USE OF THESES

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THE POWER OF CLOTH:

THE TEXTILE TRADE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (VOC)

1600-1780

Ruurdje Laarhoven

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the Australian National University

April 1994
This thesis represents the results of my own research. Where I have drawn on the work of other scholars due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

Ruurdje Laarhoven
ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the trade in textiles from India to Indonesia by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) from 1600 to 1780. A major objective was to establish the boundaries and dynamics of this trade and the impact it had on Indonesian textile production. I used the richness of the quantitative data in the account books of the Company to analyse trends, variations, and changing frequencies of more than two hundred types and varieties of textiles. In order to analyze the long term import and distribution trends it was necessary to classify and categorize the more than two hundred textiles into clusters. The clusters revealed the association and predominance of specific types within certain geographic locations.

The peak of the overall import trend occurred during the second and third quarter of the 17th century after which a definite decrease in the volume of trade was revealed. The declining trend is explained in the thesis on three levels of generality. Firstly, the decline of the VOC as a trading institution. Secondly, the decline of the textile trade, Indian cloths being the second most important commodity the Company traded. And thirdly, the particular decline of clusters within the overall volume of the textile trade.

The Indonesians produced large volumes of spices and other raw materials, and in exchange consumed hundreds of thousands of imported Indian textiles. The Indonesians could also produce their own cloth, but had coveted the foreign Indian cloths for their attractiveness and the affordable price. Monopolistic policies of the VOC on the production of spices, trade in Indian textiles and in other spheres of Indonesians' productive capacity elicited indigenous responses that incorporated the increased production of local cloths in imitation of the Indian cloths. The residual power of the Indonesian women to produce cloths and the political organization to produce them in sufficient quantities and quality began to compete in the third quarter of the 17th century with the cloth the VOC imported from India. In that lies the foundation of import-substitution as the one key argument to explain the decline in the VOC cloth import trade, more specifically the chintz tapi (batik) produced, sold and exported from Java and the cloth production in southern Sulawesi and the lesser Sunda islands.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Introduction**

- Historical Literature of the Textile Trade of the VOC 1 - 7
- Autobiographical Note 7 - 9
- Limitations of the Theme 9 - 10
- Summary of the Chapters 11 - 13
- The Appendixes 13 - 14
- Spelling, Naming, Usages 15 - 18

**Chapter 1**  **Dutch Discovery: From Spices to Textiles**

- Introduction 19 - 20
- Silk Textiles in Early Asian Trade 20 - 23
- Cotton Textiles in Early Asian Trade 24 - 27
- Indonesia in Early Asian Trade 28 - 32
- The Iberians in the Asian Textile Trade 32 - 39
- Little Did They Know 40 - 43
- Dutch Discovery 44 - 56

**Chapter 2**  **The Social Life of Cloth in Indonesia**

- Textiles as Commodity and Currency 57 - 58
- Trading Cloths, Barter, and the Market Place in 1600 58 - 64
- The Uses of Cloth: Commodity Versus Currency 64 - 66
- Cloth Used as Money 66 - 70
- Clothing on the Body 70 - 79
- Clothing as Social Marker 79 - 82
- Life Cycle Ceremonies 82 - 83
- Marriage Exchange 84 - 91
- Death Ceremonies 91 - 95
- Power and Communication 95 - 103
Chapter 3  Indonesian Productive Capacity

The Indonesian Capacity for Cloth Production  104 - 108
Cotton in Indonesia  108 - 116
Silk in Indonesia  116 - 123
Gold Thread in Indonesia  123 - 128
Dyes in Indonesia  129 - 138

Chapter 4  Foundation of Dutch Economic Empire

Establishment of the VOC in the Netherlands  139 - 142
Establishment of the VOC in Asia  142 - 143
The Pattern of the VOC Economy in Asia  144 - 148
Spices and Textiles: Eastern Indonesia  148 - 153
Pepper and Textiles: Western Indonesia  153 - 161

Chapter 5  Spices, Species, and Textiles

Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Coromandel  162 - 174
Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Surat  174 - 185
Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Bengal  185 - 191
Production History of Guinees  191 - 197
Closing the Circle: Precious Metals  197 - 206

Chapter 6  Process of the Textile Trade

Textile Orders and Specifications  207 - 208
The European Order and Specifications  208 - 215
The Japanese Order and Specifications  215 - 218
The Asian Order and Specifications  218 - 222
Preparing the Textiles for Shipment  222 - 228
Shipping the Textiles  229 - 231
Processing the Textiles in Batavia  232 - 233
The Warehouse  233 - 237
Private Trade  238 - 240
Outlets for Textiles in Batavia
The Company Shops
Auctions
Returns

Chapter 7  Records of the Indian Cloths Imports

Introduction
The Cloth Measure
The VOC Cloth Stamp
A Piece of Indian Cloth
Average Length and Width of an Indian Cloth
What is a Bale (Pack) of Textiles
The Bookkeeping of the Cloth Trade

Chapter 8  Textile Trade Decline

Introduction
Textile Imports to Indonesia: Overall Decline
Prices of Textiles: Macroview
Clusters
Prices of Textiles Microview
Cloth for Cloves
Trade and Traders of Ambon
Decline of the Company Textile Trade in Ambon
Price History of the VOC Trade Cloths
The Role of Free and Local Traders in the Ambon Textile Trade

