the stricter colonial social boundaries which were introduced by the *ethische politiek*.¹¹⁸ More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, for example, repeatedly question the knowledge and skills of the local kokkies. However, as illustrated by the statement at the beginning of this introduction as well as the extensive inclusion of local knowledge within the cookbook, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, likewise, incorporate instances of indirectly circumventing the strict social hierarchies of the *ethische politiek*.¹¹⁹ Lastly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was fundamentally defined by the long-lasting consequences of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. These consequences included, for example, the vast increase in the availability of imported ingredients, as well as the social and political changes caused by extensive increase in Dutch totok women migrating from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies.¹²⁰ Nope-Williams and Protschky even argued that the *ethische politiek* and the consequent colonial segregation was a direct result of this increase of Dutch totok women after 1869.¹²¹ These changes were, likewise, reflected in *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* which contained significantly more imported ingredients as well as a significant number of detailed information intended for totok women. The main intended audience of the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, primarily Dutch totok women from upper classes newly arrived in the Dutch East Indies and to a lesser degree, Indische homemakers in the Dutch East Indies or homemakers from the upper classes in The Netherlands.¹²²

¹¹⁵*Guidance and Advice regarding the Use of Indies Plants, Fruits, etc.*

¹¹⁶See, for example, Hans Pols, "European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies, and Colonial Networks of Mediation," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 3, no. 2 (2009): 174-204.

¹¹⁷*Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 379-386.

¹¹⁸See, for instance, Susie Protschky, "Camera Ethica: Revisioning a period of "ethical" colonial reform," in *Camera Ethica: Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia*, ed. Susie Protschky (Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 11-34.

¹¹⁹See, for example, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iv-1.

¹²⁰See Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 18, and Jean Gelman Taylor, "Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 231.

¹²¹See Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 64-68, and Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 352-354.

¹²²See *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iv-1, and 380-397.

The Haagsche Kookschool

The *Haagsche Kookschool* by A. C. Manden was originally written as an addition to the culinary curriculum at the household school in The Hague.¹²³ The household school in The Hague was founded in 1888 and was, thus, the oldest household school in The Netherlands.¹²⁴ It provided training directed towards individuals working in the domestic service as well as homemakers from the middle-and upper-classes.¹²⁵ This further heightened the centrality of the household school in The Hague within specifically female culinary education, as, for instance, Schmidt, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk highlighted that the domestic service sector was, generally one of the two most frequent salaried occupations for women in the Netherlands during this period.¹²⁶ As a cookbook intended as accompaniment to the curriculum at the household school in The Hague, the primary audience of the *Haagsche Kookschool*, thus, likewise, domestic servants as well as homemakers from the middle-and upper-classes. Although it is notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool* used significantly more expensive and imported ingredients than, for example, *Aaltje 14*.¹²⁷ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, therefore, reflected the overall increasing prosperity of the Netherlands towards the end of the 19th century as a result of the exploitative gains from the cultuurstelsel.¹²⁸ This increase of specifically imported ingredients in the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, illustrated the overall extensive increase of the transport of commodities, individuals, and knowledge between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹²⁹ When this cookbook was published in 1895, A.C. Manden had already been the principal of the household school in The Hague for 7 years. Due to the centrality of both the household school in The Hague generally, as well as the consequent highly praised reputation of A.C. Manden, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, became one of the most bought cookbooks throughout The Netherlands during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This was, for instance, demonstrated by the 41 reprints of the *Haagsche Kookschool* in the span of 34 years.¹³⁰ As a cookbook published initially as addition to the culinary curriculum at the household school in The Hague, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, closely reflected the structure of this culinary curriculum. This structure, therefore, closely followed the sequencing and different categories of what was by the 1890s considered a Dutch full-course meal.

¹²³See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, v.

¹²⁴Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 147.

¹²⁵See Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 146-154.

¹²⁶Schmidt, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk. "Reconsidering the "First Male-Breadwinner Economy"," 69-96.

¹²⁷The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, used the highly expensive truffles in 29 dishes. See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 32, 35, and 55.

¹²⁸Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 58-60.

¹²⁹Kuipers, ""Makanlah Nasi "Eat Rice!"," 5, and Burger, "Floating Cuisine," 56-58.

¹³⁰Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 147-153.

Hence, the *Haagsche Kookschool* started, for example, with a chapter on soups,¹³¹ continued by a chapter on appetisers,¹³² before discussing various main dishes, side dishes and sauces¹³³ and finished with numerous chapters on different desserts,¹³⁴ interspersed with chapters on the preservation of different ingredients.¹³⁵ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, thereby, closely reflected the gradual professionalisation of the domestic sphere during the nineteenth century. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, portrayed the introduction of new household appliances from the technological advanced of industrialisation in The Netherlands during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ This included, for instance, the introduction of new culinary techniques and tools such as refrigeration,¹³⁷ or the canning of various ingredients.¹³⁸ This professionalisation of the household sphere was closely connected to the scientification of the domestic sphere. This was, likewise, reflected in, for example, the frequent application of scientific knowledge,¹³⁹ as well as the significant emphasis on nutritional theory throughout the *Haagsche Kookschool*.¹⁴⁰ This was especially relevant since it reflected the professional scientific education which Manden herself received as one of the first women in her studies of botany and zoology at the University in Groningen.¹⁴¹

Historical Context

Before specifically analysing the four cookbooks, it is firstly, crucial, to briefly summarise the historical context of both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands.

The Netherlands

The Dutch state experienced wide-ranging financial hardship at the beginning of the nineteenth century for several reasons. Firstly, the expenses of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) left The Netherlands with severe state debt.¹⁴² Secondly, within the Dutch East Indies, the local aristocracy was resisting the expansion of Dutch colonial control as part of the transition from colonial outposts to settler colonialism after the collapse of the VOC.¹⁴³

¹³¹Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 1-24.

¹³²*Ibid.*, 25-41.

¹³³*Ibid.*, 41-162, and 184-200.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 163-183, 201-206, 214-220, 231-265, and 284-296.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, 207-213, 221-230, and 266-283.

¹³⁶Caroline Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific”: The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Journal of Social History* 45, no. 4 (2012): 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

¹³⁷See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 284-290.

¹³⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, viii, xxv-xxvi, and xxxii.

¹³⁹The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, specifically instructed to use a litmus paper as a PH-indicator to determine the freshness of meat. See *ibid.*, xviii.

¹⁴⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, xxxiv-xxxvii.

¹⁴¹Maarten Hell, “Anna Catharina Manden,” *Hyugens Instituut: Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, published December 8, 2020, accessed January 2, 2026, https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Anna_Manden.

¹⁴²See, for example, Maarten Manse, and Henk Vording, “Metropolitan Views, Colonial Practices: Transfer of Tax Policy Ideas Between the Netherlands and Dutch East Indies,” in *Studies in the History of Tax Law: Volume 11*, eds. Dominic de Cogan, and Peter Harris (Hart Publishing, 2023), 238.

¹⁴³See, for instance, Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 347.

Consequently, several members of the local aristocracy revolted against the Dutch colonial regime which resulted in the Java War from 1825 until 1830. While the Java War was won by the Dutch colonial state, the conflict severely exacerbated the Dutch state debt. Thirdly, during the beginning of the nineteenth century, the southern Dutch provinces, likewise, revolted. However, unlike the Java War, the revolution of the Southern Dutch Provinces was successful and resulted in the independence of Belgium in 1831. Not only did this revolution further the debts of the Dutch state, but with the Belgian independence, the Dutch state, likewise, lost some of its most central financial and technological resources.¹⁴⁴ This is well-illustrated by the process of industrialisation which in Belgium had already started in the early 1800s, while industrialisation was only gradually established in The Netherlands from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.¹⁴⁵ As previously noted, this severe state debt, resulted in widespread and severe financial hardships of the Dutch populations. This is especially well demonstrated by the omnipresence of vagrancy,¹⁴⁶ widespread unemployment,¹⁴⁷ and severe malnutrition or even starvation during this time period.¹⁴⁸

These economic and political pressures eventually resulted in a constitutional reform in 1848 which transferred the central political power from the monarchy to the Dutch parliament.¹⁴⁹ Even before this constitutional reform, the Dutch colonial state introduced the cultuurstelsel in 1830 in the Dutch East Indies to decrease the Dutch state debt.¹⁵⁰ Through a combination of the financial gains generated by the severe exploitation within the cultuurstelsel, as well as the gradual introduction of industrialisation into The Netherlands, the financial situation of the Dutch state gradually improved as the nineteenth century progressed.¹⁵¹ Consequently, The Netherlands experienced extensive population growth from a population of two million in 1800 to a population of five million by 1900.¹⁵² One of the principal reasons for this was the introduction of technological advancement as presented by the expanding industrialisation of the Dutch state. These technological advancements included, for instance, improvements in medical services and water supply, as well as canned foods, and early refrigerators.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁴See, for example, Manse, and Vording, "Metropolitan Views, Colonial Practices," 238.

¹⁴⁵Anneke H. Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands: A Global-Local Trend," in *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*, eds Katarzyna Cwiertka and Boudewijn Walraven (Routledge, 2002), 154-155.

¹⁴⁶France Portrait, Vincent Tassenaar, Kriestina Thompson, and Sietske Wiersma, "Early-Life Conditions, Height and Mortality of Nineteenth-Century Dutch Vagrant Women," *The History of the Family* 28, no. 2 (2023), 310-313.

¹⁴⁷See *ibid*, 313, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 172.

¹⁴⁸This is, for instance, well-illustrated by the six different home remedies in *Aaltje 7* centring on providing relief for symptoms caused by scurvy. See *Aaltje 7*, 355-383 and Wintle, "Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands," 73-75.

¹⁴⁹See Hans Pols, "Notes from Batavia, the Europeans' Graveyard: The Nineteenth-Century Debate on Acclimatization in the Dutch East Indies," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 67, no. 1 (2012): 143-144, and Liesbeth Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market: Native Doctors and Midwives in the Dutch East Indies* (KITLV Press, 2011), 54-55.

¹⁵⁰See, for example, Manse, and Vording, "Metropolitan Views, Colonial Practices," 238-241.

¹⁵¹See, for instance, Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 58-60.

¹⁵²Wintle, "Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands," 66-70.

¹⁵³See *ibid*, 70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, and Chiara Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition: Women and 'Healthy Progress' in Late Colonial Java and Sumatra," *Modern Asian Studies* 56, (2022): 2001-2002.

These technological advancements of the industrialisation, likewise, resulted in scientific advancements with immediate consequences for the general public such as the scientific innovations in bacteriology resulting in the wide-spread changes of cleaning methods and products as well as social norms of cleanliness both in the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands.¹⁵⁴ This had, likewise, wide-ranging consequences for knowledge production and management in the domestic sphere. New technological and new scientific knowledge was, for example, gradually introduced to homemakers through cookbooks, magazines, and the overall availability of these new technologies.¹⁵⁵ Both this new knowledge as well as domestic knowledge in general, moreover, became increasingly professionalised and canonised through the movement of home economics and the systematic establishment and expansion of household schools.¹⁵⁶ The cultuurstelsel eventually became under increasing social scrutiny within the Netherlands during the second half of the nineteenth century and was dissolved in 1870.¹⁵⁷ However, the Dutch state continued to profit from both the socio-economic exploitation during both the cultuurstelsel and the subsequent exploitative privatisation of the colonial economy in the Dutch East Indies.¹⁵⁸

This financial exploitation was further exacerbated by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 when the number of ships between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies increased as the travel time was reduced from thirteen weeks to six weeks. This significantly amplified the transport of commodities, knowledge and people between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands.¹⁵⁹ This had various consequences. Firstly, it facilitated the expansion of privately owned plantations for coffee, tea, sugar, and rubber to a total of over 1.400 plantation only on the island of Java by the 1930s.¹⁶⁰ This, furthermore, resulted in a central expansion of Dutch colonial territory to further include, Bali, Aceh, and various territories across the Outer Islands.¹⁶¹ This increased transport of commodities, likewise, prompted in the establishment of colonial stores in The Netherlands which sold products which were explicitly associated with the Indische cuisine such as achars, sambal, and, boemboe spice mixes. Yet, as Kuipers highlighted, these colonial stores faced a mixed reception in The Netherlands ranging from indifference to explicit hostility, or enthusiasm.

¹⁵⁴See, for example, Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 2000-2002.

¹⁵⁵Liefers, "'The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,'" 936-959.

¹⁵⁶See *ibid*, 950, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

¹⁵⁷Susie Protschky, "Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Culture in the Netherlands Indies, 1800-1949," *Art History* 34, no. 3 (2011): 527, and Parulian Silean, and Ciorstan Smak, "The 'Culture System' in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870: How Rawls Original Position Ethics were Violated," *The Business Review, Cambridge* 6, no. 2 (2006): 3-4.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid*, and P.B.R. Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century: The Beginning of a New Age, 1800-1914," in *The Development of Indonesian Society from the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, ed. Harry Aveling (Queensland University Press, 1979), 27-29.

¹⁵⁹See Kuipers, "'Makanlah Nasi 'Eat Rice!'" 5, and G. Burger, "Floating Cuisine: Food on Board of Dutch Ocean Liners Heading to the Indies, 1871-1964," in *Travelling to Dutch East Indies*, ed. D. Jedamski, and R. Honings (Hilversum: Verloren, 2023), 56-58.

¹⁶⁰Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-172, and Protschky, "Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Culture," 527.

¹⁶¹Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 58, and Protschky, "Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Culture," 527.

Kuipers, moreover, added, that much of the Dutch general public prior to Indonesian Independence in 1945, likewise, closely associated these products and establishments associated with Indische cuisine with suspicions based in the colonial hierarchies and colonials fears of cultural “contamination”.¹⁶² In contrast, the usage of commodities which had become socially normalised as “Dutch” commodities, yet which were produced in the Dutch East Indies increased significantly with this overall amplified transport of commodities. This included, for instance the extensively expansion of domestic consumption of coffee, sugar, tea in The Netherlands. Van Nederveen Meerkerk, for instance, outlined that sugar consumption per capita rose from a Dutch average of four to fourteen kilograms between 1850 and 1900.¹⁶³ While the Dutch domestic consumption of coffee, likewise, rose by a factor of 100 percent only between the 1870s and the 1890s.¹⁶⁴ These elevated rates of transport, moreover, centrally increased the number of Dutch women migrating to the Dutch East Indies from a ratio of 471 totok women to 1.000 Dutch men in the Dutch East Indies in the 1880s to a ratio of 884 totok women to 1.000 Dutch men in the Dutch East Indies by the 1930s.¹⁶⁵ This had, as Nope-Williams and Protschky argued, all-encompassing consequences for the colonial social management of the Dutch East Indies and ultimately resulted in the introduction of the *ethische politiek*. The resulting ethnic segregation encompassed within the *ethische politiek*, likewise, had wide-ranging implications for public food consumption patterns. More specifically, towards the end of the nineteenth century, colonial hierarchies in the Dutch East Indies were, as Nope-Williams and Protschky illustrated, crucially defined by the performative public consumption of exclusively imported Dutch foods and the public performative rejection of any local food products from the Dutch East Indies. Although it is, in this context, relevant to note that, as Nope-Williams and Protschky highlighted, the effective private food consumption patterns in the Dutch East Indies continued to be defined by a complex combination of Dutch, hybrid and local food cultures.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶²Kuipers, furthermore, stressed that after Indonesian independence, these narratives changed fundamentally and the public acceptance on Indische cuisine firstly, played a central part in post-decolonisation narratives to highlight what the public considered “neutral” aspects of Dutch colonialism to mask both the colonial realities within the Dutch East Indies as well as the continuing racism prominent in post-decolonisation Dutch society. Later, the Indische cuisine became disfavoured, and the Dutch general public came to prefer establishments promoting Indonesian cuisine rather than Indische cuisine as part of the public ideological erasure of Dutch colonial pasts within the colonial aphasia apparent in the late twentieth century and contemporary Dutch public narratives. Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 12-19.

¹⁶³Although it is, in this context, notable that as Van Nederveen Meerkerk highlights some of this sugar was imported from the Dutch West Indies. However, as Van Nederveen Meerkerk stressed the Dutch East Indies remained the central provider of tropical crops including sugar until the end of the colonial period. Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-171.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵See Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 18, and Jean Gelman Taylor, “Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 231.

¹⁶⁶See Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 64-68, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 352-354.

The Dutch East Indies

Within Java, as well as the many parts of Southeast Asia, one of the most determining environmental events of the early nineteenth century was the eruption of Mount Tambora in 1815 on the island of Sumbawa. The eruption of Mount Tambora was a level 7 eruption and is frequently considered the most powerful volcanic eruption in recorded human history. Both the eruption itself and the consequent ash clouds severely decreased agricultural outcomes in many parts of Southeast Asia throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Apart from Mount Tambora, several less severe volcanic eruptions occurred in the wider vicinity of the Dutch East Indies such as the eruption of Mount Agung in 1843, the eruption of Mount Makian in 1861, or the eruption of Mount Krakatau in 1883. While less severe, many of these volcanic eruptions and especially the eruption of Mount Krakatau had, once more, negative effects on agricultural production and particularly rice production throughout the Dutch East Indies.¹⁶⁸ Still, the most severe hardships of the Javanese communities during the early nineteenth century were caused by both the political and military defeat in the Java War¹⁶⁹ and, even more prominently, the ensuing introduction of the cultuurstelsel. The cultuurstelsel resulted in wide-ranging severe financial and social hardships for majority of the population of the Dutch East Indies. Furthermore, as previously noted, the cultuurstelsel crucially contributed to the emergence of widespread famines throughout the Dutch East Indies.

The effects of these famines were further exacerbated by the significant increase of the Javanese populations from 4.4 million to 9.3 million between 1815 and 1845. As P. B. R. Carey stressed, this increase in population in combination with the prevention of agricultural expansion due to the cultuurstelsel further aggravated the pressure of the scarce food resources by further reducing the available rice per capita.¹⁷⁰ These food scarcities were further exacerbated by the previously noted exploitative privatisation of the colonial economy in the Dutch East Indies leading to wide-ranging financial hardships across the Dutch East Indies during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷¹ These financial hardships in combination with the increasing pressures from the *ethische politiek*, resulted in widespread anti-colonial sentiments and several rural uprisings. It is, in the context of these uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century, significant to highlight that these uprisings were, unlike the 1820s Java War, community-led and included members across various socio-economic backgrounds.¹⁷² This was, as Locher-Scholten outlined, likewise, central in connection to the women's rights movements in the Dutch East Indies.

¹⁶⁷See, for instance, Clive Oppenheimer, "Climatic, Environmental and Human Consequences of the Largest Known Historic Eruption: Tambora Volcano (Indonesia) 1815," *Progress in Physical Geography* 27, no. 2 (2003): 230-259.

¹⁶⁸M. R. Fernando, "Famine in a Land of Plenty: Plight of a Rice-Growing Community in Java, 1883-1884," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 41, no. 2 (2010): 293-295.

¹⁶⁹The severity of this defeat, moreover, included the severe human cost of over 200,000 Javanese lives lost during the conflict. See Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System' in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870," 2.

¹⁷⁰Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 25-28.

¹⁷¹See *ibid*, Protschky, "Dutch Still Lives and Colonial Visual Culture," 527, and Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System'," 3-4.

¹⁷²See, for example, Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 24-33.

As Locher-Scholten portrayed, while there were some individual women from colonial households advocating for women's voting rights, the majority of the women's rights narrative in the Dutch East Indies was defined by colonial dynamics. Consequently, as Locher-Scholten stressed, most women from colonial households who advocated for the rights for women to vote would explicitly exclude Indonesian women. Whereas the majority of politically active Indonesian women opted to advocate for Indonesian independence rather than women's rights.¹⁷³ During the second half of the nineteenth century, urban-based women from both colonial and Indonesian households experienced, like women in The Netherlands, the increasing professionalisation of the domestic sphere. Similar to the process in The Netherlands, this included the canonisation of household knowledge and the introduction of new both technological and scientific knowledge through household schools, consumer culture, women's magazines, and cookbooks. Although it is notable that the establishment of household schools in the Dutch East Indies, unlike in The Netherlands, moreover, featured extensive colonial additions. The household schools in the Dutch East Indies, whilst including some general household and financial training, primarily focussed on promoting knowledge of the Dutch language, Dutch colonial social norms, and the extensive colonial performances expected within the consumer culture which had been introduced by the *ethische politiek*. These colonial performances expected within the consumer culture of the *ethische politiek* included a preoccupation with products such as canned foods, fashion, decorative objects, new household appliances, and a vast range of anti-bacterial cleaning products imported from The Netherlands as well as the introduction of and disease-prevention measurements introduced by the colonial government such as the pre-emptive killing of flies. This was, furthermore, an extension of the above-mentioned intensified colonial social hierarchies connected to the *ethische politiek* and the resulting performative consumer culture.¹⁷⁴ The previously outlined increased transport of commodities, people, and knowledge after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, likewise resulted in the expansion of consumer commodities in the Dutch East Indies. This entailed, for example, the widespread introduction of canned milk into the consumer cultures across the Dutch east Indies during the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³It is, in this context, notable, that as Locher-Scholten emphasised, the most central Indonesian independence movement organisations were strictly patriarchally organised despite establishing women's branches throughout the 1920s such as the *Muhammadiyah*, the *Putri Indonesia*, the *Uong Is/amieten Bond Dames Afdeling*, and the *Pasundan Istri*. Consequently, the advocacy for women's rights was seen as a Dutch colonial construct and not ideologically tolerated within these organisations. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies* (Amsterdam University Press, 2000), 151-176.

¹⁷⁴See Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1992-2010, Sears, "Introduction," 33-35, Yulia Nurliani Lukito, and Rahmia Nurwulandari, "The Ideal House in the Colony: Decorating Tips for the Houses in the Dutch East Indies," *International Journal of Built Environment and Scientific Research* 4, no. 1 (2020): 33-42, Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 62- 67, and Tiwon, "Models and Maniacs," 56-59.

¹⁷⁵See Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1992-2010, and Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 60.

The Dutch Potato and the Colonial Lemon: Ecological Knowledge and socio-ecological knowledge

Categorisation

When comparing the Dutch and Indische ecological knowledge and ingredients across the cookbooks analysed here, it is firstly, necessary to determine how to categorise “Dutch” and “Indonesian” ingredients. This categorisation is challenging for several reasons.

Issues of Authenticity

In this context it is, firstly, relevant to acknowledge the theoretical issues of authenticity in local cuisines. As numerous food historians including Fabio Parasecoli, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, and Emily J. Arendt stressed, the discussion of authenticity of certain national dishes is both frequently artificial, inaccurate, and largely nonconstructive for most academic discussions for two central reasons.¹⁷⁶ The first crucial reason is connected to the questions of historical borders. As well-established in many global historical discussions, historical borders seldomly coincide with the borders of contemporary nation states. Hence, some historical dishes were consumed across regions which later became different independent nation states. Other historical dishes were only consumed in one specific region of what later became a larger contemporary nation state which combined food habits of different communities. What is more, is that many historical food habits were defined primarily by specific consumption habits of different communities, biological and economic availability of ingredients, and, where applicable, resistance or compliance with colonial agricultural and nutritional politics rather than political borders.¹⁷⁷ Consequently, the preparation and consumption of certain foods was rarely confined according to historical or contemporary nation states. The second principal reason is closely connected to the first major reason and concerns questions of representativeness. Parasecoli and Pilcher, for example, specifically emphasised that even within the same historical nation states, different communities consumed different foods. These variations in food consumption patterns were caused, amongst others, by demographic differences in religious backgrounds,¹⁷⁸ socio-economic resources,¹⁷⁹ political ideologies,¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶See, for example, Emily J. Arendt, “All Jumbled up: Authenticity in American Culinary History,” *Food and Foodways* 28, no. 3 (2020): 153-173.

¹⁷⁷See, for instance, Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Food in World History* (Routledge, 2017), 72-79, and 132-142.

¹⁷⁸This included, for example, food restrictions included in certain religious traditions such as the Halal detailed dietary laws in Islamic traditions or the implied vegetarianism in the Ahimsa principles included in certain expressions of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Fabio Parasecoli, *Gastronativism: Food, Identity, Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2022), 121.

¹⁷⁹This was closely expressed in both the immediate economic access or restriction from certain ingredients as well as the larger ideological class struggles. Pilcher, for instance, closely analysed that the consumption of certain food was a distinctive class indicator. Hence, food consumption patterns frequently closely reflected intricate local and interregional class dynamics. Pilcher, *Food in World History*, 72-79.

¹⁸⁰Specific examples of this involved the numerous environmental political activist groups which, amongst other initiatives, promoted vegetarianism or reduced meat consumption to reduce the wide-ranging global environmental impacts from meat industries. See, for instance, Paul B. Thompson, “Emerging (Food Technology as an Environmental and Philosophical Issue in the Era of Climate Change,” in *Food, Environment, and Climate Change: Justice at the Intersections*, eds. Erinn Gilson and Sarah Kenenhan (Rowan & Little Field, 2019), 196.

ethnic traditions, migration backgrounds, or professional access to certain foods¹⁸¹.¹⁸² What is more, is that these demographic differences in food consumption, likewise, incorporated further differences within these communities caused by factors such as age, gender, marital status, and general social hierarchies.¹⁸³ Consequently, even foods which were consumed across a certain geographical or political unit, were not necessarily consumed by majority of the population.¹⁸⁴ What is more, is that neither the food cultures in The Netherlands nor in the Dutch East Indies existed in isolation. Dutch culinary practices, for instance, continued to be closely impacted by primarily French, as well as British and German cooking cultures throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵ This is, for instance, particularly well-illustrated by the 72 dishes in the *Haagsche Kookschool* with French titles featuring ingredients, culinary techniques, and instructions partially in the French language.¹⁸⁶ This was, for example, moreover, demonstrated by the variety of references to British ingredients, English-language titles, and instructions. *Aaltje* 14, for instance, specifically contained 16 dishes with English titles while the *Haagsche Kookschool* featured 12 dishes with English titles.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, the various culinary cultures within the Dutch East Indies were, as, for example, Nope-Williams, emphasised, fundamentally defined by their long history of international trade and commercial settlers. In particular, Chinese and west Asian merchants, as well as the previous Portuguese colonial context had wide-ranging and long-lasting impacts on the local culinary practices.¹⁸⁸ This is, for example, especially closely portrayed by the centrality of Chinese dishes in both the *Indisch Kookboek* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specifically incorporated a number of distinctively Chinese dishes such as Bamie,¹⁸⁹ Kiemblo,¹⁹⁰ Masak Bebek Ho,¹⁹¹ and Toemis Tagoe.¹⁹² The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* even featured a whole chapter on Chinese dishes which included tjap tjae, kléng kléng, tjintjoan, mieso, as well as distinctively Indonesia-Chinese ingredients such as the taotjo sauce.¹⁹³

¹⁸¹This was, for example, well-illustrated by hunters or fishermen which had more access the hunted meats than the general population. See, for instance, Daniel Pauly, and Lydia C. L. Teh, "Who Brings the Fish? The Relative Contribution of Small-Scale and Industrial Fisheries to Food Security in Southeast Asia," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 5, no. 44 (2018): 6-7.

¹⁸²See Pilcher, *Food in World History*, 72-79, and Parasecoli, *Gastronativism*, 114-123.

¹⁸³See, for example, Rebecca Holmes, Nicola Jones, Elizabeth Presler-Marshall, and Maria Stavropoulou, "Transforming Gender Constraints in the Agricultural Sector: The Potential of Social Protection Programmes," *Global Food Security* 12 (2017): 89-95, and Anthony Costello, Helen Harris-Fry, Naomi M. Saville, and Niva Shrestha, "Determinants of Intra-Household Food Allocation Between Adults in South Asia – A Systematic Review," *International Journal for Equity in Health* 16, no. 1 (2017): 107-121.

¹⁸⁴Parasecoli, *Gastronativism*, 114-116.

¹⁸⁵See, for instance, Burger, "Floating Cuisine," 71, and Amy B. Trubek, *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 36-40, and 147.

¹⁸⁶See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 262, 14, 21, 22, 24, 37, 104, 105, 140-141, and 208.

¹⁸⁷See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 200, 18, and 166, and *Aaltje* 14, 225, 237, and 243.

¹⁸⁸See, for instance, Christina Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction: The Impact of Colonization in Indonesian Society," in *Routledge Handbook of Food in Asia*, eds. Cecilia Leong-Salobir (Routledge, 2019), 58-69.

¹⁸⁹*Indisch Kookboek*, 32.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁹³Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 164-168.

Many dishes outside of the chapter on Chinese dishes within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, used numerous Chinese ingredients such as the taotjo sauce,¹⁹⁴ soun (Chinese glass noodles),¹⁹⁵ and koetjai (*Allium tuberosum*).¹⁹⁶

Migrated Ingredients

These interregional influences, moreover, entailed the migration of ingredients which had been artificially introduced into local culinary and ecological environments. Within the Dutch ecological context, this primarily encompassed potatoes, haricot beans, and turkey. Whilst originating in the Americas, these ingredients and particularly the potato had by the early nineteenth century already been established as staple food products within The Netherlands.¹⁹⁷ This, likewise, entailed the widespread local cultivation of these ingredients, particularly within The Netherlands. What is more, is that especially potatoes were socially understood as characteristically Dutch ingredients by individuals within both in The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. Consequently, potatoes, likewise, became a central ingredient which was understood as distinctively Dutch within the hybridised Indische culinary practices.¹⁹⁸ Within the ecological context of the Dutch East Indies, this challenge of categorisation included various different categories of ingredients. This, firstly, encompassed the ingredients which had already been introduced into the Dutch East Indies in the context of commercial trade prior to Dutch colonialism. Christina Nope-Williams, for instance, highlighted that the Dutch East Indies had already since as early as 200 BCE been central locations for trading within the Southeast Asian. Consequently, a wide diversity of merchants had gradually introduced a multiplicity of new ingredients into the region which later became the Dutch East Indies. This involved, for example, the introduction of soy products, tea, mung beans, and cabbage by Chinese merchants from 200 BCE onwards, or the introduction of eggplant, onions, mangoes, ginger, coriander, cumin, cardamom, tamarind,¹⁹⁹ and fennel by Indian merchants from 700 onwards, or significantly later in the 16th century the introduction of peanuts, tomatoes, chilli, and corn by Spanish colonial traders and papaya and pineapple by Portuguese traders.²⁰⁰ By the early nineteenth century these ingredients had, like the potato in The Netherlands, become staple food products within many of cooking cultures throughout the Dutch East Indies.²⁰¹ Secondly, this challenge to categorisation contained the ingredients introduced intentionally or unintentionally into the Dutch East Indies by the Dutch colonial context.

¹⁹⁴See, for example, Ibid., 54, 64, and 68.

¹⁹⁵See, for instance, Ibid., 170-171.

¹⁹⁶See, for example, Ibid., 213, 55, and 96.

¹⁹⁷See, for instance, Wintle, "Diet and Modernization in The Netherlands," 69-75.

¹⁹⁸See, for example, Protschky, "The Flavour of History," 376-377.

¹⁹⁹See, for instance, F. W. Van Eeden, *Hortus Batavus: Korte Beschrijving van In- en Uitheemsche Planten, Heesters en Boomen, die Voor de Nederlandsche Tuinen Kunnen Worden Aanbevolen* (J. C. Sepp en Zoon, 1868), 538.

²⁰⁰See Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 58-69, and Hans Pols, "Jamu, The Indigenous Medical Arts of the Indonesian Archipelago," in *The Bright Dark Ages: Comparative and Connective Perspectives*, eds. Arun Bala and Prasenjit Duara (Brill, 2016), 164.

²⁰¹See, for example, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 155-168.

The ingredients introduced unintentionally into the Dutch East Indies by the Dutch colonial context mainly comprised of ingredients which had not been intentionally cultivated but were incidentally transported on trade ships or within shipped packages of seeds of ingredients which had been intended for cultivation. More specifically, these incidentally introduced ingredients centrally included, as Arne Witt outlined, amongst many others, hedgehog grass (*Cenchrus echinatus*), Mexican poppy (*Argemone mexicana*), or broom stick (*Bidens pilosa*).²⁰² Whereas the intentional ingredients introduced in the context of Dutch colonialism included most crucially encompassed a wide variety of cash crops including coffee, sugar, tobacco, indigo, silk, cochineal, and cinchona trees.²⁰³ Some of these ingredients introduced by Dutch colonialism subsequently became central ingredients to both local and Indische food and medical cultures such as pineapple and sugar.²⁰⁴

Categorisation within this Thesis

It is, therefore, necessary to distinguish that this thesis, by categorising certain dishes or ingredients as “Dutch” or “Indisch,” does not intend to establish an exclusive claim for authenticity of these ingredients or dishes to either the Netherlands or Indonesia within Europe or Southeast Asia respectively. In contrast, by centring the transfer and isolation of culinary knowledge, the categorisation of either “Dutch” or “Indisch” is, within this thesis, primarily defined by both the local availability of ingredients and the familiarity of the culinary knowledge required for the preparation of certain dishes by primarily the Dutch or the Indische homemakers. This thesis, thereby, does not distinguish between locally endemic ingredients and ingredients which had been introduced before the nineteenth century. Instead, this thesis, considers, for instance, ingredients which, by the nineteenth century, were integrated into Dutch cuisines and cultivated within The Netherlands, as Dutch ingredients. The primary reason is that the cookbooks analysed here, would have understood these ingredients as Dutch ingredients. Hence, for example, potatoes are in this thesis categorised as Dutch ingredients despite their origin in the Americas. Additionally, this thesis considers dishes which were prepared using culinary techniques which were widely established within local cuisines and ingredients locally available, as local dishes even if these dishes originated in neighbouring countries of the cookbooks. Consequently, for instance, the dishes within the *Haagsche Kookschool* with English, German, and French titles are, in this thesis, categorised as Dutch dishes. The principal reason for this is that the vast majority of Dutch homemakers would have been significantly more familiar with the preparation of these dishes than the Indische homemakers.

²⁰²Arne Witt, *Guide to the Naturalized and Invasive Plants of Southeast Asia* (CABI International, 2017).

²⁰³See, for instance, Martinus Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* (H. M. van Dorp, 1865), 228, and 437-457.

²⁰⁴See, for example, Hans Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies, and Colonial Networks of Mediation,” *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 3, no. 2 (2009): 194-198.

This was, for example, demonstrated by the prominence of especially French dishes in the Dutch cookbooks,²⁰⁵ and the scarcity of, for example, French dishes within the Indische cookbooks.²⁰⁶ The prevalence of knowledge of these dishes within the Dutch cookbooks and the overall 19th-century Dutch society was even further underlined by the significant communities of international European professional cooks and some of the Dutch homemakers who both had first-, second-, or distant-generation English, German, or French origins.²⁰⁷ Similarly, this thesis considers the various ingredients which were, by the nineteenth century, integrated into local cuisines and cultivated within the Dutch East Indies as ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. The main reason for this is that the cookbooks analysed here associated these ingredients specifically with the Dutch East Indies despite the long-term artificial introduction and cultivation of many of these ingredients from elsewhere. Consequently, this thesis considers, for example, mangoes ingredients from the Dutch East Indies despite their origins in India. In addition, this thesis, likewise categorised dishes originating from throughout Southeast Asia as Indonesian dishes. This included, for instance, the previously outlined Chinese dishes as dishes from the Dutch East Indies. The main reason for this categorisation is that the general majority of the Indische homemakers would have been extensively more familiar with their preparation than the Dutch homemakers. This was, for example, well-illustrated by the prevalence of Chinese dishes in the Indische cookbooks,²⁰⁸ and the absence of Chinese dishes from the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. This difference in familiarity was even further highlighted by the vastly multi-ethnic societies of the Dutch East Indies which included, for instance, many Indische homemakers who had first-, second-, or distant-generation Chinese ethnic and cultural origins.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵See, for instance, *Aaltje* 14, 260, 51, and 226, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool* 14, 21, and 22.

²⁰⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 43, 60, and 64, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 340, 342, and 343.

²⁰⁷See, for instance, M. Hell, "Migrants Cuisine, Cookshops, and Elite Catering: Eating Out in Metropolitan Amsterdam (1650-1815)," *Food and History* 20, no. 1 (2022): 129-154.

²⁰⁸See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 53, 103, and 32, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 164-168.

²⁰⁹See Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157-158, Pols, "Jamu," 165, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 32, Silean, and Smark, "The "Culture System" in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870," 2, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 80, 89, and 92, and Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 28.

Analogous Ingredients

Lastly, it is important to highlight that besides ingredients primarily associated with the Dutch East Indies and ingredients primarily associated with The Netherlands, there were, likewise, several analogous ingredients which had been used in both regions prior to Dutch colonialism. These ingredients include, most centrally, eggs,²¹⁰ duck,²¹¹ chicken,²¹² onions,²¹³ garlic, and shrimps.²¹⁴ Despite their universal use within the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands, the specific use of these ingredients within Dutch and local culinary practices varied extensively. Although it is notable that these variations excluded eggs, chicken, and ducks which were used similarly albeit in combination with other ingredients in the two different regions. For instance, the combination of chicken or duck with either sweet flavours such as coconut milk, and cinnamon, or a diversity of spices including tamarind, which Burke described as a signature Indische form of meat preparation, was common in both Indische cookbooks.²¹⁵ Yet, the Dutch cookbooks more frequently combined chicken and duck with either Dutch vegetables, or with specifically imported pepper, mace, nutmeg, cloves, or lemon from the Dutch East Indies.²¹⁶ Furthermore, as explicitly noted by Catenius van der Meijden, culinary practices within the Dutch East Indies used significantly more onions and garlic than Dutch cooking.²¹⁷ Shrimps, on the other hand, had a distinctively different role within the culinary practices of the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Within the *Indisch Kookboek*, and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* shrimps were rarely presented as the central ingredient of the dish. Instead, pulverised shrimps and shrimp paste were in the *Indisch Kookboek* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* mostly used as a common flavour supplement, similar to the usage of spices such as garlic.²¹⁸ Both *Aaltje 14* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, on the other hand, used shrimps principally as a primary ingredient similar to the preparation of other seafood.²¹⁹ Yet the *Haagsche Kookschool* did as part of the hybrid dishes discussed in chapter 5, adapted some dishes to incorporate shrimp paste rather than centring shrimps as main ingredient.²²⁰ Although it is generally noteworthy that the crustaceans called “shrimps” within the Dutch and the Indische cookbooks were, most likely different biological species.

²¹⁰See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 23, and 27, *Aaltje 14*, 208, 211, and 212, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 4, 6, 8, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 5, 7, and 11.

²¹¹Although it is notable that ducks were rarely featured in either the Indische or the Dutch cookbooks. See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 85, 104, and 33, *Aaltje 14*, 79, 57, and 332, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 89, 90, and 91, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 78, 79, and 87.

²¹²See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 30, 33, and 36, *Aaltje 14*, 130, 79, and 55, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 94, 104, and 120, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 87, 8, and 94.

²¹³See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 2, and 3, *Aaltje 14*, 61, 331, and 54, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 122, 123, and 124, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 4, 53, and 79.

²¹⁴See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 115, 31, and 114, *Aaltje 14*, 149, and 215, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 132, 133, and 134, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 38, 122, and 158.

²¹⁵See Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 96, and, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 90, 87, and 86, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 14, 16, and 17.

²¹⁶See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 55, 79, and 129, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 73, 77, and 79.

²¹⁷Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 383.

²¹⁸See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 84, 87, and 82, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 150, 151, and 153.

²¹⁹See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 149, and 215, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 33, 38, and 25.

²²⁰See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 122.

More specifically, the crustacean defined as “shrimp” within the indische cookbooks is most likely the Rebon Shrimp Acetes,²²¹ whereas the crustacean identified as “shrimp” in the Dutch cookbooks was most likely the grey shrimp Crangon crangon.²²²

In the context of analogous ingredients, it is, moreover, relevant to briefly discuss water usage in the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Evidently, all cookbooks analysed here used water as a central ingredient, cooking medium, and culinary tool. Yet, there were crucial differences in the explicit descriptions of water usage within the different cookbooks analysed here. More specifically, *Aaltje 14* explicitly recommend the usage of rainwater when cooking.²²³ This is, firstly, relevant in comparison to the *Indisch Kookboek*, which, as previously discussed, did not explicitly address the wide-ranging health hazards caused by water contamination in Dutch East Indies during this period.²²⁴ This is, moreover, significant in the context of water contamination in The Netherlands. As Wintle stressed, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Dutch population drank tap water which was frequently contaminated due to poor plumbing and resulted in severe health hazards especially for children. Wintle further described that specifically in the west of The Netherlands, poor water quality caused thousands of deaths during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, the explicit recommendation of *Aaltje 14* to use rainwater instead of tap water was, likewise, a reflection of the contemporary hygiene concerns of conditions which gradually improved in The Netherlands during this period as drainage and plumbing systems were enhanced during the second half of the nineteenth century.²²⁵ These concerns of water hygiene were even further expanded in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, specifically advised the usage of distilled water for both cooking generally and particularly when making ice. The *Haagsche Kookschool* even explicitly expressed concerns of bacterial cultures in waters: “Verschillende onderzoekingen op natuurlijk ijs, brachten aan het licht, dat in ijs afkomstig uit grachten, slooten, en rivieren tal van bacteriën kunnen voorkomen. [...] Voor inwendig gebruik of voor de behandeling van wonden dient slechts ijs gebruikt te worden, verkregen van gedistilleerd water of altans van bronwater van de beste kwaliteit.” (“Research on natural ice has shown that a variety of bacteria appear in ice originating from canals, ditches, and rivers. [...] Hence, for the consumption of ice or the usage of ice in the treatment of wounds, only ice made from distilled water or at least the cleanest tap water should be used.”)²²⁶ In contrast, both the *Indisch Kookboek* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* both excluded any information on the usage of water in the Dutch East Indies. As stressed by Leonard Herman Verwey, water was frequently contaminated in the nineteenth century Dutch East Indies.

²²¹See, for instance, Muhammad Hauzan Arifin, Narensa Angelina Kiranasari, Lukita Purnamayati, and Sumardianto, “Physicochemical and Sensory Characteristics of Rebon (Acetes SP.) Shrimp Paste Sauce,” *Journal of Advances in Food science & Technology* 12, no. 1 (2025): 2, and Vika Tresnadiana Herlina, and R. Haryo Bimo Setiarto, “Terasi, Exploring the Indonesian Ethnic Fermented Shrimp Paste,” *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 11, no. 7 (2024): 1-13.

²²²See, for example, Wim J. Wolff, “The Exploitation of Living Resources in the Dutch Wadden Sea: a Historical Overview,” *Helgoland Marine Research* 59, (2005): 34.

²²³See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 43, 48, and 52.

²²⁴See, for example, Leonard Herman Verweij, *De Acclimatie van Nederlanders in Indië, en van Indiërs in Nederland* (P. J. Kraft, 1863), 95-100.

²²⁵Wintle, “Diet and Modernization in The Netherlands,” 70.

²²⁶Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxvii.

Hence, as Verweij elaborated, water used for cooking in the Dutch East Indies had to be carefully inspected and, if possible, boiled prior to consumption.²²⁷ This was especially central since, as Chiara Formichi added, these strenuous work of procuring water and preparing water for consumption was exclusively female labour both in the Indische and in the majority of the local communities within the Dutch East Indies.²²⁸

Vegetables, Legumes, and Mushrooms

When discussing the ecological knowledge of vegetables, mushrooms, and legumes within these cookbooks, it is, firstly, relevant to highlight that across all cookbooks analysed here, vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms were mostly²²⁹ used in savoury dishes. It is, furthermore, significant to point out that the Dutch cookbooks had generally more than twice the dishes which exclusively centred vegetables or legumes. The Indische cookbooks, generally, presented vegetables as an addition to either meats or rice. Although it is notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* featured over double the number of dishes exclusively centring vegetables or legumes in comparison to the *Indisch Kookboek*. Yet, the Indische cookbooks contained a wider diversity of both Asian and European mushrooms, including, for instance, the black wood-ear fungi,²³⁰ truffles,²³¹ morels,²³² and champignons.²³³ Whereas *Aaltje 14*, for example, referenced champignons as the only mushroom, and only used champignons in a total of 8 dishes.²³⁴ In contrast, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, only used champignons and truffles. However, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did feature these mushrooms in 62 dishes.²³⁵ In contrast the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used specifically champignons in 14 dishes, while the *Indisch Kookboek* used champignons in 12 dishes. Finally, before outlining the Dutch-Indische exchange of knowledge of specific vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, it is central, to briefly stress instances of isolated knowledge. Both Indische cookbooks regularly used, for example, black wood-ear fungi (*Auricularia heimuer*), rice beans (*Vigna umbellata*),²³⁶ and bamboo,²³⁷ which were not referenced in either Dutch cookbook.