Chapter 9  Distribution of Textiles

The Company’s Stock of Textiles
Profits
The Company is its Own Best Customer
### The Distribution of Textiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patolu</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batavia</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eastern Provinces</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Indonesia</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution to Japan</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 10  The Power of Cloth: The Batik Revival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>375 - 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Suppression Policy: Makassar, Sumatra, and Banten</td>
<td>378 - 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetization and Decreasing Textile Sales in Java</td>
<td>385 - 389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataram - Batavia Struggle Over Textile Imports in the 17th Century</td>
<td>389 - 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Suppression Policy in other Ports</td>
<td>399 - 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import-Substitution: Indian Chintz to Indonesian Batik</td>
<td>400 - 412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>413 - 421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bibliography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archival</td>
<td>422 - 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Cited</td>
<td>428 - 456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>457 - 466</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List of Illustrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate 1</td>
<td>p. 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 2</td>
<td>p. 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 3</td>
<td>p. 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate 4</td>
<td>p. 214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This thesis could not have been completed without the continuous support of my mentor Anthony Reid. His questions, in particular, guided me along the path that the research took. I am most grateful for the patient reading and the many comments which Tony Reid provided on the drafts of the chapters. A debt of thanks also goes to my thesis advisers James Fox and Ann Kumar and to Howard Dick, who acted as adviser for one year, for their sustained encouragement.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Acta Asiatica</td>
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<tr>
<td>AESC</td>
<td>Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Algemeen Rijksarchief</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARA</td>
<td>Annual Review of Anthropology</td>
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<tr>
<td>BKI</td>
<td>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMGN</td>
<td>Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRPI</td>
<td>E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson eds. 1903-09. The Philippine Islands</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIC</td>
<td>East India Company</td>
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<td>ENI</td>
<td>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEQ</td>
<td>Far Eastern Quarterly</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAHA</td>
<td>International Association of Historians of Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>IC</td>
<td>Indonesian Circle</td>
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<tr>
<td>IESHR</td>
<td>Indian Economic and Social History Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJE</td>
<td>Indian Journal of Economics</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAH</td>
<td>Journal of Asian History</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal of Asian Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JESHO</td>
<td>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</td>
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<tr>
<td>JICSHK</td>
<td>The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>JMP</td>
<td>Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSEAS</td>
<td>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</td>
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<td>KITLV</td>
<td>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MAS</strong></td>
<td>Modern Asian Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MBRAS</strong></td>
<td>Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MI</strong></td>
<td>Masyarakat Indonesia</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PQCS</strong></td>
<td>Philippine Quarterly of Culture &amp; Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RASGBI</strong></td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RC</strong></td>
<td>Revista de Cultura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TBG</strong></td>
<td>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>THB</strong></td>
<td>Textielhistorische Bijdragen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TNI</strong></td>
<td>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TP</strong></td>
<td>T'oung Pao</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>VBG</strong></td>
<td>Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</td>
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<td><strong>VOC</strong></td>
<td>Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie</td>
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<td><strong>WHB</strong></td>
<td>World History Bulletin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
This depiction of a Javanese housekeeper, perhaps employed by a Dutchman, epitomizes the consumption of textiles in Indonesia. In a tropical climate she could manage with little clothing, but instead she is enveloped in cloth. The Indian legacy shows in her skirt (sarong) which seems similar to a chelas of the VOC textile trade. The overblouse is suggestive of weft ikat decoration. The double folded shouldercloth is batik of an unidentifiable pattern and size. She holds a Chinese paper umbrella to shade herself from the sun.
INTRODUCTION

"And the trade there consists chiefly of many different, costly exquisite and coarse cotton cloths in several dyes, of uncommon colors, in which they dress, and which are shipped in large quantities to all places."

**Historical Literature of the Textile Trade of the VOC**

Scholars studying Indonesian textiles agree that the twentieth century products of Indonesian looms and decorative arts are influenced by textiles and techniques that were brought to the islands in the past. The connection between the textiles produced in the present and those imported in the past is largely unexplored. One reason for this neglect is the difficult nature of the source material available for investigating the early Indonesian textile trade and the production of cloth in the archipelago. This thesis aims to contribute to an understanding of the role of imported textiles in Indonesia and the impact they had upon local production by investigating hundreds of Indian textile types listed in account books of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Encouraged by the purchasing power of European foreign traders, the Indonesians increased the production of spices and pepper. These fragrant substances were customarily exchanged for trade textiles from India. The trade more than the textiles is the topic for this thesis. Its scope extends from the period in which the VOC gained and lost its Indian textile trade in Indonesia between approximately 1600 and 1780. The study concentrates on several aspects of this trade and explores the reasons behind the decline.

Existing research on this topic is sparse. A notable exception is the pioneering study published by Rouffaer and Juynboll at the beginning of this century *De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar Geschiedenis.*

1 "Journaal gehouden op het schip Hollandia, door den adelborst Frank van der Does, 2 April, 1595 - 13 Junij, 1597" in J.K.J.de De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost Indie, 1595-1610, (1862-1909) vol 2: 363
Rouffaer draws a historical parallel between the techniques involved in Javanese batik making and the wax resist coloring of cloth on the Coromandel coast in India. The limitation of Rouffaer and Juynboll’s study is apparent in the lack of extensive use of the VOC archives that were available which could have brought the exercise to a more fruitful and informative whole. The study of the trade in Indian textiles was not an objective of Rouffaer and Juynboll. The present study takes matters further by exploiting the voluminous archives of the Dutch East India Company which are available in printed and manuscript form. This enables presentation of the quantity of Indian textile imports by the Company, the pattern of their distribution and consumption in different regions of Indonesia, the price behavior of the textiles, and various other details pertaining to the textiles and trade in general.

Some students of Indonesian textiles have pointed to the importance of the early textile trade in Indonesia. Art historians such as Gittinger, Maxwell, Bühler, Fisher, Irwin, Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, Bronwen and Garrett Solyom, Holmgren and Spertus have undertaken studies of contemporary and antique textiles. Robson made a notable connection between the clothing being worn by the characters in the Middle Javanese kidung literature and the names of cloths produced in India. Alfred Bühler asked the first important questions about the influence of the Indian double ikat patola from Surat on the Indonesian cloth production. He examined in detail the technical aspects of the warp ikat cotton replicas of the Indian patola in the small island of Roti,


west of Timor. Bühler and others have indicated the influence of early Indian and Chinese trade cloths on the weaving, dyeing and decorating of Indonesian cloths in the present. During the last twenty years a number of anthropological studies have also focussed on the role of textiles as a means of understanding functional and structural elements in the socio-religious contexts of people in their chosen localities, for example, Marie Jeanne Adams (Sumba), James Fox (Ndao and Roti), Sandra Niessen (Toba Batak), Cecile Ng (Minangkabau), Ruth Barnes (Lembata), Justine Boow (Java).

The combined efforts by art historians and anthropologists have given new impetus and direction to textile studies in Indonesia moving concern away from museum-textile-collection mentality in the earlier years of this century by the Dutch in Indonesia and the Netherlands.

There is a need for historians to become involved in the present discourse concerning Asian textiles. Regrettably they have not kept pace with their disciplinary counterparts. There are a few historians who have paid attention to the inter-Asiatic trade in terms of routes and products in the context of major historical events. However, trade in textiles and the textiles themselves have only been examined at a general level. For instance, Meilink-Roelofsz more so than van Leur, draws attention to the importance of

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cloth in the barter for spices and pepper, but details about the cloths that were traded in Melaka or quantitative data are few. Furber's comparative study about the two largest European trading Companies, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the English East India Company (EIC) which both dealt in textiles as a major line of products, lacks discussion of the Asian textile trade—much less details on the magnitude of that trade. Many other authors merely touch the edge of describing aspects of the textile trade.  

Recent contributions that deal with broad issues in the 17th and 18th centuries history of Southeast Asia do not take textiles or the trade in them as a point of departure. Barbara and Leonard Andaya, Reid, Lombard, Kathirithamby-Wells, all point to the omnipresence of textiles for commercial and utilitarian purposes, but do not go further than the earlier studies mentioned above in showing the importance of this product and its trade. Exceptions are Reid's discussion on "Textile Production and Trade" and "Cloth Imports from India," an article by Barbara Watson Andaya "The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang Society during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" concerning local and foreign cloths during the VOC period in Indonesia, and an unpublished paper by Sutherland and Bree.  

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9 A. Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 1: 90-6, vol 2: 26-31  

few specialized local histories such as those by Taylor, Noorduyn, Knaap, and Nagtegaal which rely partly or totally on VOC source materials, point to the importance of textiles in trade. Nagtegaal sees the monetization process in Java as the primary reason behind the decline of the textile trade. Knaap briefly discusses the local textile production and trade in textiles in Ambon. Noorduyn in his discussion on the papers from the military Commander Speelman in the attack on Makassar in 1667 and 1669, shows the prevalence of cloth as a productive capacity of many women in Makassar and its environs. Taylor samples the clothing worn by Batavia's elite during the 17th and 18th centuries and indicates some of the policies prescribing fashions.\(^{11}\)

Because the cloth trade was the mainstay for the Dutch East India Company in the inter-Asiatic trade for at least the greater part of the 17th century, the documents that touch on this trade are voluminous. Twentieth century historians from de Haan, Stapel, Colenbrander, Coolhaas, to de Graaf, van Goor and Gaastra, who make extensive use of these primary sources, have avoided dealing with the overwhelming number of references pertaining to textiles.\(^{12}\) The endless bills of lading with hundreds of names of textiles, their quantities and prices are daunting sources which may appear to offer scant reward for the general historian—perhaps they were perceived as uninteresting. VOC historians of the 19th century, such as van Dijk, de Jonge, Chijs, Leupe, and Tiele, likewise ignored the Company's textile trade