²²⁷Verweij, *De Acclimatie van Nederlanders in Indië, en van Indiërs in Nederland*, 95-100.

²²⁸Chiara Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition: Women and "Healthy Progress" in Late Colonial Java and Sumatra," *Modern Asian Studies* 56, (2022): 2001-2002.

²²⁹The main exceptions to this were a number of Indische pastries which used beans to improve the consistency of the pastry. This included, for example, kwee satroe katjang, kwee koe, and kwee Oondé Oondé in the *Indisch Kookboek* as well as kwee koe, and kwee koetji-koetji in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. See *Indisch Kookboek*, 144, 140, and 135, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 219-220.

²³⁰See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3, and 103, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 174, 166, and 123.

²³¹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 7, and 8, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 95, 130, and 123.

²³²See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 8, 9, and 11, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 94, and 129.

²³³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 8, and 10, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 71, 87, and 94.

²³⁴See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 135, 169, and 235.

²³⁵See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 5, 6, 14, 57, 260, and 150.

²³⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 115, 94, and 104, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 390.

²³⁷See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 99, 56, and 120, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 232, 11, and 238.

Similarly, both Dutch cookbooks used, for instance, white turnips,²³⁸ artichokes,²³⁹ and Kapucijner peas (*Pisum sativum arvense*)²⁴⁰ which were not mentioned in either of the *Indische* cookbooks.

Dutch Vegetables, Legumes, and Mushrooms

In the specific context of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, the *Indisch Kookboek* primarily used carrots,²⁴¹ beetroot,²⁴² white cabbage,²⁴³ champignons, and, as previously mentioned, potatoes. However, most of these ingredients were only mentioned in one or two dishes, with the exception of potatoes.²⁴⁴ The *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, incorporated only limited ecological and culinary knowledge on these ingredients. The *Indisch Kookboek* did, for instance, not mention any preparation or preservation techniques specific to any of these ingredients. The *Indisch Kookboek* did, moreover, not display any specific ecological knowledge on the vegetables regarding the seasonality, or cultivation requirements of any of these ingredients. The *Indisch Kookboek* did, furthermore, not establish any information on the economic trading contexts of these ingredients. In this context, it is, likewise, noteworthy that the *Indisch Kookboek* did generally not delineate any explicit instructions on where or when to obtain any ingredients required for any of the dishes within the cookbook. In contrast to the *Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14* used a wide variety of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms. The most frequently recurring vegetables in *Aaltje 14* were carrots,²⁴⁵ white cabbage,²⁴⁶ spinach,²⁴⁷ and potato.²⁴⁸ Whereas the most often used legumes were peas,²⁴⁹ broad beans,²⁵⁰ and haricot beans.²⁵¹ What is more, is that *Aaltje 14* incorporated multiple dishes centring vegetables or legumes with no ingredients from the Dutch East Indies.²⁵² The centrality of vegetables and legumes in *Aaltje 14* was, likewise, reflected in the wide variety of specific preparation and preservation methods for these different vegetables and legumes. *Aaltje 14*, for example, specified that artichokes should best be pickled only with salt,²⁵³ whilst asparagus should preferably be boiled and subsequently pickled in a mixture of vinegar and pepper.²⁵⁴ Yet, *Aaltje 14* contained, once more, no additional ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation or overall economic or biological availability of these different vegetables and legumes.

²³⁸See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 148, and *Aaltje 14*, 74, 157, and 174.

²³⁹See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 74, 149, and 66, and *Aaltje 14*, 176, and 284.

²⁴⁰See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 132, and *Aaltje 14*, 187, and 206.

²⁴¹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 14, 40, and 163.

²⁴²See, for example, *ibid.*, 29, and 36.

²⁴³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 33-34.

²⁴⁴The *Indisch Kookboek* specifically used potatoes in 13 dishes. See, for example, *ibid.*, 38, 47, 48, 4, 5, and 50.

²⁴⁵See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 50, 89, and 73.

²⁴⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 46, 177, and 288.

²⁴⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 184, 297, and 96.

²⁴⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 171, 172, 225, 62, and 229.

²⁴⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 187, 290, and 52.

²⁵⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 187, 289, and 297.

²⁵¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 186, 206, and 65.

²⁵²See, for example, preserved haricot beans, endive salad, or salad from white cabbage. See *ibid.*, 206, 182, and 177.

²⁵³*Ibid.*, 284.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 285.

As previously noted, knowledge of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms was, like other categories of knowledge discussed throughout this thesis, closely impacted by both the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal and the expansion of technological knowledge in the Dutch and Indische domestic spheres in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁵⁵ This was, firstly, well-illustrated by the exponential increase of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, thereby, included a wide diversity of particularly Dutch vegetables and legumes which had been absent from the *Indisch Kookboek*. These newly introduced Dutch vegetables and legumes in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* primarily included, for instance, endive (*Cichorium endivia*),²⁵⁶ cauliflower,²⁵⁷ or asparagus.²⁵⁸ These changes in the second half of the nineteenth century were, secondly, well-demonstrated by the vast increase of canned goods in both the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, specifically used the majority of species of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms in the form of canned goods not in the form of fresh produce. This had crucial impacts on the ecological knowledge of these Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, used many of these canned vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms in only one or two dishes and did not include any specific preparation or preservation techniques for any of these ingredients. Instead, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* applied a generic preparation method which Van der Meijden used for the majority of canned ingredients. This generic preparation method used throughout the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* for canned ingredients, primarily consisted of the boiling of these canned ingredients whilst adding nutmeg, butter, and flour for consistency.²⁵⁹ Despite this generic culinary treatment of most Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did occasionally outline more specific preparation and preservation techniques. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specifically stressed that canned cauliflower had to be prepared quickly to avoid acidification.²⁶⁰ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, distinguished six different preparation techniques for potatoes including steaming,²⁶¹ boiling,²⁶² baking,²⁶³ frying,²⁶⁴ puréeing,²⁶⁵ and drying to be used as potato flour.²⁶⁶ However, despite these exceptional additions of preparations methods, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, featured no additional information on the seasonality, cultivation, or the economic or biological availability of any of the canned Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms.

²⁵⁵See Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 5, Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58, and Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2000-2002.

²⁵⁶See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 188, and 194.

²⁵⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 179, and 189.

²⁵⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 188, and 191.

²⁵⁹See *ibid.*, 188-190.

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 191.

²⁶¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 192.

²⁶²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 197.

²⁶³See, for example, *ibid.*, 287.

²⁶⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 89.

²⁶⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 197.

²⁶⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 197.

The general scientification of the domestic sphere and particularly the usage of canned ingredients was, likewise, highly central in the ecological knowledge of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, frequently referenced canned champignons,²⁶⁷ or canned artichoke.²⁶⁸ Although it is necessary to highlight that, unlike the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, did, likewise, feature a wide diversity of specifically fresh Dutch vegetables and legumes. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, most frequently used fresh white cabbage,²⁶⁹ carrots,²⁷⁰ peas,²⁷¹ broad beans,²⁷² and potatoes.²⁷³ The *Haagsche Kookschool* was, likewise, the only cookbook analysed here which explicitly outlined the specific seasonality of the preservation of certain vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms. Manden, for instance, specified that white cabbage had to be preserved in October,²⁷⁴ sorrels (*Rumex*) were preserved in May,²⁷⁵ and broad beans had to be pickled in August.²⁷⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, generally included several Dutch legumes, vegetables, and mushroom absent from all other cookbooks analysed here. This encompassed, for example, chicory (*Cichorium intybus*),²⁷⁷ and samphire (*Salicornia europaea*).²⁷⁸

Vegetables, Legumes, and Mushrooms from the Dutch East Indies

In the context of vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms from the Dutch East Indies the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, contained a relatively limited diversity including asparagus bean (*Vigna unguiculata sesquipedalis*),²⁷⁹ cucumber,²⁸⁰ mung beans (*Vigna radiata*),²⁸¹ and bamboo.²⁸² Like the Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, these ingredients were featured only in an average of one or two dishes in the *Indisch Kookboek*. Yet, the *Indisch Kookboek* did outline specific preparation and preservation methods for these ingredients. The *Indische Kookboek*, for instance, specifically instructed the characteristic spicy-sour preservation of cucumber using Javanese vinegar, lombok, and a variety of different spices from the Dutch East Indies.²⁸³ The *Indische Kookboek*, for example, furthermore, explicitly specified that bamboo had to be cooked until there was no more bitter taste prior to consumption.²⁸⁴

²⁶⁷See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 14, 26, and 56.

²⁶⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 59.

²⁶⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 12, 142, and 267.

²⁷⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 7, 13, and 114.

²⁷¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 132, 150, and 158.

²⁷²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 152, 282, and 136.

²⁷³See, *ibid.*, 130, 131, and 267.

²⁷⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 267.

²⁷⁵*Ibid.*

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 266.

²⁷⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 139.

²⁷⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, xxiv.

²⁷⁹See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 99, 105, and 124.

²⁸⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 165, and 105.

²⁸¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 156, 135, and 140.

²⁸²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 99, 56, and 120.

²⁸³*Ibid.*, 162.

²⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 100.

However, like the Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, the *Indisch Kookboek* did not specify any knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either economic or biological availability of any of these ingredients. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, on the other hand, contained the widest diversity of different species of vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms from the Dutch East Indies. These different species, firstly, contained ingredients used in both the *Indisch Kookboek* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* such as asparagus bean (*Vigna unguiculata sesquipedalis*),²⁸⁵ cucumber,²⁸⁶ black wood-ear fungi (*Auricularia heimuer*),²⁸⁷ rice beans (*Vigna umbellata*),²⁸⁸ and bamboo.²⁸⁹ Secondly, these ingredients, likewise, contained ingredients referenced in no other cookbook analysed here such as bloestoe (*Luffa acutangula*),²⁹⁰ and katjang kedelee (*Soya hispida*).²⁹¹ What is more, is that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* showcased detailed ecological knowledge for each of these ingredients. This was, for instance, well-illustrated by the scientific index of plants from the Dutch East Indies included in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. This scientific index was, a previously noted, a collaboration of Van der Meijden and Dr. H. Treub, the director of Buitenzorg which was the main botanical research centre in the Dutch East Indies throughout the nineteenth century.²⁹² This index firstly, encompassed a list of plants from the Dutch East Indies listed by their botanical taxonomy and their respective names in Malay, Dutch, and Latin. This index, moreover, incorporated a list of which plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies could be replaced by which Dutch equivalent ingredients. As discussed in the fifth chapter, this specific knowledge of possible interregional replacements showcased wide-ranging knowledge of the taste, consistency, and overall culinary properties of both the original and the replaced ingredients.²⁹³ Still, despite this significant scientific botanical knowledge, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, not specify any ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these ingredients. Both Dutch cookbooks, on the other hand, considered only very few vegetables, and legumes, as well as no mushrooms from the Dutch East Indies. More specifically, *Aaltje 14* only outlined specific preparation methods for cucumber but no information on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of cucumbers.²⁹⁴ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, used cucumber, and did, unlike *Aaltje 14*, delineate both preparation and preservation techniques for cucumbers.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁵See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 6, 11, and 13.

²⁸⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 15, 40, and 46.

²⁸⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 75, 80, and 83.

²⁸⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 6, 26, and 36.

²⁸⁹See, for example, 232, 11, and 238.

²⁹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 15, and 380.

²⁹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 4, and 380.

²⁹²See *ibid.*, iv, Andreas Weber, "Collecting Colonial Nature: European Naturalists and the Netherlands Indies in the Early Nineteenth Century Collecting Colonial Nature: European Naturalists and the Netherlands Indies in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 134, no. 4 (2019): 2211-2898, Andreas Weber, "A Garden as a Niche: Botany and Imperial Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Dutch Empire," *Tijdschrift voor Wetenschap-en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* 11, no. 3 (2018): 178-190, and Pols, "European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies," 173-208.

²⁹³See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 379-394.

²⁹⁴See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 191.

²⁹⁵See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 149, and 280.

Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained, once more, no specific ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these ingredients.

Summary

In summary, the Dutch cookbooks generally featured a higher number and wider diversity of vegetables, legumes, while the Indische cookbooks included a wider diversity of mushrooms. The Indische cookbooks, furthermore, contained significantly more Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms than the Dutch cookbooks incorporated vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms from the Dutch East Indies. It is, likewise, significant to note that all cookbooks analysed here specified a diversity of preparation and preservation methods for different vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms. Yet, only the *Haagsche Kookschool* outlined explicit knowledge on the seasonality of the preservation of these ingredients. Lastly, it is central to emphasise that the diversity of vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms increased significantly in the two cookbooks published after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. This was caused by both the increased availability of canned foods, and the beforementioned increase of trade and transport between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. Although it is notable, as illustrated by the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, that the increased availability of these canned ingredients did not necessarily result in a higher transfer of ecological and culinary knowledge of these specific plants. Instead, this increased availability of canned ingredients facilitated a homogenised culinary treatment applied to all canned ingredients rather than individualised preparation and preservation techniques according to different vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms.

Fruits, Drupes and Nuts

Unlike vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, fruits, drupes and nuts were, across all cookbooks analysed here, primarily used in sweet dishes as primary ingredients. Although fruits, drupes, and nuts were, across cookbooks analysed here, likewise, used regularly in savoury dishes as secondary ingredients for texture or to provide flavour contrast. Similar to the vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, it is, firstly, crucial to highlight that the knowledge of some fruits, drupes, and nuts remained locally isolated within Dutch or Indische cuisines. More specifically, neither of the Dutch cookbooks contained knowledge, for example, on kedondong (*Spondias dulcis*),²⁹⁶ durians,²⁹⁷ or breadfruits (*Artocarpus altilis*).²⁹⁸ Whereas neither of the Indische cookbooks featured, for instance, pears,²⁹⁹ or elderberries.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁶See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 27, and 380.

²⁹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 214, and 238.

²⁹⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 380.

²⁹⁹See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 196, 197, and 299, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 144, and 138.

³⁰⁰See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 273, 281, and 343, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 272.

Dutch Fruits, Drupes, and Nuts

In the specific context of Dutch fruits, drupes and nuts, the *Indisch Kookboek* only featured apples,³⁰¹ raspberries,³⁰² peaches,³⁰³ and raisins. Like the Dutch vegetables, the *Indisch Kookboek* used these fruits, drupes, and nuts in only one or two dishes and displayed limited specific ecological knowledge on the plants themselves. An explicit exception to this were raisins. As Clarissa et al portrayed, raisins had already been a central ingredient of Indisch cooking since the seventeenth century.³⁰⁴ This centrality continued in the nineteenth century. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, contained 35 dishes requiring different subspecies of raisins.³⁰⁵ Still, while featuring raisins prominently, the *Indisch Kookboek*, did not discuss any specific culinary or ecological knowledge on the production, preparation, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availabilities of raisins. *Aaltje 14*, likewise, used raisins in 82 different dishes.³⁰⁶ Similar to the *Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, did not clarify any specific preparation or preservation methods specific to raisins. Apart from raisins, *Aaltje 14*, generally contained the widest diversity of different species and accordingly diversified preparation methods of Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts. The most frequently referenced Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts were apples,³⁰⁷ pears,³⁰⁸ plums,³⁰⁹ raspberries,³¹⁰ gooseberries,³¹¹ redcurrants,³¹² walnuts,³¹³ and grapes.³¹⁴ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, specified a diversity of different preparation methods according to the specific subspecies of apples and pears. This different preparation methods included, for example, how renetten apples were well-suited for salads,³¹⁵ while bellefleur apples were primarily used for dishes baked in the oven.³¹⁶ Although it was notable that the culinary familiarity displayed within *Aaltje* varied according to the different fruit, drupe, and nut species. *Aaltje 14*, for example, distinguished between highly specific preparation and cooking methods for different apple and pear subspecies, yet did not explicitly mention that cherries needed to be pitted before consumption.³¹⁷ Despite this overall diversity of preparation methods, Dutch fruits in *Aaltje 14* were still primarily used in sweet dishes. The majority of these sweet dishes centring different fruits, likewise, featured sugar, lemon, and cinnamon.³¹⁸

³⁰¹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 39.

³⁰²See, for example, *ibid.*, 36, and 77.

³⁰³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 79.

³⁰⁴Clarissa, Grace Claudia, Syahnazia A. Firdayanti, and Chrisfella Cokro Handoyo, "Klappertaart: an Indonesian-Dutch Influenced Traditional Food," *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 5, (2018): 151.

³⁰⁵See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 41, 14, and 36.

³⁰⁶See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 69, 236, and 72.

³⁰⁷See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 192, 193, and 195.

³⁰⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 196, 197, and 299.

³⁰⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 200, 69, and 229.

³¹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 272, 305, and 238.

³¹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 199, 200, and 272.

³¹²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 199, 291, and 298.

³¹³See, for example, *ibid.*, 308, 238, and 239.

³¹⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 293, 300, and 308.

³¹⁵*Ibid.*, 196.

³¹⁶*Ibid.*, 193, 194, 195, and 320.

³¹⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 70, 198, and 216.

³¹⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 199, 198, and 196.

Occasionally, the sugar was replaced by honey.³¹⁹ Consequently, in *Aaltje 14*, the usage of products imported from the Dutch East Indies was significantly more frequent in the dishes centring Dutch fruits than in the dishes centring Dutch legumes or vegetables. In the context of Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts, it was, moreover, important to highlight that *Aaltje 14* did occasionally provide additional information of where to obtain these Dutch fruits. *Aaltje 14*, for instance, clarified how the prumelle plum subspecies could only be obtained at specialised patisserie.³²⁰ Still, *Aaltje 14* displayed, once more, no additional ecological knowledge on the seasonality or cultivation of any of these ingredients. At this juncture, it is generally significant to note that these highly specific subspecies of particularly pears and apples in *Aaltje 14* were not referenced in any of the other cookbooks analysed here. Consequently, unlike the chronological development of vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, the overall diversity of fruits, drupes, and nuts, decreased between *Aaltje 14* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*. Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* did still contain a wider diversity of Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts species as well as the according preservation techniques than either Indische cookbooks. Yet, unlike *Aaltje 14*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did not distinguish between any specific subspecies. Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did specify much more detailed knowledge on the processes of coring,³²¹ pitting,³²² and peeling³²³ these different ingredients than *Aaltje 14*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, added specific knowledge on the biological and economic availability of certain Dutch fruits and drupes. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, specified that rose hip could only be ordered directly from a pastry chef.³²⁴ However, despite this expanded ecological knowledge, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, like the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14*, not showcase any knowledge on the seasonality, or the cultivation of any of these ingredients. Unlike the *Haagsche Kookschool*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did closely reflect the chronological development of Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms. Therefore, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* featured a significantly larger diversity of Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts than the *Indisch Kookboek*. However, like the Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, this increase of diversity in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* primarily consisted of the introduction of different canned Dutch ingredients such as primarily canned peach³²⁵ and canned apricots.³²⁶ Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, moreover, incorporate a variety of Dutch fruits and drupes preserved not only in cans, but, likewise, as jams or syrups. This, more specifically, mainly included raspberry³²⁷ and strawberry³²⁸ jams and syrups. Still, like the newly introduced canned Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, these new preserved Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts were only featured in one or two dishes in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.

³¹⁹Ibid., 307.

³²⁰Ibid., 69.

³²¹See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 137, 138, and 177.

³²²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 198, 210, and 271.

³²³See, for example, *ibid.*, 277, 274, and 224.

³²⁴Ibid., 213.

³²⁵See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 374, 371, and 362.

³²⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 357, 359, and 374.

³²⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 367, 344 and 319.

³²⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 344, 316, and 254.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, showcased no specific knowledge on the preparation, preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either biological or economic availability of any of these ingredients. Although, unlike Dutch vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did primarily use different jams and canned Dutch fruits and drupes as ingredients when preparing desserts. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, used canned apricots for the hybrid³²⁹ pudding dish riz à la condé,³³⁰ and used strawberry jam in the preparation of the Dutch cake dish Gateau Mecklenbourg.³³¹

Fruits, Drupes, and Nuts form the Dutch East Indies

The *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, contained significantly more local than Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts. The *Indisch Kookboek* particularly centred citrus fruits,³³² mango,³³³ kanaries (Canarium indicum),³³⁴ and coconuts.³³⁵ Pineapples, and papayas were, by the nineteenth century, likewise, integrated into Indische cuisine and used throughout the *Indisch Kookboek* despite their origins in the Americas.³³⁶ Similar to other ingredients, the *Indisch Kookboek*, once more, contained no explicit knowledge on the specific seasonality,³³⁷ cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these ingredients. However, the *Indisch Kookboek* did delineate detailed preparation and preservation techniques for many of these ingredients. The *Indische Kookboek*, for example, specifically included recipes for the characteristic achar³³⁸ sour preservation of several fruits from the Dutch East Indies such as specifically orange, lemon, and pineapple.³³⁹ Although it is notable that the *Indische Kookboek*, generally used local drupes more frequently than local fruits. Specifically, coconuts were included in approximately 40 percent of the dishes within the *Indisch Kookboek*.³⁴⁰ Hence, the most central drupe within the *Indisch Kookboek* was the coconut. As described by Kaoru Ueda, the coconut was one of the primary staple foods within the Dutch East Indies throughout the nineteenth century.³⁴¹

³²⁹For a detailed definition of what constitutes a “hybrid dish”, see chapter 5.

³³⁰Ibid., 341.

³³¹Ibid., 316.

³³²See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 161, 158, and 43.

³³³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 164, 33, and 42.

³³⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 79, 39, and 41.

³³⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 132, 151, and 142.

³³⁶See, for example, Pols, “Jamu,” 164 and Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 74.

³³⁷This is especially relevant since as, for instance, R. Brons described, mango and durians were exclusively available during the rainy season from October to April within the Dutch East Indies. R. Brons, *Honderd Leeslesjes ten Dienste van het Inlandshce Onderwijs*. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 1898.

³³⁸As Burke described, achar was a specific way of preserving various ingredients as sour and frequently spicy semi-solid jams. Achar, hereby, used various ingredients from the Dutch East Indies in the preparation of achars including lombok, lemon, cloves, and Javanese vinegar. As Burke emphasised ach31, 205, and 216.ars were characteristic specifically of the Indische cuisine since the seventeenth century. Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 97-100, and 137-150.

³³⁹*Indisch Kookboek*, 161-168.

³⁴⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 132, 151, and 142.

³⁴¹Kaoru Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantanese and Dutch Colonial Encounters: Food and Foodways in the 17th- Early 19th Century Sultanate of Banten: Java,” (PhD Thesis, Boston University, 2015), 216.

The centrality of both the coconut and related products such as coconut milk or coconut oil was, likewise, demonstrated by the 182 dishes featuring coconut products within the *Indisch Kookboek*. The *Indisch Kookboek* even specified unique culinary instructions according to the age of the coconut.³⁴² In contrast, while the most central fruits in the *Indisch Kookboek* were citrus fruits, the *Indische Kookboek* occasionally used the generic “djeroek” (“citrus”) as an ingredient rather indicating a specific citrus fruit species. The *Indische Kookboek*, furthermore, referenced citrus fruits in only 46 dishes.³⁴³ *Aaltje 14*, on the other hand, incorporated specifically lemon in 40 percent of its dishes and did not mention coconuts.³⁴⁴ Both the previous *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* generally included orange, lime, and lemon.³⁴⁵ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, incorporated melon which was still absent from *Aaltje 7*.³⁴⁶ It is, moreover, crucial to highlight that unlike the Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts in the *Indisch Kookboek*, orange, lime, and lemon were featured prominently throughout both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14*. More specifically, approximately 31 percent of dishes in *Aaltje 14* contained either one or multiple citrus fruits.³⁴⁷ The frequency of particularly lemon within *Aaltje 14*, moreover, reflects the long-term centrality of the lemon within Dutch colonial visual and material culture. This is, for instance, well-illustrated by the centrality of lemon already in seventeenth century still-lives. Anupama Mukund et al., for example, stressed that over 51,4 percent of Dutch still-lives from this period onwards portrayed lemons.³⁴⁸ This centrality was, likewise, reflected in both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* respectively which featured 116 and 281 dishes with lemons or lemon products such as lemon bark or lemon juice.³⁴⁹ In the context of Dutch colonial culture, it is, furthermore, necessary to point out that by the 1860s, the Dutch colonial state had started to introduce coffee beans into the cultuurstelsel.³⁵⁰ As previously noted, by the end of the nineteenth century when cultivation technologies improved and the Dutch East Indies became a major source for coffee in Dutch colonial trading contexts.³⁵¹ This is, moreover, relevant as *Aaltje 14* did already include specific references to the semi-regular consumption of coffee when hosting Dutch full-course meals.³⁵² Nevertheless, *Aaltje 14* did, furthermore, contain no specific information on the preparation, preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of coffee beans. Instead, both the earlier *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* included specific instructions on the preservation of lemons.

³⁴²See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 74, 132, and 81.

³⁴³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 161, 158, and 43.

³⁴⁴See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 282, 230, and 306.

³⁴⁵See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 267, 238, and 282, and *Aaltje 7*, 3, 28, and 46.

³⁴⁶*Aaltje 14*, 312, and 41.

³⁴⁷See, for example, 267, 238, and 282.

³⁴⁸Anupama Mukund, Brian Wansink, and Andrew Weislogel, “Food Art Does Not Reflect Reality: A Quantitative Content Analysis of Meals in Popular Paintings,” *SAGE* 6, no. 3 (2016): 1.

³⁴⁹See *Aaltje 14*, 282, 230, and 306, and *Aaltje 7*, 3, 28, and 46.

³⁵⁰See Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 228, and 437-457, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-172, and Hans Pols, “Notes from Batavia, the Europeans’ Graveyard: The Nineteenth-Century Debate on Acclimatization in the Dutch East Indies,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 67, no. 1 (2012), 141.

³⁵¹See, for example, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-172.

³⁵²*Aaltje 14*, 42.

Although it is notable that while *Aaltje 7* only contained one instruction on the preservation of lemon bark, *Aaltje 14* defined three different preservation methods for both lemon bark and the lemon fruit itself.³⁵³ Yet, in comparison, the lemon preservation methods within both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* were significantly less elaborate than the citrus fruit preservation methods within the *Indisch Kookboek*. The citrus fruit preservation methods of the *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, added several additional steps such as sun-drying and using chalk as a drying agent to the preservation methods.³⁵⁴ Lemon continued to be the most central fruit in *Haagsche Kookschool*. *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, used lemon in 36 percent of its dishes, many of which used lemon in the preservation of Dutch ingredients.³⁵⁵ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, referenced oranges but excluded limes.³⁵⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, contained specific preparation and preservation methods for both lemons and oranges.³⁵⁷ Additionally, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, added new citrus species absent from *Aaltje 14* including bitter oranges,³⁵⁸ and mandarins.³⁵⁹ Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* only used these new citrus subspecies in one or two dishes and clarified no specific preservation or preparation methods for either species. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise added pineapples, coconuts,³⁶⁰ and kanaries (*Canarium indicum*)³⁶¹ as a new fruits and drupes from the Dutch East Indies. Unlike the new citrus species, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did contain detailed knowledge on the preparation of specifically both canned and fresh pineapple.³⁶² Like *Aaltje 14*, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, featured melons,³⁶³ and coffee beans.³⁶⁴ However, the *Haagsche Kookschool* outlined, once more, no specific knowledge on the preparation, preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these ingredients. In the specific context of coffee beans, it is, moreover, central to highlight that by the end of the nineteenth century, the production and export of coffee beans in the Dutch East Indies had increased significantly. Consequently, increasing percentages of the coffee referenced in the *Haagsche Kookschool* originated in the Dutch East Indies. This was especially relevant as both Dutch and Indische consumption patterns of coffee had increased exponentially by the end of the nineteenth century.³⁶⁵ The *Haagsche Kookschool* specifically contained 9 references to coffee increasing from only 3 mentions of coffee in *Aaltje 14*.³⁶⁶ Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool* outlined no specific knowledge on the preparation, preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of coffee beans.

³⁵³See *Aaltje 7*, 328, and *Aaltje 14*, 292, 306, and 307.

³⁵⁴See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 158.

³⁵⁵See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 273, 272, and 270.

³⁵⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 183, 208, and 254.

³⁵⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 275, 208, and 274.

³⁵⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 203, 274, and 275.

³⁵⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 175, 223, and 224.

³⁶⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, xxx, and xxxi.

³⁶¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 119, 163, and 165.

³⁶²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 181, 290, and 288.

³⁶³See, for example, *ibid.*, 281.

³⁶⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 180, 206, and 216.

³⁶⁵See, for example, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-172,

³⁶⁶See Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, viii, xvi, xxxvi, 180, 206, 216, 238, 285, 290, and *Aaltje 14*, 338, 263, and 42.

Coffee beans were, likewise, centrally featured in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained 15 dishes with coffee.³⁶⁷ Yet, like the *Haagsche Kookschool*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not specify any knowledge on the preparation, preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of either coffee beans. Similarly, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not include specific knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of other fruits, drupes, or nuts from the Dutch East Indies. However, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, did indicate highly specific preparation or preservation methods for many of these ingredients. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, distinguished 8 different preparation techniques only for pineapples including frozen pineapple,³⁶⁸ pineapple achar,³⁶⁹ puréed pineapple,³⁷⁰ baked pineapple,³⁷¹ fried pineapple,³⁷² pineapple pickled in sugar,³⁷³ boiled pineapple,³⁷⁴ and pineapple soaked in alcohol.³⁷⁵ In this connection, it is significant to note that generally the most frequently used fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were coconut,³⁷⁶ pineapple,³⁷⁷ lemon,³⁷⁸ and orange.³⁷⁹ It is, furthermore, notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was the only cookbooks which featured bananas as primary ingredients.³⁸⁰ This is highly relevant as Ueda illustrated, bananas were another central staple food product within the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century.³⁸¹ Yet, unlike other staple foods, bananas were within the Dutch East Indies, considered a food primarily eaten by individuals with limited socio-economic resources. However, as Protschky stressed, a central exception to this association was the Indische communities. Indische households frequently insisted on including bananas as prominent ingredients even in savoury dishes regardless of the socio-economic background of the household.³⁸² Still, bananas were absent from the *Indisch Kookboek*, which only used banana leaves as culinary tools.³⁸³ Hence, the inclusion of bananas within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was, moreover, a reflection of both the overall centrality of bananas as a general staple food in the Dutch East Indies and specifically a favourite of the Indische communities. Like the other plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, furthermore, showcase detailed botanical knowledge of many of these fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies.

³⁶⁷See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 370, 375, and 377.

³⁶⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 362.

³⁶⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 200.

³⁷⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 209.

³⁷¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 284.

³⁷²See, for example, *ibid.*, 283.

³⁷³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 244.

³⁷⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 256.

³⁷⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 246.

³⁷⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 151, 153, and 160.

³⁷⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 246, 256, and 283.

³⁷⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 271, 276, and 277.

³⁷⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 249, 251, and 284.

³⁸⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 352, 370, and 222.

³⁸¹Ueda, "An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantaneese and Dutch Colonial Encounters," 214-216, and 263.

³⁸²Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 351.

³⁸³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 30, 47, and 83.

This botanical knowledge incorporated, once more, the botanical taxonomy, and the names of a vast diversity of fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies in Dutch, Malay, and Latin.³⁸⁴ Consequently, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* generally featured the widest diversity of fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, thereby, referenced a number of fruits and drupes from the Dutch east Indies absent from the other cookbooks analysed here. This included, for instance, peparée (*Momordica charantia*),³⁸⁵ kedongdongs (*Spondias dulcis*),³⁸⁶ and durians.³⁸⁷ What is more, is that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* even contained socio-ecological information on the cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) which, by the end of the nineteenth century, continued to be cultivated only in the Dutch West Indies not the Dutch East Indies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, specifically described that cassava juice was used for the preservation of meats and was, according to Van der Meijden specifically called “casseripo.”³⁸⁸

Summary

To sum up, unlike the vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies were featured significantly more prominently in the Dutch cookbooks than Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts appeared in the Indische cookbooks. Whereat specifically knowledge of fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies increased in the *Haagsche Kookschool* with the increased trading and transport after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. Both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, featured significantly more canned fruits, drupes and nuts. This, thereby, showcased the changes in culinary technology within both Dutch and Indische domestic sphere in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, outlined detailed botanical knowledge from the widest diversity of fruits, drupes, and nuts from the Dutch East Indies. In contrast, the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained a smaller diversity of Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts than *Aaltje 14*. Lastly, it is central to highlight that none of the cookbooks analysed here specified ecological knowledge on the seasonality, or cultivation of any fruits, drupes, or nuts. Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* was, once more, the only cookbook analysed here to distinguish between fruits and drupes available at general markets, and those only available only at specialist stores.

Potatoes & Rice

In the context of plant-based ingredients, it is relevant to discuss the three most frequently consumed staple foods separately due to their overall centrality in food consumption throughout both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. For instance, as Wintle stressed, the majority of the Dutch diet throughout the nineteenth century consisted of plain potatoes.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁴Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 379-385.

³⁸⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 381.

³⁸⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 27, and 380.

³⁸⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 214, and 238.

³⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 196-198.

³⁸⁹See, for instance, Wintle, “Diet and Modernization in The Netherlands,” 69-75.

Whereas, for example, Nope-Williams, Van Otterloo, Locher-Scholten, and Protschky portrayed that the majority of the Indische and local diets of the majority of the communities in the Dutch East Indies consisted of primarily rice with added vegetables and, on occasion, added fish throughout the nineteenth century.³⁹⁰ Hence, potatoes and rice were generally the ingredients which were most frequently consumed by individuals in The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies respectively. This is, moreover, relevant in the context of interregional exchange of ecological and socio-ecological knowledge. Protschky, for example, specifically emphasised that potatoes were, alongside the later-discussed pork, alcohol, and milk products, one of the main ingredients imported from Dutch culinary practices to the Dutch East Indies. However, as Protschky emphasised, potatoes, unlike pork, alcohol, and milk products continued to be understood as distinctively Dutch ingredients and were rarely combined with ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. Protschky even described that potatoes were in certain Indische households even consumed at different times separate from Indische or local dishes from the Dutch East Indies.³⁹¹ It is, in this connection, notable that the majority of potato-based dishes in Indische and Indonesian cuisines were savoury dishes. Similarly, for example, Jeffrey M. Pilcher stressed that rice was generally one of the main ingredients imported into European cuisines through colonialism. Consequently, rice was, likewise, one of the central ingredients imported specifically from culinary traditions in the Dutch East Indies to Dutch cuisines, alongside the later-discussed spices.³⁹² Rice, furthermore, closely impacted Dutch food habits not only during the late nineteenth century but, likewise, throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In this context, it is noteworthy that rice-based dishes in Dutch cuisines included both savoury and sweet dishes. Van Otterloo, moreover, highlighted, that contemporary urban-based Dutch food habits continue to be supplemented significantly by not only these rice-based dishes which had been established in Dutch cuisine but, likewise, a diversity of Indonesian rice dishes. Van Otterloo specifically portrayed that average contemporary urban-based Dutch households consumed food from one of the many Indonesian or Chinese-Indonesian restaurants on a weekly basis.³⁹³ The introduction of rice into the Dutch cuisine was, thus, generally more wide-spread than the introduction of specifically potatoes into Indonesian cuisines. Although it is, in this context, necessary to acknowledge that the introduction of rice into Dutch cuisines and the introduction of potatoes into Indische and Indonesian cuisines were both gradual and incomplete.

³⁹⁰See Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 60-64, Anneke H. Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," in *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*, eds. Katarzyna Cwiertka and Boudewijn Walraven (Routledge, 2002), 157-159, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141, and Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 354.

³⁹¹Protschky, "The Flavour of History," 376.

³⁹²Pilcher, *Food in World History*, 80.

³⁹³Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 153-167.

Hence, from the nineteenth century onwards the majority of the Indonesian populations did not regularly consume potatoes.³⁹⁴ Simultaneously, large parts of the Dutch population did not regularly consume rice especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁹⁵

Potato and Rice Recipes

These dynamics were, furthermore, closely illustrated within the cookbooks analysed here. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, featured 13 dishes containing potatoes. The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, specified knowledge on various preparation techniques of potatoes such as fried potatoes,³⁹⁶ boiled potatoes,³⁹⁷ and baked potatoes.³⁹⁸ In contrast, the *Indisch Kookboek* used rice in 46 dishes. The *Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, used a large diversity of different preparation methods of rice including boiled rice,³⁹⁹ rice fried with or without oil,⁴⁰⁰ baked rice,⁴⁰¹ rice flour,⁴⁰² steamed rice,⁴⁰³ and rice boiled in milk.⁴⁰⁴ Yet, despite these diverse preparation methods for both potatoes and rice, the *Indisch Kookboek* did not showcase ecological knowledge on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of either rice or potatoes. While rice-based dishes increased the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, potato-based dishes decreased. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained 93 dishes with rice but only 35 dishes with potatoes. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, specified a variety of different preparation techniques for both rice and potatoes. These preparation techniques for potatoes in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically included baked potatoes,⁴⁰⁵ boiled potatoes,⁴⁰⁶ potato flour,⁴⁰⁷ fried potatoes,⁴⁰⁸ puréed potatoes,⁴⁰⁹ and steamed potatoes.⁴¹⁰

³⁹⁴Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 60-64, Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157-159, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141, and Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 354.

³⁹⁵Wintle, "Diet and Modernization in The Netherlands," 69-75.

³⁹⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3.

³⁹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 4.

³⁹⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 12.

³⁹⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 127.

⁴⁰⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁰¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁰²See, for example, *ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁰³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 111.

⁴⁰⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁰⁵See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 287.

⁴⁰⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 310.

⁴⁰⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 197.

⁴⁰⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 168.

⁴⁰⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 197.

⁴¹⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 105.

Whereas the preparation methods for rice in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* variety between different techniques for baked rice,⁴¹¹ rice flour,⁴¹² boiled rice,⁴¹³ steamed rice,⁴¹⁴ rice steamed and coated in coconut milk,⁴¹⁵ fermented rice,⁴¹⁶ and rice boiled in milk.⁴¹⁷ Still, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* outlined, once more, no ecological knowledge on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of potatoes or rice. *Aaltje 14*, on the other hand, featured 28 dishes with potatoes and 26 dishes with rice. Although, *Aaltje 14*, once more, outlined no ecological knowledge on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of either rice or potatoes. *Aaltje 14*, did, however, showcase different preparation methods for potatoes such as steamed potatoes,⁴¹⁸ boiled potatoes,⁴¹⁹ fried potatoes,⁴²⁰ puréed potatoes,⁴²¹ and baked potatoes.⁴²² In contrast, *Aaltje 14*, only used specifically rice boiled either in water or in milk.⁴²³ In contrast, the *Haagsche Kookschool* incorporated 39 dishes with potatoes, and 53 dishes with rice. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, hereby, used many of the preparation methods for potatoes from *Aaltje 14* ranging from baked potatoes,⁴²⁴ boiled potatoes,⁴²⁵ puréed potatoes,⁴²⁶ and fried potatoes.⁴²⁷ Additionally, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, added potato flour,⁴²⁸ frozen potatoes,⁴²⁹ and twice-fried potatoes.⁴³⁰ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, significantly expanded the knowledge on rice preparation methods. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, specifically used rice boiled in water or milk,⁴³¹ as well as rice flour,⁴³² baked rice,⁴³³ steamed rice,⁴³⁴ and fried rice.⁴³⁵ Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, once more, outlined no ecological knowledge on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of either rice or potatoes.

⁴¹¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 302

⁴¹²See, for example, *ibid.*, 222.

⁴¹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 1.

⁴¹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 307.

⁴¹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 373.

⁴¹⁸See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 171.

⁴¹⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 46.

⁴²⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 110.

⁴²¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 60.

⁴²²See, for example, *ibid.*, 249

⁴²³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 225.

⁴²⁴See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 245.

⁴²⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 10.

⁴²⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 90.

⁴²⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 154.

⁴²⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 16.

⁴²⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, xv.

⁴³⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 65.

⁴³¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 8 and 167.

⁴³²See, for example, *ibid.*, xliii.

⁴³³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 67.

⁴³⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 186.

⁴³⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 189.

Summary

In conclusion, the cookbooks analysed here did portray the central introduction of potatoes to the Dutch East Indies, and rice to The Netherlands. However, both Indische cookbooks still continued to contain significantly more rice than potato dishes. In contrast, the number and specific knowledge on rice preparation in the Dutch cookbooks doubled after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. Lastly, it is crucial to highlight that, despite the centrality of both potatoes and rice across cookbooks, none of the cookbooks analysed here contained any ecological knowledge on the preservation, seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of either rice or potatoes.

Meats

Meats were, like vegetables, legumes, and mushrooms, used primarily in savoury dishes. A notable exception to this was the Dutch animal-based ingredient gelatine which was used primarily in sweet dishes. Like most previously discussed categories of ingredients, the cookbooks discussed here, likewise, featured a number of locally isolated meats. Specific examples of this were European songbirds such as song thrushes (*Turdus philomelos*)⁴³⁶ or Eurasian chaffinches (*Fringilla coelebs*)⁴³⁷ which only appeared in the Dutch cookbooks while saltwater fish common to the South Pacific such as milkfish (*Chanos chanos*),⁴³⁸ and Snapper (*Lutjanus*)⁴³⁹ were only used in the Indische cookbooks. The Dutch cookbooks, furthermore, used a variety of body parts which were not used in recipes within the Indische cookbooks. This included, for instance, blood, ears, and neck.⁴⁴⁰

Dutch Meats

In the specific context of the *Indisch Kookboek*, it is, moreover, relevant to consider that as Burke highlighted, Indische culinary practices already centred more meats as principal ingredients than most local culinary practices within the Dutch East Indies in the seventeenth century.⁴⁴¹ This centrality of meats within the Indisch cooking was continued throughout the nineteenth century. This is, for instance, well-illustrated by the *Indisch Kookboek*, which contained no savoury dishes without meat.⁴⁴² However, while Burke identified fowl and poultry as the primary ingredient within seventeenth century Indisch cooking, this centrality of meats was expanded to other meats within the nineteenth century.⁴⁴³ Most centrally pork became characteristic of Indische culinary practices.

⁴³⁶See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 39, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 82.

⁴³⁷See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 167, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 79.

⁴³⁸See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 22.

⁴³⁹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 82, 127, and 108, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 131, 138, and 208.

⁴⁴⁰See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 107, 80, and 114, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 69, 51, and 3.

⁴⁴¹Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 75-77.

⁴⁴²*Indisch Kookboek*.

⁴⁴³Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 75-77.