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This lack of interest in the VOC textile trade in the archipelago is in contrast with a much fuller documentation, although far from complete, by economic historians on India. Textiles for the inter-Asiatic trade necessitated the Dutch East India Company to establish factories in India. The procurement process was described in regional contributions by Arasaratnam, Prakash, Raychaudhuri, Brennig, A. Das Gupta, Santen and earlier this century Terpstra.\footnote{J.K.J. de Jonge, De Opkomst van het Ned. gezag in Oost-Indië (1862-1902); L.C.D. van Dijk, Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek, 1602-1811, 17 vols (1885-1900), and Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia (1887-1931) eds. J.A. van der Chijs, H.T. Colenbrander, W. Fruin-Mees, F. de Haan, J.E. Heeres en J. de Hullu (1887-1931); P.A. Leupe, ed. "Bal 1597" in BKI, vol 5 (1856): 203-34 and "Willem Jansz. van Amsterdam, Admiraal en Willem Jansz. van Amersfoort, Vice-Commandeur der OIC in de eerste helft der 17de eeuw" in BKI, vol 19 (1872): 298-360 etc.; P.A. Tiele, P.A. Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel, 3 vols (1886-95) and "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel" 9 Parts in BKI, vol 25 (1877), 27 (1879), 28 (1880), 29 (1881), 30 (1882), 32 (1884), 35 (1886), 36 (1887)\footnote{H. Terpstra, De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost Indische Compagnie (1918) and De vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel (1911); Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650-1740 (1986); J.J. Brennig, "The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel: A Study of a Pre-Modern Asian Export Industry" unpublished PhD dissertation for the University of Wisconsin (1975); Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c. 1700 - 1750 (1979); Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720 (1985); Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690 (1962); Hans W. Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660." unpublished PhD dissertation for the University of Leiden (1982).}} To a smaller or larger extent these studies present statistical information using the VOC archives. All of them are localized and concentrated on one of the three main regions for textile production: Coromandel, Surat and Bengal. Whereas Arasaratnam depicts the historical trends in a holistic approach towards the trade and politics on the Coromandel coast with a minimum of statistics, but combining the viewpoint of all European Companies, Prakash limits his investigation to primarily the economic sphere using virtually only sources of the VOC. Glamann and
Hartkamp-Joruds each have in their publications one Chapter devoted to statistics on Indian textiles to Europe in the west, but no studies are available for shipments to Asia in the east. This study addresses the lack of information about the Indian textile trade to Indonesia.

**Autobiographical Note**

The investigation that resulted in this study was inspired by a series of personal experiences and professional correspondence in the course of research in the field of anthropology and Southeast Asian history. Before I joined the Australian National University I completed a Master of Arts thesis in social anthropology at the Ateneo de Manila about a multi-ethnic society that was known in the 17th-18th centuries as the Magindanao sultanate. On the basis of then unexamined data from Dutch archives, not available to Philippine historians who tend to rely heavily on Spanish sources, I was able to revise some erroneous interpretations of Magindanao politics and economics; in the process contributing, I believe, to a broader understanding of the historical dynamics in the Southern Philippines and Eastern Indonesia as the people of these regions came to grips with the impact of English, Spanish and Dutch commercial activities among them.

This research experience also made me aware of the rich historical data found in the archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Even before I decided to pursue Indonesian historical studies at the Australian National University, I had been intrigued by the role of textiles in Southeast Asia. My curiosity was aroused during the Magindanao research by the disproportionate volume of cloths compared to other trade goods that the Magindanao, and other harbor communities, imported in exchange for their local products. Why was there such a big demand for foreign textiles? I was almost sure that the reason was not that there were no local weavers able to meet regional need, for weaving had been a major tradition in the

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Philippines. What social-cultural factors could explain such a huge demand? What was so attractive about those Indian cloths that could explain the disproportion? Because the records I had examined only showed the quantities, names and prices of these imported textiles, I was even more curious to learn about the appearance of the types of textiles. I found existing weaving and textile glossaries dissatisfying and repetitive, often reflecting reliance on the same few basic sources.

This growing curiosity concerning the trade in textiles eventually was transformed into more formal research questions at the Australian National University under the guidance of Professor Anthony Reid, who became my mentor and thesis adviser. He suggested several topics for which the Dutch source materials could be used, one of which was the trade in textiles. He helped me broaden my view beyond Magindanao and take as my general topic the full panorama of textiles traded in an Asia-wide commercial network during the VOC period. Some of the questions to which he directed my attention while I was exploring the sources and familiarizing myself with Southeast Asian trade history were the following: 1) what strategies did the VOC pursue to obtain and maintain the trade in textiles; 2) what was the system for buying, selling and distributing them; 3) what were the quantitative trends in this trade; 4) what types of textiles were traded and what can be learned about them; 5) how did all these factors and variables affect Indonesian culture and society?

In the course of my preliminary research I also solicited questions from colleagues and scholars about this largely uncharted world of trade in textiles. I received welcome additional questions which sharpened the cutting edge of my own probes into the historical data. Among these was the rise of Javanese batik, as an import-substitution response to foreign textiles. Did this Indonesian response occur after 1682, the last year for the published Dagh-

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Registers of Batavia, after which the historiography is much thinner? Or were there earlier batik-inspired reactions in Java and elsewhere in Indonesia? How early were these reactive manifestations evident and what were the circumstances of their occurrence? Were the Dutch supportive of or antagonistic to import substitution?

Another helpful series of questions, the majority of which I have addressed in this study, came from Professor Arasaratnam in the following form:

If you can show that retail prices of textiles are going up and traditional redistributive networks have been disrupted, that would be sufficient to explain the decline in the consumption of imported textiles. In a context of increasing prices, the peasant/consumer will be faced with a choice of priorities and if local products are available cheaper, then he would choose them...... I think your major contribution will be if you look at what happened from the textile warehouse in Batavia to the point of retail sale in the local town and village. Were there middlemen between Batavia and these places or was the VOC a direct retailer? What was the VOC’s mark-up to the middleman and what was the retail price to the consumer?

At the outset of the study some very good advice was also given to me by Professor Gaastra to use the ledgers that recorded the company’s accounts of the trade goods in Batavia, would help in unravelling the history of the Indian textile trade of the VOC. The ledgers that still exist cover some 30-odd years in 18th century Batavia.

Limitations of the Theme

The conclusions I have reached will significantly augment the historical knowledge available now to historians. However the significance of the findings presented in the following ten chapters should be properly judged against the limits and parameters I imposed on the investigation.

17 Letter of 11-19-1986 from Dr. Ben Bronson of the Field Museum of Natural History, USA

18 Letter of 12-1-1987 from Professor S. Arasaratnam of the University of New England, Australia
First of all, the general approach used in studying textiles needs clarification. I am not an art historian and thus details concerning the technology, designs, colors, patterns and symbolic representations found in imported and local textiles were not my central focus. I used weaving and decorating techniques as well as the absence of decoration, not primarily for their symbolic function but as delineators of clusters of similar types. The focus of my study was on the "trade" rather than on the "textile" aspect of the "textile trade." I am not implying that the artistic and social dimensions of textiles are less important, but at this stage I prefer to leave these matters to others, while I concentrate on the dynamics and implications of the trade.

Secondly, I limit my focus geographically. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) had a dual aspect. There was the trade conducted between the Netherlands and Asia, in which precious metals and goods from Europe were brought to Asia for sale and Asian goods were exported to the Netherlands for sale in Europe. In addition to this linear pattern the Company maintained a scattered network of trade in which goods produced and consumed in Asia were bought and sold in Asia, i.e. the multilateral inter-Asiatic trade. Both patterns of trade were recorded in the ledgers and journals in Batavia. This study mentions, but does not discuss, the trade involving Europe. Again, the choice does not imply that the European leg of this trade was unimportant, for much could be learned from it, but I was interested in learning about the Southeast Asian aspect of the textile trade. My primary concern, therefore, is with the development, process and characteristics of the VOC textile trade conducted from the headquarters in Batavia where the Indian textiles (and some other textiles) were received and subsequently sold locally, or distributed to the Company's branch offices in Indonesia such as Ternate, Banda, Ambon, Makassar, Timor/Solor, Java's north-east coast, Jambi, Sumatra's west coast, Palembang and Asian offices in Nagasaki, Ayutthaya, Melaka, Persia, Taiwan, Tonkin, etc.
Summary of the Chapters

A picture of the trade in textiles prior to the Dutch arrival is set out in the first chapter, which also discusses the earliest beginnings of the VOC trade and how it responded to the indigenous textile production and trade. Chapter 2 addresses the issues on consumption. It looks at how the textiles were being used and the role they played historically in Indonesian society. In any study of trade, one has to consider the dynamics of supply and demand. Why was there such a big demand for imported textiles in Indonesia? How had that developed? What were the functions of cloth in Indonesian culture and society? These questions needed to be explored to some degree as part of the context for understanding Dutch entry into the textile trade and their subsequent policies designed to monopolize the buying and selling of Indian cloth, policies which impacted on the indigenous traders and people of Indonesia, not to mention rival traders from Europe and other parts of Asia.

Chapter 3 provides a background on the productive capacity of the Indonesians in terms of the finished cloths and the raw materials that go into the manufacture of cloth. In addition, it considers the continuing Dutch search for profitability at the expense of the local population. The changes that occurred in the political and economic environment, with the Dutch and the Indonesians as the protagonists, brought about textile-import substitution measures which affected the sales of the Company negatively.

The organization and scope of the Company is briefly discussed in Chapter 4. The Company found a place in the inter-Asiatic trading world and attempted to establish monopolies in the archipelago and beyond. This chapter also establishes the monopolistic policies in the areas under VOC hegemony.

Chapter 5 looks at the regions that were the source of the global distribution of the famous Indian textiles. The settlement patterns of the Dutch in India, how the textiles were purchased, materials that went into the making of the cloth, an overview of the types and varieties of textiles that
were traded by the Company is presented. The purchase of these textiles involved large quantities of metals and other Asian products to be imported into India.

Chapter 6 is devoted to describing how the textiles were ordered, processed, shipped, recorded, transferred, stored, and sold. The attributes of a piece of Indian cloth, its measurements, a definition of a bale and the way the bookkeeping of the accounts of the trade textiles took place has been explicated in Chapter 7.

That large quantities of textiles in this branch of the VOC trade were involved has been common knowledge for some time, but what these quantities and prices actually were, was never indicated. The quantitative dimensions of the import of Indian trade textiles in Indonesia over time has been taken up in Chapter 8. Implicit in this graphic demonstration is the decline of the Company textile trade. This will be further taken up on the micro level by examining a specific case of sales and distribution figures in Ambon set in the policies that surrounded this trade. Import substitution becomes clear from the change that will be observed in the trade of local cloth versus Company cloth.

The distribution patterns of the imported textiles in Batavia to the offices of the VOC in the Indonesian islands, Melaka, and Japan are laid out in Chapter 9. In this chapter I will also expose how a major part of the distribution was built into the structure of the Company's expenditures. A distribution pattern for Japan compares the quantities with the offices in the archipelago. The patterns of the textile types that were distributed locally in Indonesia will be presented graphically. The periods of continued supplies to certain regions are also indicated. It is hoped that eventually this information might be correlated with textile techniques, patterns and designs, and coloring of the types of textiles we find today in Indonesian and Japanese textile art. This task will be left for textile experts and other scientists, and is not treated here.