This is especially relevant since the consumption of pork was one of the fundamental distinctions between the Christian Indisch culinary practices and the majority of the local cooking cultures within the Dutch East Indies which followed Islamic food restrictions.⁴⁴⁴ The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, included 14 dishes with pork. These dishes encompassed detailed culinary techniques specific to the preparation yet not of the preservation of pork.⁴⁴⁵ Apart from fowl and pork, the *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, incorporated a number of meats more common within Dutch agricultural contexts than environments in the Dutch East Indies such as beef or mutton.⁴⁴⁶ Yet, unlike fowl or pork, the dishes within the *Indisch Kookboek* rarely specified any preparation or preservation techniques particular to beef or mutton. This was especially relevant since the *Indisch Kookboek* generally used primarily Indische fast-fried meat preparation methods for both Dutch and local meats.⁴⁴⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, centred local fowl and fish as well as Indische fast-fried meat preparation methods. Yet, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did feature multiple vegetarian savoury dishes, including, for instance, boontjes-salade (“bean salad”),⁴⁴⁸ Indische boerenkool (“Indische white cabbage”),⁴⁴⁹ and taugé-salade (“taugé salad”).⁴⁵⁰ Still, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, did, likewise, incorporate 72 dishes using pork specifically. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, outlined more specific knowledge on the preparation and preservation of specifically pork. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, distinguished a specific preservation method for pork using vinegar, lombok, onions, mustard, salt, oil, curcuma, and ginger.⁴⁵¹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, used gelatine 24 dishes which had still been absent from both the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14*.⁴⁵² In the context of Dutch meats, it is necessary to highlight that *Aaltje 14* generally contained the most wide-ranging knowledge on meat preparation. Unlike the fowl-based meat consumption in the *Indisch Kookboek*, the most recurring meat products in *Aaltje 14* were chicken,⁴⁵³ beef,⁴⁵⁴ pork,⁴⁵⁵ duck,⁴⁵⁶ European eel (*Anguilla anguilla*),⁴⁵⁷ and mutton.⁴⁵⁸ In comparison to the other cookbooks analysed here, it was, furthermore, notable that *Aaltje 14* utilised not only the widest diversity of animal species but, likewise, as previously noted, the widest variety of body parts.⁴⁵⁹ *Aaltje 14*, likewise, emphasised detailed instructions on the steps preceding the preparation of these different meats. The instructions on the preparation of meat dishes in *Aaltje 14* did, thus, frequently start either with a living animal or a recently killed animal.

⁴⁴⁴See, for instance, Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 60.

⁴⁴⁵See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 21, 15, and 18.

⁴⁴⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 10, 29, and 6.

⁴⁴⁷Kaoru Ueda, and Sonny C. Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanese Cooking Stove: Coarse Earthenware Study in the Sultanate of Banten, Java, Indonesia,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 21, (2017): 433-459.

⁴⁴⁸Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 194.

⁴⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 192.

⁴⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 194.

⁴⁵¹*Ibid.*, 208.

⁴⁵²See, for example, *ibid.*, 328, 375, and 374.

⁴⁵³See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 55, 181, and 131.

⁴⁵⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 68, 179, and 129.

⁴⁵⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 102, 114, and 113.

⁴⁵⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 79, 57, and 126.

⁴⁵⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 49, and 147.

⁴⁵⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 35, 129, and 212.

⁴⁵⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 93, 95, and 125.

Hence, *Aaltje 14* contained detailed information on when to slaughter an animal, how to skin various animals, and how to separate different body parts and how to prepare those body parts for consumption before starting to add other ingredients and culinary processes.⁴⁶⁰ This was especially relevant since none of the other cookbooks analysed here included any instructions on these steps preceding the preparation different meats. What is more, is that *Aaltje 14*, likewise, displayed highly specific seasonal ecological knowledge on different animal species. *Aaltje 14*, for example, featured a detailed description of the availabilities of meats during the slachttijd (“slaughtering season”).⁴⁶¹ Slachttijd was a period of time between the 1st of October and the 25th of December, when during the first half of the nineteenth century animals were slaughtered on a large scale in The Netherlands as part of the seasonal preservation processes necessary to prepare for winter.⁴⁶² Notably, this was, likewise, the only time of the year when slaughterhouses were legally allowed to sell meat directly to the consumer instead of on administratively policed meat markets.⁴⁶³ *Aaltje 14*, moreover, dedicated an entire chapter on the seasonal availability of aquatic animals. This chapter, more specifically, categorised different aquatic animals into the twelve months of the year according to availability for consumption in The Netherlands. This chapter, for example, highlighted that salmon was available throughout most of the year, while oysters were primarily available during September and October in The Netherlands, whereas shrimps in The Netherlands were exclusively available during March and April.⁴⁶⁴ Additionally, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, displayed a wide diversity of distinctive preparation and preservation methods for these different meat products.⁴⁶⁵ Similar to Dutch fruits, drupes, and nuts, the *Haagsche Kookschool* used less species than *Aaltje 14*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, used, unlike *Aaltje 14*, specifically no common bream (*Abramis brama*),⁴⁶⁶ or pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*).⁴⁶⁷ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, while including the seasonal knowledge of fish from *Aaltje 14*, contained no reference to the specific seasonality of the slachttijd. The *Haagsche Kookschool* did, however, continue to use highly specific preparation and preservation methods for the different Dutch meats. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, had an entire chapter dedicated only on the specific meat preservation techniques which used primarily gelatine and alcohol.⁴⁶⁸ Yet, despite this extensive meat knowledge, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, unlike *Aaltje 14*, not contain any of the knowledge on the process of butchering and cutting meats.

⁴⁶⁰See *ibid.*, 32-42.

⁴⁶¹*Ibid.*, 316-327.

⁴⁶²Joanna Kozikowska, “Speelgoed van de Slager: Slachtdieren en Kinderspel in de Vroegmoderne Nederlands Literatuur,” *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia* 26, (2016): 47.

⁴⁶³Clé Lesger, “De Locatie van het Amsterdamse Winkelbedrijf in de Achttiende Eeuw,” *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 4, no. 4 (2007): 68.

⁴⁶⁴*Aaltje 14*, 139-170.

⁴⁶⁵This is, for example, well-illustrated in the previously mentioned chapter on the slachttijd which centres the preservation for meats throughout the winter including, for instance, drying meats in smoke or open flame, or pickling meats in salts, or vinegar. See *ibid.*, 316-327.

⁴⁶⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁶⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 137, 38, and 80.

⁴⁶⁸Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 226-230.

Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* continued to outline knowledge specifically on the plucking of fowl and the scaling of fish.⁴⁶⁹ Additionally, the *Haagsche Kookschool* showcase detailed knowledge on how to recognise the quality of different store-bought meats. Manden, for instance, specifically warned that when purchasing any fish, the gills should be bright red and odourless.⁴⁷⁰ Whereas fresh bacon should be odourless, have a white-ish rather than yellow-ish colour, and, have a solid consistency.⁴⁷¹ The *Haagsche Kookschool* was, moreover, closely impacted by the previously outlined scientification of the domestic sphere.⁴⁷² This encompassed not only the various applications of scientific knowledge but, likewise, the high emphasis on measuring within the process of cooking.⁴⁷³ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, unlike the other cookbooks analysed here, hereby indicated specific weight, and cooking time measurements for each individual ingredients used throughout the cookbook. What is more, is that especially these instructions on cooking times were particularly elaborate in the context of Dutch meats. The *Haagsche Kookschool* included, for example, highly specifies cooking times according to animal species, body part, size, and specific dish. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, instructed that salmon should be cooked precisely 5 minutes for each 500 grams of salmon,⁴⁷⁴ while sliced beef-liver could only be fried 6 minutes using 6ml of oil for each 62 grams of liver.⁴⁷⁵ This scientification, furthermore, entailed that Manden assigned certain nutritional properties to different meats depending on their origin within the body and their preparation methods. Manden, for example, specifically dismissed sausage made from pork as unhealthy, and praised the four front ribs of beef as particularly healthy.⁴⁷⁶ Apart from fresh meat products, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, centrally featured gelatine in 68 sweet and savoury dishes.⁴⁷⁷

Meats from the Dutch East Indies

In contrast to the diversity of Dutch meats and meat knowledge included in all cookbooks analysed here, both meat products and meat knowledge from the Dutch East Indies were largely absent from both Dutch cookbooks. With the notable exception of turtle in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. Although even turtle only appeared in one dish, the schildpadsoep (“turtle soup”). The instructions on turtle soup, moreover, did not contain any specific knowledge on the specific species of turtle or the meat preparation of any turtle meat.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁶⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, xxi, xlii, and xxii.

⁴⁷⁰*Ibid.*, xx.

⁴⁷¹*Ibid.* xvii-xviii.

⁴⁷²See Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 66-70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2001-2002, Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific”,” 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

⁴⁷³For a detailed discussion of the scientific knowledge within the *Haagsche Kookschool* see chapter 3.

⁴⁷⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 101.

⁴⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁷⁶*Ibid.*, xviii.

⁴⁷⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 27, 55, and 98.

⁴⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 6.

The *Indisch Kookboek*, on the other hand, centred a diversity of meats common in the Dutch East Indies. These local meats primarily consisted of chicken,⁴⁷⁹ duck,⁴⁸⁰ snappers (Lutjanidae),⁴⁸¹ shrimps,⁴⁸² and the lesser whistling duck (*Dendrocygna javanica*).⁴⁸³ Although it is noteworthy that, as previously noted shrimps, chicken, and duck were not exclusive to the Dutch East Indies. Similar to the plant-based ingredients, the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, displayed no additional ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these meats. The *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, excluded the steps preceding the preparation of these meats such as the plucking of fowl, the scaling of fish, or the overall process of butchering of various meats. Yet, the *Indisch Kookboek* did specify multiple individual preservation techniques for both kakap fish and shrimps.⁴⁸⁴ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* further expanded on this diversity of meats common in the Dutch East Indies. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically added various fish species common in the South Pacific and Indian Ocean such as ikan terie (*Engraulis ringens*),⁴⁸⁵ tengirie (*Scomberomorus commerson*),⁴⁸⁶ and ikan kòdòk (*Histrio histrio*).⁴⁸⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, added different preparation methods for each of these new meats from the Dutch East Indies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, distinguished between fried tengirie in kerrie ikan and tjintjoan,⁴⁸⁸ roasted tengirie in ikan kemirie,⁴⁸⁹ boiled tengirie in otak ikan,⁴⁹⁰ and pickled tengirie in zult van visch.⁴⁹¹ Yet, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not outline ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the biological or economic availability of any of these meats from the Dutch East Indies.

Summary

In summary, Dutch culinary traditions of particularly pork preparation were more widely established in the Indische cookbooks than any of the Indische meat products or meat preparation knowledge were included in the Dutch cookbooks. It is, moreover, significant that the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained, once more, a smaller diversity of meats than *Aaltje 14*, while the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* featured a wider variety of meats than the *Indisch Kookboek*. Although it is notable that *Aaltje 14* was generally the cookbook analysed here with the most extensive knowledge on different meats. *Aaltje 14* specifically used widest diversity of both different animal species, as well as detailed knowledge on the seasonality and preparation of these meats.

⁴⁷⁹See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 27, and 112.

⁴⁸⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 33, 4, and 104.

⁴⁸¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 82, 127, and 108.

⁴⁸²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 115, 12, and 26.

⁴⁸³See, for example, *ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁸⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 89, 123, and 115.

⁴⁸⁵See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 52.

⁴⁸⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 139, 144, and 148.

⁴⁸⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 139.

⁴⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 22, and 168.

⁴⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 139.

⁴⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 144.

⁴⁹¹*Ibid.*, 149.

Milk Products & Alcohol

Chiara Formichi, Nope-Williams, and Clarissa et al. argued that alcohol, and especially milk products were the most central ingredients indicating long-term Dutch culinary impact in Indonesia.⁴⁹² These Dutch-introduced alcohols most frequently consumed in the Dutch East Indies primarily included rum, beer, and wine.⁴⁹³ What is more, is that, as for instance, Protschky stressed, these alcohols were, together with pork, primary characteristics of the nineteenth-century Christian Indisch culinary practices in contrast to the majority of the local cooking cultures within the Dutch East Indies which followed Islamic food restrictions.⁴⁹⁴ Consequently, after Indonesian independence, both pork and alcohol were largely discontinued from Indonesian food habits. A notable exception to this was, as Clarissa et al. highlighted the post-independence continued Indonesian consumption of a number of Indische desserts which used various alcohols during the cooking process. As Clarissa et al. added, one specific examples for this was klappertaart which required specifically rum its preparation process.⁴⁹⁵ Dairy, on the other hand, had, prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, been largely absent from Indonesian cuisines or logistic rather than religious reasons. These logistic issues, firstly, included the issues of sensitivity and high mortality of most bovine species from both tropical illnesses and the high temperatures and humidity of the Indonesian tropical climate.⁴⁹⁶ These logistic issues, furthermore, encompassed the subsequent issues of milk preservation and transportation within the Indonesian tropical climate. Yet, during the second half of the nineteenth century, preservation techniques and interregional trade began to improve. This, likewise, resulted in the gradual introduction of milk products into the food habits of various communities in the Dutch East Indies.⁴⁹⁷ Although it is notable that as Van der Meijden highlighted small amounts of specifically salted butter had already been gradually introduced into the Dutch East Indies since before the nineteenth century.⁴⁹⁸ Milk products transported with these new preservation techniques of the second half of the nineteenth century primarily included refrigerated butter and cheeses, as well as canned condensed milk. As Formichi and Nope-Williams outlined especially canned condensed milk was introduced large-scale into the Dutch East Indies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This encompassed, for example, the introduction of condensed milk as an ingredient within desserts and sweet porridges.

⁴⁹²Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1983-2017, Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 60, Clarissa et al., "Klappertaart," 151.

⁴⁹³See, for instance. Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 351, Susie Protschky, "Tea Cups, Cameras and Family Life: Picturing Domesticity in Elite European and Javanese Family Photographs from the Netherlands Indies, ca. 1900-42," *History of Photography* 36, no. 1 (2012): 51, and Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 78.

⁴⁹⁴Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 351.

⁴⁹⁵Clarissa et al., "Klappertaart," 147-152.

⁴⁹⁶Adel P. Den Hartog, "Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia," in *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*, eds. Katarzyna Cwiertka and Boudewijn Walraven (New York: Routledge, 2002), 36-37.

⁴⁹⁷Ibid., and Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1983-2017.

⁴⁹⁸Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 194.

Yet, this, mainly centred controversial⁴⁹⁹ promotion of condensed milk as a replacement for breastmilk as part of the Dutch colonial *ethische politiek* programs. As Formichi, and Den Hartog outlined, the intended replacement of breastmilk with canned condensed milk had many health repercussions for the infants including the high sugar intake and the absence of central nutrients and immunising properties. It is, in this context generally important to distinguish that, unlike the mainly Indische consumption of pork and alcohol, the Dutch colonial *ethische politiek* programs and advertisements introduced particularly canned condensed milk into a wider diversity of communities in the Dutch East Indies. What is more, is that, as Formichi portrayed, through these large-scale advertisements, the usage of condensed milk or other breastmilk replacements had, alongside distinctive combinations of Western and local make-up and fashion styles, by the early twentieth century become a central symbol of Indonesian female modernity and cosmopolitanism. This, in combination with the overall large-scale introduction of condensed milk into a wide diversity of communities within the Dutch East Indies, resulted in a continued centrality of specifically condensed milk in the post-independence Indonesian food habits.⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasise that the introductions of both alcoholic and dairy ingredients into the Dutch East Indies was both gradual and incomplete. The majority of Indonesian populations, therefore, did not regularly consume alcohol, pork, potatoes, or milk products from the nineteenth century onwards.⁵⁰¹ It is, moreover, significant to highlight that the Dutch cookbooks analysed here, furthermore, featured a number of alcoholic and dairy ingredients which were not transferred to the Dutch East Indies. These isolated alcoholic and dairy ingredients included, for instance, Parmesan cheese,⁵⁰² cheese made from non-cultured buttermilk,⁵⁰³ and a variety of specific European wines such as port, Malaga, or Médoc wine.⁵⁰⁴

Alcohol

As Burke illustrated in the specific example of boiling fruits, the utilisation of specifically alcohol in cooking was, moreover, a further continuity between the Indisch cooking cultures of the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century.⁵⁰⁵ Like the alcohol within the seventeenth century Indisch culinary practices, the majority of the alcohols specifically mentioned within the *Indisch Kookboek* were imported alcohols.

⁴⁹⁹It is notable that as Formichi highlighted, already doctors during the nineteenth century warned against the health risks of replacing breastmilk with condensed milk. More specifically doctors during the nineteenth century already argued that condensed milk would lack many of the central nutritional and immunising properties of breastmilk. Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1988.

⁵⁰⁰Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 1983-2017, and Den Hartog, "Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia," 34-46.

⁵⁰¹See, for example, Den Hartog, "Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia," 44, Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 60-64, Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157-159, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141, and Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 354.

⁵⁰²See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 238, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 17, 26, and 28.

⁵⁰³See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 261.

⁵⁰⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 338-341.

⁵⁰⁵Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 93-96.

These imported alcohols in the *Indisch Kookboek* primarily consisted of rum⁵⁰⁶ and wine⁵⁰⁷ with occasional references to other alcohols such as beer,⁵⁰⁸ orgeade,⁵⁰⁹ or kirsch.⁵¹⁰ Although it is noteworthy, that similar to raisins, the *Indisch Kookboek*, displayed no particular ecological or culinary knowledge on either the ingredients or the culinary processes used to produce these alcohols. The diversity of alcohols used in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, contained the same alcohols at the *Indisch Kookboek*. Yet, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, significantly expanded to centrally include a variety of other alcohols such as cognac,⁵¹¹ whiskey,⁵¹² sherry,⁵¹³ and the Indische arak⁵¹⁴ predating Dutch colonisation.⁵¹⁵ Yet, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, once more, outline no ecological or culinary knowledge on either the ingredients or the culinary processes used to produce these alcohols. Similar to the *Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14* primarily referenced wine,⁵¹⁶ beer and rum.⁵¹⁷ Although *Aaltje 14* used specifically beer in only 4 dishes.⁵¹⁸ This, likewise, reflected the gradual replacement of beer as main beverage accompanying middle-class meals. Instead, as Van Otterloo described, middle classes in The Netherlands had since the seventeenth century gradually started to drink milk, buttermilk, or whey with their meals. Whereas individuals with few socio-economic resources would have relied mainly on water. As Van Otterloo described, individuals from the upper classes, on the other hand, primarily consumed milk, various spirits or wines, or coffee and tea as part of their meals.⁵¹⁹ In contrast to beer, *Aaltje 14* consistently used various specific wines in 8 percent of the dishes. In this context, it is notable that *Aaltje 14* used the widest diversity of specific European wines across cookbooks analysed here. *Aaltje 14* was, for example, the only cookbook analysed here using for instance, port, Malaga, or Médoc wine. Yet, it is necessary to clarify that *Aaltje 14* only intended some of these wines as accompanying beverages to these dishes.⁵²⁰ Instead, many of these wines were used to boil ingredients in wine or to produced elaborate slow-cooked sauces or soups.⁵²¹ Although, it is necessary to highlight that *Aaltje 14*, once more, displayed no additional knowledge on the preparation or the production of any of these alcohols. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, continued this characteristic usage of wines as central ingredient to slow-cooked soups and sauces.⁵²² More specifically, the *Haagsche Kookschool* used alcohol in approximately 35 percent of its dishes.

⁵⁰⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 64, 168, and 79.

⁵⁰⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 49, 168, and 68.

⁵⁰⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁰⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 167, 64, and 61.

⁵¹⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 78, 43, and 65.

⁵¹¹See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 219, 221, and 244.

⁵¹²See, for example, *ibid.*, 247.

⁵¹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 352, 357, and 363.

⁵¹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 365, and 366.

⁵¹⁵Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 79-83.

⁵¹⁶See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 259, 237, and 336-341.

⁵¹⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 250, 271.

⁵¹⁸*Ibid.*, 72, 169, 250, and 254.

⁵¹⁹Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 154-155.

⁵²⁰See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 336-341.

⁵²¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 52, 89, and 78.

⁵²²See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 4, 5, and 12.

The *Haagsche Kookschool*, hereby, used the same selection of alcohols as the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Haagsche Kookschool* even contained the Indische arak in 7 different dishes.⁵²³ This, moreover, closely demonstrated the previously outlined increase in interregional Dutch-Indische trade after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.⁵²⁴ Although the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, showcased no knowledge on the preparation or the production of any of these alcohols.

Milk Products

In the context of dairy ingredients, on the other hand, Burke portrayed that both milk and butter already constituted principal ingredients within seventeenth-century Indisch cooking.⁵²⁵ This was, once more, further continued in the nineteenth century. While the *Indisch Kookboek* only featured two dishes with cheese⁵²⁶ and 4 dishes with cream,⁵²⁷ it contained over 150 dishes with either milk, butter, or both.⁵²⁸ Yet, as with raisins or alcohol, the *Indisch Kookboek* displayed no specific ecological or culinary knowledge on the production or preservation of either cheese or butter. However, the *Indisch Kookboek* did incorporate specific instructions on how to make milk more preservable through both high-temperature heating and the adding of sugar.⁵²⁹ This was especially relevant since, as previously noted and as Den Hartog stressed, one of the main issues of dairy consumption within the Dutch East Indies was the health hazards caused by the high temperatures which spoiled milk rapidly.⁵³⁰ Similarly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, discussed several techniques for the preservation of dairy products including boiling,⁵³¹ the adding of sugar,⁵³² and freezing.⁵³³ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, highlighted detailed knowledge on the usage of store-bought preserved dairy ingredients such as salted butter,⁵³⁴ and condensed milk.⁵³⁵ Although it is notable that despite the increased Dutch-Indische trade after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* only used cheese in two dishes.⁵³⁶ Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did use cream in 44 dishes.⁵³⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, encompassed over 600 dishes with either milk, butter, or both.⁵³⁸ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, outlined 55 dishes which specifically used frozen milk or cream for the preparation of different ice creams.⁵³⁹

⁵²³Ibid., 7, 175, 177, 181, 219, 224, and 292.

⁵²⁴Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 5, Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

⁵²⁵Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 75-77, and 105.

⁵²⁶*Indisch Kookboek*, 37, and 38.

⁵²⁷Ibid., 39, 53, 136, and 69.

⁵²⁸See, for instance, ibid., 63, 71, and 62.

⁵²⁹Ibid., 71.

⁵³⁰Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 1983-2017, and Den Hartog, “Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia,” 36-37.

⁵³¹See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 177.

⁵³²See, for instance, ibid., 351.

⁵³³See, for example, ibid., 352.

⁵³⁴See, for instance, ibid., 194.

⁵³⁵See, for example, ibid., 355.

⁵³⁶Ibid., 119, and 173.

⁵³⁷See, for instance, ibid., 176, 180, and 264.

⁵³⁸See, for example, ibid., 266, 267, and 269.

⁵³⁹See, ibid., 350-379.

As previously noted, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, contained a variety of different dairy ingredients. Particularly, butter and milk were the most frequently recurring dairy products throughout *Aaltje 14*. More specifically, *Aaltje 14* used butter in 51 percent of dishes⁵⁴⁰ while using milk in only 16 percent of dishes.⁵⁴¹ *Aaltje 14*, moreover, used both cream and cheese in less than 12 percent of dishes. *Aaltje 14* specifically used cheese in only 15 dishes⁵⁴² and cream in 44 dishes.⁵⁴³ Although *Aaltje 14* did, unlike any other cookbooks analysed here likewise include several instructions on the production of cream-based cheeses.⁵⁴⁴ Still, *Aaltje 14* did not display any additional ecological knowledge on the cultivation of cows or either the economic availability or preservation of dairy products. This is especially relevant in comparison to both Indische cookbooks which did outline specific instructions on the preservation of milk. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, highlighted no specific knowledge on the production or preservation of any dairy ingredients. Yet, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did use milk in over 30 percent of dishes,⁵⁴⁵ and butter in over 60 percent of dishes.⁵⁴⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, only included 23 dishes with cheese.⁵⁴⁷ Although it is notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained significantly more references to cream than *Aaltje 14*. More specifically, the *Haagsche Kookschool* used cream in 83 dishes.⁵⁴⁸ Like the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, featured 4 dishes for ice cream using refrigerated milk or cream.⁵⁴⁹

Summary

To sum up, apart from pork, Dutch colonial culinary influences was significantly characterised by the introduction of alcoholic and dairy ingredients and particularly canned condensed milk into the Dutch East Indies. Notably, the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained the most diverse knowledge and application of the preservation of dairy ingredients while *Aaltje 14* contained the largest diversity of different alcohols. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, outlined specific information on the usage of specifically canned and refrigerated dairy ingredients as well as larger diversity of exchanged alcohols, including the transfer of arak into the *Haagsche Kookschool*.

⁵⁴⁰See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 239, 48, and 56.

⁵⁴¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 86, 145, and 188.

⁵⁴²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 236, 261, and 238.

⁵⁴³See, for example, *ibid.*, 216, 213, and 209.

⁵⁴⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 278.

⁵⁴⁵See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 36, 33, and 11.

⁵⁴⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 5, 7, and 29.

⁵⁴⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 17, 28, and 85.

⁵⁴⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 127, 137, and 160.

⁵⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 284-285.

Seasoning

In contrast to dairy and alcohol, two of the main ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands were spices and sugar, alongside the previously discussed citrus fruits, coffee, and rice.⁵⁵⁰ In this context, it is necessary to highlight that, as previously noted, like coffee, the first source for sugar within the Dutch colonial context were the Dutch West Indies.⁵⁵¹ However, like both coffee, sugar was cultivated large-scale on plantations across the Dutch East Indies as part of the cultuurstelsel. Consequently, by the end of the 19th century, significant parts of the Dutch sugar trade relied on sugar from the Dutch East Indies. This was especially relevant in the context of the previously outlined exponential expansion of Dutch and Indische sugar consumption. As aforementioned, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, for example, specifically analysed that sugar consumption per capita rose from a Dutch average of four to fourteen kilograms between 1850 and 1900.⁵⁵² Nevertheless, the most central ingredients exported from the Dutch East Indies had been spices since the European early modern period. By the 19th century, the most central spices cultivated in the Dutch East Indies were pepper, cloves, mace, nutmeg, cinnamon, and vanilla⁵⁵³. These spices were used by the Indische communities, the majority populations of the Dutch East Indies, and the Dutch upper- and middle-classes. However, these spices were used in different quantities and different combinations by these different communities. The Indische cuisine, for instance mostly used these spices to combine a diversity of different types of flavours. The Indische cuisine, for example, frequently combined specifically spicy pepper as addition to the characteristic flavour combinations created by the sour lemon and the umami soy sauce flavours.⁵⁵⁴ In contrast, the Dutch cuisines preferred less varying flavour combinations. Hence, Dutch cuisines mostly combined only two or three distinctive flavours by, for instance, adding sour lemon to umami-flavoured meats.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁰See, for example, Matthew Sargent, "Global Trade and Local Knowledge: Gathering Natural Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century Indonesia," in *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, eds Tara Alberts and DRM Irving (Bloomsbury, 2013), 145, Hans Pols, "Jamu, The Indigenous Medical Arts of the Indonesian Archipelago," in *The Bright Dark Ages: Comparative and Connective Perspectives*, eds. Arun Bala and Prasenjit Duara (Brill, 2016), 165-169, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 170, Eric Alan Jones, "Wives, Slaves, and Concubines: A History of the Female Underclass in Dutch Asia," (PhD Thesis, University of California Berkeley, 1999), 50-53, and Susie Protschky, "Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies, 1800-1949," *Art History* 34, no. 3 (2011): 515.

⁵⁵¹See, for instance, Susie Protschky, "Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies, 1800-1949," *Art History* 34, no. 3 (2011): 513, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-171.

⁵⁵²See, for example, Parulian Silean, and Ciorstan J. Smark, "The "Culture System" in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870: How Rawls' Original Position Ethics were Violated," *University of Wollongong*, (2006): 1-2, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-171.

⁵⁵³It is notable that vanilla originated in the Americas, yet had by the nineteenth century been introduced and commercially cultivated in the Dutch East Indies. See, for instance, F. A. W. Miquel, *Flora van Nederlands Indië* (C. G. an der Post, 1855), 719.

⁵⁵⁴See, for example, Ueda, and Wibisono, "Dutch Oven and Bantaneese Cooking Stove," 435, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 101-105.

⁵⁵⁵See Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 99-101, as well as, for instance, *Aaltje* 14, 80, 82, and 87, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 46, 57, and 82.

Several spices were, furthermore, used frequently by the Indische and the majority populations of the Dutch East Indies but were only marginally used in The Netherlands. These spices included, for example, coriander, and curcuma.⁵⁵⁶ At this juncture, it is relevant to note that despite the centrality of spices traded from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands, a number of Dutch seasoning ingredients were, likewise, transported to the Dutch East Indies. These Dutch seasoning ingredients encompassed, for instance, parsley,⁵⁵⁷ and thyme.⁵⁵⁸ Although the trade of these Dutch herbs to the Dutch East Indies was in much fewer quantities than the trade of spices from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands. For example, while cinnamon was mentioned across both Dutch cookbooks analysed here over 130 times,⁵⁵⁹ parsley was only referenced 22 times across both Indische cookbooks analysed here.⁵⁶⁰ The Dutch cookbooks, moreover, featured a number of local seasoning ingredients absent from both Indische cookbooks. This included, for instance, dandelions,⁵⁶¹ love-in-a-mist (*Nigella damascene*),⁵⁶² chamomile,⁵⁶³ and common violets (*Viola odorata*).⁵⁶⁴

Dutch Seasoning Ingredients

This usage of seasoning ingredients was, furthermore, closely illustrated within the cookbooks analysed here. More specifically the *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, referenced a number of Dutch seasoning ingredients such as parsley,⁵⁶⁵ capers⁵⁶⁶ and honey.⁵⁶⁷ Still, the *Indisch Kookboek* did, once more, display only limited specific ecological knowledge on these ingredients with no reference to the seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of any of these Dutch seasoning ingredients. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, on the other hand, used more diverse Dutch seasoning ingredients such as parsley, chervil,⁵⁶⁸ capers,⁵⁶⁹ thyme,⁵⁷⁰ rosemary,⁵⁷¹ tarragon,⁵⁷² and marjoram.⁵⁷³ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, used these Dutch seasoning ingredients in more numerous dishes than the *Indisch Kookboek*. Although the overall usage of Dutch seasoning ingredients in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was still limited.

⁵⁵⁶See Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 101-102, as well as for example, *Indisch Kookboek* 115, 89, and 6, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 4, 8, and 13.

⁵⁵⁷See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek* 6, 40, and 36, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 182, 27 and 148.

⁵⁵⁸See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 194, 196, and 383.

⁵⁵⁹See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 70, 68, and 46, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 166, 169, and 186.

⁵⁶⁰See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek* 6, 40, and 36, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 182, 27 and 148.

⁵⁶¹See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 184.

⁵⁶²See, for example, *ibid.*, 351.

⁵⁶³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 348, and 355.

⁵⁶⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 266.

⁵⁶⁵See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek* 6, 40, and 36,

⁵⁶⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 19, 9, and 16.

⁵⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 52.

⁵⁶⁸See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 161, 170, and 198.

⁵⁶⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 111, 123, and 128.

⁵⁷⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 194, 196, and 383.

⁵⁷¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 73, 99, and 196.

⁵⁷²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 161, 198, and 199.

⁵⁷³See, for example, *ibid.*, 196, and 382.

This is, for instance, well-illustrated by the example of parsley which continued to be the most frequently used Dutch seasoning ingredient in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* but was used in only 45 dishes.⁵⁷⁴ This was significantly more than the 23 dishes with parsley in the *Indisch Kookboek* yet distinctively less than the 85 dishes with parsley in *Aaltje 14*.⁵⁷⁵ Still, despite this increase in the usage of Dutch seasoning ingredients, neither the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* nor *Aaltje 14* contained any ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of any of the Dutch seasoning ingredients. However, *Aaltje 14* did use a wider diversity of Dutch seasoning ingredients than either Indische cookbook, including parsley, dandelion,⁵⁷⁶ elder,⁵⁷⁷ common violets,⁵⁷⁸ hyssop,⁵⁷⁹ spearmint,⁵⁸⁰ horseradish,⁵⁸¹ and chamomile.⁵⁸² The Dutch seasoning ingredients were, furthermore, central to both the recipes and the home remedies within *Aaltje 14*.⁵⁸³ *Aaltje 14*, for example, specifically recommended the application of horseradish on the temples to reduce headaches,⁵⁸⁴ or to inhale vapours from boiled water with marjoram and love-in-a-mist (*Nigella damascene*) to reduce sinus infections.⁵⁸⁵ This is particularly relevant since none of the other main cookbooks analysed here used Dutch seasoning ingredients within home remedies. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, generally featured a more limited diversity of Dutch seasoning ingredients than *Aaltje 14*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, primarily used only parsley,⁵⁸⁶ thyme,⁵⁸⁷ garden burnet (*Sanguisorba minor*),⁵⁸⁸ tarragon,⁵⁸⁹ and chervil.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, like the other cookbooks analysed here, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, once more, not showcase any ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of any of these Dutch seasoning ingredients.

⁵⁷⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 182, 27 and 148.

⁵⁷⁵See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 328, 44, and 48.

⁵⁷⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁷⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 273, 281, and 343.

⁵⁷⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 266.

⁵⁷⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 133, 143, and 148.

⁵⁸⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 238, 355, and 356.

⁵⁸¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 113, 129, and 156.

⁵⁸²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 348, and 355.

⁵⁸³See, *ibid.*, 342-360.

⁵⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 342.

⁵⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 351.

⁵⁸⁶See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 6, 8, and 76.

⁵⁸⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 99, 81, and 121.

⁵⁸⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 28, 126, and xliii.

⁵⁸⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 62, 107, and 115.

⁵⁹⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 11, 20, and 75.

Seasoning Ingredients from the Dutch East Indies

Contrastingly, the *Indisch Kookboek* required one or several of the following spices from the Dutch East Indies in 74 percent of its dishes: nutmeg,⁵⁹¹ lombok,⁵⁹² garlic,⁵⁹³ coriander,⁵⁹⁴ lemon leaves,⁵⁹⁵ curcuma,⁵⁹⁶ pepper,⁵⁹⁷ mace,⁵⁹⁸ lemongrass,⁵⁹⁹ bay leaves,⁶⁰⁰ cinnamon,⁶⁰¹ or tamarind.⁶⁰² The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, featured over 100 dishes with sugar.⁶⁰³ Less frequently used seasoning ingredients from the Dutch East Indies in the *Indisch Kookboek* included for example, kentjoor (*Kaempferia galanga*),⁶⁰⁴ or kembang sepatoe (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*).⁶⁰⁵ Similar to the Dutch seasoning ingredients, the *Indisch Kookboek*, contained no additional ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of these spices. Yet, the *Indisch Kookboek* did display multiple distinctive preservation methods for the preparation of dried and pickled spice mixes. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specified that for preserving lombok, fresh lombok first had to be cut into small pieces, subsequently pickled in salt for a night, dried in the sun for several hours the following day while vinegar had to be boiled and, finally, the lombok had to be added to the vinegar after it had cooled.⁶⁰⁶ Like the previously outlined plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained the largest diversity of spices from the Dutch East Indies. Similar to the previously discussed plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, outlined highly specific ecological knowledge on the culinary usage, preservation, taxonomy, as well as the Malay, Dutch, and Latin names for each of these spices.⁶⁰⁷ Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, as for the other plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies, not add any ecological knowledge on the seasonality, or cultivation of any of these spices. Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did highlight various prices and purchase availabilities of most of these spices in both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, in this context, specifically highlighted the centrality of the Indische stores in the Hague as a crucial source of Indische products within The Netherlands.⁶⁰⁸

⁵⁹¹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 6, 31, and 38.

⁵⁹²See, for example, *ibid.*, 120, 165, and 165.

⁵⁹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 81, 82 and 83.

⁵⁹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 81, 83, and 84.

⁵⁹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 105, 87, and 86.

⁵⁹⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 115, 89, and 6.

⁵⁹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

⁵⁹⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 2, 5, and 11.

⁵⁹⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 109, 167, and 6.

⁶⁰⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 84, 85, and 88.

⁶⁰¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 69, 54, and 168.

⁶⁰²See, for example, *ibid.*, 168, 169, and 120.

⁶⁰³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 169, 168, and 167.

⁶⁰⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 83, 99, and 100.

⁶⁰⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 65, and 33.

⁶⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 165.

⁶⁰⁷Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 379-394.

⁶⁰⁸See *ibid.*, 385-395, and Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 5-19.

Likewise, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* portrayed the importance of both fresh produce markets for the procurement of spices within the urban contexts of the Dutch East Indies.⁶⁰⁹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, used sugar in over 500 dishes.⁶¹⁰ More generally, the most frequently used spices within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were nutmeg,⁶¹¹ lombok,⁶¹² garlic,⁶¹³ coriander,⁶¹⁴ lemongrass,⁶¹⁵ curcuma,⁶¹⁶ pepper,⁶¹⁷ mace,⁶¹⁸ bay leaves,⁶¹⁹ vanilla,⁶²⁰ cinnamon,⁶²¹ and tamarind.⁶²² In contrast, *Aaltje 14* relied on mace,⁶²³ nutmeg,⁶²⁴ cloves,⁶²⁵ and pepper⁶²⁶ for savoury dishes and cinnamon,⁶²⁷ and sugar for sweet dishes.⁶²⁸ Similar to the lemon, most of these spices and particularly pepper, cloves, cinnamon and nutmeg have a long central role in the Dutch colonial material culture. Pols, and Jones, for instance, portrayed how already during the European early Modern period, the Dutch general public had become accustomed to a consistent availability of colonial product in commonplace consumption contexts. By the nineteenth century these spices had become self-evident parts of Dutch consumption patterns despite their continued long-distance import from the Dutch East Indies.⁶²⁹ This self-evident centrality is, for example, illustrated by *Aaltje 7* which already included 473 dishes featuring one or multiple of these spices.⁶³⁰ This usage of spices from the Dutch East Indies in Dutch cooking was further increased from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The main reasons of this increase were the previously outlined improvement in Dutch living standards and overall intensification of the production of export products within the Dutch East Indies.⁶³¹ Consequently, *Aaltje 14* had an increased number of 1404 dishes featuring one or multiple of these spices.

⁶⁰⁹See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 196, Den Hartog, "Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia," 38, and Pols, "European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies," 174-175.

⁶¹⁰See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 30, 31, and 34.

⁶¹¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 5, 7, and 20.

⁶¹²See, for example, *ibid.*, 20, 24, and 26.

⁶¹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 26, 27, and 31.

⁶¹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 4, 6, and 7.

⁶¹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 4, 46, and 6.

⁶¹⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 4, 275, and 387.

⁶¹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 3, 12, and 20.

⁶¹⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 62, 73, and 75.

⁶¹⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 67, 182, and 183.

⁶²⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 187, 218, and 235.

⁶²¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 237, 244, and 3.

⁶²²See, for example, *ibid.*, 11, 33, and 212.

⁶²³See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 43, 45, and 75.

⁶²⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 44, 54, and 65.

⁶²⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 67, 72, and 77.

⁶²⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 51, 54, and 75.

⁶²⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 68, 69, and 130.

⁶²⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 130, 137, and 187.

⁶²⁹See, Sargent, "Global Trade and Local Knowledge," 145, Pols, "Jamu," 165-169, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 170, Jones, "Wives, Slaves, and Concubines," 50-53, and Protschky, "Dutch Still Lives and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies," 515.

⁶³⁰See, for instance, *Aaltje 7*, 19, 3, and 41.

⁶³¹See, for example, Protschky, "Dutch Still Lives and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies," 515, Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System' in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870," 1-2, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 169-171.

The centrality of these spices is further demonstrated by the significance of these spices within both Dutch preservation techniques and Dutch home remedies in *Aaltje 14*. For instance, there were 133 references to one or more of these spices, including lemon in the 81 preservation methods in *Aaltje 14*,⁶³² while its 44 home remedies included 28 references to at least one ingredient from the Dutch East Indies.⁶³³ Some of these preservation methods and home remedies, thus, included multiple ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. In this connection it is, likewise, noteworthy that while these spices were used within Dutch preservation methods, neither *Aaltje 7* nor *Aaltje 14* contained any additional ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation or preservation of these spices themselves. Similar to the previously described usage of garlic and onions, the dishes in both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* contained significantly fewer amounts of these spices than the dishes in the *Indisch Kookboek*. *Aaltje 14* even explicitly warned against the too extensive usage of spices and expressed an explicit dislike for heavily spiced dishes.⁶³⁴ Lastly, it is necessary briefly consider expenses. Both *Aaltje 14* and especially *Aaltje 7* were, unlike the other cookbooks analysed here, explicitly intended to primarily provide a collection of frugal dishes. Yet, as van Dam and Witteveen highlighted, one of the primary price barriers for the usage of both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* would have been this frequent requirement of imported spices.⁶³⁵ This price barrier was further exacerbated as both *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14* included multiple dishes with either saffron or vanilla which were two of the most expensive products imported from the Dutch East Indies during the 1860s.⁶³⁶ This price barrier was even further exacerbated within the *Haagsche Kookschool*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, generally centred the most expensive dishes from all cookbooks analysed here. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, used the highly expensive truffles in 29 dishes.⁶³⁷ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, used even more spices imported from the Dutch East Indies than either *Aaltje 7* and *Aaltje 14*. Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* still used significantly less spices from Dutch East Indies than either Indische cookbook. More specifically, the *Haagsche Kookschool* primarily used cinnamon,⁶³⁸ sugar,⁶³⁹ and vanilla for sweet dishes,⁶⁴⁰ and mace,⁶⁴¹ cloves,⁶⁴² nutmeg,⁶⁴³ and pepper for savoury dishes.⁶⁴⁴ In this context, it is notable, that the *Haagsche Kookschool*, in contrast to the overall Dutch consumption patterns, used specifically sugar, like *Aaltje 14*, in only over 150 dishes.⁶⁴⁵

⁶³²See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 284, 285, and 286.

⁶³³See *ibid.*, 342-360.

⁶³⁴*Ibid.*, 295.

⁶³⁵See Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 26-33, and Witteveen, "Aaltje and her Publishers," 281-297.

⁶³⁶See, for example, *Aaltje 7*, 44, 52, and 231, and *Aaltje 14*, 66, 210, and 253.

⁶³⁷See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 32, 35, and 55.

⁶³⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 166, 185, and 191.

⁶³⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 15, 18, and 131.

⁶⁴⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 168, 171, and 172.

⁶⁴¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 5, 57, and 292.

⁶⁴²See, for example, *ibid.*, 25, 31, and 50.

⁶⁴³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 93, 95, and 81.

⁶⁴⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 7, 15, and 23.

⁶⁴⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 12, 16, and 112.

What is more, is that the *Haagsche Kookschool* continued to centre these spices from the Dutch East Indies in the preservation techniques of Dutch Ingredients.⁶⁴⁶ Yet, despite this continued centrality, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, still showcased no ecological knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation, or either the economic or biological availability of any of these spices imported from the Dutch East Indies.

Summary

In conclusion, like fruits, and drupes, there were significantly more spices from the Dutch East Indies featured in the Dutch cookbooks than Dutch seasoning ingredients in the Indische cookbooks. Moreover, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, once more contained the widest diversity and the most extensive knowledge on spices from the Dutch East Indies while *Aaltje 14* included the widest variety of Dutch seasoning ingredients. As with the other ingredients, the number and diversity of Dutch seasoning ingredients in the Indische cookbooks and the number and diversity of spices from the Dutch East Indies in the Dutch cookbooks increased significantly after the opening of the 1869 Suez Canal. Despite, this amplified exchange of knowledge, none of the cookbooks analysed here contained ecological knowledge on the seasonality, or cultivation of any seasoning ingredients.

⁶⁴⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 208, 211, and 212.

Easter Bread and Military Sambel Serdadoe: Social Knowledge and Social contexts of Consumption

Dish Concepts

The Indisch Kookboek

When discussing the socio-ecological knowledge and social contexts of consumption, it is, firstly, important to consider the social concepts reflected in the overall structure and dish categorisation of the cookbooks analysed here. This was, for example, particularly relevant for the structure of the *Indisch Kookboek* which was closely defined by the colonial context of its publication. More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* was divided into two halves, establishing a conceptual dichotomy between Dutch dishes and local dishes from the Dutch East Indies.⁶⁴⁷ As Nope-Williams argued, this dichotomy directly reflected Dutch colonial ideological divisions between colonial officials and colonial subjects.⁶⁴⁸ In contrast to this conceptual dichotomy, the inconsistencies of specific dish categorisation within the *Indisch Kookboek* did portray a diversity of intercultural culinary exchanges which partially subverted this ideological dichotomy. The first half within the *Indisch Kookboek* with the Dutch dishes, for instance, featured numerous hybrid dishes, and even dishes which only contained ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies. Two specific examples of these dishes from the Dutch East Indies categorised as “Dutch” in the *Indisch Kookboek* were ananas prol (“fried pineapple”) and arawroot podding (“arrowroot pudding”). More specifically, ananas prol centred both pineapple and cinnamon from the Dutch East Indies.⁶⁴⁹ Whereas arawroot podding centred primarily Polynesian arrowroot (*Tacca leontopetaloides*) and out of 10 ingredients listed milk as the only Dutch ingredient.⁶⁵⁰ Similarly, the second half of the *Indisch Kookboek* which centred local dishes from the Dutch East Indie, likewise, encompassed a number of Dutch ingredients and Dutch dish concepts. Two specific examples of Dutch ingredients used in dishes categorised as “local” in the *Indisch Kookboek* incorporated, for instance, klappertaart (“coconut cake”) and Javaansche broodjes gebakken in een poffertjes pan (“Javanese buns baked in a poffertjes pan”). More specifically, as previously noted, klappertaart, while centring coconuts, likewise, featured Dutch rum, milk, butter, and the preparation within a Dutch oven.⁶⁵¹ Whereas Javaansche broodjes gebakken in een poffertjes pan, while only using ingredients from the Dutch East Indies, required knowledge of both the concept of Dutch buns, and the usage of both Dutch poffertjes pans and a Dutch oven.⁶⁵² Yet, despite these inconsistencies, this overall structure based on colonial ideological dichotomy remained highly relevant within the *Indisch Kookboek*. This was, for example, further intensified by overall selection of dish categories within the *Indisch Kookboek*.

⁶⁴⁷*Indisch Kookboek*.

⁶⁴⁸Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 58-69.

⁶⁴⁹*Indisch Kookboek*, 55.

⁶⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁵¹*Ibid.*, 132, and Clarissa et al., “Klappertaart,” 147-152.

⁶⁵²*Indisch Kookboek*, 156.

More specifically, apart from “Dutch food”⁶⁵³ and “local food”,⁶⁵⁴ the *Indisch Kookboek* only explicitly distinguished between local sweets,⁶⁵⁵ Dutch preservation techniques,⁶⁵⁶ and local preservation techniques.⁶⁵⁷ Consequently this specific selection of dish categories further underlined the conceptual colonial dichotomy. These dish categories were, moreover, central in the absence of any other structuring. This absence of further structuring was, for example, demonstrated by the diversities of 28 different sambals within the *Indisch Kookboek*. More specifically, these sambals were not categorised together but dispersed across the chapter on local savoury dishes.⁶⁵⁸ Similarly, the *Indisch Kookboek* contained 36 different puddings haphazardly listed across the chapter of Dutch dishes.⁶⁵⁹ In the context of this absence of further structuring, it is, furthermore, relevant to highlight that the *Indisch Kookboek*, thereby, lacked central socio-ecological knowledge on both Dutch and Indische meal structures. As Protschky highlighted one of the primary concepts in 1860s Indische food consumption habits was the rijsttafel.⁶⁶⁰ This was, likewise, reflected in the *Indisch Kookboek* which did contain various dish categories relevant for the rijsttafel such as a diversity of sambels,⁶⁶¹ and achars.⁶⁶² Yet, the *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, lacked number of central dishes of the rijsttafel. Kuipers, and Protschky, for instance, stressed that dishes with fried bananas were central to a full rijsttafel.⁶⁶³ However, as previously noted, the *Indisch Kookboek* featured no single dish using banana fruits. Hence, the *Indisch Kookboek* did not offer instructions for a complete Indisch meal. Similarly, the *Indisch Kookboek* featured several culinary concepts central to Dutch cuisine during the nineteenth century. This included, for example, the centrality of slow-cooked sauces,⁶⁶⁴ stews,⁶⁶⁵ vlas,⁶⁶⁶ crèmes,⁶⁶⁷ puddings,⁶⁶⁸ and pastries.⁶⁶⁹ However, the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, lacked some of the culinary concepts central to 1860s Dutch cooking. More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* did not include any salads or porridges and only incorporated three soup dishes.⁶⁷⁰ This was, likewise, relevant when considering nineteenth-century Dutch full-course meals. As *Aaltje 14* described, while variations on different structured of full-course meals were socially accepted in The Netherlands during 1860s, several overall guidelines were maintained. One of these guidelines was that each complete Dutch full-course meal of the 1860s had to distinguish a separate course reserved exclusively to soups.

⁶⁵³Ibid., 1-80.

⁶⁵⁴Ibid., 81-130.

⁶⁵⁵Ibid., 131-156.

⁶⁵⁶Ibid., 157-160.

⁶⁵⁷Ibid., 161-169.

⁶⁵⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 126, 94, and 85.

⁶⁵⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 47, 61, and 79.

⁶⁶⁰See Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357, and Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 369-385.

⁶⁶¹See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 126, 94, and 85.

⁶⁶²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 161, 163, and 165.

⁶⁶³Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 9, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 351.

⁶⁶⁴See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 7, 11, 21.

⁶⁶⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 14, 39, and 31.

⁶⁶⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 62, 45, and 53.

⁶⁶⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 44, 45, and 47.

⁶⁶⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 47, 61, and 79.

⁶⁶⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 45, 68, and 74.

⁶⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 12, 40, and 88.

Hence, with the absence of salads and soups, the *Indisch Kookboek* did not contain instructions for preparing what was, according to *Aaltje 14*, considered a complete Dutch full-course meal.⁶⁷¹

Aaltje 14

In contrast to the *Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14* was primarily⁶⁷² structured according to the dishes and social expectations of what was considered a 1860s Dutch full-course meal. *Aaltje 14* even dedicated three chapters specifically on the social instructions of hosting a Dutch full-course meal, as outlined in the following subchapter.⁶⁷³ The chapters in *Aaltje 14*, with the exception of the chapters on food etiquette, food preservation⁶⁷⁴ and home remedies,⁶⁷⁵ were even structured according to the different sequential components of what was socially accepted as a Dutch full-course meal by the Dutch middle classes of the 1860s. *Aaltje 14*, thus, specifically started with chapters on soups and minor main and side dishes as part of the first course,⁶⁷⁶ followed by the primary main and side dishes as the second course,⁶⁷⁷ and finally desserts and coffee as the third course.⁶⁷⁸ Although, according to *Aaltje 14* in less formal full-course meals, it was socially acceptable to only serve soup during the first course. *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, stressed that while the first and third courses were central for a complete Dutch full-course meal, they were less important than the second course. More specifically, the second course was larger, required more time for preparation and consumption, and was considered to attract significantly more social attention than the other courses.⁶⁷⁹ This was, likewise, reflected in the overall structure of *Aaltje 14* which only featured one chapter for all soups⁶⁸⁰ and 6 chapters for all desserts,⁶⁸¹ yet distinguished between 14 different chapters on main and side dishes. It is, in this context notable that the overall structure of *Aaltje 14*, moreover, reflected specifically the previously outlined wide-ranging knowledge on Dutch meats.

⁶⁷¹ *Aaltje 14*, 41-42.

⁶⁷² This notably excluded the chapters on preservation methods, the slachttijd, and the home remedies, as discussed in the following subchapter.

⁶⁷³ This included the chapters, “het voorsnijden” (“the carving,” which included information on the generation preparations for presenting food in social settings), “Honneurs aan tafel waar te nemen” (“Recognising food etiquette”), “het dienen van wijnen” (“the serving of wines” which primarily specified which wine to serve in which social setting). See *Aaltje 14*, 32-42, 334-336, and 336-338 respectively.

⁶⁷⁴ This encompassed the chapters, “groenten en fruiten inleggen” (“pickling vegetables and fruits”), “groenten en fruiten drogen” (“drying vegetables and fruits”), “konfijten” (“candyng” i.e. sugar-based preservation techniques), and “Slachttijd bereidingen” (“preparations during the slachttijd” i.e. meat preparations for winter). See *Aaltje 14*, 284-295, 296-300, 301-315, and 316-327 respectively.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 342-360.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 42, and 43-81.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 42, and 82-213.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 42, and 214-283.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-76.

⁶⁸¹ This entailed the chapters, “gebak” (“pastries”), “suikergebak” (“sugar pastries”), “vladen” (“vlas”), “geleien” (“jellies”), “roomgerechten” (“cream-based dishes”), and “crêmes” (cream-based sauces). See *ibid.*, 214-265, 266-268, 269-270, 271-276, 277-280, and 281-283.

Aaltje 14, for example, specifically distinguished 8 different chapters on differently categorised meats and meat dishes,⁶⁸² while, for instance, only incorporating one chapter for all dishes centring fruits and drupes as main ingredients.⁶⁸³ At this juncture, it is significant to highlight that despite this detailed knowledge of Dutch food consumption habits, neither the overall structure, nor the dish categorisation in *Aaltje 14* contained any reference to Indische food consumption habits.

The Haagsche Kookschool

Comparatively, neither the overall structure nor the dish categorisation of the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, showcased no knowledge on Indische food consumption habits. Instead, the structure of the *Haagsche Kookschool*, like *Aaltje 14*, closely reflected the different dishes and sequence of dishes in a Dutch full-course meal.⁶⁸⁴ Although it is notable that by the end of the nineteenth century, the norms of the Dutch full-course meal had been altered. More specifically, with an increased influence from French culinary practices, the Dutch full-course meal had by 1890s, started to include a separate course for appetisers, as well as a wider diversity of sauces. This was, likewise, reflected in the structure of the *Haagsche Kookschool* which distinguished one chapter specifically on appetisers,⁶⁸⁵ and 3 different chapters on different types of sauces.⁶⁸⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, contained chapters on ice creams,⁶⁸⁷ and iced beverages.⁶⁸⁸ This, moreover, demonstrated the previously noted introduction of refrigeration techniques into Dutch and Indische culinary practices by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸⁹ Additionally, the *Haagsche Kookschool* was the only cookbooks analysed here which differentiated specific chapters on potatoes,⁶⁹⁰ meat leftovers,⁶⁹¹ and biscuits.⁶⁹² Yet, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, unlike *Aaltje 14*, incorporated no chapter on home remedies. Manden even stated in the introduction to the *Haagsche Kookschool* that she would explicitly exclude home-remedies and medical food knowledge.

⁶⁸²This included the chapters, “Osse- of rundvleesch” (“ox meat or beef”), “kalfsvleesch” (“veal”), “schape- of lamsvleesch” (“mutton and lamb”), “varkensvleesch” (“pork”), “wildbraad” (“venison”), “gevogelte” (“fowl and poultry meats”), “visch” (“fish”), and “Slachttijd bereidingen” (“preparations during the slachttijd” i.e. meat preparations for winter). See *ibid.*, 82-91, 92-104, 105-112, 113-119, 120-125, 126-138, 139-170, and 316-327 respectively.

⁶⁸³*Ibid.*, 192-200.

⁶⁸⁴The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, likewise, started with soups, followed by appetisers, meat main and side dishes, sauces for meat dishes, vegetable main and side dishes, potato dishes, egg dishes, general side dishes, and desserts. See Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 1-24, 25-41, 42-109, 110-129, 130-152, 153-154, 155-162, 184-200 respectively, as well as the dessert chapters ranging from 163-183, 201-206, 214-220, 231-265, 284-296.

⁶⁸⁵See “Hors d’oeuvre, entremets, entrées enz.” (“appetisers”). *Ibid.*, 25-41.

⁶⁸⁶See “warme sausen” (“warm sauces”), “koude sausen” (“cold sauces”), and “zoete sausen” (“sweet sauces”). *Ibid.*, 110-124, 124-129, and 201-206 respectively.

⁶⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 284-285.

⁶⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 286-290.

⁶⁸⁹See, for instance, Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 66-70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2001-2002, Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,”” 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

⁶⁹⁰Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 153-154.

⁶⁹¹*Ibid.*, 88-100.

⁶⁹²*Ibid.*, 249-265.

Her main motivation for this absence was to avoid overlaps with the *Handleiding tot het Bereiden van Voedingsmiddelen voor Zieken en Herstellenden*, (“*Guide to the Preparation of Food for Ill and Healing Patients*”) likewise, authored by A. C. Manden which would be published in 1894.⁶⁹³ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, significantly reduced the distinctions between meat dishes to only four different chapters centring meats. These specific chapters included one chapter on fish,⁶⁹⁴ one chapter on other commercially obtained meats,⁶⁹⁵ one chapter on hunted venison, fowl, and poultry,⁶⁹⁶ and one chapter on meat leftovers.⁶⁹⁷ This, likewise, illustrated the previously analysed reduction of knowledge on Dutch meats and meat preparation between *Aaltje 14* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*. Instead of centring knowledge on Dutch meats, the structure of the *Haagsche Kookschool* outlined the most knowledge and distinctions between different preservation techniques. More specifically, the *Haagsche Kookschool* featured chapters on preservation techniques with vinegar,⁶⁹⁸ preservation through ice cream production,⁶⁹⁹ boiled fruit preservation,⁷⁰⁰ sugar-based fruit preservation,⁷⁰¹ meat preservation using gelatine and vinegar,⁷⁰² and overall vegetable preservation.⁷⁰³

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, included only 4 different chapters on meat dishes. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, hereby, specifically distinguished between fish dishes,⁷⁰⁴ chicken dishes,⁷⁰⁵ other fowl dishes,⁷⁰⁶ and one chapter with all other meat dishes.⁷⁰⁷ This, moreover, closely reflected the previously mentioned centrality of fowl and poultry in Indische cuisine as outlined by Burke.⁷⁰⁸ The structure of the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, generally, closely adhered to both Indische food consumption habits more generally as well as specifically containing all central components to a complete rijsttafel.

⁶⁹³A. C. Manden, *Handleiding tot het Bereiden van Voedingsmiddelen voor Zieken en Herstellenden* (Gebroeders J. H. van Langenhuysen, 1894).

⁶⁹⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 101-109.

⁶⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 42-71.

⁶⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 72-87.

⁶⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 88-100.

⁶⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 279-285.

⁶⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 84-285.

⁷⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 207-213.

⁷⁰¹*Ibid.*, 269-278.

⁷⁰²*Ibid.*, 226-230.

⁷⁰³*Ibid.*, 266-268.

⁷⁰⁴Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 130-148.

⁷⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 57-88.

⁷⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 89-95.

⁷⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 96-129.

⁷⁰⁸Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 75-77.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, encompassed chapters on achars,⁷⁰⁹ sayurs,⁷¹⁰ curries,⁷¹¹ dishes with sambal sauces,⁷¹² sambal gorengs,⁷¹³ wrapped botok dishes,⁷¹⁴ sate skewers,⁷¹⁵ and kwée pastries.⁷¹⁶ Although it is notable that, as Locher-Scholten highlighted, by 1902 when the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was published, Dutch full-course meals were already regarded as more socially prestigious than the rijsttafel within the totok and Indische social contexts of the Dutch East Indies. Consequently, a full rijsttafel was, within totok and Indische social contexts of the early 20th century within the Dutch East Indies, rather consumed in private social contexts rather than served when hosting social events.⁷¹⁷ What is more, is that, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* added chapters outlining the central components of a Dutch full-course meal. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, incorporated chapters on soups,⁷¹⁸ salads,⁷¹⁹ sauces,⁷²⁰ vegetables,⁷²¹ and meat main and side dishes,⁷²² and desserts.⁷²³ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, featured 7 specific chapters on the linguistic and cultural translations of the preparation of Indische dishes in The Netherlands as discussed in the fourth chapter.⁷²⁴ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, dedicated a chapter on the preparation of specifically Dutch vegetable dishes in the Dutch East Indies.⁷²⁵ Consequently, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was the only cookbooks analysed here not only adhering to both Dutch and Indische food consumption habits. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was, furthermore, the only cookbooks whose structure directly incorporated reciprocal interregional exchange of knowledge between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. Although, it is in this connection relevant to highlight that the structure of the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* still primarily centred the Indische cuisine.

⁷⁰⁹Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 200-208.

⁷¹⁰*Ibid.*, 11-19.

⁷¹¹*Ibid.*, 20-30.

⁷¹²*Ibid.*, 32-50.

⁷¹³*Ibid.*, 50-56.

⁷¹⁴*Ibid.*, 149-150.

⁷¹⁵*Ibid.*, 151-157.

⁷¹⁶*Ibid.*, 212-242.

⁷¹⁷Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141-145.

⁷¹⁸Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 169-178.

⁷¹⁹*Ibid.*, 191-194.

⁷²⁰*Ibid.*, 178-187.

⁷²¹*Ibid.*, 188-190.

⁷²²*Ibid.*, 57-148.

⁷²³*Ibid.*, 208- 379.

⁷²⁴*Ibid.*, 188-190.

⁷²⁵This encompassed specifically the chapters, “Voor Holland” (“for The Netherlands”), “Gedroogde Kruiden” (“Dried Spices”), “Verhoudingen” (“Proportions”), “Gekochte sambelans en sambel-gorengs” (“Store-bought sambels and sambel gorengs”), “Lijst van Maleische woorden en benamingen, die in de recepten voorkomen” (“List of Malay words and terms used in the recipes”), “Surrogaten” (“surrogates”), “Bak-en kookbenodigdheden” (“Necessary kitchen equipment”). See *ibid.*, 385, 385-386, 387, 388, 389-393, 394, and 395.

This was, for example illustrated that even chapters on primarily Dutch dish concepts such as “gebakken” (“pastries”) contained Indische and hybrid⁷²⁶ dishes such as “ananas beignets” (“pineapple beignets”),⁷²⁷ and “ananas pannekoekjes” (“pineapple pancakes”)⁷²⁸ combining Dutch pastry concepts to pineapples which were prominent in Indische cuisine.⁷²⁹ More specifically, the chapter on pastries within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained 56 dishes which used more than one ingredient from the Dutch East Indies.⁷³⁰ Whereas chapters on specific Indische dish concepts such as the chapter on sambel gorèngs⁷³¹ contained much fewer Dutch or hybrid dishes. The chapter on sambel gorèngs, for example, specifically contained only two reference of Dutch ingredients.⁷³² As previously outlined, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, included a chapter on the scientific taxonomy on plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies.⁷³³ As previously highlighted, this chapter reflected the overall scientification and introduction of new technologies into the domestic spheres at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷³⁴ This was, as aforementioned, closely connected to the introduction of new culinary technologies such as refrigeration and food canning.⁷³⁵ This was, likewise, demonstrated by the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* which, like the *Haagsche Kookschool*, distinguished 10 different chapters on different ice creams and iced beverages using refrigeration.⁷³⁶ Unlike the *Haagsche Kookschool*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, incorporated a chapter specifically centring canned vegetables.⁷³⁷ It is, in this context, relevant to note that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was, generally, the cookbooks analysed here with the largest number of chapters.

⁷²⁶For a detailed discussion of what constitutes a hybrid dish, see chapter 5.

⁷²⁷*Ibid.*, 282.

⁷²⁸*Ibid.*

⁷²⁹See, for example, Pols, “Jamu,” 164 and Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 74.

⁷³⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 281-309.

⁷³¹*Ibid.*, 50-56.

⁷³²This specifically entailed the usage of raisins in sambel gorèng tjiepie, and the usage of bouillon in sambel-gorèng tahoe. See *Ibid.*, 55. While it is in this context notable that the chapter on sambel-gorèngs in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained only a quarter of the pages than the chapter on pastries in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Still, the chapter on pastries encompassed an average of 2 dishes per page containing more than one ingredients from the Dutch East Indies, while the chapter on sambel gorèngs included the significantly lower average of 0.29 Dutch ingredients per page.

⁷³³*Ibid.*, 379-385.

⁷³⁴See, for instance, Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 66-70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2001-2002, Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,”” 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

⁷³⁵See Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, and Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2001-2002.

⁷³⁶This included the chapters “Ijssoorten, sorbets, granité’s enz.” (“Ice creams, sorbets, granitas, etc.”), “Franse roomijssoorten” (“French ice creams”), “Engelsche roomijssoorten” (“British ice creams”), “Water ijssoorten” (“Water-based ice creams”), “Wijn ijssoorten” (“Wine-based ice creams”), “Verschillende ijssoorten” (“Different ice creams”), “Aerikaansch-Engelsche Sorbets” (“American sorbets”), “Bevrozen puddingen” (“Frozen puddings”), “Brevrozen vla’s” (“Frozen vlas”), “Gefrappeerde dranken” (“Iced drinks”). See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 350-358, 358-359, 359-360, 361-363, 363-365, 365-367, 367-371, 371-373, 373-376, 769-379 respectively.

⁷³⁷*Ibid.*, 188-190.

More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* differentiated between 44 different chapters⁷³⁸ while the *Haagsche Kookschool* had 27,⁷³⁹ *Aaltje 14* featured 32,⁷⁴⁰ and the *Indisch Kookboek* only specified 5 different chapters.⁷⁴¹ In this connection, it is notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically outlined more chapters on desserts than any other cookbook analysed here. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* included 18 different chapters on desserts. Desserts, furthermore, constituted over 41 percent of the total number of dishes within the cookbook.⁷⁴² Hence, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* centred desserts as the most nuanced category of dishes, unlike meats in *Aaltje 14*, and preservation techniques in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. This, moreover, reflected the division of assignments within the Indische household kitchens of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Locher-Scholten, for instance, outlined that in Indische household kitchens of the Dutch East Indies, the kokkie held the majority of the food preparation responsibilities.⁷⁴³ Yet, desserts were an exception to this dynamic. As both Locher-Scholten and Van der Meijden herself stressed, desserts were considered primarily the responsibility of the nyonyas who were the main audience of the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.⁷⁴⁴

Summary

In summary, Dutch consumption habits were more frequently represented in the structure of the Indische cookbooks, whereas Indische consumption habits were absent from the Dutch cookbooks. Both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, reflected the introduction of new consumption habits based on new culinary technologies at the end of the nineteenth century by featuring multiple chapters specialised on canned ingredients and refrigerated ingredients.

Cooking Norms

Apart from the overall structure, and the dish categorisation, it is, moreover, central to consider the socio-ecological relations implied by cooking norms. These cooking norms included, for example, norms surrounding hygiene and water usage. For instance, as previously highlighted, the *Indisch Kookboek* was the only cookbook analysed here with no explicit discussion of either water usage or general kitchen hygiene norms.

Aaltje 14

In contrast, *Aaltje 14* did, as previously outlined, explicitly instruct the usage of rainwater which reflected the concerns of water contamination during this period in The Netherlands.⁷⁴⁵ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, voiced further explicit concerns of hygiene in the context of cooking.

⁷³⁸Ibid., 1-395

⁷³⁹Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*.

⁷⁴⁰*Aaltje 14*.

⁷⁴¹*Indisch Kookboek*.

⁷⁴²See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 208-379, excluding the chapter on salty pastries on pages 309-311.

⁷⁴³Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141-146.

⁷⁴⁴See ibid., and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iii-v.

⁷⁴⁵See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 43, 48, and 52, and Wintle, "Diet and Modernization in The Netherlands," 70.

These hygiene concerns were, likewise, highly relevant in the culinary contexts of the Dutch East Indies yet were entirely absent in the *Indisch Kookboek*.⁷⁴⁶ *Aaltje 14*, for instance, contained extensive instructions on the cleaning and careful selection of ingredients prior to cooking. More specifically, *Aaltje 14* included an explicit reminder of the necessity of cleaning all ingredients prior to cooking in every dish. These cleaning instructions were, moreover, specific to the different ingredients. *Aaltje 14*, for instance, specifically instructed that when preparing artichokes, first, the stiffest leaves had to be removed, the stem, the sharp tips and rims of the leaves had to be cut before the whole artichoke had to be soaked in water prior to cooking.⁷⁴⁷ Whereas plums had to be pitted, washed, and drained individually before being utilised as an ingredient.⁷⁴⁸ The *Indisch Kookboek*, on the other hand, only contained 48 explicit instructions on the cleaning of ingredients before cooking.⁷⁴⁹ This was particularly relevant as both food spoilage and overall food health risks were elevated by the tropical climates of the Dutch East Indies.⁷⁵⁰

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

This centrality of specifically cleaning and overall kitchen hygiene within the Dutch East Indies was, for example, stressed by Van der Meijden who in *Ons Huis in Indië: Handboek bij de Keuze, de Inrichtingen, de Bewoning ende Verzorging van het Huis met Bijgebouwen en Erf, naar de Eischen der Hygiëne, benevens Raadgevingen en Wenken op Huishoudelijk Gebied* (*Ons Huis in Indië*) (“Our House in the Dutch East Indies: Guide to the Choices of Decorations, the Living Experience, and Care for a House with Annexes and Surrounding Land, according to the Relevant Hygiene Norms, with additional Advise on Householding”) stated that the regular cleaning of both house and kitchen as the most important responsibilities of the nyonya.⁷⁵¹ *Ons Huis in Indië*, thereby, outlined, amongst other aspects, various cleaning procedures ranging from, for example, the cleaning of kitchen utensils,⁷⁵² the repelling of insects,⁷⁵³ the cleaning of the house itself as well as surrounding estate,⁷⁵⁴ and the cleaning of clothes.⁷⁵⁵ Although it is necessary to emphasise that, as Kuipers, Stoler, and Strassler stressed, this concentration on hygiene within the colonial households of the Dutch East Indies was, moreover, an expression of colonial efforts for increased social segregation in connection to the *ethische politiek*.

⁷⁴⁶See, for instance, Verweij, *De Acclimatie van Nederlanders in Indië, en van Indiërs in Nederland*, 95-100.

⁷⁴⁷*Aaltje 14*, 176.

⁷⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 200.

⁷⁴⁹See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 7, 11, and 130.

⁷⁵⁰See, for example, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 1983-2017, and Den Hartog, “Acceptance of Milk Products in Southeast Asia,” 36-37.

⁷⁵¹See Yulia Nurliani Lukito, and Rahmia Nurwulandari, “The Ideal house in the Colony Decorating Tips for the Houses in the Dutch East Indies,” *International Journal of Built Environment and Scientific Research* 4, no. 1 (2020): 33-42, and Catenius van der Meijden, *Ons Huis in Indië: Handboek bij de Keuze, de Inrichtingen, de Bewoning ende Verzorging van het Huis met Bijgebouwen en Erf, naar de Eischen der Hygiëne, benevens Raadgevingen en Wenken op Huishoudelijk Gebied* (Masman & Stroink, 1908).

⁷⁵²Van der Meijden, *Ons Huis in Indië*, 286-289.

⁷⁵³*Ibid.*, 47-53, and 288-289.

⁷⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 289-321.

⁷⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 86-101.

Kuipers, Stoler, and Strassler, for example, analysed that by the late nineteenth century, the Dutch colonial narratives were defined by concerns of both social and physical contamination of the Dutch colonial household by local servants.⁷⁵⁶ This was, likewise, closely illustrated by *Ons Huis in Indië*, which included various chapters on the careful managing of kokkies,⁷⁵⁷ and other household servants,⁷⁵⁸ as well as the colonially-inspired perceived dangers of the contamination of children through the close contact with local servants.⁷⁵⁹ In this context, it is, furthermore, necessary to highlight, as Kuipers and Leong-Salobir emphasised, these concerns of contamination by the local servants were in direct contradiction to the lived realities in which nyonias relied on local servants for the vast majority of household and food preparation work.⁷⁶⁰ Yet, despite this emphasis on hygiene and contamination by both the overall Dutch colonial narratives of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as Van der Meijden herself, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically did not explicitly reflect many of these hygiene narratives. As previously noted, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, for instance, not explicitly discuss water procurement. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, only occasionally explicitly emphasised the necessity of cleaning of ingredients prior to cooking.⁷⁶¹ Furthermore, as reviewed in the introduction, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, unlike *Ons Huis in Indië* by Van der Meijden, not explicitly dismiss the importance and high culinary skills of kokkies.⁷⁶² Still, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did centre the nyonya as the central supervisor of all household and culinary activities.⁷⁶³ Yet, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not contain explicit references to the colonial fears of social or physical contamination. Instead, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did even, as illustrated by the quote in the introduction, explicitly acknowledge the high culinary skills of most kokkies.⁷⁶⁴ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, thereby, formed what Forster and Hakimi Hood et al. described as an implicit form of resistance against the predominant colonial narratives in the majority of other Dutch colonial cookbooks of the late 19th and early 20th centuries^{765, 766}

⁷⁵⁶Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 4-19, and Ann Laura Stoler, and Karen Strassler, “Memory Work in Java: A Cautionary Tale,” *The Oral History Reader*, (2016): 387.

⁷⁵⁷Van der Meijden, *Ons Huis in Indië*, 70-73, 107, and 109-112.

⁷⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 139-164, and 202.

⁷⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 263-267.

⁷⁶⁰See Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 4-19, and Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Routledge, 2011), 12-14, and 134-138.

⁷⁶¹See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 2, 27, and 52.

⁷⁶²See, for example, *ibid.*, vii.

⁷⁶³Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iii-1.

⁷⁶⁴*Ibid.*, vii.

⁷⁶⁵See Forster, “The Cookbook as a Responsive Form,” 242-250, and Hakimi-Hood, and Milian, “Cookery and Copyright,” 1-9.

⁷⁶⁶This partial resistance of Van der Meijden against the predominant Dutch colonial narratives was further illustrated in some of her other works. In her book *Naar Indië en Terug*, Van der Meijden, for example explicitly stated: “Waar in Indië onze tekortkomst wel het grootste is, dat is in de *beleefdheid*, die wij in ‘t algemeen den Indo’s verschuldigd zijn, terwijl juist zij zoo fijngevoelig zijn, meer dan menig “beschaafd” Europeaan. Wij vergeten, dat wij eigenlijk in *hun* land zijn. [...] De beleefdheid is den Indo, evenals den inboorling, als ‘t ware aangeboren. Is de Indo onbeleefd, dan is ‘t altijd *onze* schuld.” (“One of our biggest shortcomings in the Dutch East Indies, is our lack of *politeness* which we mainly owe to the Indische population who are so delicate in their manners, much more sophisticated than many “civilised” Europeans. We forget that we are in *their* country. [...]

The Haagsche Kookschool

In contrast to the sporadic explicit instructions on the cleaning of ingredients in both Indische cookbooks, the *Haagsche Kookschool* included detailed multi-step cleaning instructions for every ingredient. These cleaning instructions encompassed, for example, that prior to culinary usage, rose hips had to first be wiped to remove the thorns, then the stems had to be cut, thereafter the rose hips had to be scrubbed until no seeds or thorns remained.⁷⁶⁷ Apart from these cleaning instructions for ingredients, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, dedicated the first chapter to instructions on the centrality of cleaning and hygiene of kitchen equipment and kitchen spaces. Manden, for instance, specifically instructed that: “In een keuken kan men niet te zindelijk werken.” (“There is no such thing as cleaning too much when working in a kitchen.”)⁷⁶⁸ This first chapter, furthermore, outlined detailed cleaning knowledge of different materials and culinary equipment. Manden, for example, specified that pans or tools made with tin should never be scoured to avoid leaving scratches in the material. Instead culinary tools containing tin should only be soaked in soap and warm water.⁷⁶⁹ Both this first chapter, as well as the overall cleaning instructions throughout the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, entailed more general hygiene concerns other than cleaning such as the previously outlined insistence on the usage of distilled water.⁷⁷⁰ These cleaning and hygiene instructions in the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, explicitly referenced, for instance, bacterial contamination,⁷⁷¹ copper toxicity,⁷⁷² and lead poisoning.⁷⁷³ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, thereby, directly incorporated the previously discussed scientification of the domestic sphere during the late 19th century.⁷⁷⁴

Summary

To sum up, the Indische cookbooks contained fewer explicit references to hygiene and the necessity of cleaning of ingredients and culinary equipment than the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* featured the fewest explicit references to cleaning while the *Haagsche Kookschool* showcased the widest knowledge on the different cleaning processes of different materials and ingredients.

Both the Indische and the local populations of the Dutch East Indies are practically born polite. When an Indische person is impolite, then it is always *our* fault.”) See Catenius van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug: Gids voor het Gezin, speciaal een Vraagbaak voor Dames* (Veenstra, 1903), 30.

⁷⁶⁷Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 276.

⁷⁶⁸*Ibid.*, x.

⁷⁶⁹*Ibid.*, x-xi.

⁷⁷⁰See *ibid.*, vii-xxxix.

⁷⁷¹See, for example, *ibid.*, xxv, and xxvii.

⁷⁷²See, for instance, *ibid.*, viii-x, and xxxii.

⁷⁷³See, for example, *ibid.*, vii-viii, and xxxii.

⁷⁷⁴Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 66-70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2001-2002, Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,”” 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

Social Instructions

Apart from the implicit references to socio-ecological relations and social context, it is, moreover, central to examine the explicit references to social contexts within the cookbooks analysed here. Although, it is, firstly, necessary to highlight that the cookbooks analysed here generally contained few explicit references to socio-ecological relations and social contexts.

The Indisch Kookboek

The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, explicitly referenced no Dutch social context and only one explicit mentioning of social contexts or socio-ecological knowledge from the Dutch East Indies. The only explicit exception to this was the dish titled “Sodie voor een kraamvrouw” (“Sodie for a woman in childbed”). This dish contained many of the central spices of dishes from the Dutch East Indies such as pepper, garlic, onions, coriander, tamarind, and blue ginger (*Alpinia galanga*).⁷⁷⁵ This dish, likewise, featured fenugreek, an herb used frequently in Chinese and Ayurvedic medicine which was believed to increase lactation. The presence of this dish, thus, likewise reflected the social and medical acknowledgement of differentiated dietary needs of women in childbed.⁷⁷⁶

Aaltje 14

In contrast, *Aaltje 14* dedicated three chapters “het voorsnijden” (“the carving,”), “Honneurs aan tafel waar te nemen” (“Recognising food etiquette”), and “het dienen van wijnen” (“the serving of wines”) which contained detailed information on the social expectations of the sequence, timing, and hosting of a Dutch full-course meal during this period.⁷⁷⁷ The additional information of these social expectations on the timing, for example, included both the timing of the different courses during the meal, as well as the timing of breakfast in the morning, lunch as the main meal in the late afternoon, and an optional dinner in the late evening.⁷⁷⁸ The majority of this additional information on the social expectations of Dutch culinary contexts were, furthermore, further divided between social instructions for the male and the female host. The additional information of the social expectations of these culinary contexts for the female host featured, for instance, the specific preparation of the dishes, as well as socially expected behaviour during the meals such as advice on dinner conversations.⁷⁷⁹ Whereas the additional social recommendations for the male host primarily consisted of advice on whom to invite and how to organise the seating arrangements.⁷⁸⁰ It is, in this context, notable that this additional information on the social expectation of Dutch culinary contexts was only added *Aaltje 14*, and had still been absent from *Aaltje 7*.

⁷⁷⁵*Indisch Kookboek*, 116.

⁷⁷⁶See, for instance, Mohammad Hossein Ayati, Nazli Namazi, Rezo Mohammadi Nasab, and Narges Taijk, “Fenugreek in Traditional Persian Medicine,” in *Fenugreek: Traditional and Modern Medical Uses*, eds. Dilip Ghosh and Prasad Thakurdesai (CRC Press, 2022), 16.

⁷⁷⁷*Aaltje 14*, 32-42, 334-336, and 336-338.

⁷⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 41-42, and 334-336.

⁷⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 335-336.

⁷⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 334-335.

The addition of these social instructions on the hosting of Dutch full-course meals, thus, likewise reflected the previously outlined improvement of socio-economic resources of both the Dutch general public and particularly the audiences of *Aaltje 14*.⁷⁸¹ A further explicit reference to Dutch social contexts and socio-ecological knowledge within *Aaltje 14* was the occasional categorisation of certain dishes as suitable specifically for certain religious events such as Lent, Easter, or Christmas. These dishes included, for example, paaschbrood (“Easter bread”),⁷⁸² warmoes voor de vasten (“porridge for Lent”),⁷⁸³ or ingeledge kruisbessen (“preserved gooseberries”) which was categorised a Christmas dish.⁷⁸⁴ However, *Aaltje 14* did not add any further instructions on the social expectations or the specific timing of these periods of religious fasting or feasting except for indicating an overall altering of culinary consumption patterns during these times. Similarly, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, categorised certain dishes such as “Kalsfvleesch-soepen” (“Veal soup”), “Rijstsoep van schapevleesch” (“Rice soup with mutton”), and “Krachtige en goekoope soep” (“Hearty and cheap soup”) as either particularly healthy or as specifically suitable for sick individuals.⁷⁸⁵ Yet, *Aaltje 14* did, once more, not provide any further information on the dosage, targeted symptoms, or periods of consumption for these specific dishes. However, *Aaltje 14*, did, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise dedicate an entire chapter on home remedies. Within this chapter, *Aaltje 14* did further specify the required dosage and the specific symptoms targeted by which home remedy.⁷⁸⁶ These home remedies were, furthermore, indicative of the primary mundane health concerns of the Dutch general public during this time period. This included, for example, the focus of the home remedies in *Aaltje 7* on symptoms caused by scurvy and malnutrition.⁷⁸⁷ As Wintle emphasised, this was a direct reflection of the wide-ranging food shortages during the first half of the nineteenth century in The Netherlands when *Aaltje 7* was published.⁷⁸⁸ Whereas *Aaltje 14*, for instance, dedicated twelve of home remedies on relieving various toothaches.⁷⁸⁹ This was, likewise, indicative of the increase of the Dutch sugar consumption which, as Wintle illustrated, increased exponentially from an average of 2.7 kg per-capita annually in the 1850s to 9.9 kg in 1900.⁷⁹⁰ These home remedies, moreover, reflected contemporary Dutch beauty standards, since, for example, 8 different home remedies in *Aaltje 14* specifically centred various skin care routines promoting flawless, bright skin without freckles.⁷⁹¹ It is in this context, furthermore, relevant to highlight that *Aaltje 14* and *Aaltje 7* were the only cookbooks analysed here which distinguished separate chapters on home remedies.

⁷⁸¹See, for example, Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 65-74, and Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 26-33.

⁷⁸²*Aaltje 14*, 244.

⁷⁸³*Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 291.

⁷⁸⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 43, 47, and 54 respectively.

⁷⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 342-360.

⁷⁸⁷*Aaltje 7*, 360, 362, and 374.

⁷⁸⁸Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 74-75.

⁷⁸⁹*Aaltje 14*, 346-348.

⁷⁹⁰Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 78.

⁷⁹¹*Aaltje 14*, 342-360.

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

Still, for instance, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did incorporate sporadic references to medical knowledge on different ingredients and dishes from the Dutch East Indies. Similar to *Aaltje 14*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, categorised certain dishes as particularly healthy or suited for sick individuals. These dishes included, for instance, nasi tim,⁷⁹² sajor bòbòr,⁷⁹³ ajam pangang met djerok water en ketjap,⁷⁹⁴ tjeploks,⁷⁹⁵ and kruidenwijn.⁷⁹⁶ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, incorporated two recipes for gezondheidsbitter, elixir (“cure-all elixirs”) used as generalised home remedies for most ailments. The first recipe, bitter, elixir voor Indië (“cure-all elixir for the Dutch East Indies”), was explicitly intended for consumption in the Dutch East Indies and contained cognac, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, cardamon, rice, gambir (*Uncaria gambir*), and quinine.⁷⁹⁷ This is especially relevant as quinine was during the late 19th century applied large-scale by the Dutch colonial officials preventatively on soldier in hopes to immunise them against mainly malaria and other tropical diseases.⁷⁹⁸ This was, moreover, relevant as the Dutch East Indies had by the end of the 19th century through the cultuurstelsel become a central source of cinchona trees used to produce quinine.⁷⁹⁹ In contrast, the second recipe, bitter, elixir gewoon (“cure-all elixir, normal version”), comprised of cognac, drieblad (*Menyanthes trifoliata*), muskrat root (*Acorus calamus angustatus*), lemon, gentian root (*Gentiana loureiroi*), and galangal root (*Alpinia galanga*).⁸⁰⁰ This is, likewise, relevant as the majority of these ingredients, such as gentian root, galangal root, muskrat root, and gambir from the previous recipe were central components of Jamu, the Indonesian traditional medicine. This, furthermore, illustrated the centrality of both the medical knowledge and the overall ecological knowledge incorporated within Jamu within both professional and household medical remedies in the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁰¹ However, it is in this context, necessary to acknowledge that the specific medical knowledge included in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was still highly limited. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, for example, similar to *Aaltje 14*, not specify the dosage rate or the specific ailments against which these dishes or the elixirs should be consumed. Apart from medical social contexts, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, featured a number of dishes with explicit descriptions of the social context of the food preparation or consumption.

⁷⁹²Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 9.

⁷⁹³Ibid., 11.

⁷⁹⁴Ibid., 65.

⁷⁹⁵Ibid., 163.

⁷⁹⁶Ibid., 249.

⁷⁹⁷Ibid., 244.

⁷⁹⁸See Monique Ligtenberg, “(Re-)negotiating Masculinities in the Kampoeng: Medical Mercenaries and the Aceh War, C. 1880-1890,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 52, no. 2 (2024): 309, Andrew Goss, “Building the World’s Supply of Quinine: Dutch Colonialism and the Origins of a Global Pharmaceutical Industry,” *Endeavour* 38, no. 1 (2013): 15, and Toine Pieters, and Arjo Roearsch van der Hoogte, “Science in the Service of Colonial Agro-Industrialism: The Case of Cinchona Cultivation in the Dutch and British East Indies, 1852-1900,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 47, (2014): 13.

⁷⁹⁹See Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 174, and Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 241-260, and Martinus Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* (H. M. van Dorp, 1867), 181-204.

⁸⁰⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 244.

⁸⁰¹See Pols, “Jamu, The Indigenous Medical Arts of the Indonesian Archipelago,” 161-186, and Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 173-208.

This included, for instance, the sambel serdadoe which Van der Meijden described as a dish which soldiers frequently consumed en route.⁸⁰² Another significant social context explicitly referenced in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were the multiple references to the foods and specifically bread consumed on Dutch ocean liners traveling between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁰³ This, moreover, illustrated the previously outlined drastic increase in travel and especially female travel between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.⁸⁰⁴ This was, likewise, demonstrated by Van der Meijden herself who in her lifetime travelled multiple times between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands.⁸⁰⁵ Van der Meijden even published a detailed travel guide *Naar Indië en Terug: Gids voor het Gezin, Speciaal een Vraagbaak voor Dames* (“To the Dutch East Indies and back: Guide for the Family, with a special Reference Book for Women”) (*Naar Indië en terug*) on the travel from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁰⁶ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically referenced knowledge from *Naar Indië en terug* on multiple occasions. This included, for instance, the previously discussion of bread on Dutch ocean cruisers which according to Van der Meijden used yeast from the Dutch Koninklijke Nederlandsche Gist-en Spiritusfabriek brand on the way to the Dutch East Indies yet used Mrs Oakley & Waytling American yeast on the return journey to The Netherlands.⁸⁰⁷ This entailed, furthermore, the descriptions of waffles in Paris as both particularly cheap and especially popular with children.⁸⁰⁸ Van der Meijden, moreover, claimed that many women living on the coast of British Devonshire earned their livelihood through the sale of seaweed-based foods.⁸⁰⁹ Like the Dutch cookbooks analysed here, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, contained explicit references of religious social contexts of consumption of certain dishes. Within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, this included, for example, Paasch-eieren (“Easter eggs”),⁸¹⁰ Weihnachtsstollen (German Christmas bread),⁸¹¹ Christmas pudding,⁸¹² and Soup Maigre (“thin soup”) which Van der Meijden described as specifically intended for consumption during Christian Lent.⁸¹³ Yet, like the Dutch cookbooks, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not define any specific instructions on the seasonal timings, or the overall lived realities of these fasting and feasting events. Additionally, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, as previously outlined, contained detailed descriptions on the centrality of the kokkie within the food preparation processes within Indische households.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰²Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 45.