Chapter 10 discusses the impact of policies that were not initiated by the Dutch, but by the Javanese State of Mataram. The impact on the local
development of batik is discussed and the way it changed the content of the Indian cloth trade of the Company. The causes of the textile decline are a basis for discussing the import substitution and the impoverishment theme. Import substitution was a major response to the tendencies revealed in the Ambon case study and the batik emergence in Java. They form the basis for a further discussion in the Conclusion which incorporates the larger picture of the company’s textile sales and its ramifications correlated with the price behavior of some textiles and the economic tendencies prevalent in Asian trade.

The Appendixes

Because of the large number of textile types and varieties involved in the trade it was impossible to incorporate the details about them in the chapter texts. Several appendixes arranged alphabetically from A to G in the order of the thesis chapters are bound separately. Textile Appendix A enumerates and describes approximately 200 textile types, varieties, various names, materials, qualities, dimensions, prices, quantities, places of origin and other related attributes of the imported textiles. The textile types are arranged alphabetically. As no such clarification had been done by the art historians, I was obliged to undertake this laborious task and the work in progress will be of interest to many textilists. I discovered that there was a considerable variation in the "life history" of the types of textiles. Some textiles traded in the 17th century were no longer part and parcel of shipments in the 18th century, while new textiles entered the trade in the course of the 17th century. To show the length of time a textile was active in the trade in Indonesia, a timeline of each textile was constructed which includes the major varieties of a type and code for their destinations. In Appendix B the timelines of the textiles are arranged by region of production in India. Appendix C is a translation of the methods used in making chintz and indigo in Coromandel, written in the 1680s, fifty years prior to similar descriptions from a French navy officer to which many references are always
Appendix D records treasure-textiles pilfered from several Sulawesi rulers during the 1667-9 war. The list is significant in that it shows the treasure to consist of a mixture of trade textiles and rich locally produced textiles with names unfamiliar in the trade lists of the VOC.

Many trade and order lists of the Company stated the number of pieces of cloths that were packed in a bale which was useful in finding a definition for one bale of Indian cloth. The textiles were traded in bulk by the score or corge, that is in lots of twenty pieces. When a bale contained short pieces of textiles, more scores were crammed into it than when it contained long cloths. Appendix E discusses all the factors that defined a bale of cloth. Since Batavia was the hub of the Asian trade from 1619, the records concerning all the financial transactions were kept there and reflected in the Negotie Grootboeken and Negotie Journalen of Batavia which form the key sources on which Chapter Seven is based. Throughout the thesis-chapters information learned from working with these account books was incorporated in the text. A background to these hitherto unexplored primary source materials is presented in Appendix F. Details concerning the history and technicalities in the account books are also explored. Last but not least Appendix G and H contain tables and graphs supporting the figures concerning the import and prices in Chapter 8. Using Excel 4.0 software I put the figures of the account books of the Company in Batavia in spreadsheets and derived the graphs from them. The import and distribution of the Indian and other foreign cloths I subsequently clustered to show the variations over time in the buying patterns of the Indonesians. The implications of the patterns cannot be fully understood yet because much more research is needed by textile historians.

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19 P.R. Schwartz, "French documents on Indian cotton painting, I, the Beaulieu ms, c. 1734" in JITH, vol 2: 5-23 and "French documents on Indian cotton painting, II, new light on old material" in JITH, vol 3: 15-44
Spelling, Naming, Usages

In the use of the names for the textiles, which were not uniform for the VOC period, an English spelling has been followed where that was deemed acceptable. Dutch *chits* and *sits* have been replaced by the English *chintz*, Dutch *dongrijs* by *dongris*, and in all cases where Dutch used an "n" to indicate plurals in the Indian textiles, the English plural form "s" has been used. Only Dutch textiles have kept their original Dutch spelling. In the use of Malay and Indonesian words for textiles or other vocabulary the spelling for Malay words has been followed. For example, Dutch spelling for the textile *Tjelles*, has been spelled with a "c" (*celas*) if the Indonesian textile was meant, but given the English form *chelas* for the Indian textile in the Dutch VOC trade.

There is a frequent use of the words "textile type" and "textile variety." I established a distinction between these phrases as a matter of hierarchy in category. A textile type has as root-word an unchanging name. It is irrelevant to the name what the material is i.e. the name does not change if the material of which it is made, changes. For example, the bookkeeping account for *patolu* in the 17th century was for a silk textile, but when an account for a *patolu* in cotton starts to appear, the name and type of textile remains a *patolu* in the VOC sources. In this and many other cases the name was based on the pattern in the cloth. Even if the root-word is derived from the place from where the textile originated and later produced in many other towns on instigation of the Company, the word associated with the idiosyncracy of that textile type stays unaltered. The characteristics of a textile could be reflected in the quality, weaving technique, pattern, size or color combinations. A change in size does not affect the name either, but a range of lengths and widths is standard for a certain type of cloth. A case in point is the *guinees*, which has always been a long piece of cloth of at least 30 meters; it will never occur as a piece of, say, 15 meters. Similarly, a *tapi* has always appeared with a length of between two and three meters and will not be encountered with a length of 10 meters. Rarely does the use to which a
cloth is put, define the type or change the name. An exception is the
negroscloth, destined for the African slave trade. The use of a piece of chintz
hung as a curtain or wall covering does not change its type or name when it
is used for tailoring a skirt or blouse. The name is often derived from a
location. Sometimes that is the place of production, sometimes the place
where it was traded from or traded to. Armosin is named after the place
Ormus, from where it was first known to have been traded. Occasionally the
name refers to the way a cloth looked because of the technique used in the
weaving or the design that is associated with it. An alegia was a striped
textile in general, its name derived from Turkish, alcha, meaning stripes. A
general standard of a certain quality for a textile type is associated and
expected with the name and, therefore, the name could be roughly placed in
a known price category for that type of cloth, similar to the way it is placed
within a certain range of dimensions.