⁸⁰³*Ibid.*, 261.

⁸⁰⁴Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 18, and Jean Gelman Taylor, “Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 231.

⁸⁰⁵See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 259-261, and Van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug*.

⁸⁰⁶Van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug*.

⁸⁰⁷Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 262.

⁸⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 301.

⁸⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 268.

⁸¹⁰*Ibid.*, 162.

⁸¹¹*Ibid.*, 260.

⁸¹²*Ibid.*, 332.

⁸¹³*Ibid.*, 177.

⁸¹⁴*Ibid.*, iii-1.

It is, in this context, furthermore, notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was the only cookbook analysed here which explicitly discussed kitchen staff. This is especially relevant since both in the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands throughout the 19th century, kitchen staff remained responsible for the vast majority of food preparation within urban-based upper- and middle-class households.⁸¹⁵ Nederveen Meerkerk and Schmidt even demonstrated that domestic work was one of the most frequently registered paid occupations of women in The Netherlands throughout the 19th century.⁸¹⁶

The Haagsche Kookschool

This absence was especially relevant in the context of the *Haagsche Kookschool* which was written by Manden who was the director of the Haagsche Kookschool which, as discussed in the introduction, specialised in training both home-makers and kitchen staff.⁸¹⁷ Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did not include references to the specific responsibilities or the intricate social hierarchies between different kitchen staff members in Dutch urban-based upper- and middle-class households. Instead, the majority of the explicit references to social contexts within the *Haagsche Kookschool* centred patient care. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, categorised certain dishes as suitable for patients suffering from diabetes. These dishes included, for example, croquetten met olijven (“croquettes with olives”),⁸¹⁸ rumsaus (“rum sauce”),⁸¹⁹ brood voor lijders aan suikerziekte (“bread for patients suffering from diabetes”),⁸²⁰ and aleurnaatbrood (type of Dutch protein-based bread produced specifically for patients suffering from diabetes).⁸²¹ This was, moreover, a reflection of the understanding and treatment of diabetes which had been revolutionised in the second half of the nineteenth century and newly centred dietary adjustments to low-carbohydrate diets.⁸²² This was, furthermore, relevant in the context of scientification of the domestic sphere during the end of the 19th century as illustrated by both the references to diabetes within the *Haagsche Kookschool* as well as the *Recepten voor Zieken en Herstellenden en Menu's voor Lijders aan Suikerziekte*, (“*Recipes for Sick and Recovering Patients and Menu's for Patients suffering from Diabetes*”) likewise written by Manden which specialised on nutrition of individuals suffering from diabetes.⁸²³ In this connection it is, moreover, relevant to note that the *Haagsche Kookschool* generally contained detailed discussions on nutrition.

⁸¹⁵See, for instance, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 4-19, Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Routledge, 2011), 12-14, and 134-138, and Ariadne Schmidt, and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Reconsidering The “First Male-Breadwinner Economy”: Women’s Labor Force Participation in the Netherlands, 1600-1900,” *Feminist Economics* 18, no. 4 (2012): 69-96.

⁸¹⁶Schmidt, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, “Reconsidering the “First Male-Breadwinner Economy,”” 78-88.

⁸¹⁷Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 146-154.

⁸¹⁸Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 26.

⁸¹⁹*Ibid.*, 201.

⁸²⁰*Ibid.*, 248.

⁸²¹*Ibid.*, 247.

⁸²²See, for example, Kathryn M. King, and Greg Rubin, “A History of Diabetes: From Antiquity to Discovering Insulin,” *British Journal of Nursing* 12, no. 18 (2003): 1092-1093.

⁸²³A. C. Manden, *Recepten voor Zieken en Herstellenden en Menu's voor Lijders aan Suikerziekte* (Gebroeders van Cleef, 1897).

This encompassed, for instance, that vegetables lose most of their nutrients when boiled too long,⁸²⁴ or that soup becomes more filling when adding meats or protein-rich legumes such as peas⁸²⁵.⁸²⁶ This emphasis on nutrition within the *Haagsche Kookschool* was, likewise, illustrated in the chapter on the Dutch full-course meal. Unlike the similar chapter in *Aaltje 14*, this chapter in the *Haagsche Kookschool* exclusively centred instructions how to improve the digestibility of a Dutch full-course meal according to Manden. These instructions included, for example, to generally avoid the combination of savoury dishes with foods which Manden considered too sweet, too sour, too cold, or too hot such as sweets, fruits, ice cream, or coffee. Yet, despite this focus on digestibility, this chapter in the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, likewise, portray central knowledge on the social contexts of consumption of a Dutch full-course meal. This chapter, for instance, outlined a detailed description of the previously noted altered norms of what was considered a Dutch full-course meal in the urban-based upper-and middle-class Dutch social contexts.⁸²⁷ More specifically, Manden described that most Dutch full-course meal in the urban-based upper-and middle-class Dutch social contexts adhered to the following structure:

1. Soup dish, such as Potage à la tortue (“turtle soup”)
2. An appetiser dish such as Croquettes
3. Fish dish, such as Saumon, sauce persil (“salmon with parsley sauce”)
4. Various subsequent meat main dishes such as:
 - a. Filet de boeuf sauce madère (“beefsteak with Madera wine sauce”)
 - b. Jambon aux épinards (“Ham with spinach”)
 - c. Châpons de Bréda aux Champignons (“Capon from Breda with champignons”)
 - d. Aspic d’aiguilles à la mayonnaise (“aspic made from chicken breast with mayonnaise”)
 - e. Riz de veau aux petit pois (“sweetbread with peas”)
 - f. Dinde truffe (“turkey with truffles”)
 - g. Bécasses naturelles (“plain sandpipers”)
5. Served with an alcoholic beverage, such as Punch à la romaine (“Roman Punch”)
6. Served with a variety of side dishes such as Asperges à la Hollaïndaise (“asparagus with hollandaise sauce”)
7. A salad dish such as Faisant, salade (“salad with pheasant”)
8. Various dessert dishes such as:
 - a. Pouding à la diplomate (“diplomat pudding”)
 - b. Gelée aux oranges (“orange jelly”)
 - c. Glace (“ice cream”)⁸²⁸

⁸²⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xiii.

⁸²⁵*Ibid.*, xvii.

⁸²⁶Yet, at times, this, likewise, contained misinformation such as that vegetables contain few nutritional values, or that drinking hot coffee after a large meal hinders digestion. *Ibid.*, xxiii, and xxxvi.

⁸²⁷*Ibid.*, xxxiv-xxxvii.

⁸²⁸*Ibid.*, xxxvii.

It is notable that the ice cream, the appetiser dish, as well as the French language differed from the 1860s Dutch full-course meal portrayed by *Aaltje 14*.⁸²⁹ It is, moreover, noteworthy that this example featured various ingredients and dishes from the Dutch East Indisch such as turtle soup, and oranges.⁸³⁰ This, therefore, highlighted, once more the vast increase of exchange of ingredients and culinary knowledge after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.⁸³¹ Apart from these references to nutrition within the Dutch full-course meal and specifically nutrition for patients suffering from diabetes, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, featured detailed instructions on general patient care. These instructions included, for instance, that the responsible doctor should be consulted prior to preparing any meal for a patient. A further example of these instructions were that during the preparation of meals for patients, hygiene standards should be upheld with even more care by carefully boiling off all ingredients and avoiding ingredients which were more prone to bacterial contamination such as ice or eggs.⁸³² It is, in this context, notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool* was the only cookbook analysed here outlining specific instructions on patient care. The *Haagsche Kookschool* was, moreover, the only cookbook analysed here which explicitly discussed the taste preferences of different population groups. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, explicitly referenced in the Dutch province Gelderland, liverwurst was more popular than in the rest of The Netherlands,⁸³³ that children generally preferred sweet dishes,⁸³⁴ and that the Dutch national social norms of taste entailed a general disgust of horse meat⁸³⁵ as well as a widespread fondness of sandpiper meat as a delicacy as illustrated by the example of the Dutch full-course meal.⁸³⁶ In connection to national taste, it is, furthermore, notable that, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* incorporated no references to religious periods of fasting or feasting. A further similarity to other cookbooks analysed here is that the *Haagsche Kookschool*, like the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, regularly expressed concerns of false ingredients. More specifically the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, advised to always weigh milk before purchasing to avoid the frequently sold watered-down milk.⁸³⁷ Whereas the *Haagsche Kookschool* primarily discussed that butter was frequently mixed with the cheaper margarine,⁸³⁸ and that markets frequently sold cheaper, and sometimes hazardous mushrooms as truffles.⁸³⁹

⁸²⁹See *ibid.*, and *Aaltje 14*, 32-42, and 334-338.

⁸³⁰Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxxvii.

⁸³¹See Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 5, and Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

⁸³²Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxxviii.

⁸³³*Ibid.*, xlv.

⁸³⁴*Ibid.*

⁸³⁵*Ibid.*, xix.

⁸³⁶*Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁸³⁷Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 263.

⁸³⁸Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxxi.

⁸³⁹*Ibid.*, xxxiii-xxxiv.

Summary

To conclude, the *Indisch Kookboek* contained the least explicit references to socio-ecological and social contexts. Whereas *Aaltje 14* outlined extensive socio-ecological knowledge and references to social contexts which primarily centred social instructions on the hosting of a Dutch full-course meal, as well as medical knowledge of how various plant-based ingredients were used as home remedies. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, featured numerous explicit references to the colonial social dynamics within Indische households, as well as the specific social contexts of consumption of various dishes. Furthermore, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, included explicit references to a diversity of different socio-ecologic knowledge and social contexts such as patient care, nutrition norms, the changed norms of a Dutch full-course meal, and discussions of regional taste.

Using Pepper Preservation and Poffertjes Pans: Technological and Taught Knowledge

Preservation

When discussing technological and taught knowledge, it is relevant to start by discussing knowledge on preservation. In this context, it is, firstly, necessary to highlight that preservation was the most central culinary concern of Indische and Dutch homemakers the 19th century. Preservation was, for example, fundamental to overcome seasonal or circumstantial periods of food scarcities, such as the Dutch winters,⁸⁴⁰ or the previously outlined frequent famines throughout the 19th century caused by the cultuurstelsel, volcano outbursts, economic scarcities, and various wars.⁸⁴¹ Consequently, dishes featuring preservation techniques were, across the cookbooks analysed here, the most diversified, the most time-consuming and required large diversities of ingredients.

The Indisch Kookboek

The majority of the preservation methods within specifically the *Indisch Kookboek* contained, for instance, multiple hours of boiling ingredients or the time-consuming processes of drying ingredients in the sun.⁸⁴² The majority of the preservation methods in the *Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, combined several different preservation methods. Hence, in the *Indisch Kookboek*, the processes of sun-drying and boiling of ingredients frequently only represented the first step of a multi-step preservation process. The *Indisch Kookboek*, would, for example, for the preservation of certain ingredients such as fish or cucumber, subsequent to both boiling and sun-drying, added either a combination of salt and vinegar, or added multiple spices and particularly large amounts of Lombok.⁸⁴³ Whereas the preservation of fruits in the *Indisch Kookboek* would primarily centre either sugar or a combination of lombok, sugar and vinegar in addition to the processes of boiling and sun-drying.⁸⁴⁴ In this connection, it is noteworthy that as Burke portrayed, this specific sour-spicy flavour combination created through the addition of lombok featured in many of these conserved ingredients were unique to the Dutch East Indies and was not featured in either of the Dutch cookbooks.⁸⁴⁵ Occasionally, *Indisch Kookboek* would, likewise, incorporate other preservation methods such as the usage of chalk for the preservation of lemon.⁸⁴⁶ In the end, it is necessary to highlight that despite the wide diversity of preservation methods in the *Indisch Kookboek*, the cookbook displayed few explicit additional information on how long these preserved foods could be stored.

⁸⁴⁰See, for example, Kozikowska, “Speelgoed van de Slager,” 47, and Lesger, “De Locatie van het Amsterdamse Winkelbedrijf in de Achttiende Eeuw,” 68.

⁸⁴¹See Fernando, “Famine in a Land of Plenty,” 293-295, Silean, and Smark, “The “Culture System” in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870,” 2-4, Carey, “Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century,” 25-28, Protschky, “Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Culture,” 527, and Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 73-75.

⁸⁴²See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 108, 123, and 144.

⁸⁴³See, for example, *ibid.*, 165, 166, and 163.

⁸⁴⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 164, 161, and 168.

⁸⁴⁵Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 98.

⁸⁴⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 158.

The *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, did not feature any explicit instructions on the timing or seasonality of preservation. The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, included only 9 dishes which explicitly utilised either preserved or leftover ingredients.⁸⁴⁷

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

In contrast, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used the largest diversity of over 120 dishes using preserved or leftover ingredients.⁸⁴⁸ The vast majority of these preserved ingredients used in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were, as previously outlined, either Dutch canned ingredients⁸⁴⁹ or Dutch fruit-based jams.⁸⁵⁰ This was highly relevant in the context of preservation knowledge since the majority of these canned goods and fruit-based jams were imported from The Netherlands.⁸⁵¹ Consequently, the process of preservation of these ingredients was done in The Netherlands not the Dutch East Indies. This was, for instance, well-illustrated by the absence of references within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, to the specific processes of canning ingredients. Instead, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* included a wide diversity of instructions on the processes of sun- and wind-drying ingredients.⁸⁵² This is, furthermore, relevant since the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, discussed the usage of specifically dried spice mixes which had been preserved and imported from the Dutch East Indies to be consumed in The Netherlands. More specifically, Van der Meijden advised that these dried spice mixes should be used in larger quantities to achieve the same flavour as when using the fresh ingredients.⁸⁵³ The most commonly used preservation techniques in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were, hereby, once more, sun-drying,⁸⁵⁴ and the usage of vinegar.⁸⁵⁵ Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, frequently combine Dutch vinegar and sun-drying with other preservation techniques such as boiling,⁸⁵⁶ or the adding of salt,⁸⁵⁷ spices,⁸⁵⁸ or sugar.⁸⁵⁹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* even continued some of the preservation techniques from the *Indisch Kookboek*. This included, for example, the preservation of tamarind through the boiling in sugared water and subsequent sealing in a glass bottle.⁸⁶⁰ A further generally common preservation concept in both Indische cookbooks were achars, which Burke described as another central characteristic ingredients within the Indische cuisine since the 17th century.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁴⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 7, 87, and 95.

⁸⁴⁸See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 188-190.

⁸⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 253-255.

⁸⁵¹*Ibid.*, 188-190, and 253-255.

⁸⁵²See, for example, *ibid.*, 204, 205, and 216.

⁸⁵³*Ibid.*, 382-388.

⁸⁵⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 31, 205, and 216.

⁸⁵⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 200-208.

⁸⁵⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 200, 205, and 206.

⁸⁵⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 203, 205, and 207.

⁸⁵⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 202, 203, and 204.

⁸⁵⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 206, 203, and 204.

⁸⁶⁰See *Indisch Kookboek*, 168, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 252.

⁸⁶¹Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 97-101, and 144-148.

This was, for instance, well-illustrated by atjar djerboek niepies,⁸⁶² atjar ketiemoen,⁸⁶³ atjar plamiet,⁸⁶⁴ atjar kraï,⁸⁶⁵ atjar manis,⁸⁶⁶ atjar van ananas,⁸⁶⁷ and atjar bliembing asem⁸⁶⁸ which were featured in both Indische cookbooks. In contrast to these continued preservation techniques between the two Indische cookbooks, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, included various new preservation techniques. Some of these new preservation techniques within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, reflected the previously outlined scientification of the domestic sphere in the second half of the 19th century.⁸⁶⁹ This was, for example, demonstrated by the usage of refrigeration to preserve various fruits within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.⁸⁷⁰ These new preservation techniques, furthermore, generally entailed that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specified more detailed preservation techniques for different ingredients than the *Indisch Kookboek*. Van der Meijden, for example, stressed that when sun-drying meat, the meat had to be cut very thinly and turned every few hours,⁸⁷¹ while when sun-drying fruits or vegetables, both the juice and pits first had to be removed.⁸⁷² These preservation instructions specific to different ingredients, moreover, included the distinction of different perishability of different ingredients. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, frequently noted that in certain dishes such as petis, perishability could be reduced simply through the selection of ingredients by replacing more perishable ingredients such as coconut milk with less perishable ingredients such as tamarind.⁸⁷³ In this connection, it is, furthermore, notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, occasionally specify how long certain ingredients or dished could be preserved. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, outlined that, for example, piendang tètèl⁸⁷⁴ and sambel lombo⁸⁷⁵ were only preservable for a couple of days, while, for instance, sambel asem⁸⁷⁶ and sambel badjak⁸⁷⁷ could be preserved for weeks. In the context of timing, it is noteworthy that the time-investment of the preservation processes within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* were significantly shorter than the preservation techniques in the *Indische Kookboek* or the Dutch cookbooks and mostly involved only one or two steps.⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁶²See *Indisch Kookboek*, 161, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 201.

⁸⁶³See *Indisch Kookboek*, 162, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 203.

⁸⁶⁴See *Indisch Kookboek*, 163, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 204.

⁸⁶⁵See *Indisch Kookboek*, 164, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 202.

⁸⁶⁶See *Indisch Kookboek*, 164, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 204.

⁸⁶⁷See *Indisch Kookboek*, 165, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 200.

⁸⁶⁸See *Indisch Kookboek*, 166, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 200.

⁸⁶⁹See Wintle, "Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands," 66-70, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Formichi, "The Modernity of Tradition," 2001-2002, Liefers, "'The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,'" 936-959, Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks*, 297, and Meijer, *Beroep Huisvrouw*, 13-26.

⁸⁷⁰See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 350-279.

⁸⁷¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 101.

⁸⁷²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 256.

⁸⁷³*Ibid.*, 48.

⁸⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 42.

⁸⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 32.

⁸⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 34.

⁸⁷⁸See, for instance, the preparation of the majority of the achars, *ibid.*, 200-208.

Aaltje 14

The preservation methods within *Aaltje 14* were, likewise, both less time-consuming and required fewer steps than the preservation methods in the *Indisch Kookboek*.⁸⁷⁹ The principal preservation methods within *Aaltje 14* were, specifically, the boiling of ingredients,⁸⁸⁰ the addition of either salt and spices⁸⁸¹ or vinegar⁸⁸² for vegetables and meats, and the addition of vinegar or alcohol and sugar for fruits.⁸⁸³ These spices used for preservation in *Aaltje 14*, primarily comprised of pepper, nutmeg, or sugar. These spices used for preparation methods in *Aaltje 14* were, thus, mainly ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies.⁸⁸⁴ Yet, unlike the preservation methods in the Indische cookbooks, these spices used for preservation methods in *Aaltje 14* distinctively excluded lombok, which was considered too spicy for Dutch tastes in The Netherlands.⁸⁸⁵ Similar to the Indische cookbooks, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, frequently combined the process of boiling ingredients with the addition of salt or sugar. *Aaltje 14*, moreover, specifically contained a number of preservation methods in which ingredients were boiled in saltwater or sugar water.⁸⁸⁶ Notably, *Aaltje 14*, did, unlike the Indische cookbooks, only feature four preservation methods using the process of sun-drying ingredients.⁸⁸⁷ Instead, *Aaltje 14* incorporated a number of preservation methods absent from the Indische cookbooks. These preservation methods included, for example, the inclusion of chemical salts,⁸⁸⁸ the usage of the oven as a way to dry ingredients,⁸⁸⁹ or the application of physics or physical force to forcefully expel liquid from ingredients.⁸⁹⁰ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, contained various specific instructions on how to seal containers to enhance the preservation of ingredients inside. These sealing techniques included primarily the processes of sealing containers with either wax,⁸⁹¹ cork,⁸⁹² or, most frequently, a cloth soaked in a combination of alcohol and animal fat.⁸⁹³ *Aaltje 14*, moreover, highlighted specific cleaning instructions of the containers or bottles used for preservation to further increase the preservation of ingredients inside.⁸⁹⁴ In contrast, neither Indische cookbook featured explicit references to either cleaning the containers used for preservation or to any specific sealing methods.

⁸⁷⁹The main reason for this was the later-discussed scarcity of sun-drying processes within *Aaltje 14*. More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* frequently indicated the necessity of sun-drying certain ingredients for several days instead of only pickling them in salt, sugar or vinegar for a night, as the majority of the preservation techniques in *Aaltje 14* suggested. See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 8, 89, and 212, and *Aaltje 14*, 323, 313, and 309.

⁸⁸⁰See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 309, 310, and 294.

⁸⁸¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 318, 319, and 320.

⁸⁸²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 294, 293, and 321.

⁸⁸³See, for example, *ibid.*, 301-315.

⁸⁸⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 284-327.

⁸⁸⁵This was, for example, well-illustrated by how *Aaltje 14* already warned that the combination of pepper with horseradish was frequently already considered as “too spicy.” See *ibid.*, 295.

⁸⁸⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 292, 293, and 298.

⁸⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 296, 298, 304, and 310.

⁸⁸⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 285.

⁸⁸⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 298, 299, and 300.

⁸⁹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 286, 288, and 315.

⁸⁹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 291.

⁸⁹²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 290.

⁸⁹³See, for example, *ibid.*, 284, 289, and 295.

⁸⁹⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 284, 287, and 290.

Aaltje 14, moreover, contained more dishes repurposing either preserved ingredients or leftovers than the *Oost-Indisch Kookboek* which only incorporated 9 dish explicitly with preserved ingredients and, thus, primarily focussed on fresh ingredients.⁸⁹⁵ Although *Aaltje 14* did still use only 22 of dishes using preserved or leftover ingredients, which was, as previously noted, still significantly less than the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*.⁸⁹⁶ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, explicitly referenced the central reliance on preserved ingredients and leftovers during times of food scarcities or specifically during the Dutch winters.⁸⁹⁷ In this context, it is necessary to highlight that the less frequent explicit usage of preserved ingredients or any explicit references to food scarcities in the *Indisch Kookboek* was a reflection of the socio-economic resources of the Indische intended audience of the cookbook. It was, therefore, not an accurate reflection of the food availabilities for the wider populations within the Dutch East Indies during this period. On the contrary, as previously outlined the majority of the population within the Dutch East Indies experienced frequent periods of famine throughout 19th century.⁸⁹⁸ Whereas the widespread malnutrition of the Dutch population was, as previously discussed, largely limited to the first half of the 19th century and improved by the second half of the 19th century.⁸⁹⁹

The Haagsche Kookschool

This was, likewise, well-illustrated in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. The *Haagsche Kookschool* had, for instance, no explicit references to food scarcities. Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, showcased a large diversity of preservation techniques and featured over 70 dishes using preserved and leftover ingredients.⁹⁰⁰ Although it is notable that, unlike the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* centred leftover ingredients rather than preserved ingredients. Similar to the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* used a variety of multi-step preservation techniques. Yet, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, these different steps in the *Haagsche Kookschool* most frequently started by boiling the ingredients. Subsequently the ingredients were combined with either vinegar or alcohol, salt or sugar, as well as either lemon or a variety of other spices. Finally, the preserved ingredients were sealed in airtight containers. One specific example of the over 50 different dishes⁹⁰¹ using this multi-step preservation technique in the *Haagsche Kookschool* were gestoofde peren (“steamed pears”) which were boiled, combined with alcohol, sugar, and lemon, before sealed in airtight containers.⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁵See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 7, 87, and 95.

⁸⁹⁶See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 44, 179, and 185.

⁸⁹⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 300, 312, and 317.

⁸⁹⁸See, for instance, Fernando, “Famine in a Land of Plenty,” 293-295, Silean, and Smark, “The “Culture System” in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870,” 2-4, Carey, “Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century,” 25-28, Protschky, “Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Culture,” 527, and Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 73-75.

⁸⁹⁹Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 63-85.

⁹⁰⁰See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xiii, 90, and 189.

⁹⁰¹Further example of this included compote van kersen (“compote from cherries”), compote de marons à la vanille (“compote from chestnuts with vanilla”), compote van rozebottels (“compote from rose hips”), appelmoes (“apple sauce”), aardbeien compote (“compote from strawberries”), kruisbessen compote (“compote from goosberries”), pruimen compote (“compote from plums”), appel-en peren gelei (“apple- and pear- jams”), wortelmarmelade (“carrot jam”), zoete appels (“sweet apples”), compote van gedroogde peren (“compote from dried pears”), pruimen-marmelade (“plum jam”), frambozen marmelade (“raspberry jam”), etc. See *ibid.*, 207, 208, 213, 209, 210, 212, 213, 272, 277, 209, 208, 277, and 271 respectively.

⁹⁰²*Ibid.*, 208.

For the preservation of meats generally, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, most frequently used specifically added lemon, pepper, salt, either alcohol or vinegar, as well as gelatine.⁹⁰³ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, hereby, primarily used alcohol seals and commercially obtained containers with hermetic seals.⁹⁰⁴ Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* did occasionally, like *Aaltje 14*, use fat-based seals.⁹⁰⁵ Like *Aaltje 14*, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, emphasised the importance of cleaning the airtight containers before adding the preserved ingredients.⁹⁰⁶ It is, furthermore, generally noteworthy that the *Haagsche Kookschool* used significantly more alcohol in preservation techniques than any other cookbook analysed here.⁹⁰⁷ It is, moreover, crucial to highlight the centrality of lemon, sugar, and cinnamon from the Dutch East Indies in these preservation techniques within the *Haagsche Kookschool*.⁹⁰⁸ Apart from these lemon, sugar, and cinnamon, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, adopted the usage of imported sago from the Dutch East Indies to dry out certain ingredients.⁹⁰⁹ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, incorporated specified preservation techniques for several citrus fruits such as lemons,⁹¹⁰ oranges,⁹¹¹ mandarins,⁹¹² and bitter oranges which used only ingredients from the Dutch East Indies.⁹¹³ Yet, in contrast to both Indische cookbooks, the *Haagsche Kookschool* specifically excluded any preservation techniques using sun-drying. Instead, the *Haagsche Kookschool* was the only cookbook analysed here which explicitly sent certain ingredients such as apples and pears to bakeries for drying.⁹¹⁴ This, furthermore, illustrated the increased socio-economic resources of the audiences of *Haagsche Kookschool* which, like the audiences of the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, regularly spent more economic resources on the purchase of preserved ingredients.⁹¹⁵ While both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, regularly referenced ingredients which had already been canned, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, added these ingredients which included the additional costs of the process of having ingredients dried at the bakery.⁹¹⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, generally added a number of Dutch preservation techniques and knowledge which were referenced in none of the other cookbooks analysed here.

⁹⁰³See, *ibid.*, 207-213, and 266-283.

⁹⁰⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, xx, 269, and 277.

⁹⁰⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, xv.

⁹⁰⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, xxvi.

⁹⁰⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 278, 208, and 209.

⁹⁰⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 208, 209, and 277.

⁹⁰⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 138, 209, and 212.

⁹¹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 274.

⁹¹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 275.

⁹¹²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 223.

⁹¹³See, for example, *ibid.*, 274.

⁹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 268.

⁹¹⁵See, for instance, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 142, Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 64-66, Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 160-163.

⁹¹⁶See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 188-190, and, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 59, 152, 100, and 268.

This included, for instance, the widespread usage of gelatine for preservation,⁹¹⁷ and the specific knowledge on how to safely⁹¹⁸ preserve ingredients in hermetic metal cans.⁹¹⁹ This, moreover, entailed, for example, the knowledge that innards and gills had to be removed from an animal to make the meat less perishable,⁹²⁰ as well as the previously outlined detailed seasonal timing of the preservation of various Dutch plant-based ingredients.⁹²¹

Summary

In summary, ingredients from the Dutch East Indies and specifically lemon, sugar, pepper, and other spices were central in preservation techniques across all the cookbooks analysed here. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, illustrated how some of the Indische preservation techniques such as the usage of sago were incorporated into Dutch preservation techniques. Similarly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used a wide variety of Dutch canned ingredients, Dutch preserved jams, and added Dutch vinegar to the majority of its preservation techniques. Preservation knowledge was, thus, one of the forms of knowledge most widely exchanged between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. Although it is notable that a number of central aspects of preservation knowledge was generally rarely discussed across the cookbooks analysed here. This included, for instance, the seasonal timing of the preservation of different ingredients, or how long preserved ingredients remained edible.

Culinary Techniques & Culinary Tools

Apart from preservation techniques, it is, moreover, important to discuss both culinary techniques and culinary tools explicitly referenced within the cookbooks analysed here. In the context of technical and taught knowledge, it is relevant to discuss culinary techniques in relation to culinary tools since certain culinary techniques require the usage of specific culinary tools and vice versa. This is, for example, well-illustrated by the primary forms of rice preparation in the Indische and Dutch cookbooks analysed here. The Indische cookbooks, for instance, primarily used a koekoesan to prepare rice.⁹²² As Van der Meijden described, the koekoesan was a woven basket within which rice was steamed.⁹²³ Consequently, the usage of the culinary tool koekoesan implied the culinary technique of steaming rice as the most common rice preparation in the Dutch East Indies during the 19th century.⁹²⁴ In contrast, the Dutch cookbooks analysed here mainly used metal cooking pots without any steaming baskets to prepare rice.⁹²⁵

⁹¹⁷See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 226-230.

⁹¹⁸It is notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, included detailed knowledge on the dangers of tin poisoning or food spoilage if ingredients were canned incorrectly. See *ibid.*, viii, xxv, and xxxii.

⁹¹⁹*Ibid.*, xxv-xxvi.

⁹²⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, xx-xxii.

⁹²¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 266-268.

⁹²²See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 32, 39, 42, 130, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 3, and 149.

⁹²³Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 391.

⁹²⁴Ueda, and Wibisono, "Dutch Oven and Bantenese Cooking Stove," 444-449.

⁹²⁵See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 43, 46, and 47, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 8, 14, and 15.

Accordingly, rice in the Dutch cookbooks analysed here was primarily boiled not steamed.⁹²⁶ Hence, as Spiller highlighted, the analysis of culinary tools was closely defined by the practical usage of these tools within the relevant culinary techniques.⁹²⁷

The Indisch Kookboek

In the *Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specifically combined culinary techniques and tools from the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, implicitly presumed the knowledge of a number of Dutch culinary techniques. These Dutch culinary techniques included, for instance, how to make sausages.⁹²⁸ These Dutch culinary techniques, likewise, contained, as previously noted, the preparation of a diversity of meats uncommon to the Dutch East Indies such as mutton,⁹²⁹ beef,⁹³⁰ or pork.⁹³¹ The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, included the utilisation of a variety of different Dutch culinary tools such as taartepan (“cake pan”),⁹³² or the poffertjes pan (“poffertjes pan”).⁹³³ This, on the other hand, likewise, implicated the knowledge of various Dutch culinary techniques required for the preparation of cakes and pies,⁹³⁴ as well as poffertjes.⁹³⁵ More specifically, this implied, for example, knowledge of the specific proportions of ingredients within the batter for these different dishes, the usage of a Dutch oven, and the usage of rising agents such as yeast or the Indische legèn. Yet, as further discussed in the following subchapter, the majority of these Dutch culinary tools included in the *Indisch Kookboek* were used for measuring such as standardised teacups,⁹³⁶ teaspoons,⁹³⁷ beer glasses,⁹³⁸ and one-litre-glass bottles.⁹³⁹ The *Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, implicitly presumed a close familiarity with both Dutch ovens,⁹⁴⁰ and the previously referenced koekoesan steaming baskets characteristic to culinary practices from the Dutch East Indies.⁹⁴¹ The *Indisch Kookboek*, generally, presumed a close familiarity with numerous culinary tools characteristic of culinary practices from the Dutch East Indies. These culinary tools included, for instance, various large cast-iron pans implying high resistance to heat allowing for the previously outlined preparation high-temperature fast-fried foods.⁹⁴²

⁹²⁶See, Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantenese Cooking Stove,” 453, and Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantanese and Dutch Colonial Encounters,” 408.

⁹²⁷Elizabeth Spiller, “Recipes for Knowledge: Maker’s Knowledge Traditions, Paracelsian Recipes, and the Invention of the Cookbook, 1600-1660,” in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare*, eds., Joan Fitzpatrick (Routledge, 2010), 55-67.

⁹²⁸See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 78.

⁹²⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 10, 29, and 6.

⁹³⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 8, 16, and 14.

⁹³¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 21, 15, and 29.

⁹³²See, for example, *ibid.*, 34.

⁹³³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 46.

⁹³⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 48, 42, and 53.

⁹³⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 44.

⁹³⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 5.

⁹³⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

⁹³⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 9, and 10.

⁹³⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 9, 20, and 37.

⁹⁴⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

⁹⁴¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 32, 39, and 42.

⁹⁴²Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanese Cooking Stove,” 433-459, and Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantanese and Dutch Colonial Encounters,” and for example, *ibid.*, 10, 118, and 137.

Additionally, the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, regularly used folded banana leaves as utensils, containers, or baking paper.⁹⁴³ The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, implicitly presumed the knowledge of a diversity of culinary techniques characteristic to the culinary practices of the Dutch East Indies. These presumed culinary techniques contained, for example, how to prepare terasi (“shrimp paste”),⁹⁴⁴ or how to harvest and prepare coconuts into the different edible ingredients.⁹⁴⁵ In the end, it is noteworthy that the *Indisch Kookboek*, quantitatively presumed the familiarity with significantly a larger diversity of culinary techniques and tools characteristic to the Dutch East Indies than knowledge of Dutch culinary techniques and tools. Similar to the previous-discussed proportions of ingredients, this was, for example, illustrated by how no Dutch tools were used in the chapter on local foods, while various tools such as the koekoesan from the Dutch East Indies were used on the chapter on Dutch foods within the *Indisch Kookboek*.⁹⁴⁶ In the context of these presumed knowledge of culinary techniques, it is, likewise, important to briefly consider the average time-investment presumed for the preparation of the dishes within the *Indisch Kookboek*. The *Indisch Kookboek* predominantly featured culinary preparation methods requiring relatively short time investment in comparison to the time investment presumed for the dishes in *Aaltje 14*. Apart from food preservation recipes, the *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, only featured 19 recipes which required more than a day of preparation, while *Aaltje 14* contained over 40 recipes using more than a day of preparation.⁹⁴⁷ As Ueda portrayed, this reflected one of the principal differences between Dutch cooking and culinary practices in the Dutch East Indies. Dutch cooking, for instance, primarily centred slow-cooked semi-solid foods. Whereas the majority of the culinary practices in the Dutch East Indies mainly incorporated featured fast fried dishes.⁹⁴⁸ This difference in presumed time-investment was generally, likewise, caused by the absence in the *Indisch Kookboek* of additional instructions on the presentation of the dishes after culinary completion.

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

In contrast, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, like the Dutch cookbooks, invested significant portions of the preparation time of the vast majority of its dishes on the presentation of the dishes.⁹⁴⁹ This emphasis on food presentation within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* closely reflected the widespread changes introduced by the ethische politiek in the Dutch East Indies. More specifically, as Protschky, and Nope-Williams illustrated, by the early 20th century, the social status of nyonyas within both Indische and totok households was defined by the social performance of knowledge on Dutch culinary and hosting practices.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴³See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 30, 49, and 83, and Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantinese and Dutch Colonial Encounters,” 215.

⁹⁴⁴See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 83, 84, and 85.

⁹⁴⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 6, 65, and 81.

⁹⁴⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 32, 39, and 42.

⁹⁴⁷See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 123, 122, and 121, and *Aaltje 14*, 267, 148, and 144.

⁹⁴⁸Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantinese Cooking Stove,” 433-459, and Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantinese and Dutch Colonial Encounters.”

⁹⁴⁹See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 247, 337, and 304.

⁹⁵⁰See Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 63-66, Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357, Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 369-385, and Protschky, “Tea Cups, Cameras and Family Life,” 44-65.

As outlined in *Ons Huis in Indië, Naar Indië en Terug*, and in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, this included, for instance, a close focus on Dutch decoration and furniture arrangements as well as food presentations.⁹⁵¹ As Protschky added, this social performance, likewise, entailed public abstinence from consuming Indische and Indonesian foods within the Indische and totok households. Instead, Indische and totok households were expected to primarily consume foods imported from The Netherlands, as illustrated by the emphasis on Dutch canned foods in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Although it is, in this context, necessary to stress that, as Protschky outlined, despite these social expectations of the *ethische politiek*, both Indische and Indonesian foods were still regularly consumed in private in both Indische and totok households.⁹⁵² This was, likewise, closely demonstrated by the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* which still featured 16 chapters centring Indische and Indonesian dish concepts.⁹⁵³ Nevertheless, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, did, likewise, prominently contain Dutch decoration methods common with both Dutch cookbooks such as the decoration of various baked goods with letters from the Latin alphabet.⁹⁵⁴ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, generally presumed the knowledge of a wide variety of Dutch culinary tools and Dutch culinary techniques. The Dutch culinary tools referenced in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* included, for example, a lactodensimeter highlighting the previously noted concerns of purchasing waters down milk.⁹⁵⁵ These Dutch culinary tools, moreover, featured, for example, a waffle iron,⁹⁵⁶ a Dutch oven,⁹⁵⁷ and a variety of loaf and casserole pans.⁹⁵⁸ This, furthermore, indicated the overall centrality of baking as a culinary technique within the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, as well as implying the concrete preparation of waffles,⁹⁵⁹ breads,⁹⁶⁰ and casseroles within the oven.⁹⁶¹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, included new Dutch technologies such as refrigerator enabling the previously highlighted usage of refrigerated ingredients.⁹⁶² Like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, contained various Dutch culinary tools used specifically for measuring such as the teaspoon,⁹⁶³ beer glasses,⁹⁶⁴ 1-litre glass bottles,⁹⁶⁵ and teacups.⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁵¹See Van der Meijden, *Ons Huis in Indië*, 34-45, 203-212, and 223-233, Van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug*, 17-31, and, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 247, 337, and 304.

⁹⁵²See Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 346-357.

⁹⁵³This included, for example, the chapters on rice dishes, sayurs, curries, boemboe spice mixes, sambelans, sambel gorèngs, local chicken dishes, local fowl and poultry dishes, local fish dishes, bebotoks, sesatees, Indonesian vegetables, achars, boeboers, kwée kwée pastries, and Indische maninansa and jellies. See Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 1-10, 11-19, 20-30, 30-32, 32-50, 50-56, 57-88, 89-95, 130-148, 149-150, 151-157, 191-194, 200-208, 208-212, 212-242, 255-258 respectively.

⁹⁵⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 271, 284, and 319.

⁹⁵⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 262-263.

⁹⁵⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 294, 295, and 301.

⁹⁵⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 302, 2, and 83.

⁹⁵⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 94, 104, and 106.

⁹⁵⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 294, 295, and 301.

⁹⁶⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 260, 263, and 265.

⁹⁶¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 299, 147, and 106.

⁹⁶²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 350-379.

⁹⁶³See, for example, *ibid.*, iv-vii, 3, and 6.

⁹⁶⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 32, 62, and 89.

⁹⁶⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 103, 126, and 174.

⁹⁶⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 175, 177, and 377.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, outlined knowledge on a number of additional Dutch culinary techniques such as the preparation, handling, and shaping of various Dutch baked goods.⁹⁶⁷ This knowledge, likewise, included the knowledge of the specific usage, economic availability, and preservation of Dutch backing powders,⁹⁶⁸ wheat-based flours,⁹⁶⁹ and both condensed milk, and milk powder.⁹⁷⁰ These Dutch culinary techniques, furthermore, required the usage of various Dutch culinary tools such biscuit cutters,⁹⁷¹ various cake- and bread forms,⁹⁷² and a Dutch oven.⁹⁷³ Although it is, in this context, notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, at times, combined Dutch and Indische culinary tools and culinary techniques.⁹⁷⁴ In addition to this diversity of Dutch culinary tools and techniques, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, featured a multiplicity of culinary tools and techniques from the Dutch East Indies. These culinary tools from the Dutch East Indies included, for instance, a koekoesan steaming basket for steaming various ingredients,⁹⁷⁵ a panggangan grill grid for grilling various ingredients,⁹⁷⁶ a kiepas fan necessary when working with open-fire cooking,⁹⁷⁷ a wadja wok pan for high-temperature fast-fried foods,⁹⁷⁸ and a rice pounder with rice block used to dehull rice or make rice flour.⁹⁷⁹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, explicitly applied a diversity of additional culinary techniques specific to the Dutch East Indies. This included, for example, the previously outlined specific techniques of sun-drying different ingredients,⁹⁸⁰ or the usage of papaya leaves to wrap chicken for several hours prior to cooking to tenderise the meat.⁹⁸¹ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, implemented the usage of a number of culinary tools and techniques from across Asia. This encompassed, for instance, the usage of Chinese ginger jar for fermenting ginger,⁹⁸² and Japanese-ceramic bowls for the preparation and consumption of Japanese-style rice and noodle dishes.⁹⁸³ This, furthermore, illustrated the previously analysed significant influences of particularly Chinese cuisine on culinary practices within the Dutch East Indies.⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁶⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 258-326.

⁹⁶⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 259-260.

⁹⁶⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 258.

⁹⁷⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 262-263.

⁹⁷¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 284, 285, and 287.

⁹⁷²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 282, 286, and 287.

⁹⁷³See, for example, *ibid.*, 302, 2, and 83.

⁹⁷⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 212-242. This form of hybridisation is further discussed in chapter 5.

⁹⁷⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 3, and 149.

⁹⁷⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 64, 65, and 396.

⁹⁷⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 396.

⁹⁷⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 97, 186, and 218.

⁹⁷⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 396.

⁹⁸⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 31, 205, and 216.

⁹⁸¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 57.

⁹⁸²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 167.

⁹⁸³See, for example, *ibid.*, 149.

⁹⁸⁴See Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157-158, Pols, "Jamu," 165, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 32, Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System' in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870," 2, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 80, 89, and 92, and Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 28.

Aaltje 14

In contrast to the wide diversity of Dutch culinary tools and techniques in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14* featured no culinary tools or techniques from the Dutch East Indies. Instead, *Aaltje 14* centred a wide variety of Dutch culinary tools preparation methods. This principally included, as previously discussed, the steps preceding the preparation of various meats,⁹⁸⁵ as well as the different preparation methods of soups and stews,⁹⁸⁶ and extensive diversity of baking techniques.⁹⁸⁷ Yet, these instructions were, at times, incomplete. *Aaltje 14*, for example, specifically presumed knowledge on how to dismantle and consume crustaceans,⁹⁸⁸ or how to skin specifically game animals such as hogs or deer.⁹⁸⁹ These instructions on the steps preceding the preparation of various meats, furthermore, generally presumed both extensive anatomical knowledge and highly precise cutting skills.⁹⁹⁰ These culinary techniques, likewise, implied the usage of a wide diversity of culinary tools specialised for the preparation of meats such as a meat cleaver,⁹⁹¹ and a selection of carving knives.⁹⁹² Similarly, *Aaltje 14*, featured a diversity of Dutch culinary tools such as various large copper or iron pots specialised for slow-cooked semi-solid dishes,⁹⁹³ the previously described diversity of knives,⁹⁹⁴ and the Dutch oven and casseroles for baked dishes.⁹⁹⁵ In this context, it is notable that while the dangers of copper toxicity in copper pots when combined with acidic food had already been known since the early 19th century, cooking practices were only adjusted when the average middle-and upper-class Dutch and Indische households had more socio-economic means to afford culinary equipment from alternative materials towards the end of the 19th century.⁹⁹⁶ Consequently, both the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used no copper equipment. Instead, both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* primarily used the more expensive Dutch enamelled cast iron cooking vessels when preparing Dutch dishes.⁹⁹⁷ Although it is notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* continued to use the copper dandang pots when preparing dishes from the Dutch East Indies.⁹⁹⁸ In this comparison of culinary tools, it is, likewise, significant to emphasise that the Dutch culinary tools used for measuring within the *Indisch Kookboek*, were, likewise, used as tools of measurement within *Aaltje 14*.