I refer to a textile variety as the variations found in a type. A type of
textile known by a particular name might have one or more qualifiers in
addition to the root-name. The qualifiers often refer to dimension, color,
quality, destination, place of origin, design, use of metal thread in it, if it is
rolled or folded, function, and sometimes to another type of cloth. Some
types of cloths have several varieties, others none. The type of cloth or root-
cloth existed before a variety of the cloth evolved, thus placing the "type of
textile" above the "variety of textile." For example, a well known textile that
was traded frequently in Indonesia is the betille, a muslin often, but not
always, transparent. It was originally a generic name for veil-like cloths and
the textile is thought to have been named by the Portuguese in India who
associated the fabric with the veils worn by devout women in Europe.20
The term beates is found in Latin, Portuguese and Spanish. I chose betille
because this type of cloth has qualifiers with different references. For
example, betille d'oringaal or d'orinaal, - de sicacol, - sesterganty, - carnman,
callawaphoe, - burhanpur, - madrapakse, betille bleached, - unbleached, betille red,

20 M.L. Dames ed., The Book of Duarte Barbosa, An account of the Countries
Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, 1518 A.D (1918): 161 ftn. 1
- white etc, betille long, - short, - wide, - narrow, betille coarse, - fine, - supra fine, betille with silver kepala, betille striped, - flowered, betille rumal (handkerchief), betille ternatans, betille alegia, - chavonis, - kangan. It can be seen that the first group of qualifiers refer to names of places where the betille were produced. There were sometimes trifling differences between the products from several places, but at other times major differences in appearance, quality, or design. A bleached betille would have been slightly more expensive than an unbleached one. A large selection of colors was available too. Quality or decorations were indicated as well, while the dimensions also varied. The handkerchiefs would undoubtedly have been square, thus one piece of betille rumal would have consisted of perhaps fifteen to twenty squares linked together by the warp threads that stayed uncut or by a short length of undecorated woven cloth. The betille ternatans indicated the place to which a certain variety was initially traded. Though it became popular in the European markets, it was subsequently referred to by the original market to indicate that particular variety of a betille. If a textile type had an aspect that was significant in another type, the dominant type is mentioned first and the sub-type characteristic becomes the qualifier. For example, the betille alegia was a multicolored cloth with a thin stripe through the check. The stripe was significant enough for the designation alegia to have been added because it reminded of and made the cloth similar to the alegia type. Of course, many qualifiers were combined as well, for example, betille, wide, bleached, with flowers. In summary, the betille was a "type of textile", while all the nuances that were incorporated in the production of the cloth justified the qualifiers to be added which formed the unique "varieties of textile."

Another distinction to be made is that between a free trader and a private trader. The actors in discussions concerning trade are the Company, members of the Asian population, and such groups as free traders and private traders. The Directorate in Batavia made a distinction between the latter two which has been followed throughout this study. A contemporary traveller who was no stranger to the Company, William Dampier, explained
the meaning of free trader: "for by that name the Dutch and English in the East-Indies, distinguish those merchants who are not Servants of the Company."\textsuperscript{21} What was then thought to be free trade is roughly equivalent to the current meaning of private trade. However, during the VOC period the private trader was an employee of the Company who traded illegally.\textsuperscript{22} Throughout the thesis the terms free trader and private trader keep those contemporary meanings.

This thesis is concerned with VOC trade in a large part of the archipelago now known as Indonesia. A difficulty arises in selecting an appropriate name for this area during the 17th and 18th centuries when it comprised numerous individual polities. It is anachronistic to speak of Indonesia and Indonesians in this period, yet to refer to Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi, Ambon, etc. would be awkward and fail to catch the unities established by Dutch commerce centered on Batavia. For this reason it has been decided simply to use in the following pages the modern terms Indonesia and Indonesians.

\textsuperscript{21} William Dampier, A New Voyage around the World, vol 1 (1717): 326

\textsuperscript{22} J.P. de Korte, De Jaarlijkse Financiële Verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1984): 44; J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1676): 159 where in a letter from the Directorate dated Oct. 21 two sentences follow each other: "Time has taught us how harmful and ruinous the shipping and trade of our free burgers and residents have been for the Company and therefore we have agreed to limit and curtail it as in the accompanying edict. The private trade which also is damaging and obstructive..."
CHAPTER 1

DUTCH DISCOVERY:
FROM SPICES TO TEXTILES

Introduction

The first Dutch fleet of four vessels left Texel in the north of the Netherlands in 1595 with vague instructions to sail east and return with spices. From a 1594 manuscript collection relating to the preparation of the first fleet it is clear that the Dutch had learned about the variety of trade items available in the east. What the first Dutchmen did not realize, however, was that cloth was the primary commodity of exchange for spices, metals, Asian or other goods.

Cloth had been a vital element in the inter-Asiatic trade since ancient times.\(^1\) There were many reasons for this. Cloth was a highly portable and durable manufacture, a natural trade item appropriate for production in one specialized place and consumption in another; a basic need following food and shelter; a medium of barter for other goods; used also in gift-giving to facilitate diplomatic and commercial relations. In some contexts the possession of certain quantities of cloth could even guarantee a person freedom from slavery.