⁹⁸⁵See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 32-42.

⁹⁸⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 43-81.

⁹⁸⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 214-268.

⁹⁸⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 149, 159, and 166-167.

⁹⁸⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 120-125.

⁹⁹⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 32-42.

⁹⁹¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 73, and 122.

⁹⁹²See, for example, *ibid.*, 32-42.

⁹⁹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 44, 48, and 54.

⁹⁹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 32-42.

⁹⁹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 71, 81, and 85.

⁹⁹⁶See Liefers, ““The Present Time is Eminently Scientific,”” 950, Wintle, “Diet and Modernisation in The Netherlands,” 65-74, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2000-2002, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, viii, x, xxxi, and xxxii, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, vii-1, and 276.

⁹⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁹⁸See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 389, 396, and 1.

Aaltje 14, therefore consistently used, teaspoons,⁹⁹⁹ teacups,¹⁰⁰⁰ 1-litre bottles,¹⁰⁰¹ and beer glasses¹⁰⁰² for measuring. Although *Aaltje 14*, likewise, used standardised measurements of Dutch pounds in combination with these measuring tools.¹⁰⁰³ As previously outlined, these culinary preparation methods, furthermore, impacted the average preparation time of the dishes in *Aaltje 14*. As previously noted, by centring Dutch culinary practices, *Aaltje 14*, thus, primarily featured slow-cooked semi-solid foods. This was, for example, well-illustrated by how *Aaltje 14* contained over 40 recipes using more than a day of preparation.¹⁰⁰⁴ As previously highlighted, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, specified explicit instruction on the presentation of many of the dishes, which contributed significantly to this prolonged time-investment. Many of these presentation instructions were specific to these previously analysed social performances expected in the context of Dutch formal full-course meals. *Aaltje 14*, moreover, specifically, featured multiple dishes which were explicitly intended to be placed at the centre of the table for decoration during formal full-course meal. These dishes were then only during the second course taken back to the kitchen to be further prepared for consumption. These centrepiece dishes included, for example, a whole pig's head, a whole sheep, or various game animals such as hog or deer.¹⁰⁰⁵ It is notable that *Aaltje 14*, likewise, categorised melon imported from the Dutch East Indies as one of these centrepiece dishes which it categorised as a prominent expression of high socio-economic status.¹⁰⁰⁶

The Haagsche Kookschool

The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, prioritised the presentation and decoration of dishes. Although, it is noteworthy that the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, unlike *Aaltje 14*, not feature any centrepiece dishes. Instead, the *Haagsche Kookschool* focussed on the individual presentation of each dish. The *Haagsche Kookschool* was, therefore, generally the cookbook analysed here with the most emphasis on dish presentation. These instruction on dish presentation within the *Haagsche Kookschool* entailed, for instance, instructions of which sauce the dish should be paired with,¹⁰⁰⁷ which other dishes the dish should be presented with according to colour,¹⁰⁰⁸ or which decorative ingredients should be added on top of the dish. These decorative ingredients featured, for example, cherries,¹⁰⁰⁹ lemon or orange slices,¹⁰¹⁰ gelatine,¹⁰¹¹ various food colourings,¹⁰¹² or carrots and apples cut into flowers, animals, or humanoid figures.¹⁰¹³

⁹⁹⁹See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 114, 93, and 65.

¹⁰⁰⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 76, 140, and 220.

¹⁰⁰¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 202, 238, and 274.

¹⁰⁰²See, for example, *ibid.*, 53, 87, and 116.

¹⁰⁰³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 94, 102, and 118.

¹⁰⁰⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 267, 148, and 144.

¹⁰⁰⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 32-42, 120-125, and 334-336.

¹⁰⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁰⁰⁷See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 34, 64, and 66.

¹⁰⁰⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 120, 121, and 165.

¹⁰⁰⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 176, 199, and 200.

¹⁰¹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 46, 47, and 92.

¹⁰¹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 39, 52, and 53.

¹⁰¹²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 285, 263, and 226.

¹⁰¹³See, for example, *ibid.*, 229, 230, and 66.

This emphasis on dish decoration was, likewise, reflected in various culinary techniques and tools in the *Haagsche Kookschool* which were specifically used for food presentation and decoration. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, used various specialised metal and ceramic forms to shape gelatine in certain shapes.¹⁰¹⁴ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, for example, added rasped orange bark as dish toppings by using specifically what Manden described as a sambelschaafje (“sambal slicer”) which was used in the processing of chillis in the Dutch East Indies.¹⁰¹⁵ In this context, it is important to emphasise that the vast majority of the culinary techniques and tools used within the *Haagsche Kookschool* were Dutch. This, likewise, applied to the vast majority of the culinary norms in the *Haagsche Kookschool* which continued to prioritise slow-cooked semi-solid dishes.¹⁰¹⁶ Yet, unlike *Aaltje 14*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did use a number culinary techniques and tools from the Dutch East Indies. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, used a wadja wok pan for fast-frying ingredients,¹⁰¹⁷ an almond grinder to pulverise almonds,¹⁰¹⁸ and this sambal slicer to slice orange bark.¹⁰¹⁹ In this context, it is, moreover, notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool* was, generally the cookbook analysed here with the most specialised culinary tools and techniques. These specialised culinary tools and techniques included, for example, the preparation to specifically puff pastry using a rolling pin and a pastry board,¹⁰²⁰ or the process of deep-frying breaded ingredients using strainers and a deep pan.¹⁰²¹ In comparison to both *Aaltje 14* and *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, it is, moreover, relevant to point out that the *Haagsche Kookschool* only used scales for measuring ingredients instead of tools such as teacups, teaspoons, or beer glasses.¹⁰²² Although it is relevant to note that the instructions of these culinary techniques and tools within the *Haagsche Kookschool* were, at times, more descriptive rather than instructive. This was, for instance, well-illustrated by the description of the term “désosseeren”. As Manden stated “Désosseeren is het verwijderen van beenderen of graten out wild of visch.” (“De-boning is the process of removing bones from hunted meats or fish.”)¹⁰²³ This definition, while providing a description of the term itself, did, thus, not contain any explicit practical information on the specific processes of deboning different fish or meats. This, furthermore, highlighted that, as previously outlined, the *Haagsche Kookschool* was primarily intended as a textbook used in addition to verbal instructions at the Haagsche Kookschool.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰¹⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 227, 260, and 66.

¹⁰¹⁵*Ibid.*, 275.

¹⁰¹⁶See, for example, the prominence on chapters on soups, slow-cooked sauces, and porridges. See, *ibid.*, 1-24, 110-129, 163-169, 169-183, 204-206, and 207-213.

¹⁰¹⁷*Ibid.*, 164.

¹⁰¹⁸*Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁰¹⁹*Ibid.*, 275.

¹⁰²⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, xxvii-xviii.

¹⁰²¹See, for example, *ibid.*, xliii.

¹⁰²²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 274, 275, and 270.

¹⁰²³*Ibid.*, xlii.

¹⁰²⁴Van Dam, and Witteveen, *Koks and Keukenmeiden*, 146-154.

Summary

To conclude, only few culinary tools and techniques were imported from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands. Instead, more Dutch culinary techniques and tools from The Netherlands were incorporated into Indische culinary practices. However, the vast majority of culinary techniques and tools remained isolated within either Dutch or Indische culinary practices. Nevertheless, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did featured significantly more references to culinary tools and techniques from the Dutch East Indies than *Aaltje 14*. Similarly, the knowledge of Dutch culinary tools and techniques was more diverse in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* than in the *Indisch Kookboek*. This, once more, highlighted, the previously outlined increase in the exchange of knowledge and product between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.

Science

In the context of technological and taught knowledge, it is, moreover, relevant to consider scientific knowledge. In this context it is, firstly, relevant to consider for example Keri Colabroy et al. and Simon Q. Field who stressed that cooking generally relies heavily on the practical knowledge of chemistry and biochemistry. This includes, for instance, the knowledge of how certain ingredients will react to each other when heated to create different textures in baked goods, how to change the viscosity and texture of sauces using the reactions of starch-rich and acidic ingredients, how to closely control the consistency and shape of ingredients which easily change consistency such as gelatine, agar agar, eggs, or sugar, or generally how long to cook different ingredients to neutralise harmful properties.¹⁰²⁵

Aaltje 14 and The Indisch Kookboek

This practical chemical knowledge was the primary scientific knowledge featured in both *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek*. Within the *Indisch Kookboek*, this practical chemical knowledge was, for example, well-illustrated during the preparation of “hoofdkaas” (“head cheese”). More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* outlined that to achieve the gelatinous yet solid consistency of head cheese, the meat and spices had to be fried in butter and a cup of vinegar before the fat had to be skimmed off. Subsequently, the ingredients had to be boiled with molten agar agar before filled into the desired metal or wooden form which had to be weighted down with a heavy object whilst the ingredients cooled.¹⁰²⁶ Within *Aaltje 14*, on the other hand, this practical chemical knowledge was, for instance, closely demonstrated in the preparation of oliebollen. More specifically, *Aaltje 14* instructed that to achieve the fluffy deep-fried consistency without an excess of oily flavour, firstly, 8 eggs per Dutch pound of flour had to be beaten into foam. Subsequently, first flour, then a little salt, and, lastly, raisins had to be added to the eggs.

¹⁰²⁵See Keri L. Colabroy, Ashley L. Corrigan Steffey, Brenda S. Kelly, Joseph J. Provost, and Mark A. Wallert, *The Science of Cooking: Understanding the Biology and Chemistry behind Food and Cooking* (Wiley, 2025), Simon Q. Field, *Culinary Reactions: The Everyday Chemistry of Cooking* (Chicago Review Press, 2012).

¹⁰²⁶*Indisch Kookboek*, 18.

Simultaneously, warm milk had to be combined with yeast and sugar before added the other ingredients which, then, had to be left to set. During this time, a bottle of oil had to be cooked in an iron pan before gradually adding 5 Dutch pounds of butter to the boiling oil. Before adding the other ingredients, the boiling fat had to be taken outside where a beer-glass of cold water had to be carefully added to the boiling mixture to reduce the oily flavour of the finished pastry. Thereafter, the other ingredients had to be added spoon-wise to the layer of water on top of the boiling mixture of oil and butter.¹⁰²⁷ Apart from this practical chemical knowledge, *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, used alum salts ($\text{KAl}(\text{SO}_4)_2 \cdot 12 \text{H}_2\text{O}$) in combination with vinegar for the preservation of asparagus.¹⁰²⁸ *Aaltje 14*, moreover, frequently used practical knowledge of physics when using heavy objects to gradually expel liquid from ingredients or when sealing containers.¹⁰²⁹ In the context of this practical chemical knowledge it is, however, relevant to highlight that both the *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek* rarely included explicit instructions on measuring. Both *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, seldomly referenced specific time indications. Instead, the instructions on cooking time in both *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek* predominantly consisted of “boil until all ingredients are soft.”¹⁰³⁰ Hence, both the *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek*, largely presumed their audience to apply intuitive culinary knowledge on the cooking times. For the measuring of quantities, the *Indisch Kookboek* primarily used both the previously listed Dutch tools such as beer glasses, as well as the Chinese catty measurements.¹⁰³¹ As previously outlined, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, combined these listed Dutch tools for measurement in combination with Dutch pound measurements.¹⁰³² It is, in this context, moreover, notable that both the *Aaltje 14* and the *Indisch Kookboek* occasionally indicated vague measurements such as “add some”¹⁰³³ or “ad according to taste.”¹⁰³⁴

The Haagsche Kookschool and The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

In contrast, both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* indicated highly precise quantities for each ingredient.¹⁰³⁵ Both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, regularly specified cooking times measured in minutes, thereby, necessitating the usage of a clock within the kitchen.¹⁰³⁶ In the context of measurements, it is notable that both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, presumed knowledge of mathematics.

¹⁰²⁷*Aaltje 14*, 221-222.

¹⁰²⁸*Ibid.*, 285.

¹⁰²⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 286, and 315.

¹⁰³⁰See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 6, 9, and 12, and *Aaltje 14*, 33, 44, and 45.

¹⁰³¹It is notable that the catty measurements were already used widely throughout Indonesia since the 9th century. See Dizila Afrila, Satriyo Pamunkas, Ayu Yarmayani, and Deki Syaputra ZE, “Unit Measure in Tanjung Tanah Codes of Law,” *Proceeding International Conference on Malay Identity (ICMI)* 4 (2023): 129, and, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 84, 111, and 78.

¹⁰³²See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 94, 102, and 118.

¹⁰³³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 3, and 4, and *Aaltje 14*, 46, 47, and 50.

¹⁰³⁴See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 14, and 22, and *Aaltje 14*, 71, 73, and 89.

¹⁰³⁵See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 1, 2, 3, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 3, and 4.

¹⁰³⁶See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 42, 72, and 101, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 2, 108, and 110.

Both cookbooks, for instance, explicitly referenced mathematics for the calculation of certain cooking times, the calculation of specific quantities of ingredients for different numbers of guests, and the conversion between different units of measurement. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, primarily used both the catty measurement and the Dutch tools such as teaspoons, teacups, and one litre bottles. Yet, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, provided a chart for converting measurements between catty, Dutch pounds, and kilograms.¹⁰³⁷ Whereas, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, specifically used both grams and litres for measuring the quantities of ingredients,¹⁰³⁸ and minutes for measuring of the cooking time.¹⁰³⁹ In this context, it is noteworthy that, unlike the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did not include any instructions on how to adjust the measurements of certain ingredients such as sugar or spices according to different tastes. Instead, the *Haagsche Kookschool* indicated fixed measurements for each ingredient, including spices and sugar. Whereas the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, whilst defining specific measurements for most ingredients, more frequently indicated which ingredients could be adjusted to taste. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specified in the introduction that: “Waar nodig, is de hoeveelheid opgegeven; zijn sommige ingrediënten genoemd, zonder vermelding van de hoeveelheid, dan worden zij naar den smaak en naar de behoefte gebruikt.” (“Where necessary, measurements for different ingredients are provided; the ingredients for which no measurements are provided can be added according to taste or need.”)¹⁰⁴⁰ Although it is central to distinguish that despite anticipating minor taste adjustments, Van der Meijden did warn against adjusting recipes in ways which altered what she considered essential characteristics of the Indische cuisine. Van der Meijden specifically stated that: “Wanneer men een blik slaat in de recepten van “de Indische tafel” valt het spoedig op, dat uien en knoflook (bawang poetih) bij de bereiding een groote rol spleen. Oostersche gerechten hebben in ‘t algemeene een sterken en toch aangename smaak, het kenmerk van de semitische keuken. Het geurige en *petillante* van oostersche gerechten mist men grootendeels in onze hollandsche schotels, waar ook wel uien en knoflook worden gebruikt, maar lang niet in die hoeveelheden als in Indië of als in de Zuidelijke en Oostelijke landen van Europa. Zonder of met zeer weinig uien zou een Indische rijsttafel ondenkbaar zijn. Men meense dus niet, dat door een willekeurige afwijking van vorenstaande recepten, *omdat* men *niet* van uien of knoflook houdt, een dragelijke rijsttafel in Holland is na te maken.” (“When looking at the recipes in this book, it quickly stands out that onions and garlic play a large role within the preparation of these dishes. Oriental dishes generally have a strong yet pleasant taste, which is the main characteristic of the Semetic cuisine. The aromatic and *tingly* character of oriental dishes is largely absent from dishes in The Netherlands, which also use garlic and onions but in much fewer quantities than in the Dutch East Indies, or in the Southern or Eastern countries of Europe. Without or with only a few onions, the Indische rijsttafel is unthinkable.

¹⁰³⁷Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, v-vii.

¹⁰³⁸Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 1, 2, and 3.

¹⁰³⁹Ibid., 42, 72, and 101.

¹⁰⁴⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, iii-iv.

Hence, it would be wrong to assume that when the recipes in this book are drastically adjusted, just *because one does not* like onions or garlic, one could still reproduce a tolerable rijsttafel in The Netherlands.”)¹⁰⁴¹ Apart from this knowledge of mathematics to convert different measurements, both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, contained practical and theoretical scientific knowledge. Both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, explicitly outlined the chemical reactions entailed in the usage of baking powder.¹⁰⁴² The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, featured detailed chemical knowledge on the reactions and applications of various chemical compounds including ammonium chloride, potassium nitrate, and sodium sulphate in the context of the preparation of ice creams. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, incorporated a detailed recipe for the production of artificial ice by placing the ingredients for the ice cream into a bowl or bottle which is suspended in a larger container with 470 grams of water, 345 grams of ammonium chloride, 315 grams of potassium nitrate, and 500 grams of sodium sulphate. As Van der Meijden described, when mixed correctly, these chemical compounds, then create an endothermic reaction effective enough for the efficient production of ice cream. Van der Meijden added, that to enhance the cooling effect, the larger container with the chemical compounds is put into an even larger bucket which is filled with water and subsequently enwrapped in a woollen blanket. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, hereby, displayed detailed knowledge of both these specific chemicals, as well as the resulting endothermic reaction.¹⁰⁴³ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, on the other hand, incorporated, for example, a wide diversity of hygiene instructions which both used chemical reactions and outlined detailed knowledge on bacteria. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, specifically instructed to use a litmus paper as a PH-indicator to determine the freshness of meat. More specifically, Manden stated that the juice from fresh meat be slightly acidic and, thus, should colour blue litmus paper light red. Whereas the juice from spoiled meat becomes increasingly alkaline and would, therefore, turn red litmus paper blue, according to Manden.¹⁰⁴⁴ A further example of this scientific knowledge is that the *Haagsche Kookschool*, distinguished that all meats should be heated to at least 70 °C which is when the parasitic trichinella perish,¹⁰⁴⁵ while all culinary equipment should be cleaned and heated to over 100 °C which is when most bacteria die.¹⁰⁴⁶ The *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, outlined detailed knowledge on the chemical composition and consequent health risks of different culinary equipment. As previously noted, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, explicitly warned against equipment containing lead,¹⁰⁴⁷ and against preparing acidic foods in copper containers which could cause copper toxicity.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴¹Ibid., 385-386.

¹⁰⁴²See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxviii, 252, and 239, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 259, 260, and 265.

¹⁰⁴³It is notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* discussed the production of ice cream using either this home-made freezer or an automated freezer. In the context of the automated freezer, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, provided detailed instructions on the purchase and price of these automated freezers. See 1, and 350-352.

¹⁰⁴⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xviii.

¹⁰⁴⁵Ibid., xix.

¹⁰⁴⁶Ibid., xxv.

¹⁰⁴⁷Ibid., vii-viii.

¹⁰⁴⁸Ibid., viii, x, xxxii.

Summary

To sum up, all cookbooks analysed here contained extensive practical chemical and biochemical knowledge centring the interactions of certain ingredients. In this context measurements played a central role. Although both the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14* relied more heavily on the intuitive proportional knowledge of its audiences, while the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* provided highly specific measurements for most ingredients. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, hereby, specifically stressed both the scientific as well as the cultural significance of these measurements. Both the *Haagsche Kookschool* and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, featured wide-ranging knowledge of chemical reactions which were used in the culinary contexts of the late 19th century. This illustrated, once more, the previously outlined scientification of the Dutch and Indische domestic spheres during this period.

Djeroek, Chinaasappel or Oranje?:
Transfer of Knowledge and Translations

Linguistic Translations

When discussing transfer of knowledge in the cookbooks analysed here, it is, furthermore, relevant to consider translations. This, firstly, included linguistic translation.

The Indisch Kookboek

The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, featured few Dutch linguistic translations of ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. Instead, the *Indisch Kookboek* referred to the majority of the vegetables, fruits, spices, and animals from the Dutch East Indies by their Malay terms.¹⁰⁴⁹ The *Indisch Kookboek*, even used the Malay terms for ingredients which had established Dutch translations. For example, the *Indisch Kookboek*, largely used the Malay “bawang poetih” instead of the Dutch “knoflook” when referring to garlic despite the common usage of garlic in culinary practices in both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. These ingredients exclusively referred to in Malay included, for example, bawang poetih (garlic),¹⁰⁵⁰ ketimoen (cucumber),¹⁰⁵¹ and ketoembar (coriander).¹⁰⁵² Some specific ingredients such as coconut milk were, furthermore, generally referred to as either the Dutch “klappermelk” or the Malay “Santen” in haphazard intervals.¹⁰⁵³ Lastly, some specific ingredients from the Dutch East Indies were exclusively referred to by their Dutch terms. These ingredients primarily featured the previously outlined ingredients with long trading histories between The Netherlands and Southeast Asia such as pepper,¹⁰⁵⁴ cloves,¹⁰⁵⁵ nutmeg,¹⁰⁵⁶ cinnamon,¹⁰⁵⁷ and mace.¹⁰⁵⁸ The *Indisch Kookboek* did, moreover, provide a number of explicit linguistic translations for certain ingredients, culinary tools and techniques from the Dutch East Indies. More specifically, these explicit linguistic translations included the Malay ingredients kepala soesoe,¹⁰⁵⁹ tetes,¹⁰⁶⁰ goela tetes,¹⁰⁶¹ boemboe,¹⁰⁶² and boong¹⁰⁶³ for the Dutch room (“cream”), gesmolten suiker (“melted sugar”), klontjes suiker (“sugar cubes”), kruiden (“spice mix”), and bamboo (“bamboo”) respectively.

¹⁰⁴⁹See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 81, 82, and 83.

¹⁰⁵⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 162, and 165.

¹⁰⁵²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 6, 81, and 83.

¹⁰⁵³See, for example, *ibid.*, 45, 87, and 92 for the Dutch “klappermelk”, and, for instance, *ibid.*, 81, 82, and 83 for the Malay “santen”.

¹⁰⁵⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

¹⁰⁵⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 2, 3, and 9.

¹⁰⁵⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

¹⁰⁵⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 36, 39, and 42.

¹⁰⁵⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 2, 5, and 10.

¹⁰⁵⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁰⁶⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰⁶¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 168.

¹⁰⁶²See, for example, *ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰⁶³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 96.

Whereas these explicit linguistics translations for culinary tools and techniques from the Dutch East Indies included the Malay parooting,¹⁰⁶⁴ entong,¹⁰⁶⁵ kwalie,¹⁰⁶⁶ and soejen¹⁰⁶⁷ for the Dutch raspen (“rasping”), houten lepel (“wooden spoon”), aarden pot (“clay pot”), and klein dun stokje (“small, thin stick”) respectively. The majority of these terms with explicit linguistic translations were translated once into Dutch and were, subsequently, used exclusively in Malay. Although the majority of these terms with explicit linguistic translations were only featured once or twice in the *Indisch Kookboek*. Notable exceptions of this were tjoetie and beras. Tjoetie, for instance, was not an ingredient from the Dutch East Indies but a Chinese spice which the *Indisch Kookboek* explicitly linguistically translated to Dutch as a “rode Chineesche poeder” (“red Chinese spice”).¹⁰⁶⁸ Beras, the Malay term for rice, on the other hand, was explicitly translated once. However, unlike the other ingredients which were explicitly translated in the *Indisch Kookboek*, rice was primarily referred to by the Dutch term “rijst” throughout the cookbook.¹⁰⁶⁹

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

Like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained a diversity of explicit linguistic translations. Yet, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* specifically dedicated two entire chapters on linguistic translations. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, incorporated the previously discussed chapter on plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies which, likewise, outlined explicit linguistic translations for each of these ingredients in Malay, Dutch, and Latin.¹⁰⁷⁰ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, dedicated an entire chapter to the explicit Malay-Dutch linguistic translations of ingredients, culinary tools, culinary terms, culinary techniques, and culinary environments. This chapter defined the explicit Malay-Dutch linguistic translations for 166 terms, including, for instance, penjoe as “schildpad” (“turtle”), koetjaï as “prij” (“leek”), kering as “droog” (“dry”), lembaran as “instukken of plakken gesneden” (“diced”), and goedang as “provisiekamer” (“pantry”).¹⁰⁷¹ Still, despite this significant increase in Malay-Dutch linguistic translations, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used both Malay and Dutch terms similarly to the *Indisch Kookboek*. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, continued to use Malay terms for a number of ingredients which had established Dutch translations such as bawang poetih for garlic,¹⁰⁷² ketimoen for cucumber,¹⁰⁷³ ketoembar for coriander,¹⁰⁷⁴ djeroek for citrus fruits,¹⁰⁷⁵ as well as adding djahé for ginger,¹⁰⁷⁶ and seréh for lemongrass.¹⁰⁷⁷

¹⁰⁶⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 101.

¹⁰⁶⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 151.

¹⁰⁶⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 153.

¹⁰⁶⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 137.

¹⁰⁶⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 156.

¹⁰⁶⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 130, 73, and 53.

¹⁰⁷⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 379-385.

¹⁰⁷¹*Ibid.*, 389-394.

¹⁰⁷²See, for example, *ibid.*, 4, 5, and 6.

¹⁰⁷³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 15, 40, and 46.

¹⁰⁷⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 56, 58, and 59.

¹⁰⁷⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 59, 60, and 61.

¹⁰⁷⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 64, 66, and 67.

¹⁰⁷⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 70, 72, and 78.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, consistently used only the Malay terms for the Indische culinary tools despite providing the Dutch translations. Like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, continued to only use the Dutch terms for ingredients from the Dutch East Indies which had already been traded since the European Early modern period such as pepper,¹⁰⁷⁸ nutmeg,¹⁰⁷⁹ cloves,¹⁰⁸⁰ mace,¹⁰⁸¹ and cinnamon.¹⁰⁸² A notable exception to this is that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, likewise, use the Dutch term for cash crops cultivated both within and after the cultuurstelsel such as sugar,¹⁰⁸³ and coffee.¹⁰⁸⁴ Unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, established Malay translations for a number of ingredients imported from The Netherlands such as kiesmies for raisins.¹⁰⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* continued to use the Dutch terms instead of the Malay translations within the culinary instructions.¹⁰⁸⁶ At this juncture, it is relevant to distinguish that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* primarily used Malay for ingredients and culinary tools,¹⁰⁸⁷ whilst using predominantly Dutch when describing culinary techniques and instructions.¹⁰⁸⁸ In this connection it is, moreover, notable that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used highly specific Dutch culinary terms and generally displayed a higher proficiency in Dutch than the *Indisch Kookboek*. This was, for instance, well-illustrated by the usage of characteristically Dutch linguistic constructions in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* such as “het kruidenbezinksel” (“the amalgamation of spices or herbs in a liquid”),¹⁰⁸⁹ “vermorzel” (“pulverise”),¹⁰⁹⁰ and the colloquial “flink” (“good/strong”) used as in the Dutch cookbooks when indicating that something needed a considerable quantity of an ingredient or a considerable amount strength.¹⁰⁹¹ Whereas the *Indisch Kookboek* used more rudimentary Dutch culinary instructions. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, generalised usage of the verb “stampen” (“pounding”) when indicating that an ingredient needed to be pulverised,¹⁰⁹² puréed,¹⁰⁹³ pounded,¹⁰⁹⁴ tenderized,¹⁰⁹⁵ dehulled,¹⁰⁹⁶ or several ingredients had to be mixed together,¹⁰⁹⁷ instead of using the different Dutch verbs to distinguish between these culinary techniques. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek* rarely used Malay terms when describing culinary techniques.

¹⁰⁷⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 142, 143, and 145.

¹⁰⁷⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 149, 157, and 159.

¹⁰⁸⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 167, 169, and 170.

¹⁰⁸¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 172, 173, and 175.

¹⁰⁸²See, for example, *ibid.*, 186, 187, and 188.

¹⁰⁸³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 192, 198, and 203.

¹⁰⁸⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 245, 276, and 337.

¹⁰⁸⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 62, and 391.

¹⁰⁸⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 1, 2, and 3.

¹⁰⁸⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸⁸See, for example, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁹⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 73, 77, and 88.

¹⁰⁹¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 118, 305, and 301.

¹⁰⁹²See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 115.

¹⁰⁹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰⁹⁴See, for example, *ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰⁹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰⁹⁶See, for example, *ibid.*, 111.

¹⁰⁹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 96.

This higher proficiency in Dutch in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, reflected that, as Van der Meijden herself stated, she had, unlike the male Indische publisher G. C. T. van Drop based in the Dutch East Indies, received Dutch culinary training when traveling to The Netherlands.¹⁰⁹⁸ This, likewise, demonstrated, once more, the increase in specifically travel of women between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹⁰⁹⁹ In the overall context of linguistic translations, it is, furthermore, significant to highlight that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, incorporated a number of Chinese terms with Dutch descriptions. These Chinese terms included, for instance, the description of laksa,¹¹⁰⁰ mie,¹¹⁰¹ mieso,¹¹⁰² and soun¹¹⁰³ as specific types of Chinese noodles, the definition of taotjo as a Chinese sauce which uses Javanese sugar and soybeans,¹¹⁰⁴ and the tangkwé portrayed as a dried Chinese fruit.¹¹⁰⁵ In this context, it is necessary to stress that the diversity of Chinese terms in both Indische cookbooks, moreover, closely reflected the general centrality of Chinese dishes and ingredients within both Indische cookbooks.¹¹⁰⁶ This, likewise, reflected the overall socio-economic centrality of Chinese merchants within the food cultures of many of the culinary communities in the Dutch East Indies. In this context it is notable that these Chinese merchants included both merchants from China as well as merchants and individuals from the large minority communities of ethnically Chinese individuals many of whom had, by the 19th century, lived for generations throughout different locations of the Dutch East Indies. These Chinese merchants were, moreover, particularly central to Indisch cooking since Indische homemakers would frequently rely on Chinese merchants to obtain ingredients excluded from the majority of the culinary communities within the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁰⁷ This included, for example, the procuring of pork which Indische home makers would, as Van der Meijden highlighted, exclusively purchase from traveling Chinese merchants.¹¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁹⁸See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 259-261, and Van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug*.

¹⁰⁹⁹See Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 18, and Taylor, "Nyai Dasima," 231.

¹¹⁰⁰See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 391, 171, and 167.

¹¹⁰¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 392, and 165.

¹¹⁰²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 169, 392, and 34.

¹¹⁰³See, for example, *ibid.*, 393, and 171.

¹¹⁰⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 54, 55, and 393.

¹¹⁰⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 219, 318, and 393.

¹¹⁰⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, and *Indisch Kookboek*, 167, 32, and 67.

¹¹⁰⁷See Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157-158, Pols, "Jamu," 165, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 32, Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System' in Dutch Indonesia 1830-1870," 2, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 80, 89, and 92, and Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 28.

¹¹⁰⁸Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, v-vi.

Aaltje 14

In contrast to the Indische cookbooks, neither *Aaltje 7* nor *Aaltje 14* contained any Malay terms. Instead, *Aaltje 14* consistently used the established Dutch translations of the ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. *Aaltje 14*, thus, consistently used, for example, “citroen” for lemon,¹¹⁰⁹ “kaneel” for cinnamon,¹¹¹⁰ and “foelie” for mace.¹¹¹¹ *Aaltje 14*, moreover, used these linguistic translations implicitly and, thus, consistently casualised the detachment between the ingredients and the socio-ecological context of these ingredients within the Dutch East Indies. This further facilitated the implicit integration of the previously outlined central colonial ingredients from the Dutch East Indies into Dutch cooking.¹¹¹² In the context of linguistic translations, it is, furthermore, significant to briefly consider the distinctions within the Dutch language used between the different cookbooks. Both the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14*, for example, still used both the Dutch “hoender”¹¹¹³ and the Dutch “kip”¹¹¹⁴ for chicken in haphazard intervals. Whereas both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* exclusively used “kip.”¹¹¹⁵ The spelling of the Dutch language was, generally, largely consistent specifically across both the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14*. However, there were still some inconsistencies and linguistic distinctions. One specific inconsistency was, for instance, the spelling of orange which varied widely between “oranje”¹¹¹⁶ and “chinaasappel”¹¹¹⁷ in *Aaltje 14*, and between the Dutch “oranje”¹¹¹⁸ and the Malay “djeroek”¹¹¹⁹ within the *Indisch Kookboek*. A second main linguistic distinction was the previously mentioned ingredients with existing Dutch translations which the *Indisch Kookboek* continued to refer to in Malay such as garlic,¹¹²⁰ and cucumber.¹¹²¹ A third principal linguistic distinction between the *Indisch Kookboek* and *Aaltje 14* was the usage of verbs in the linguistic diversity of the instructions. More specifically, the *Indisch Kookboek* used, as previously noted, only a limited selection of different Dutch verbs. The culinary instructions within the *Indisch Kookboek* were, moreover, linguistically repetitive and used only a limited selection of Dutch vocabulary in general.¹¹²² *Aaltje 14*, on the other hand, featured a significantly wider diversity of verbs including, for example, 7 different synonymous verbs for “cleaning.”¹¹²³

¹¹⁰⁹See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 262, 330, and 282.

¹¹¹⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 251, 68, and 70.

¹¹¹¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 43, 55, and 68.

¹¹¹²See Jones, “Wives, Slaves, and Concubines,” 50-53, Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanesese Cooking Stove,” 435, and Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 101-105.

¹¹¹³See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 79, 80, and 190, and *Indisch Kookboek*, 36.

¹¹¹⁴See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 36, and 38, and *Indisch Kookboek*, 27, 112, and 33.

¹¹¹⁵See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 172, and 157, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 35, 72, and 73.

¹¹¹⁶See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 199, 219, and 221.

¹¹¹⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 271.

¹¹¹⁸See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 168, 62, and 60.

¹¹¹⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 159, 60, and 73.

¹¹²⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 81, 82, and 83.

¹¹²¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 162, and 165.

¹¹²²See, for example, the generalised uses of the verb “stampen”. *Ibid.*, 115, 38, 73, 81, 111, and 96.

¹¹²³This included, the Dutch “schoonmaken”, “wassen”, “zuiveren”, “reinigen”, “schoonwassen”, “afvegen”, “afwassen.” See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 49, 50, 51, 45, 54, 198, and 47 respectively.

The Haagsche Kookschool

In contrast, the spelling of the Dutch language was largely consistent between the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*. One of the main distinctions was orange, for which the *Haagsche Kookschool* still distinguished between “sinaasappel” when indicating the fresh or dried fruit,¹¹²⁴ or “oranje” specifically when using orange blossoms or orange bark.¹¹²⁵ Whereas the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* used the Malay “djeroek” for fresh or dried fruit,¹¹²⁶ but the Dutch “oranje” when using specifically orange blossoms.¹¹²⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, as previously outlined, generally, use more Malay terms for ingredients for which the *Haagsche Kookschool* used the established Dutch translations. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, consistently used “bawang poetih,”¹¹²⁸ while the *Haagsche Kookschool* only used “knoflook.”¹¹²⁹ In this context, it is, furthermore, notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool* generally contained significantly fewer Malay-Dutch translations than the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Still, unlike *Aaltje 14*, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did incorporate a number of explicit Dutch descriptions of Malay terms. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, specifically portrayed that a wadja pan was a large iron pan convenient for frying,¹¹³⁰ or that sago is starch-rich and can be used to bind soups and sauces.¹¹³¹ As previously outlined, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, used more Chinese terms than the *Haagsche Kookschool*. Whereas the *Haagsche Kookschool* used more French terms than the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, for example, specifically featured 77 dishes with French titles.¹¹³² Although it is necessary to highlight at the end of the 19th century the usage of French in Dutch cookbooks was considered prestigious in The Netherlands. Hence, it was common to artificially translate the titles of Dutch dishes into French to enhance the social perception of both that specific dish and the overall cookbook.¹¹³³ Nevertheless, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, likewise, feature wide-ranging overall influences from French cuisine beyond these occasionally artificial translations. This entailed, for instance, the inclusion of the diversity of sauces central to French cuisine such as béchamel sauce or sauce Bourgogne.¹¹³⁴ Both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, consistently used new technological terms which had still been largely absent during the 1860s.

¹¹²⁴See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 183, 201, and 203.

¹¹²⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 171, 265, and 208.

¹¹²⁶See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 257, 219, and 220.

¹¹²⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 353, 345, and 319.

¹¹²⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 4, 5, and 6.

¹¹²⁹See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 68, 75, and 227.

¹¹³⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 164.

¹¹³¹See, for example, *ibid.*, xv, 138, and 209.

¹¹³²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 22, 230, and 24.

¹¹³³See, for example, Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 71.

¹¹³⁴See, Trubek, *Haute Cuisine*, 36-40, and 147, and Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 30, and 111.

These new technological terms included, for example, “in blik” (“canned”),¹¹³⁵ “bevroren” (“frozen”),¹¹³⁶ “bacteriën” (“bacteria”),¹¹³⁷ or “dubbelkoolzuur soda” (“sodium hydrogen carbonate i.e. baking powder”).¹¹³⁸

Summary

In summary, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* incorporated the widest diversity of linguistic Malay-Dutch translations of all cookbooks analysed here. What is more, is that the Indische cookbooks both generally contained significantly more linguistic Malay-Dutch translations than the Dutch cookbooks. Consequently, there was fewer Malay used in the Dutch cookbooks than there was Dutch used in the Dutch-language Indische cookbooks analysed here. In this context, it is central to note that even the Indische Malay-language *Kokkie Bitja* published before the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, featured significantly more Dutch terms than either of the Dutch cookbooks analysed here contained Malay terms. *Kokkie Bitja*, for instance, had an introduction in Dutch and included various Dutch dish titles such as “pannekoek” (“pancakes”),¹¹³⁹ “roomtaart” (“cream cake”),¹¹⁴⁰ or “rollade” (“roulade”).¹¹⁴¹ Lastly, it is notable, that both the Indische cookbooks analysed here used various Chinese culinary terms, while the especially the *Haagsche Kookschool* highlighted a diversity of French culinary concepts.

Cultural Translations

When discussing translations, it is, furthermore, necessary to consider the previously noted cultural translated dishes. As previously defined, these cultural translations contained the adaptation of certain imported culinary techniques to local logistic and cultural conditions. More specifically, these culturally translated dishes were primarily comprised of dishes which were interregionally imported, and which featured the systematic replacement of secondary ingredients which were explicitly substituted by other ingredients which were more commonly used in local culinary practices.

The Indisch Kookboek

The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, specifically contained systematic explicit substitutes for ingredients central to Dutch cooking which were difficult to procure or import to the Dutch East Indies during the 1860.

¹¹³⁵See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 59, 100, and 181, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 188-190.

¹¹³⁶See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xv, 146, and 289, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 371-376.

¹¹³⁷See, for instance, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, xxv, and xxvii, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 263.

¹¹³⁸See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 231, 239, and 248, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 311, and 245.

¹¹³⁹Cornelia, *Kokkie Bitja: Bitja, de Keukenmeid* (Lange & Co., 1864), 133.

¹¹⁴⁰Ibid., 121.

¹¹⁴¹Ibid., 80.

This primarily included the systematic explicit replacement of yeast with the palm-based legèn or the rice-based tapée beras,¹¹⁴² the substitution of gelatine with agar agar,¹¹⁴³ the replacement of milk with coconut milk,¹¹⁴⁴ and the substitution of butter with coconut oil.¹¹⁴⁵ The *Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, incorporated systematic explicit surrogates for some of the less central Dutch ingredients such as the substitution of tarragon with the leaves of scallions.¹¹⁴⁶ Lastly, the *Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, specified two systematic explicit replacement of animals common to Dutch habitats with animals endemic to the Dutch East Indies. This, firstly, included the explicit systematic replacement of the Dutch “kleine garnaltjes”, the Crangon crangon common to the North Sea with the Malay “udang rebon” referring to the Acetes genus of small shrimps local to the Pacific Ocean.¹¹⁴⁷ This, secondly, encompassed the explicit cultural translation of the taling (“teal duck *Anas crecca*”) more common to Dutch environments to the Javanese Mliwis (“the lesser whistling duck *Dendrocygna javanica*”) endemic to Southeast Asia.¹¹⁴⁸ In this context it is, furthermore, significant to highlight that within the *Indisch Kookboek*, the primary purpose of the majority of specifically these culturally translated dishes was to recreate Dutch dishes within the culinary and ecological context of the Dutch East Indies. In contrast, the previously discussed explicit linguistic translations primarily provided additional information for Dutch audiences. At this juncture it is necessary to emphasise, once more, that the *Indisch Kookboek* did directly reference *Aaltje 13* as a source for some of its dishes.¹¹⁴⁹ Consequently, the *Indisch Kookboek* did, likewise, encompass a number of Dutch dishes which exclusively utilised Dutch ingredients. These dishes included, for instance, saucijs brood (“sausage rolls”),¹¹⁵⁰ bruine soep (“brown soup”),¹¹⁵¹ or poffertjes.¹¹⁵² However, a number of these dishes with only Dutch ingredients within the *Indisch Kookboek* contained gaps of the culinary knowledge required to prepare the dish. This was, for example, well-illustrated by the instructions on the preparation of waffles which only listed the ingredients but excluded any explicit instruction on the requirement or usage of a waffle iron.¹¹⁵³

¹¹⁴²See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 49, 148, and 156.

¹¹⁴³See, for example, *ibid.*, 7, 18, and 22.

¹¹⁴⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 45.

¹¹⁴⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 27, 51, and 76.

¹¹⁴⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 28.

¹¹⁴⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 123, as well as Arifin, et al., “Physicochemical and Sensory Characteristics of Rebon (Acetes SP.) Shrimp Paste Sauce,” 2, Herlina, and Setiarto, “Terasi,” 1-13, and Wolff, “The Exploitation of Living Resources in the Dutch Wadden Sea,” 34.

¹¹⁴⁸See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 29.

¹¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, iii.

¹¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 78.

¹¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, 40.

¹¹⁵²*Ibid.*, 65.

¹¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 48.

The Nieuw Indisch Kookboek

Similarly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, featured a wide diversity of cultural translations from Dutch dishes. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, continued to explicitly systematically replace Dutch ingredients which continued to be difficult to procure in the Dutch East Indies despite the increase of trade since the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹¹⁵⁴ These explicit systematic replacements entailed primarily the replacement of fresh yeast with the palm-based legèn or baking powder,¹¹⁵⁵ fresh milk with either coconut milk or condensed milk,¹¹⁵⁶ and the occasional replacement of gelatine of agar agar.¹¹⁵⁷ The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, like the *Indisch Kookboek* encompassed a number of dishes which generally recreated Dutch dish concepts with ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies, thereby, developing hybrid dishes, as discussed in the following chapter. Additionally, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, featured a diversity of dishes with only Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques. These dishes in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* included, for instance, “nieren-pasteitjes”, (“kidney pie”),¹¹⁵⁸ “macaroni met ham en kaas” (“macaroni with ham and cheese”),¹¹⁵⁹ and “gebraden lever met saus” (“fried liver with sauce”).¹¹⁶⁰ In this context, it is noteworthy that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, had a select number of dishes in common with *Aaltje 14* such as colombijntjes,¹¹⁶¹ and with the *Haagsche Kookschool* such as “kaneelwafeltjes” (“cinnamon waffles”),¹¹⁶² “diplomaat pudding” (“diplomat pudding”),¹¹⁶³ and “banket letters” (“letter biscuits served at banquets”).¹¹⁶⁴ Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did, likewise, contained various Dutch dishes with only Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques which originated neither in *Aaltje 14* nor *Haagsche Kookschool* such as “daube van fish” (“cold fish in jelly”),¹¹⁶⁵ and “nieren pastei” (“kidney pie”).¹¹⁶⁶ Yet, unlike the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* did not only highlight culinary translations of Dutch culinary dishes for the preparation in the Dutch East Indies. Instead, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, dedicated multiple chapters to the explicit cultural translation of Indische dishes to Dutch culinary contexts. This, firstly, entailed the previously examined chart for converting catty measurements to both Dutch pounds and kilograms.¹¹⁶⁷ This, furthermore, included the chapter on the usage of ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies within The Netherlands. This chapter, firstly, outlined which ingredients from the Dutch East Indies could be substituted with which Dutch ingredients.

¹¹⁵⁴See Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 5, and Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

¹¹⁵⁵See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 259, 265, and 294.

¹¹⁵⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 262, and 395.

¹¹⁵⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 395, 347, and 346.

¹¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 120.

¹¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 119.

¹¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 110.

¹¹⁶¹See *Aaltje 14*, 259, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 288.

¹¹⁶²See Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 255, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 294.

¹¹⁶³See Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 180, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 333.

¹¹⁶⁴See Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 242, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 284.

¹¹⁶⁵Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 131.

¹¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 120.

¹¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, v-vii.

These substituted ingredients entailed, for example, the replacement of Chinese mieso with thin Italian pasta, coconut milk with milk with added salt, or the leaves from yellow mustard (*Sinapis alba*) with endive (*Cichorium endivia*). This chapter, moreover, featured a detailed discussion on the usage of ingredients which had been dried or preserved for the transport from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands. Van der Meijden, for instance, particularly dismissed the usage of store-bought sambal sauces, and, as previously noted, stressed that the quantity of dried spices should be double the recommended quantity of the equivalent fresh spice.¹¹⁶⁸ This chapter, hereby, showcased not only a detailed knowledge on the ingredients transported from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies but, likewise, a widespread knowledge of ingredients transported from the Dutch East Indies to The Netherlands. Consequently, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was generally the cookbooks analysed here with the widest diversity of both cultural and linguistic translations.

Aaltje 14

Like both Indische cookbooks, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, incorporated a number of cultural translations and systematic replacements for ingredients from the Dutch East Indies in Dutch culinary environments. *Aaltje 14*, for example, explicitly noted that within certain savoury dishes such as ragout van kalfsvleesch (“veal stew”), lemon juice could be substituted with a sour Rhine wine.¹¹⁶⁹ *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, contained a significant number of cultural translations in the context of home remedies. *Aaltje 14*, for instance, explicitly noted that instead of lemon, horseradish could be used as a home remedy against headaches.¹¹⁷⁰ Similarly, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, stated that instead of lemon rhubarb could be used against a bitter taste in the mouth.¹¹⁷¹ *Aaltje 14*, thus, featured a wide variety of local substitutes within these home remedies to the ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies. One central exception to these local substitutes was the bark from the cinchona trees. The pain-relieving properties of the quinine won from the cinchona tree cultivated and imported from the Dutch East Indies had no effective precedent or equally effective substitutes.¹¹⁷² Quinine cultivated and imported from the Dutch East Indies, therefore, became increasingly central as a pain-relief within Dutch home remedies, Dutch pharmaceutical medical practices, and even Dutch military campaigns.¹¹⁷³ Yet, despite the prevalence of cultural translation within these home remedies *Aaltje 14* generally featured significantly fewer culturally translated dishes than the Indische cookbooks.

¹¹⁶⁸Ibid., 385-395.

¹¹⁶⁹*Aaltje 14*, 77.

¹¹⁷⁰Ibid., 342-343.

¹¹⁷¹Ibid., 348.

¹¹⁷²It is notable that the cinchona tree was native to North America and had been actively introduced into the Dutch East Indies with the purpose of cultivation in the context of the cultuurstelsel. Thus, similarly to saffron, while the bark from the cinchona tree was not originally from the Dutch East Indies, the main source of bark from the cinchona tree used for consumption in The Netherlands during the nineteenth century were the expansive cinchona tree plantations in the Dutch East Indies.

¹¹⁷³See, Ligtenberg, “(Re-)negotiating Masculinities in the Kampoeng,” 309, Goss, “Building the World’s Supply of Quinine,” 15, Pieters, and Van der Hoogte, “Science in the Service of Colonial Agro-Industrialism,” 13, Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 174, and Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* (1865), 241-260, Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* (1867), 181-204, and *Aaltje 14*, 346, 347, 357, and 358.

Still *Aaltje 14* did, like the *Indische* cookbooks, include a number of cultural translated dishes which adjusted ingredients, culinary techniques, and concepts from the Dutch East Indies to Dutch culinary norms, thus, creating hybrid dishes, as discussed in the following chapter. *Aaltje 14*, moreover, like the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, transferred several dishes such as “schildpadsoep van een kalfskop” (“turtle soep from a calves’ head”) from the *Indisch Kookboek*.¹¹⁷⁴ Although it is noteworthy that, unlike the Dutch dishes adopted from *Aaltje 13* in the *Indisch Kookboek*, the majority of the *Indische* dishes in *Aaltje 14* transferred from the *Indisch Kookboek* were significantly adjusted to Dutch culinary norms. *Aaltje 14*, for example, continued to use significantly fewer onions, garlic, and spices more generally, as well as using no lombok or shrimp paste.¹¹⁷⁵ In this context it is, furthermore, notable that the cultural translations in *Aaltje 14* were, like in the *Indisch Kookboek*, one-sided. More specifically, unlike the reciprocal cultural translations in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the cultural translations in *Aaltje 14* were only intended to adapt dishes and ingredients from the Dutch East Indies to Dutch culinary norms. *Aaltje 14*, therefore, excluded any cultural translations of Dutch dishes and ingredients to the culinary environments of the Dutch East Indies.

The Haagsche Kookschool

The *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, contained only one-sided cultural translations to adjust dishes and ingredients from the Dutch East Indies to the Dutch culinary norms. More specifically, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, for instance, offered that when preparing turtle soup, cognac could be used instead of arak,¹¹⁷⁶ for rice pudding, the rice could be substituted with semolina.¹¹⁷⁷ The *Haagsche Kookschool* did, like the other cookbooks, moreover, feature a number of adjustments of ingredients, dishes, and culinary concepts from the Dutch East Indies to Dutch culinary norms which established hybrid dishes, as outlined in the following chapter.

Summary

To sum up, all cookbooks analysed here featured cultural translations and, thus, showcased detailed of both the local and the imported ingredients. Although it is notable that the *Indische* cookbooks analysed here contained more explicit systematic cultural translations than the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, generally included the widest diversity of cultural translations. At times, this knowledge, moreover, entailed scientific knowledge of these ingredients. Specifically, the systematic replacements of, for instance, gelatine with agar agar, or yeast with legè in the *Indische* cookbooks required practical chemical knowledge of the function of these ingredients within the dish. Generally, this exchange of Dutch and *Indische* knowledge within these cultural translations, furthermore, frequently created hybrid dishes combining ingredients, culinary techniques, culinary concepts, and culinary tools from both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.

¹¹⁷⁴See *Aaltje 14*, 52, and *Indisch Kookboek*, 12.

¹¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁶Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 181.

¹¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 172.

Familiarisation with Foreign Dairy and Fabled Spices: Creation of Hybrid Forms of Culinary Knowledge

Forms of Hybridisation

Before discussing the specific hybrid dishes in the cookbooks analysed here, it is, firstly, necessary to define what constituted a hybrid dish. Within this thesis, a hybrid dish was a dish which combined ingredients, culinary concepts, or culinary preparation methods from both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. It is, in this context, necessary to distinguish between the hybrid dishes described in this chapter and the culturally translated dishes with local surrogate ingredients discussed in the previous chapter. This thesis specifically considers these culturally translated dishes with surrogate ingredients as a subcategory of hybrid dishes. Hence, all culturally translated dishes with surrogate ingredients dishes were hybrid dishes, because they contained both Dutch ingredients and ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. Yet, not all hybrid dishes belong to this category since not all hybrid dishes were created with the specific and explicit intention of preparing a Dutch dish in the Dutch East Indies or a dish from the Dutch East Indies in The Netherlands. Instead, there were many hybrid dishes which were not based on pre-existing dishes but were newly created within either the Indische communities or the Dutch culinary practices as a result of the overall exchange of ingredients and culinary knowledge between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁷⁸ These newly created hybrid dishes, thus, frequently featured multiple main ingredients, culinary concepts, or culinary preparation methods from both the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Whereas the culturally translated dishes with surrogate ingredients commonly contained only one or two supporting ingredients replaced by ingredients outside of the cultural culinary sphere of the dish. This replacement of certain ingredients was within these culturally translated dishes, moreover, specific to ingredients which were locally unavailable, and which were, thus, explicitly and systematically replaced by the local equivalents. This included, for instance, the previously outlined systematic replacements of yeast with *legèn* in the Indische cookbooks.¹¹⁷⁹ Thus, dishes in the Indische cookbooks featuring *legèn* as an explicit replacement for yeast are considered one specific category of hybrid dishes which were created through culturally translated dishes within this thesis. On the other hand, dishes which utilise main ingredients, culinary concepts, or culinary techniques from both The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies without the explicit intention of replacing one ingredient with another, are more generally considered hybrid dishes by this thesis.

¹¹⁷⁸See, for example, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 10, Ann Laura Stoler, “Epistemic Politics: Ontologies of Colonial Common Sense,” *The Philosophical Forum* 39, no. 3 (2008): 353-357, Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 176, Ueda, “An Archaeological Investigation of Hybridisation in Bantanese and Dutch Colonial Encounters,” Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 75-105, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 350.

¹¹⁷⁹See Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 84-86, *Indisch Kookboek*, 49, 148, and 156, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 213, 259, and 265.

A specific example of a hybrid dish which was not created by cultural translation was “reevleesch gestoofd” (“steamed venison”) from the *Aaltje 14*. The steamed venison in *Aaltje 14* specifically centred locally hunted European roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) and Dutch meat preparation techniques, yet, likewise, used various seasoning ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies such as cloves, lemon, and pepper.¹¹⁸⁰ In this context it is, furthermore, central to point out that this centrality of both hybrid dishes and the Indische culinary cultures, likewise, played a crucial role in the visual and cultural colonial representation of Dutch colonialism. Both the hybrid dishes and especially the ingredients from the Dutch East Indies which had become integrated into Dutch culinary culture were, thereby, central to the both the colonial aphasia and the socio-cultural narratives of legitimisation of the Dutch colonial presence in the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, as Protschky outlined, by the 1860s onwards, several negative stereotypes emerged in The Netherlands which centred Indische individuals and Dutch colonial officials stationed in the Dutch East Indies. These negative stereotypes, primarily centred on overindulgence and particularly culinary overindulgence such as overeating. The centrality of these negative stereotypes was, for example, demonstrated by major newspapers such as the Indies Press which regularly featured cartoons of colonial officials in the Dutch East Indies suffering from symptoms caused by overeating. As Protschky added, this association with overindulgence was understood as particularly objectionable by the Dutch general public due to the prevailing religious ideals of Calvinistic frugality especially in the context of food and eating. As Protschky stressed, as a result of these negative stereotypes of culinary overindulgence, the Dutch general public was, likewise, hesitant to openly engage in some of the most well-established Indische culinary practices.¹¹⁸² Still, as illustrated throughout this subchapter, many hybrid dishes and individual ingredients from the Dutch East Indies were centrally but implicitly established in the Dutch cooking practices of the Dutch general public already since as early as the European early Modern period. However, the Dutch general public would have, thus, not necessarily understood these dishes as hybrid dishes due to these negative associations of Dutch colonial culinary practices, as well as the long-term establishment of many of these ingredients from the Dutch East Indies into Dutch cooking.¹¹⁸³

¹¹⁸⁰*Aaltje 14*, 125.

¹¹⁸¹See, for instance, Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 441–461, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 4–23, Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanese Cooking Stove,” 435, and Matthew Sargent, “Global Trade and Local Knowledge: Gathering Natural Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century Indonesia,” in *Intercultural Exchange in Southeast Asia: History and Society in the Early Modern World*, eds. Tara Alberts and D.R.M. Irving (Bloomsbury, 2013), 145.

¹¹⁸²Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 348–352.

¹¹⁸³See *ibid.*, Sargent, “Global Trade and Local Knowledge,” 145, Pols, “Jamu,” 165–169, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 170, Jones, “Wives, Slaves, and Concubines,” 50–53, Protschky, “Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies,” 515, Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 441–461, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 4–23, and Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanese Cooking Stove,” 435.

Hybrids centring Ingredients and Culinary Concepts from the Dutch East Indies

At this juncture, it is significant to highlight that hybrid dishes frequently still centred ingredients and culinary concepts either from The Netherlands or from the Dutch East Indies with added Indische or Dutch ingredients respectively. Consequently, it is relevant to separately discuss hybrid dishes which concentrate on ingredients and culinary concepts from the Dutch East Indies.

Dutch Cultural Translations of Dishes from the Dutch East Indies

This, firstly, entailed the previously referenced hybrid dishes created through the Dutch cultural translation of Indische ingredients and dishes. More specifically, this included, for instance, Dutch slow-cooked soups centring, for example, lemon, rice, or sago, Dutch biscuit featuring, for instance, rice, lemon, lime, or oranges as primary ingredients, and Dutch puddings combining Dutch milk and raisins with ingredients from the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁸⁴ In this connection, it is important to illustrate that these Dutch cultural translations of Indische ingredients and dishes were incorporated consistently in both the Dutch cookbooks and the Indische cookbooks analysed here. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, listed recipes for slow-cooked “citroen saus” (“lemon sauce”),¹¹⁸⁵ “citroen podding” (“lemon pudding”),¹¹⁸⁶ “rijst taart” (“rice cake”),¹¹⁸⁷ “klappertaart” (“coconut cake”),¹¹⁸⁸ “koffie podding” (“coffee pudding”),¹¹⁸⁹ “kaneel podding” (“cinnamon pudding”),¹¹⁹⁰ “rijst podding” (“rice pudding”),¹¹⁹¹ and “palm podding” (“palm pudding”).¹¹⁹² Whereas *Aaltje 14* outlined, for instance, recipes for “citroensoep” (“lemon soup”),¹¹⁹³ “rijstsoep” (“rice soup”),¹¹⁹⁴ “sagosoep” (“sago soup”),¹¹⁹⁵ “kaneel wafeltjes” (“cinnamon waffles”),¹¹⁹⁶ “rijstkoeken” (“rice biscuits”),¹¹⁹⁷ “oranje koekjes” (“orange biscuits”),¹¹⁹⁸ “sagopodding” (“sago pudding”),¹¹⁹⁹ “limoenkoekjes” (“lime biscuits”),¹²⁰⁰ and “citroenkoekjes” (“lemon biscuits”).¹²⁰¹ Similarly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained equivalent diversities of dishes from this specific category of hybrid dishes.

¹¹⁸⁴Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 75-96, and 105, and Clarissa et al., “Klappertaart,” 147-152.

¹¹⁸⁵*Indisch Kookboek*, 32.

¹¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 53.

¹¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 132, and Clarissa et al., “Klappertaart,” 147-152.

¹¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 73.

¹¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 54.

¹¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, 73.

¹¹⁹²*Ibid.*, 57.

¹¹⁹³*Aaltje 14*, 68.

¹¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 66.

¹¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 251.

¹¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 219.

¹¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 267.

¹¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 226.

¹²⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 267.

¹²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 268.

Although it is notable that both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* added the concept of ice creams which centred ingredients from the Dutch East Indies with added cream or condensed milk from The Netherlands. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for example, specifically featured “klapperkoekjes” (“coconut biscuits”),¹²⁰² “kaneelwafels” (“cinnamon waffles”),¹²⁰³ “citroentaart” (“lemon cake”),¹²⁰⁴ “ananas pudding” (“pineapple pudding”),¹²⁰⁵ “citroenpudding” (“lemon pudding”),¹²⁰⁶ “rijst- of menir pudding” (“rice pudding or mr. pudding”),¹²⁰⁷ “kaneel pudding” (“cinnamon pudding”),¹²⁰⁸ “sago pudding” (“sago pudding”),¹²⁰⁹ geraspte klapper roomijs” (“pulvrised coconut ice cream”),¹²¹⁰ “ananas roomijs” (“pineapple ice cream”),¹²¹¹ “koffie roomijs” (“coffee ice cream”),¹²¹² and “mandarijntjes roomijs” (“mandarin ice cream”).¹²¹³ Whereas the *Haagsche Kookschool* incorporated, for instance rijstsoep (“rice soup”),¹²¹⁴ “sagosoep” (“sago soup”),¹²¹⁵ “rijstkoekjes” (“small rice biscuits”),¹²¹⁶ “oranje koekjes” (“orange biscuits”),¹²¹⁷ “kaneelwafeltjes” (“cinnamon waffles”),¹²¹⁸ “koffie pudding” (“coffee pudding”),¹²¹⁹ “ananas pudding” (“pineapple pudding”),¹²²⁰ “citroenkoekjes” (“lemon biscuits”),¹²²¹ and “koffie ijs” (“coffee ice cream”).¹²²² In this context it is, moreover, relevant to highlight that several of the hybrid dishes from this category were used across different cookbooks. Both Indische cookbooks, for example, included both cinnamon pudding, lemon pudding, while both Dutch cookbooks contained sago soup, orange biscuits, and lemon biscuits. Whereas the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, both outlined recipes for, for instance, coffee ice cream, coffee pudding, and pineapple pudding. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, and *Aaltje 14*, likewise, both referenced sago pudding. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, all referenced, for example, cinnamon waffles, and rice pudding. Knowledge of dishes from this category of hybrid dishes were, thus, included across Dutch and Indische cookbooks.

¹²⁰²Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 293.

¹²⁰³*Ibid.*, 294.

¹²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 315.

¹²⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 328.

¹²⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 330.

¹²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 342.

¹²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 338.

¹²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 345.

¹²¹⁰*Ibid.*, 354.

¹²¹¹*Ibid.*, 359.

¹²¹²*Ibid.*, 356.

¹²¹³*Ibid.*

¹²¹⁴Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 15.

¹²¹⁵*Ibid.*, 16.

¹²¹⁶*Ibid.*, 186.

¹²¹⁷*Ibid.*, 265.

¹²¹⁸*Ibid.*, 255.

¹²¹⁹*Ibid.*, 180.

¹²²⁰*Ibid.*, 181.

¹²²¹*Ibid.*, 253

¹²²²*Ibid.*, 286.

Dishes from the Dutch East Indies with added Dutch Culinary Elements

A further important category of hybrid dishes centring ingredients and culinary concepts from the Dutch East Indies were the hybrid dishes which added Dutch ingredients or culinary tools to dishes from the Dutch East Indies. Unlike the previous category of hybrid dishes, this category of hybrid dishes was more prevalent in the *Indische* cookbooks than in the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for example, generally contained predominantly hybrid dishes which consisted primarily of ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies with sparse additions of Dutch ingredients or Dutch culinary concepts. More specifically, the main ingredients in the *Indisch Kookboek* which were imported from The Netherlands were milk,¹²²³ butter,¹²²⁴ raisins,¹²²⁵ wine,¹²²⁶ and rum.¹²²⁷ As Burke, and Clarissa et al. highlighted, this was, moreover, a further continuity between the *Indische* culinary cultures of the 19th and of the previous centuries.¹²²⁸ In total, there were 409 references in the *Indisch Kookboek* to these main ingredients imported from The Netherlands. The hybrid dishes centring dishes from the Dutch East Indies with added ingredients from The Netherlands in the *Indisch Kookboek* included, for instance, “kip of eend gevuld met manga” (“chicken or duck filled with mango”),¹²²⁹ or sambel tjiprie,¹²³⁰ or “gepofte kip” (“roasted chicken”).¹²³¹ These dishes specifically added Dutch milk, raisins, bread, butter, beschuit (Dutch form of twice-baked bread), and cooking wine, to dishes which further only contained ingredients, culinary tools, and culinary concepts from the Dutch East Indies. In this context, it is notable that roasted chicken,¹²³² and duck filled with mango¹²³³ were featured in both the *Indische* cookbooks. This, moreover, illustrated that the main ingredients in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* which were imported from The Netherlands were, like in the *Indisch Kookboek*, primarily, milk,¹²³⁴ butter,¹²³⁵ raisins,¹²³⁶ wine,¹²³⁷ and rum.¹²³⁸ More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* incorporated over 2.000 of references to one or more of these ingredients. Although that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, used other imported Dutch ingredients more frequently than the *Indisch Kookboek* such as cream,¹²³⁹ bread,¹²⁴⁰ or Dutch vinegar.¹²⁴¹

¹²²³See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 57, 62, and 63

¹²²⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 68, 134, and 132.

¹²²⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 14, 16, and 33.

¹²²⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 1, 9, and 10.

¹²²⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 64, 168, and 79.

¹²²⁸Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” 75-79, and 93-96, and Clarissa et al., “Klappertaart,” 147-152.

¹²²⁹*Indisch Kookboek*, 33.

¹²³⁰*Ibid.*, 89.

¹²³¹*Ibid.*, 30.

¹²³²See *ibid.*, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 72.

¹²³³See *Indisch Kookboek*, 33, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 91.

¹²³⁴See, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 262, 266, and 296.

¹²³⁵See, for example, *ibid.*, 169, 194, and 179.

¹²³⁶See, for instance, *ibid.*, 261, 266, and 287.

¹²³⁷See, for example, *ibid.*, 292, 304, and 312.

¹²³⁸See, for instance, *ibid.*, 323, 324, and 331.

¹²³⁹See, for example, *ibid.*, 340, 342, and 343.

¹²⁴⁰See, for instance, *ibid.*, 9, 63, and 70.

¹²⁴¹See, for example, *ibid.*, 200, 203, and 206.

The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, contained 32 dishes with potatoes,¹²⁴² while the *Indisch Kookboek* used potatoes in only 12 dishes.¹²⁴³ This, moreover, illustrated, once more, the increased trade of products after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹²⁴⁴ This was, likewise, demonstrated by the overall increase of dishes from this hybrid dish category. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* outlined, for example, nasi pringit,¹²⁴⁵ “gefarceerde lomboks met garnalen” (“lombok filled with shrimps”),¹²⁴⁶ nasi keboelie,¹²⁴⁷ ajam besengèk trenaté,¹²⁴⁸ “ajam panggang met djeroek-water en ketjap” (“roasted chicken with soy sauce and extract from orange-blossoms”),¹²⁴⁹ maligawtani van kip (“Anglo-Indian mulligatawny dish with chicken”),¹²⁵⁰ from this category of hybrid dishes. The latter was particularly relevant as it illustrated both the parallels and the exchanges of culinary knowledge generally, and specifically hybrid culinary knowledge between British India and the Dutch East Indies.¹²⁵¹ Both the Anglo-Indian mulligatawny dish as well as the other dishes listed here specifically added milk, bread, beschuit, and butter to dishes which further featured only ingredients, culinary concepts and culinary tools from the Dutch East Indies. At this juncture, it is relevant to note that unlike the Dutch cultural translations of Indische dishes, these hybrid dishes centring ingredients from the Dutch East Indies with additional Dutch ingredients were rarely included in the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. *Aaltje 14*, for instance, mainly referenced rice dishes within this category of hybrid dishes such as “droge rijst” (“dry rice”), “rijst met appelen” (“rice with apples”), and “rijst met aalbeziënsap” (“rice with juice from redcurrants”) which added milk, butter, apples, redcurrants, and raisins to rice-based dishes and spices from the Dutch East Indies.¹²⁵² Similarly, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, primarily used rice dishes from this category of hybrid dishes such as, for example, “rijst met poulet” (“rice with chicken”),¹²⁵³ “poulet met Kerry and rijst” (“chicken with curry and rice”),¹²⁵⁴ “rijst met appelen” (“rice with apples”),¹²⁵⁵ “rijst met krenten” (“rice with raisins”).¹²⁵⁶ These dishes more specifically added Dutch butter, beef, apples, raisins, and milk to rice and various spices from the Dutch East Indies. In this context, it is noteworthy that rice with raisins and rice with apples were used throughout both Dutch cookbooks. Hence, dishes from this category of hybrid dishes were primarily continued between the two Indische and between the two Dutch cookbooks analysed here.

¹²⁴²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 240, 288, and 310.

¹²⁴³See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 38, 12, and 47.

¹²⁴⁴See, for instance, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 5, and Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

¹²⁴⁵Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 7.

¹²⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 134.

¹²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹²⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 58.

¹²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 65.

¹²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 79.

¹²⁵¹See Pilcher, *Food in World History*, 81, Cecilia, Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Routledge, 2011), 12-14, and 134-138, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 2007, and Frances Gouda, “Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide: White Women in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1942,” *Gender & History* 5, no. 3 (1993): 318-321.

¹²⁵²*Aaltje 14*, 202.

¹²⁵³Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 40.

¹²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 67.

¹²⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 186.

¹²⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 190.

Yet, in contrast to the diversity of interregionally shared dishes from the previous category of hybrid dishes, dishes from this category of hybrid dishes were rarely exchanged between the Indische and the Dutch cookbooks analysed here.

Dishes from the Dutch East Indies without Dutch Culinary Elements

In this context, it is, furthermore, relevant to briefly highlight that apart hybrid dishes from these two categories, all cookbooks analysed here, likewise, contained non-hybrid dishes with only ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies without additional Dutch ingredients. The *Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, contained, amongst others, ajam anem padang,¹²⁵⁷ laksa Palembang,¹²⁵⁸ sambel ikan kering,¹²⁵⁹ sambel oedang kering,¹²⁶⁰ sesaté pentool bawawie,¹²⁶¹ sambel godok,¹²⁶² sesatee toesook,¹²⁶³ and bebòtòk van garnalen (“botok from shrimps”).¹²⁶⁴ What is, more is that the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* continued the majority of these examples from the *Indisch Kookboek*. Thereby illustrating the closely shared culinary traditions between the two Indische cookbooks. In addition, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, outlined, for example, ajam pedis,¹²⁶⁵ ajam rietja,¹²⁶⁶ nasi oelam,¹²⁶⁷ nasi koenig,¹²⁶⁸ sambel asem,¹²⁶⁹ sambel kemantèn,¹²⁷⁰ sesatée ajam,¹²⁷¹ sesatée Bali,¹²⁷² dadar Djawa,¹²⁷³ and ikan kemirrie.¹²⁷⁴ In this context, it is noteworthy, that the Indische cookbooks generally showcased a wide diversity of dishes which only required ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies. Although the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was the cookbook analysed here with the highest number and diversity of dishes prepared with only ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies. Nevertheless, both Dutch cookbooks, likewise contained a consistently limited number of dishes which only used ingredients and culinary techniques used within the Dutch East Indies. *Aaltje 14*, for instance, specifically incorporated “azia-komkommers” (“Asian cucumbers”),¹²⁷⁵ “oranje stukjes inleggen” (“recipe for preserving pieces of orange”),¹²⁷⁶ and “oranjebloesem” (“orangeblossoms”).¹²⁷⁷

¹²⁵⁷*Indisch Kookboek*, 83.

¹²⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 84.

¹²⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 85.

¹²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 85, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 44.

¹²⁶¹*Indisch Kookboek*, 86, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 154.

¹²⁶²*Indisch Kookboek*, 87, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 39.

¹²⁶³*Indisch Kookboek*, 90, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 156.

¹²⁶⁴*Indisch Kookboek*, 115, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 149.

¹²⁶⁵Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 65.

¹²⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 66.

¹²⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 6.

¹²⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 32.

¹²⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 39.

¹²⁷¹*Ibid.*, 151.

¹²⁷²*Ibid.*, 153.

¹²⁷³*Ibid.*, 158.

¹²⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 139.

¹²⁷⁵*Aaltje 14*, 191.

¹²⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 314.

¹²⁷⁷*Ibid.* 292, and 314.

Whereas the *Haagsche Kookschool* included, for example, “omelet met vleeschen kerry” (“omelette with meat and curry”),¹²⁷⁸ “rijst met kerry” (“rice with curry”),¹²⁷⁹ “rijst” (“rice”),¹²⁸⁰ and “bittere oranjeconfijten” (“recipe for preserving bitter oranges”).¹²⁸¹ In this connection, it is notable that these dishes which only used ingredients and culinary techniques in both Dutch cookbooks were not transferred from either Indische cookbook analysed here.

Summary

In summary, all cookbooks analysed here contained examples from both categories of hybrid dishes as well as dishes which only featured ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies. What is more is that numerous hybrid dishes were included in more than one cookbook analysed here. This, furthermore, illustrated that through these hybrid dishes, a wider reciprocal commonality was established between the Dutch and Indische cooking cultures. Although it is notable that there were significant distinctions between the knowledge exchange reflected by the distribution of the two categories of hybrid dishes analysed in this subchapter. More specifically, the Indische cookbooks featured significantly more hybrid dishes centring ingredients from the Dutch East Indies with added Dutch ingredients while the Dutch cookbooks incorporated more hybrid dishes created through Dutch cultural translations of Indische dishes. This distinction, moreover, showcased the overall difference with which culinary knowledge from the Dutch East Indies was primarily used in the Dutch and Indische cookbooks comparatively. The Dutch cookbooks, thereby, primarily adjusted the ingredients and culinary knowledge from the Dutch East Indies to Dutch culinary norms. Whereas the Indische cookbooks prioritised the ingredients and culinary knowledge from the Dutch East Indies and secondarily added Dutch ingredients.

Hybrids centring Ingredients and Culinary Concepts from The Netherlands

In contrast to the previous categories of dishes, it is, furthermore, necessary to discuss hybrid dishes which centred Dutch ingredients.

Indische Cultural Translations of Dutch Dishes

This, firstly, included the previously referenced hybrid dishes created through the Indische cultural translation of Dutch dishes. Unlike the Dutch cultural translations of Indische dishes, hybrid dishes from this category were more common in the Indische cookbooks analysed here. As previously outlined these hybrid dishes created through the Indische cultural translation of Dutch dishes, firstly, entailed the dishes using the systematic replacements of Dutch ingredients which were rare in the Dutch East Indies.

¹²⁷⁸Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 92.

¹²⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 93.

¹²⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 186.

¹²⁸¹*Ibid.*, 274.

This, thus, primarily encompassed, as analysed in the previous chapter, the replacement of fresh milk with coconut milk or milk powder,¹²⁸² fresh yeast with legèn or baking powder,¹²⁸³ butter with coconut oil,¹²⁸⁴ and gelatine with agar agar.¹²⁸⁵ Specific examples of hybrid dishes from this category using these systematic replacements were mayonnaise,¹²⁸⁶ “rollade van kalfsvleesch met gelei” (“roulade of veal with jelly”),¹²⁸⁷ “flensjes met vla” (“crêpes with vla”),¹²⁸⁸ and “brood” (“bread”)¹²⁸⁹ in the *Indisch Kookboek* and “ingemaakte jonge duiven” (“preserved young squab”),¹²⁹⁰ “brood van Liebig’s zelfrijzend bakmeel” (“bread made with Liebig’s self-rising flour”),¹²⁹¹ “krentenbrood” (“raisin bread”),¹²⁹² and “pannekoeken” (“pancakes”)¹²⁹³ in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. As noted in the previous chapter, these replacements were less common in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* than in the *Indisch Kookboek*. However, due to continued rarity of certain ingredients such as yeast, as well as the characteristic taste of Indische cuisine, many of these systematic replacements were still continued in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* despite the wider availability of Dutch products after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹²⁹⁴ In contrast to this centrality of these replacements in the Indische cookbooks, neither Dutch cookbook analysed here featured any hybrid dish from this category.

Dutch Dishes with added Culinary Elements from the Dutch East Indies

Instead, the Dutch cookbooks analysed here prioritised the hybrid dishes which centred Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques with added secondary ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. In this context, it is notable that this category of hybrid dishes, while more common in the Dutch cookbooks, was generally most common category of hybrid dish across the cookbooks analysed here. Although it is necessary to highlight that the specific selection of added ingredients from the Dutch East Indies differed between the Dutch and Indische cookbooks.

¹²⁸²See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 45, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 262, and 395.

¹²⁸³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 49, 148, and 156, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 259, 265, and 294.

¹²⁸⁴See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 27, 51, and 76.

¹²⁸⁵See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 7, 18, and 22, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 395, 347, and 346.

¹²⁸⁶*Indisch Kookboek*, 36.

¹²⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 37.

¹²⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 45.

¹²⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 49.

¹²⁹⁰Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 93.

¹²⁹¹*Ibid.*, 264.

¹²⁹²*Ibid.*, 265.

¹²⁹³*Ibid.*, 300.

¹²⁹⁴Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi “Eat Rice!”,” 5, Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

Both the Dutch and Indische cookbooks analysed here, for instance, primarily added nutmeg,¹²⁹⁵ cloves,¹²⁹⁶ mace,¹²⁹⁷ and pepper¹²⁹⁸ for savoury dishes, and sugar,¹²⁹⁹ vanilla,¹³⁰⁰ and cinnamon for sweet dishes.¹³⁰¹ It is notable that, as previously outlined, despite the continued import of these spices from the Dutch East Indies, the majority of the Dutch general public during the nineteenth century did not perceive these spices as foreign ingredients but as self-evident component of Dutch cooking. As previously noted, one of the primary reasons for this culinary aphasia was that these imported spices had already been gradually incorporated into Dutch cooking since the European early Modern period despite their continued cultivation outside of The Netherlands.¹³⁰² Whereas the Indische cookbooks analysed here, centred, in addition to these spices, the characteristic combinations of lemon and soy sauce,¹³⁰³ as well as lombok,¹³⁰⁴ coriander,¹³⁰⁵ curcuma,¹³⁰⁶ lemongrass,¹³⁰⁷ and tamarind.¹³⁰⁸ Hybrid dishes from this category in specifically the *Indisch Kookboek* included, for example, “boeuf à la mode” (“the popular preparation for ox meat”),¹³⁰⁹ “wentel gebak” (“turned pastry”),¹³¹⁰ “roomtaart” (“cream cake”),¹³¹¹ and “honigkoek” (“gingerbread”).¹³¹² The specific combination of lemon and soy sauce was, moreover, generally used in 41 dishes throughout the *Indisch Kookboek*.¹³¹³

¹²⁹⁵See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 44, 54, and 65, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 93, 95, and 81, *Indisch Kookboek*, 6, 31, and 38, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 5, 7, and 20.

¹²⁹⁶See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 67, 72, and 77, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 25, 31, and 50, *Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 3, and 9, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 167, 169, and 170.

¹²⁹⁷See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 43, 45, and 75, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 5, 57, and 292, *Indisch Kookboek*, 2, 5, and 11, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 62, 73, and 75.

¹²⁹⁸See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 51, 54, and 75, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 7, 15, and 23, *Indisch Kookboek*, 1, 2, and 3, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 3, 12, and 20.

¹²⁹⁹See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 130, 137, and 187, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 15, 18, and 131, *Indisch Kookboek*, 169, 168, and 167, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 30, 31, and 34.

¹³⁰⁰See, for instance, *Aaltje 14*, 281, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 168, 171, and 172, *Indisch Kookboek*, 42, 45, and 50, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 187, 218, and 235.

¹³⁰¹See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 68, 69, and 130, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 166, 185, and 191, *Indisch Kookboek*, 69, 54, and 168, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 237, 244, and 3.

¹³⁰²See Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 441-461, Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 4-23, Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantenese Cooking Stove,” 435, Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 348-352, Sargent, “Global Trade and Local Knowledge,” 145, Pols, “Jamu,” 165-169, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 170, Jones, “Wives, Slaves, and Concubines,” 50-53, and Protschky, “Dutch Still Lifes and Colonial Visual Cultures in the Netherlands Indies,” 515.

¹³⁰³See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 10, 29, and 106, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 176, 165, and 151.

¹³⁰⁴See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 120, 165, and 165, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 20, 24, and 26.

¹³⁰⁵See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 81, 83, and 84, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 4, 6, and 7.

¹³⁰⁶See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 115, 89, and 6, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 4, 275, and 387.

¹³⁰⁷See, for instance, *Indisch Kookboek*, 109, 167, and 6, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 4, 46, and 6.

¹³⁰⁸See, for example, *Indisch Kookboek*, 168, 169, and 120, and Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 11, 33, and 212.

¹³⁰⁹*Indisch Kookboek*, 37.

¹³¹⁰*Ibid.*, 72.

¹³¹¹*Ibid.*, 53.

¹³¹²*Ibid.*, 52.

¹³¹³See, for instance, *ibid.*, 10, 29, and 106.

In contrast, while frequently using lemon, *Aaltje 14* did not incorporate the characteristically Indische combination of lemon and soy sauce. Instead, *Aaltje 14* primarily centred, as previously noted nutmeg, cloves, mace, and pepper for savoury dishes, and sugar, and cinnamon for sweet dishes. *Aaltje 14*, furthermore, centrally featured the addition of both lemon¹³¹⁴ and lime¹³¹⁵ to both sweet and savoury dishes. *Aaltje 14* specifically used this combination of spices in hybrid dishes from this category such as, for instance, “boeuf” (“ox meat”),¹³¹⁶ “wentelteefjes” (“turned pastry”),¹³¹⁷ “biersoep” (“beer soup”),¹³¹⁸ “melksoep” (“milk soup”),¹³¹⁹ and “reevleesch gestoofd” (“steamed venison”).¹³²⁰ As previously outlined, this centrality of these ingredients from the Dutch East Indies was, likewise, reflected in Dutch preservation techniques and home remedies within *Aaltje 14*.¹³²¹ Apart from these central ingredients, *Aaltje 14*, likewise, contained some hybrid dishes from this category with other added ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. In *Aaltje 14*, these other, less frequent ingredients from the Dutch East Indies used in hybrid dishes from this category were orange,¹³²² sago,¹³²³ and cardamom.¹³²⁴ In this connection, it is noteworthy that sago and was newly added in *Aaltje 14* but still absent from *Aaltje 7*. Similar to the Dutch vegetables in hybrids in the *Indisch Kookboek*, most of these ingredients were only included in one or two hybrid dishes in *Aaltje 14*. As previously outlined, this diversity of ingredients from the Dutch East Indies generally increased after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹³²⁵ This was, likewise, reflected in the prevalence of hybrid dishes which centred Dutch ingredients and culinary concepts with added ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. This was, for example, well-illustrated by the *Haagsche Kookschool* which, in comparison to *Aaltje 14*, used over double the diversity of ingredients from the Dutch East Indies in hybrid dishes from this category. Although the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, as previously outlined still primarily use the combination of nutmeg, cloves, mace, and pepper for savoury dishes, and sugar, vanilla, and cinnamon for sweet dishes. The *Haagsche Kookschool*, like *Aaltje 14*, likewise, added lemon to over 130 of its sweet and savoury dishes.¹³²⁶ Additionally, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, occasionally incorporated, for instance, sago,¹³²⁷ orange,¹³²⁸ curcuma,¹³²⁹ cardamon,¹³³⁰ and arak in this category of hybrid dishes.¹³³¹

¹³¹⁴See, for example, *Aaltje 14*, 330, 306, and 68.

¹³¹⁵See, for instance, *ibid.*, 267, 88, and 181.

¹³¹⁶*Ibid.*, 86.

¹³¹⁷*Ibid.*, 246.

¹³¹⁸*Ibid.*, 72.

¹³¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹³²⁰*Ibid.*, 125.

¹³²¹See, *ibid.*, 284-327, and 342-360.

¹³²²See, for instance, *ibid.*, 275, 267, and 238.

¹³²³See, for example, *ibid.*, 66, 67, and 226.

¹³²⁴See, for instance, *ibid.*, 235, 254, and 257.

¹³²⁵Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 5, Burger, “Floating Cuisine,” 56-58.

¹³²⁶See, for example, Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 6, 16, and 27.

¹³²⁷See, for instance, *ibid.*, 16, 17, and 171.

¹³²⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 208, 224, and 265.

¹³²⁹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 280.

¹³³⁰See, for example, *ibid.*, 244.

¹³³¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, 7, 175, and 177.

Specific examples of dishes from this category of hybrid dishes in the *Haagsche Kookschool* included, for instance, “wentelteefjes” (“turned pastry”),¹³³² “banket letters” (“letter-shaped biscuits served at banquets”),¹³³³ “kalflappen” (“slices of veal”),¹³³⁴ “rode appelpudding” (“red apple pudding”),¹³³⁵ and “zoete appelen” (“sweet apples”).¹³³⁶ Similarly, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, likewise, used as previously referenced, this specific combination of nutmeg, cloves, mace, and pepper for savoury dishes, and sugar, vanilla, and cinnamon for sweet dishes. Like the *Indisch Kookboek*, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, used, as previously examined, further ingredients from the Dutch East Indies in this category of hybrid dishes. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, specifically used, for example, lombok, oranges,¹³³⁷ curcuma, cardamon, and the combination of lemon and soy sauce. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, hereby, specifically, outlined, for instance, “roomtaart” (“cream cake”),¹³³⁸ “biersoep” (“beer soup”),¹³³⁹ “Banket- of boterletters” (“buttery letter-shaped biscuits served at banquets”),¹³⁴⁰ “broodtaart” (“bread cake”),¹³⁴¹ and “Helanataart” (“Helena cake”)¹³⁴² from this category of hybrid dishes. In the context of these examples, it is, furthermore, relevant to highlight that hybrid dishes from this category were, like the categories of hybrid dishes discussed in the last subchapter, exchanged across the cookbooks analysed here. This entailed, for example, that the *Indisch Kookboek* had the preparation for ox meat in common with *Aaltje 14*, as well as sharing cream cake with the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The *Indisch Kookboek*, *Aaltje 14*, and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, moreover, used the same recipe, albeit different titles of, for instance, turned pastry. *Aaltje 14*, likewise, used the same recipe of, for example, beer soup as the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Whereas the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* included the same recipe of, for instance, letter-shaped biscuits served at banquets. These exchanged recipes, therefore, once more, showcased the commonalities in the Dutch and Indische food cultures of the 19th century established through hybrid dishes.

¹³³²Ibid., 185.

¹³³³Ibid., 242.

¹³³⁴Ibid., 47.

¹³³⁵Ibid., 177.

¹³³⁶Ibid., 138.

¹³³⁷See, for example, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 248, 301, and 337.

¹³³⁸Ibid., 323.

¹³³⁹Ibid., 169.

¹³⁴⁰Ibid., 284.

¹³⁴¹Ibid., 314.

¹³⁴²Ibid., 317.

Dutch Dishes without added Culinary Elements from the Dutch East Indies

At this juncture, it is necessary to highlight that all cookbooks analysed here, furthermore, featured dishes with exclusively Dutch ingredients, Dutch culinary concepts, and Dutch culinary techniques with no additional ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. These fully Dutch dishes in, for example, *Aaltje 14* primarily comprised of dishes centring potatoes or other vegetables such as veld salade (lamb's lettuce, *Valeriana locusta*)¹³⁴³ or Raapstelen (*Rapini*, *Brassicaceae*),¹³⁴⁴ or pastries such as ezelsooren ("donkey ears")¹³⁴⁵ or "saucijzenbroodjes" ("sausage rolls").¹³⁴⁶ Due to the increased trade between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, the *Haagsche Kookschool* contained more hybrids from the last discussed category and less dishes than *Aaltje 14* with only Dutch ingredients without added ingredients from the Dutch East Indies. Still, the *Haagsche Kookschool* did, likewise, outline a considerable diversity of dishes using only Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques. These dishes comprised of, for instance, "erwtensoup" ("pea soup"),¹³⁴⁷ "melk met haverhout" ("milk with rolled oats"),¹³⁴⁸ "brandnetelsoep" ("nettle soup"),¹³⁴⁹ "saucijzenbroodjes" ("sausage rolls"),¹³⁵⁰ and "krentenbrood" ("raisin bread").¹³⁵¹ Like the scarcity of dishes using only ingredients and culinary techniques from the Dutch East Indies in the Dutch cookbooks, the Indische cookbooks analysed here referenced significantly fewer dishes using only Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques than the Dutch cookbooks. Yet, between the two Indische cookbooks analysed here, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* contained significantly more dishes using only Dutch ingredients and culinary techniques than the *Indisch Kookboek*. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, thereby, illustrated once more the previously discussed increased Dutch-Indische exchange of culinary knowledge after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal.¹³⁵² The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, thus, included a wide diversity of dishes using only Dutch ingredients and Dutch culinary techniques such as, for example, "saucijzebroodjes" ("small sausage rolls"),¹³⁵³ "krentenbrood" ("raisin bread"),¹³⁵⁴ "andijvie salade" ("endive salad"),¹³⁵⁵ "witte broodjes" ("white bread rolls"),¹³⁵⁶ and "gedroogde abrikozen op brandewijn" ("dried abricots pickled in alcohol").¹³⁵⁷

¹³⁴³*Aaltje 14*, 190.

¹³⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 172.

¹³⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 245.

¹³⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 241.

¹³⁴⁷Manden, *Haagsche Kookschool*, 3.

¹³⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 193.

¹³⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 9.

¹³⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 244.

¹³⁵¹*Ibid.*, 248.

¹³⁵²Kuipers, "'Makanlah Nasi 'Eat Rice!'" 5, Burger, "Floating Cuisine," 56-58.

¹³⁵³Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 310.

¹³⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 265.

¹³⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 194.

¹³⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 260.

¹³⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 246.

Whereas the *Indisch Kookboek* outlined, for example, specifically Bruine soep (“brown soup”),¹³⁵⁸ zand koekjes (“sand biscuits”),¹³⁵⁹ saucijs brood (“sausage rolls”),¹³⁶⁰ or poeffertjes.¹³⁶¹ In this context, it is, moreover, noteworthy that like many of the hybrid dishes discussed throughout this chapter, these dishes using only Dutch ingredients and Dutch culinary techniques were, likewise, transferred across the cookbooks analysed here. All cookbooks analysed here, for instance, included largely the same recipe on sausage rolls. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, and the *Haagsche Kookschool*, furthermore, used, for example, the same recipe for raisin bread. This demonstrated, once more the establishment of commonalities between the Dutch and Indische food habits through the exchange of culinary knowledge within the 19th century. Still, the vast majority of the dishes the *Indisch Kookboek* were either hybrid dishes or dishes from local cooking practices within the Dutch East Indies. In this context, it is, likewise, noteworthy, that the *Indisch Kookboek* did not explicitly separate hybrid dishes from either these fully Dutch dishes or the dishes characteristic of culinary cultures from the Dutch East Indies. Instead, the *Indisch Kookboek*, categorised the hybrid dishes either as local dishes or, more frequently, as Dutch dishes.¹³⁶² One of the reasons for this categorisation is that the *Indisch Kookboek*, was structured according to the colonial dichotomous categories of “Dutch” in ideological contrast to “local”. The explicit acknowledgement of the centrality of these hybridised exchanges of knowledge which were exemplified by these hybrid dishes could have, thus, as Nope-Williams emphasised, potentially challenged this colonial dichotomy.¹³⁶³ Consequently, it is, moreover, necessary to highlight, like the *Indisch Kookboek*, none of the cookbooks analysed here explicitly acknowledge the process of hybridisation discussed throughout this chapter. Instead, all cookbooks analysed here categorised the vast majority of the dishes discussed in the previous subchapter as “Indische” dishes and dishes discussed in this subchapter as “Dutch,” despite the intermixture of Dutch and Indische ingredients and culinary techniques within these hybrid dishes.

Summary

To sum up, the hybrid dishes created through the Indische cultural translation of Dutch dishes was the only category of hybrid dishes only referenced in the Indische cookbooks analysed here. In contrast, the hybrid dishes centring Dutch ingredients with added secondary ingredients from the Dutch East Indies were represented in all cookbooks analysed here but more common in the Dutch cookbooks than the Indische cookbooks. This category of hybrid dishes was, furthermore, generally the most frequent category of hybrid dishes across all cookbooks analysed here. This, moreover, reflected the overall centrality of colonial trade within the Dutch consumption cultures of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This, likewise, illustrated that the centrality of Dutch consumption patterns within Indische cuisine of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

¹³⁵⁸*Indisch Kookboek*, 40.

¹³⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 41.

¹³⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 78.

¹³⁶¹*Ibid.*, 65.

¹³⁶²*Ibid.*

¹³⁶³Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 58-69.

These centralities were, furthermore, demonstrated by the outlined examples of commonalities of Dutch and Indische food habits established through these various forms of hybridisation and reciprocal exchange of culinary knowledge during the 19th and early 20th centuries discussed throughout this chapter. Although, it is in this context, necessary to highlight that this prominence of ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies in Dutch consumption patterns of the 19th and early 20th centuries was generally not explicitly acknowledge within either the Dutch or Indische public sphere as a result of colonial aphasia. This colonial aphasia, moreover, prevented the public acknowledgement of the importance of the hybridisation of Dutch-Indische culinary knowledge as outlined by the prominence and diversity of these hybrid dishes discussed in this chapter. However, despite the centrality of this exchange of culinary knowledge, it is, furthermore, necessary to point out that the Indische cookbooks analysed here still contained significantly less dishes from the categories discussed throughout this subchapter than the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. Instead, the Indische cookbooks analysed here primarily featured dishes from the categories analysed in the previous subchapter. In contrast, the Dutch cookbooks analysed here primarily outlined dishes from the categories discussed in this subchapter and referenced fewer dishes from the categories of the previous subchapter than the Indische cookbooks analysed here. This, thereby, generally demonstrated that the selection of dishes of all cookbooks analysed here continued to primarily centre local culinary norms despite the diverse examples of the interregional exchange of culinary knowledge. More specifically, all cookbooks analysed here, thus, prioritised dishes with only local ingredients and culinary techniques, hybrid dishes created through the local cultural translation of imported dishes and ingredients, and hybrid dishes which centre local ingredients with added secondary imported ingredients.

Conclusion

This thesis specifically examined the interregional isolation and transfer of the diversity of knowledge within female colonial domestic networks of culinary knowledge between the Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies and the corresponding women from the middle- and upper- classes in the Netherlands between the 1850s and the 1910s. By adding a comparative approach, this thesis, furthermore, specifically outlined how the aspirations of the interregional consumer cultures of women in the Netherlands and in the colonial households of the Dutch East Indies contributed to the creation, compliance, and resistance against colonial narratives.

Isolation of Knowledge

Accordingly, the limitations of these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge primarily encompassed the instances of isolated female culinary knowledge which was not transferred between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands between the 1850s and the 1910s. This, firstly, included the ecological and socio-ecological knowledge of certain ingredients such as the wide diversity of Dutch plant-based ingredients which were used for seasoning and home remedies only in *Aaltje 14*. This, likewise, entailed the ecological and linguistic knowledge of the vast variety of plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies which were systematically listed and categorised only in the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. The majority of the culinary tools and corresponding culinary techniques were, moreover, generally rarely transferred between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. Additionally, most of the specific knowledge on Malay-Dutch linguistic translations were only highlighted in the Indische cookbooks and were entirely absent from the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. Similarly, many specific aspects of social and socio-ecological knowledge were not transferred between the different cookbooks analysed here. Specific examples of this were Indische consumption habits, the social performances and dynamics within Indische and toktok households, as well as the cultural significance of the measurements of spices and overall ingredients within Indische dishes which were not reflected in the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. Whereas specific knowledge on Dutch nutrition norms, Dutch patient care, and Dutch regional tastes was not referenced within the Indische cookbooks analysed here. Although it is necessary to highlight that some of this knowledge was, furthermore, isolated not only regionally, but, likewise, temporally since neither *Aaltje 14*, nor the *Indisch Kookboek* contained any of these specific social contexts. Hence, this knowledge on these specific aspects on Indische and Dutch social contexts were, likewise isolated to specifically the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* and the *Haagsche Kookschool* respectively. *Aaltje 14*, moreover, outlined diverse knowledge on Dutch meats and plant-based ingredients which were not featured in the *Haagsche Kookschool*. Apart from these instances of isolated knowledge, the limitations of these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge, furthermore, involved knowledge which was generally largely absent from all cookbooks analysed here. More specifically, both the Dutch and Indische cookbooks analysed here rarely specified knowledge on the seasonality, cultivation and biological or economic availability of ingredients.

Specific exceptions to this overall absence were that *Aaltje 14*, specifically highlighted the seasonality of Dutch meat preservation techniques, while the *Haagsche Kookschool* incorporated knowledge on the specific seasonal preservation of various Dutch vegetables. Both the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and particularly the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, moreover, presented specific instructions on the economic availability of a number of ingredients such as Dutch jams, pork, or Indonesian spices. Lastly, the limitations of these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge, likewise, included the specific limitations of the aspects of knowledge which were exchanged between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands. This entailed, for example, specifically the transfer of knowledge on potatoes, pork, and Dutch alcohols which was established in the Indische communities but remained distinctively absent from the cuisines of the Muslim majority populations of the Dutch East Indies. This was mainly caused by the close associations of potatoes with Dutch colonial consumption habits, as well as the Islamic consumption restrictions against both pork and alcohol. These limitations of the knowledge exchanges themselves were, furthermore, reflected in the specific forms of hybrid dishes which were more prominent within the Dutch and Indische cookbooks analysed here. Whereby, within these hybrid dishes, the Dutch cookbooks continued to primarily centre Dutch dishes, and Dutch culinary concepts with either added secondary ingredients or Dutch cultural translations of dishes from the Dutch East Indies. Similarly, within these hybrid dishes, the Indische cookbooks continued to principally centre Indische dishes, and Indische culinary concepts with either added secondary Dutch ingredients or Indische cultural translations of Dutch dishes. Hence, even within the context of hybrid dishes, the Indische cookbooks rarely included dishes which fully prioritised Dutch culinary norms, while the Dutch cookbooks did not feature any hybrid dishes which centred Indische culinary norms.

Exchange of Knowledge

Despite these limitations, these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge did, likewise, facilitate the exchange of a wide diversity of knowledge between The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies during this period. Although it is necessary to acknowledge that while significant quantities and diversities of culinary knowledge was mutually exchanged between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands, most of these exchanges did not centre the same types of Dutch and Indische culinary knowledge. Instead, these exchanges of knowledge entailed the transfer of some specific aspects of Dutch female culinary knowledge to the Dutch East Indies as well as distinctively different particular aspects of Indische female culinary knowledge to The Netherlands. For example, ecological, and socio-ecological knowledge on vegetables and legumes was transferred primarily from the Dutch culinary contexts to the Dutch East Indies, while ecological, and socio-ecological knowledge on fruits and drupes was mainly transferred from the Indische culinary contexts to The Netherlands. Hence, while some knowledge on Indische vegetables and legumes was included in the Dutch cookbooks, and the Indische cookbooks did reference some Dutch fruits and drupes, the overall exchange of knowledge emphasised the Dutch culinary knowledge specifically on vegetables and legumes, and Indische culinary knowledge particularly on fruits and drupes, instead of merely incorporating identical exchanges of both forms of culinary knowledge.

These differentiated exchanges of knowledge within these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge, moreover, comprised of the transfer of Indische rice culinary knowledge to The Netherlands, as well as the wide-ranging incorporation of Dutch culinary knowledge on dairy products into the food cultures of the Dutch East Indies. The Indische cookbooks analysed here outlined even more detailed knowledge on the preservation of dairy products than the Dutch cookbooks analysed here to overcome the issues of rapid milk spoilage within tropical climates. These differentiated exchanged of knowledge, furthermore, involved the limited transfer of Dutch culinary knowledge on Dutch meats, alcohol, and Dutch consumption habits to specifically the Indische communities, as well as the wider introduction of Dutch culinary tools with the connected Dutch culinary techniques and specific Dutch culinary linguistic terms to the Dutch East Indies. Although it is notable that the *Haagsche Kookschool*, likewise, highlighted the specific transfer of, for instance, Indische arak, and the Indische wadja wok pan with the consequent Indische fast-frying methods to the Dutch consumption habits towards the end of the 19th century. These differentiated exchanges of knowledge, moreover, encompassed the extensively widespread incorporation of culinary knowledge of spices from the Dutch East Indies to Dutch culinary practices. This, likewise, entailed the diversified usage of spices from the Dutch East Indies within preservation methods for Dutch ingredients within the Dutch cookbooks. What is more, is that these differentiated exchanges of knowledge within these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge, likewise, resulted in the extensive establishment of hybrid dishes and hybrid culinary knowledge within both the Dutch and Indische culinary cultures through the interregional combination of Dutch and Indische ingredients, culinary techniques, and culinary tools. This in combination with the overall exchange of culinary knowledge between the Dutch East Indies and The Netherlands during this period, furthermore, resulted in the establishment of commonalities between Dutch and Indische food habits. These commonalities were, for example, closely illustrated by the cookbooks analysed here which all featured dishes which only centred Dutch culinary tools and culinary techniques, dishes which only used Indische culinary tools and culinary techniques, and a diversity of hybrid dishes. These commonalities were, moreover, expressed both in the overall presence of certain categories of dishes and culinary knowledge within the cookbooks analysed here as well as the tangible transfer of specific recipes which were included in multiple cookbooks analysed here. Although these commonalities were, generally more prominent in the both the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, than in *Aaltje 14*, and the *Indisch Kookboek*. Hence, these commonalities significantly increased after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. In this context it is, furthermore, relevant to highlight the overall centrality of the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal within these exchanges of knowledge within these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge. More specifically, as demonstrated throughout the cookbooks analysed here, the opening of the Suez Canal facilitated the wider exchanges of various commodities including culinary tools, and ingredients such as particularly, vegetables, spices, and rice, as well as the further exchange of culinary knowledge of, for instance, especially dairy products, alcoholic beverages, and various culinary techniques.

Although it is necessary to distinguish that this increased exchange of knowledge was not necessarily caused exclusively by the increased exchange of commodities. Instead, this increased exchange of certain forms of knowledge after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal was primarily caused by the increased travel of individuals and active transfers of knowledge, rather than only the wider availability of interregionally transported ingredients. This distinction was, for example, well-illustrated by the wider transfer of canned foods which were transported without the distinctive ecological, socio-ecological, or specified culinary knowledge on the specific canned ingredients. Instead, canned foods were largely prepared in homogenised culinary preparation methods which did not distinguish between different canned ingredients.

Compliance with Colonial Narratives

A further significant transition between, on the one hand, *Aaltje 14*, and the *Indisch Kookboek*, and, on the other hand, the *Haagsche Kookschool*, and the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* was the significant increase of imported as well as generally more expensive ingredients in both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, and especially the *Haagsche Kookschool*. This, moreover, closely reflected the increased socio-economic resources of the average Dutch population caused, in large parts, through the exploitative gains from the cultuurtelsel. This increased socio-economic expectations of both the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, and especially the *Haagsche Kookschool*, thereby, closely reflected colonial economic realities. These colonial economic realities were, furthermore, generally closely demonstrated by the wide-ranging reliance of both Dutch cookbooks on spices and ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies for food preparation, food preservation, and even home remedies. This was, likewise, illustrated by the hybrid dishes since the most common category of hybrid dishes throughout the cookbooks analysed here were Dutch dishes with added spices and ingredients imported from the Dutch East Indies. Although neither the Dutch nor the Indische cookbooks analysed here explicitly defined these dishes as hybrid dishes. Similarly, neither the Dutch nor the Indische cookbooks explicitly discussed or acknowledged any of the central interregional hybridisation of culinary knowledge within these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge. Both the Dutch and Indische cookbooks, hereby, closely reflected general colonial narratives which not only idealised Dutch culinary knowledge and systematically dismissed Indische culinary knowledge, but, likewise, naturalised the reliance of the Dutch cuisine on ingredients obtained through exploitative colonial plantations within the Dutch East Indies. Both the Dutch and Indische cookbooks analysed here, therefore, systematically reflected the overall colonial aphasia within these general colonial narratives which categorised most hybrid dishes across different categories as distinctively Dutch dishes. The *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, furthermore, reflected additional aspects from the contemporary colonial narratives. More specifically, the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, for instance, specifically described the social hierarchies of the *nyonya* as the central supervisor of both the *kokkie* and of all culinary practices generally within the kitchen of Indische and *toktok* households.

Resistance against Colonial Narratives

Despite these close reflections of certain aspect of contemporary colonial narratives, the cookbooks analysed here, moreover, showcased partial resistance against certain aspects of these general colonial narratives. This was, firstly, illustrated by the centrality of these hybrid forms of culinary knowledge and these interregional commonalities between the Dutch and Indische food cultures. More specifically, while not explicitly acknowledging this centrality, all cookbooks analysed here relied closely on this interregional transfer of culinary knowledge as well as the resulting hybrid forms of culinary knowledge and interregional commonalities. These hybrid forms of knowledge, thereby, furthermore, prominently incorporated Indische culinary knowledge despite the dismissal of Indische culinary knowledge within the general colonial narratives. This, likewise, involved the central inclusion of both Malay linguistic knowledge as well as local ecological and socio-ecological knowledge of Indische homemakers within particularly the Indische cookbooks, and, to a lesser degree, within the Dutch cookbooks analysed here. All cookbooks analysed here, moreover specifically featured cultural translations which further showcased both these hybrid forms of knowledge as well as the centrality of the overall interregional exchange of culinary knowledge within these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge. These cultural translations, for example, specifically entailed the replacements of certain ingredients, culinary techniques, culinary tools, and dish concepts with local equivalents. Consequently, these cultural translations required wide-ranging knowledge of both the original ingredients, culinary techniques, culinary tools, and dishes as well as an extensive familiarity with the surrogate ingredients, culinary techniques, culinary tools, and dishes. At times, this even included extensive scientific understandings of both these local and surrogate ingredients and dishes when, for instance, replacing the rising agent Dutch yeast with Indische *lègen*, or when recreating the specific consistency of Dutch gelatine with Indische agar agar. Apart from this crucial implicit resistance against these general colonial narratives, some of the cookbooks analysed here, furthermore, encompassed explicit resistance against certain aspects of the general colonial narratives. Van der Meijden, for example, explicitly praised the culinary skills and overall centrality of the *kokkie* within Indische food cultures despite the dismissal of culinary knowledge of individuals from the Dutch East Indies within the general colonial narratives. Van der Meijden, moreover, explicitly advocated for the acknowledgement and integral preservation of the unique flavour characteristics of Indische cuisine during these interregional exchanged of knowledge by discussing the cultural importance of spice measurements despite the overall prioritisation Dutch tastes and Dutch culinary norms within the general colonial narratives.

Changes in Female Colonial Networks of Culinary Knowledge

In the end, it is, furthermore, necessary to highlight that these female colonial networks of culinary knowledge changed significantly throughout the 19th century. This entailed, for instance, the increase of the expected socio-economic resources of the average audiences of the cookbooks. This, moreover, encompassed the establishment of the *ethische politiek* and the resulting the intensification of social hierarchies and the expected social performances within Indische food cultures to prioritise Dutch imported foods and systematically reject Indische and local cuisines of the Dutch East Indies. Lastly, this centrally included the establishment of various specific scientific knowledge and technical tools into the Dutch and Indische culinary knowledge towards the end of the 19th century. These newly established aspects of knowledge ranged, for example, from the introduction of refrigeration techniques to more accurate measuring of ingredients. These newly established aspects of knowledge, furthermore, included the expansion of the explicitly listed taxonomic and ecological knowledge of particularly Indische homemakers, as illustrated in the chapter on plant-based ingredients from the Dutch East Indies within *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*. Finally, these newly established aspects of knowledge were, likewise, expressed in a general wider acknowledgement of scientific knowledge on dangers within culinary contexts such as bacteria, lead poisoning, and copper toxicity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, female colonial domestic networks of culinary knowledge between the Dutch-speaking women in the Dutch East Indies and the corresponding women from the middle- and upper- classes in the Netherlands were central in the diversified exchanges of various forms of knowledge. Between the 1850s and the 1910s these exchanges were transformed drastically through the heightened transport of individuals, commodities, and knowledge after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal and the subsequent introduction of the *ethische politiek*. These exchanges were complex, gradual, and incomplete through the isolation of knowledge as well as the intricate dynamics of individual situational compliance and resistance against colonial narratives within these female domestic networks of culinary knowledge.

Appendix: Glossary

Dutch terms

Indisch: The literal translation of this Dutch term is “Indian”, however in the specific context of the Dutch East Indies, this term was widely used throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by both colonial officials and the general public to refer to individuals of interconnected ethnical and/or cultural backgrounds with both Indonesian and Dutch social or cultural elements.¹³⁶⁴ This community played a central role within the colonial culture of the Dutch East Indies. The primary reason for this centrality is that prior to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, few Dutch women travelled and remained in the Dutch East Indies long-term due to the nine-month arduous sea journey as well as gendered administrative restrictions implemented by the Dutch authorities on female travel during this time. Hence, the majority of the Dutch colonial officials who stayed in the Dutch East Indies long-term married women from local communities. Unlike for instance, the British colonial authorities which implemented various restrictions on intercultural marriages, the Dutch colonial authorities encouraged these intercultural unions. One of the motivations for this encouragement was that the Dutch colonial authorities believed that these intercultural marriages would support the Dutch colonial influences within the Dutch East Indies. This belief was especially reinforced as many of the early intercultural marriages featured Dutch colonial officials and women from the local elites. As a result, a hybrid culture emerged of households with local homemakers, Dutch colonial officials, and children of intercultural descent.¹³⁶⁵ These children were typically baptised as Christians and received Christian names in contrast to the Javanese Muslim majority culture.¹³⁶⁶ The primary language spoken in these households was Malay, the *Lingua Franca* of the Dutch East Indies as their first language, followed by Dutch, and occasionally one of the local languages spoken by the local homemakers.¹³⁶⁷ Depending on the socio-economic resources of the household, daughters but especially sons from these intercultural households either received education at home or were sent back to Europe for further education.¹³⁶⁸ When reaching adulthood, these daughters, then frequently married once more male Dutch officials arrived recently from the Netherlands. Therefore, individuals of this community had varying levels of continued or distant cultural connections to the local Javanese cultures depending on complex genealogies.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶⁴See Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 6, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 350.

¹³⁶⁵See, for instance, Matthew Sargent, “Marriage Institutions and the Formation of Cross-Cultural Knowledge Networks in Early Modern Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 22, no. 3 (2018): 155-174, and Jean Gelman Taylor, “Nyai Dasima: Portrait of a Mistress in Literature and Film,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, eds Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 229.

¹³⁶⁶Taylor, “Nyai Dasima,” 240.

¹³⁶⁷Paul W. Van Der Veur, “Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society,” *Indonesia (Ithaca)* 6, no. 6 (1968): 44, and Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 7.

¹³⁶⁸Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 377-378, and Pols, “Notes from Batavia, the Europeans’ Graveyard,” 142.

¹³⁶⁹See, Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 369-385, Frances Gouda, “Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide: White Women in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1942,” *Gender & History* 5, no. 3 (1993): 323, and Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 199.

These varying levels of cultural connections were even further divergent for the daughter of intercultural unions outside of these marital contexts. Since both prostitution and coerced non-marital cohabitation¹³⁷⁰ were still highly common in the Dutch East Indies, there were still many children of mixed descent outside of these officially approved intercultural marriages. In these instances, the life experience of the child depended on two main factors. The first factor was whether or not the Dutch father legally acknowledged the child. If the child was legally acknowledged by a Dutch father, the child became legally Dutch but frequently continued to experience cultural and social influences from local contexts, therefore, becoming part of this colonial hybrid culture. The second factor was the relationship between the Dutch father and the mother of the child. This played a role since, in certain instances, the Dutch father could appeal to the colonial authorities to remove the child from the care of the mother by claiming concerns that the mother, as a colonial subject, would, according to the father, not provide adequate care for the “Dutch” child. This community, thus, consisted of a wide-ranging variation of connections to both the local cultures and the Dutch colonial officials. This diversity of different social contexts and local connections, likewise, reflected a vast multiplicity in the socio-economic background and political standing of both the Dutch fathers and, by extension, the children from these intercultural unions.¹³⁷¹ One of the unifying factors across this hybridised community was that throughout the nineteenth century, this community established cultural and social contexts unique to the hybridised context of this community. This includes not only a hybridised Dutch language with Malay and Chinese words, but, likewise, a wide variety of cultural expressions such as a unique material culture and, most relevantly for this thesis, a distinctive culinary culture.¹³⁷² Due to the social, economic, and political centrality of many of the members of intercultural household, this community became central for the Dutch colonial authorities in general. What is more, is that many of the colonial sources further exaggerate this centrality since both the early nineteenth-century Dutch colonial authorities and many of the post-colonial Dutch memory institutions utilised this community as a political and visual representation of Dutch colonialism in the Dutch East Indies.

¹³⁷⁰See *nyai*.

¹³⁷¹See, for example, Ann Laura Stoler, “A Sentimental Education: Native Servants and the Cultivation of European Children in the Netherlands Indies,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 71-91, and Taylor, “*Nyai Dasima*,” 240-244.

¹³⁷²See, for instance, Van Der Veur, “Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society,” 45-53, Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 60-61, Kuipers, ““*Makanlah Nasi* “Eat Rice!”,” 4-19, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357.

By utilising these hybridised cultural contexts as a romanticised image of the Dutch colonial presence in the Dutch East Indies, these authorities were, thereby, able to gloss over the violent realities of the Indonesian majority population under Dutch colonial rule within public contexts.¹³⁷³ This community is referred to by different scholars with a variety of different terms including “Eurasian,”¹³⁷⁴ “Indo-European,”¹³⁷⁵ or “mestizo/mestiza.”¹³⁷⁶

Cultuurstelsel: The cultuurstelsel was a system of forced labour introduced to the Dutch East Indies between 1830 and 1870. The system was initially introduced to maximise economic revenues of the Dutch East Indies for the Dutch colonial state by Johannes van den Bosch at the time the colonial governor of the Dutch East Indies.¹³⁷⁷ In theory, the system entailed that the population of the Dutch East Indies had to provide one-fifth of available agricultural land and 60 hours of individual labour a year to the cultivation of cash crops.¹³⁷⁸ These cash crops included primarily Indigo, coffee, sugar, cinnamon, silk, tobacco, cotton, tea, and cinchona trees.¹³⁷⁹ It is notable that the increase in the cultivation of some these cash crops, likewise, resulted in a significant increase of registered female agricultural labour. The primary reason for this was that certain agricultural tasks such as the harvesting of tea leaves or the processing of sugar were considered gendered work and, thus, nearly exclusively performed by female workers.¹³⁸⁰ These cash crops were, then sold to the Dutch colonial company Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij (NHM) at a fixed price which was considerably less than the contemporary market price for these cash crops.¹³⁸¹ The specific management of which cash crop was cultivated in which location was the responsibility of local colonial administrators. While this system was effective in generating high economic revenues for both the Dutch colonial state and members of the local elites,¹³⁸² it came at severe costs to the local population such as severe famine due to the reduction of land available for rice cultivation.¹³⁸³ The effects of this system on the local population were further exacerbated by a number of reasons. Firstly, corruption was omnipresent amongst both Dutch colonial officials and the local elites.

¹³⁷³See Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 441-461, and Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 4-19, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357.

¹³⁷⁴See, for example, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, Van Der Veur, “Cultural Aspects of the Eurasian Community in Indonesian Colonial Society,” 45-53, Nope-Williams, “Food and Identity Construction,” 58-73.

¹³⁷⁵See, for instance, Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 369-385, Pols, “Notes from Batavia, the Europeans’ Graveyard,” 120-148, and Pamela Pattynama, “Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy: The Representation of the Everyday in Indo-European Family Photo Albums,” in *Photography, Modernity, and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia*, ed. Susie Protschky (Routledge, 2015), 133-162.

¹³⁷⁶See, for example, Ueda, and Wibisono, “Dutch Oven and Bantanese Cooking Stove,” 433-459, Burke, “Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire,” and Stoler, “A Sentimental Education,” 71-91.

¹³⁷⁷Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 53-73, Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 30-36, and Pols, “Notes from Batavia, the Europeans’ Graveyard,” 141.

¹³⁷⁸Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 58-59.

¹³⁷⁹See Nyhoff, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* (1865), 228, and 437-457.

¹³⁸⁰Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 56-58, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Women, Work and Colonialism in The Netherlands and Java*, 170-173.

¹³⁸¹Silean, and Smark, “The “Culture System,”” 1-2.

¹³⁸²Between 1831 and 1877, the cultuurstelsel generated 823 million guilders, which constituted 30% of the entire income of the Dutch state during this period. Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 59.

¹³⁸³Carey, “Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century,” 25-28.

As a consequence, the local population was in realities forced to work frequently over 252 hours a year additionally to their mandatory 60 hours and offer over half of the arable land to the cultivation of cash crops with barely any financial returns for the local population.¹³⁸⁴ Secondly, the cultivation of these cash crops was frequently severely mismanaged. As P. B. R. Carey illustrated, especially sugar cultivation was frequently introduced as a direct spatial competition to rice plots. As a result, this system directly endangered the rice harvest. The pressure on rice cultivation was, further endangered by frequent extenuating environmental conditions such as exceptionally long droughts or volcanic eruptions. This severe pressure on rice cultivation, in turn, frequently resulted in severe famines throughout the Dutch East Indies during the nineteenth century.¹³⁸⁵ Although, as M. R. Fernando stressed, many of these most severe famines were caused, not only by the cultuurstelsel and environmental factors but, likewise, by immediate colonial interference into local financial arrangements such as the forced transition from bartering transactions to currency-based transactions.¹³⁸⁶ The cultuurstelsel was eventually abolished in 1870 as a result of several factors. Firstly, The Dutch state debt from the beginning of the nineteenth century had been dissolved and the financial situation of the Dutch colonial state had exponentially increased throughout the nineteenth century, resulting in significantly less financial need for a system like the cultuurstelsel from the perspective of the Dutch state.¹³⁸⁷ Secondly, as Carey emphasised, the liberals had increasing political centrality within the Dutch parliament. Consequently, the liberals, successfully promoted a more economically liberal approach to the colonial cultivation of cash crops instead of the monopoly established by the NHM under the cultuurstelsel.¹³⁸⁸ Lastly, in 1860, Eduard Douwe Dekker published the criticism novel *Max Havelaar*. The book exposed many of the severely exploitative conditions and lived realities of the Javanese majority population under the culutuurstelsel to the Dutch Public. This caused widespread public outcries and the establishment of widespread public support for the abolition of the cultuurstelsel.¹³⁸⁹

Ethische Politiek: The ethische politiek was a formal colonial system introduced in 1901 which entailed the establishment of stricter social colonial hierarchies and the encouraged social and cultural segregation of the Dutch colonial officials from individuals from local communities of the Dutch East Indies.¹³⁹⁰ For instance, Nope-Williams, and Protschky argued that the ethische politiek was a direct result of the later-discussed increased travel of specifically totok women after the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal and the consequent wider establishment of fully totok households within the Dutch East Indies.¹³⁹¹

¹³⁸⁴See Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 58-60, and Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 22-30.

¹³⁸⁵Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 22-30.

¹³⁸⁶Fernando, "Famine in a Land of Plenty," 293-295.

¹³⁸⁷Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*, 58-60, and Manse, and Vording, "Metropolitan Views, Colonial Practices," 238.

¹³⁸⁸Carey, "Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century," 25-27.

¹³⁸⁹See Protschky, "Dutch Still Lives and Colonial Visual Culture," 515-527, Pols, "Notes from Batavia, the Europeans' Graveyard," 14, and Silean, and Smark, "The 'Culture System'," 3.

¹³⁹⁰See, for instance, Protschky, "Camera Ethica," 11-40, and Pattynama, "Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy," 133-162.

¹³⁹¹Nope-Williams, "Food and Identity Construction," 64-68, and Protschky, "The Colonial Table," 352-354.

The *ethische politiek*, thereby, specifically discouraged interracial marriages and prostitution, as well as generally introducing widespread expected colonial cultural performances based on this cultural and social segregation.¹³⁹² These colonial cultural performances encompassed, for example, that *totok* and *Indische* individuals were expected to primarily consume Dutch imported foods,¹³⁹³ adhere to Dutch fashion norms, and Dutch interior decoration norms,¹³⁹⁴ as well as generally replicate Dutch social norms. Consequently, these colonial cultural performances, likewise, specifically discouraged *totok* and *Indische* individuals from, for instance, the public consumption of *Indische* and local foods, or the public wearing of local fashions from the Dutch East Indies. Although, as Protschky noted, these expected colonial cultural performances did not effectively prevent *totok* or *Indische* individuals from the private consumption of particularly local foods from the Dutch East Indies.¹³⁹⁵ Apart from these social hierarchies and expected colonial cultural performances, the *ethische politiek*, furthermore, specifically established elements from the British “White man’s burden” and the French “Mission Civilisatrice” colonial narratives into the colonial policies and colonial narratives of the Dutch East Indies.¹³⁹⁶ Hence, the *ethische politiek*, likewise, incorporated various education programs for the local communities within the Dutch East Indies such as the widespread establishment of colonial schools, or various education campaigns on topics such as social and physical hygiene. More specifically for women from local communities, these education programs primarily included the establishment of various education institutions which were considered specifically suited for women from local communities such as colonial household schools, or colonial schools for midwifery as well as a number of colonial education campaigns which were specifically directed towards women from local communities of the Dutch East Indies on topics such as child nutrition.¹³⁹⁷

Rijsttafel: The *rijsttafel* was an *Indische* hybrid dish¹³⁹⁸ concept which loosely combined elements from the rice dishes served at festive occasions within various communities of the Dutch East Indies an addition of large numbers and diversities of *Indische*, Dutch, and local side dishes, as well as various Dutch alcohols.¹³⁹⁹ By the 19th century, the *rijsttafel* had become the primary symbol of Dutch colonial food cultures in the Dutch East Indies.

¹³⁹²Pattynama, “Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy,” 133-162.

¹³⁹³Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357.

¹³⁹⁴See, for example, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 19-38, Lukito, and Nurwulandari, “The Ideal house in the Colony Decorating Tips for the Houses in the Dutch East Indies,” 33-42, Van der Meijden, *Ons Huis in Indië*, 34-45, 203-212, and 223-233, Van der Meijden, *Naar Indië en Terug*, 17-31, and, for instance, Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 247, 337, and 304.

¹³⁹⁵Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357.

¹³⁹⁶See Henk Schulte Nordholt, “Modernity and Middle Classes in the Netherlands Indies: Cultivating Cultural Citizenship,” in *Photography, Modernity, and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia*, ed. Susie Protschky (Routledge, 2015), 223, Protschky, “*Camera Ethica*,” 11, and Pattynama, “Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy,” 142-143.

¹³⁹⁷See Laurie J. Sears, “Fragile Identities: Deconstructing Women and Indonesia,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Duke University Press, 1996), 34, Lukito, and Nurwulandari, “The Ideal house in the Colony Decorating Tips for the Houses in the Dutch East Indies,” 41, Carey, “Aspects of Javanese History in the Nineteenth Century,” 27-28, Formichi, “The Modernity of Tradition,” 1983-2017, and Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market*.

¹³⁹⁸For a detailed discussion of what constitutes a hybrid dish, see chapter 5.

¹³⁹⁹See, for example, Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 350-354, and Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,” 9-11.

Consequently, it was, especially prior to the *ethische politiek*, the expected dish to be served during official occasions hosted within *Indische* or *totok* households. Although even after the introduction of the *ethische politiek* the *rijsttafel* was the most consumed dish in the Dutch East Indies.¹⁴⁰⁰ The centrality of the rice table was, for instance, well-illustrated by the *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek* which not only featured “*rijsttafel*” in its full title¹⁴⁰¹ but, likewise, categorised numerous dishes such as *sambel gorèng tjeprie*,¹⁴⁰² or *rempah ajam* as integral dishes from the *rijsttafel*.¹⁴⁰³ Despite the wide popularity of the *rijsttafel* within the Dutch colonial contexts of the Dutch East Indies, the *rijsttafel* was largely dismissed by the Dutch population within The Netherlands during the 19th century. Instead, the vast amounts of side dishes and general large amounts of food presented within the *rijsttafel* was, within the Calvinistic narratives which prioritised frugality, seen as a major illustration of the vices of overindulgence of Dutch colonial officials within the Dutch East Indies.¹⁴⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the *rijsttafel* was, likewise, occasionally reproduced within The Netherlands specifically in the context of occasional *Indische* stores and *Indische* restaurants which were established in larger urban centres such as Den Hague from the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁴⁰⁵ After Indonesian independence, the *rijsttafel* had become a central part of the Dutch colonial nostalgia (“*tempo doloe*”) which romanticised certain aspects of Dutch colonialism within the Dutch East Indies as well as systematically highlighting aspects of the *Indische* culture which were considered “neutral” such as culinary practices. As Bijl and Kuipers highlighted, the *tempo doloe* was, thereby, one of the primary expressions of colonial aphasia which, likewise, systematically brushed over more violent aspects of Dutch colonialism within the Dutch East Indies such as the Aceh War or the *cultuurstelsel*. As a general consequence, the *rijsttafel* became mostly seen as a neutral part of Dutch culinary history.¹⁴⁰⁶

VOC: Vereendigde Oostindische Compagnie, abbreviated to VOC, is the Dutch term for the Dutch East India Company.¹⁴⁰⁷

¹⁴⁰⁰See, for instance, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 141.

¹⁴⁰¹*Groot Nieuw Volledig Oost-Indisch Kookboek: 1382 Recepten voor de Volledige Indische Rijsttafel met een Belangrijk Aanhangsel voor de Bereiding die Tafel in Holland* (“Great New Complete East-Indian Cookbook: 1381 Recipes for the Complete Indische Rijsttafel with an important Addition for the Preparation of the Rijsttafel in Holland.”)

¹⁴⁰²Van der Meijden, *Nieuw Indisch Kookboek*, 55.

¹⁴⁰³*Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁴⁰⁴Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 350-354.

¹⁴⁰⁵Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 4-19.

¹⁴⁰⁶Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 441-461, and Kuipers, ““Makanlah Nasi ‘Eat Rice!’,”” 4-19, and Protschky, “The Colonial Table,” 346-357.

¹⁴⁰⁷See, for example, Protschky, “Dutch Still Lives and Colonial Visual Culture,” 511.

Malay terms

Achar: Achars were a specific preservation technique used in various culinary communities within the Dutch East Indies which pickled fruits and vegetables in vinegar combined with a variety of spices and seasoning ingredients such as lombok, ginger, or cloves. This created a distinctively sour and frequently spicy flavour combination. Achars were, furthermore, particularly central within Indische cuisine as an additional ingredient to meats, or as a central part of the rijsttafel.¹⁴⁰⁸

Kokkie: A kokkie was a female full-time cook within a Dutch colonial household. As a continuation of the strictly gendered division of labour expressed within many of the local communities, cooks within the Dutch East Indies were nearly exclusively female. What is more, is that the only individuals working within the kitchens within Dutch colonial households were either the female head of the household and the female kokkie. Thereby, both kitchens and cooking were an exclusively female sphere within the Dutch colonial households.¹⁴⁰⁹

Nyai: Even before the collapse of the VOC, many male Dutch colonial officials resided either long-term or short-term within the trading outposts and plantations of the Dutch East Indies. In an administrative effort to limit the spread of sexually transferable diseases as well as increase social control on these male officials, the VOC, and later the colonial state attempted to discourage these male officials from regularly employing sex workers. Instead, the VOC encouraged these male colonial officials to employ local women as full-time homemakers. These women would become responsible for managing the household of these men, as well as providing both culinary, medical and sexual services. A crucial distinction between the employment of a nyai and the previously described intercultural marriages was that the contractual union with a nyai was not considered permanent. When returning, the nyai were not expected to join these colonial officials in their return journey to The Netherlands. Instead, the colonial officials were expected to terminate the contract with the nyai upon their return to The Netherlands. In addition, the contract with a nyai was not necessarily exclusive since many of the colonial officials continued to regularly employ sex workers in addition to the nyai. What is more, is that some of the nyai themselves were already married to local men before and during their employment as nyai. Some colonial officials, moreover, changed nyai regularly, while others remained with the same nyai for longer periods of time. Some colonial officials even married their nyai. Some of these marriages were part of the previously described gradual establishment of the Indische cultural communities. However, it is, in this connection, firstly, necessary to highlight that many nyai had been coerced into this contractual arrangement. Secondly, it is significant to consider that both the coerced and the voluntary nyai unions frequently had severe social consequences for these women themselves. These social consequences primarily entailed twofold and wide-ranging social alienation.

¹⁴⁰⁸See, for instance, Burke, "Global Cuisine in the Dutch Indian Ocean Empire," 97-101, and 144-148.

¹⁴⁰⁹See Protschky, "Tea Cups, Cameras and Family Life," 58, Protschky, "The Flavour of History," 379, Kuipers, "'Makanlah Nasi 'Eat Rice!'," 8, Van Otterloo, "Chinese and Indonesian Restaurants and the Taste for Exotic Food in The Netherlands," 157, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 91, and 142-146.

Firstly, the majority of these women experienced social alienation from their local communities as a result of their close association with the Dutch colonial context. Simultaneously, the majority of these women encountered social alienation within the Dutch colonial context due to the racial and gendered discrimination inherent within colonialism. This second social alienation within the Dutch colonial context was frequently even further exacerbated by linguistic barriers as many nyai did not speak Dutch. Throughout the nineteenth century, nyai were employed primarily by short-term totok Dutch officials. Yet, the number of nyai gradually decreased after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the subsequent increase of ethnically divisive colonial policies.¹⁴¹⁰

Nyonya: A nyonya was a totok Dutch woman heading a colonial household within the Dutch East Indies. Since the majority of Dutch women only migrated to the Dutch East Indies after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, this term was primarily implemented from the 1870s onwards.¹⁴¹¹

Totok: In 1799 the VOC collapsed as a result of financial bankruptcy. Consequently, the Dutch East Indies were transformed from a collection of colonial trading posts into a formal colonial territory intended for settler colonialism by the Dutch colonial authorities.¹⁴¹² From 1799 onwards there were, soon drastic distinctions between, on the one hand, Dutch colonial officials who merely remained in the Dutch East Indies to achieve short-term economic and/or political success and return to The Netherlands. On the other hand, there were the Dutch colonial officials who resettled from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies long-term. As previously described, many of these Dutch colonial officials who resettled to the Dutch East Indies long-term, gradually became part of the colonial Indische socio-cultural context. Whereas the Dutch colonial officials who only resided short-term were rapidly replaced by new short-term colonial residents. This created a growing social and knowledge-based dichotomy between the newcomers with limited knowledge and no socio-political ties within the Dutch East Indies and the seasoned or even multi-generational Indische Dutch officials. “ToTok” is a term which was used primarily within the Dutch East Indies to refer to first-generation newly arrived colonial immigrants migrating from The Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies either long-term or short-term.¹⁴¹³

¹⁴¹⁰See Sargent, “Marriage Institutions and the Formation of Cross-Cultural Knowledge Networks in Early Modern Southeast Asia,” 155-180, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, “The Nyai in Colonial Deli: A Case of Supposed Mediation,” in *Women and Mediation in Indonesia*, eds. A. Niehof, E. Touwen-Bousman, and S. T. van Bemmelen (Brill, 1992), 265-281, Gouda, “Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide,” 318-342, Pattynama, “Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy,” 133-162, and Taylor, “Nyai Dasima,” 255-249.

¹⁴¹¹See Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 92-94, Gouda, “Nyonyas on the Colonial Divide,” 318-342.

¹⁴¹²See, for example, Manse, and Vording, “Metropolitan Views, Colonial Practices,” 238, and Bijl, “Colonial Memory and Forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia,” 445.

¹⁴¹³See Pattynama, “Interracial Unions and the Ethical Policy,” 143-144, Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 18-31, 86-89, and 122-135, Pols, “Notes from Batavia, the Europeans’ Graveyard,” 129-138, Protschky, “The Flavour of History,” 371, and Pols, “European Physicians and Botanists, Indigenous Herbal Medicine in the Dutch East Indies,” 177.

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