A number of Europeans participated in the overland silk route, but the first Europeans to participate by ship in the Asian cloth trade were the Portuguese. They were followed by the Spaniards. Both soon discovered the importance of cloth as a medium of exchange in inter-Asiatic trade. However, they did not communicate this to the Dutch and other Europeans who could compete with them.

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\(^1\) Archaeological evidence shows that production and trade over long distances in textiles had been alive for several millennia. Peter Bellwood, Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago: 114, 216, 226, 232; New Archaeological Finds in China: 53-7
When the first Dutchmen arrived in the Southeast Asian archipelago in 1596, they remarked on the colorful, well-woven textiles with intricate designs they saw there. Not until the second fleet sailed to the source of the spices did ignorance drive them to inquire about both the textiles and the patterns in this trade in Asia. They were soon to discover that textiles were an essential ingredient in the quest for spices.

This chapter follows the course of that discovery. It argues that textiles played an essential and vibrant part in inter-Asiatic trade prior to the arrival of the Dutch. Vital elements in this trade such as Chinese silks, Indian cottons, and locally woven and decorated textiles are all examined on the basis of pre-European evidence. The advent of Europeans in the archipelago confirmed this picture. Portuguese and Spanish sources reveal that the exchange of textiles for spices was very much part of doing business in 16th century Southeast Asia. Although some merchants of the first fleet had noticed the colorful textiles, they by no means realized the importance of these cloths in the trade of the archipelago. It was not until December 1601, four months before the establishment of the VOC, that the instructions to the fleet commanders show that the Dutch had realized that textiles were, in fact, the principal medium of exchange for spices in the archipelago. The chapter concludes with a discussion of a Dutch memoir of 1600 which indicates the quantities and types of textiles involved in the trade for nutmeg and the importance of cloth for any merchant wishing to participate in the spice trade. The preference had its origins in earliest times as Chinese silks, and Indian and Indonesian cottons, were exchanged for raw products of Southeast Asia.

Silk Textiles in Early Asian Trade

Chinese silks were the first Asian textiles to become a global trade item. The Chinese had been engaged in sericulture since at least the third

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2 See Introduction, note 1.
millennium BC. During the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) the Emperor's (or Silk) Road opened up. In connection with that it has been postulated that a profusion of techniques, dyes and designs evolved, "created for the expansion of trade and establishing rapport with the West." The Chinese wove silk as a secondary occupation since at least AD 265 because part of their tax payments had to be delivered in bolts (p'í) of silk. During the T'ang Dynasty (AD 618-906) large cities were known to have dozens of silk weaving centers, each employing many hundreds of workers. In order to influence the success of the silk production, people employed divinations, rites, readings from Taoist teachings, incense, candles, and offerings. Information concerning silk imports to Southeast Asia prior to 1300 is scarce.

Chinese histories of the fourteenth century show that frequently large

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3 S. Hsio-Yen, "Textile Finds in the People's Republic of China", STH: 305. However, it seems that silk worms and mulberry trees could have been indigenous to Southeast Asia. Anthony Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, vol 1: 92

4 O.K. Riboud, "A closer view of Early Chinese Silks" in Veronica Gervers, ed. Studies in Textile History: 257-8; see also W.P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya, facsimile copy, Indonesia, C.V. Bhratara (1960) 3; Early finds of woven silk are discussed in New Archaeological Finds in China: 36, 42, color plates, 45-8, 53

5 I. Timmermann, Seide Chinas: 75, 175-89; Wang Kuo-Wei, "Chinese foot-measures of the past nineteen centuries" in JRASGBI, vol 59: 111-23. A bolt of silk measured approximately 10.8 x 0.6 meter.

6 Kang, Chao, "La Production Textile dans la Chine Tradionelle" in AESC: 964

7 R. Hayashi, Silk Road and the Shoso-in: 31; P. Buckley Ebrey, Chinese Civilization and Society: 312-320

8 Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade" in JMBRAS, vol xxxi, Part 2. Silk production so permeated the culture and life of the Chinese for many centuries that more than 230 of the 5,000 most common characters have silk as their 'key'. Silk had even become cheaper than hemp. L. Boulot, The Silk Road: 19. It has been estimated that 300,000 kilograms of silk were carried out daily from China during the early centuries of the Silk Road on 2,000 camels in several caravans. I. Timmermann, Seide Chinas: 212. One camel load was two bales each containing three packages of cloth of about 25 kilograms, N. Steensgaard, Asian Trade Revolution in the Seventeenth Century: 25, fn 6
quantities of silk were exported, specialized for certain markets. Wheatley, for Malaysia, commented that "Pongees sold easily enough in Hsia-lai-wu, Pahang and Trengganu, but blue satins were more acceptable to the sea gypsies of Lung-ya-men." An overview of the main varieties show the following trade patterns:

**Brocade** to Kampuchea, Brunei, Patuma

**Pongees** to Pahang, Trengganu, Ligor district

**Satins** to Kampuchea, Lingga Strait, Palembang, Batak country, Aceh, Java, Brunei, Tanjung Pura, Aru, Mangalore, Malabar, Orissa, Zanquebar, Bengal, Quilon, Kuli, Zafar, Ormuz, Berbera Coast, and three places on the Somali Coast

**Unspecified Silks** (from northern and southern China) to the Malay peninsula, Java, Palembang, Batak country, Patuma, Bengal, Orissa, Djofar, Ormuz, Zafar and Somali coast

**Taffetas** to Ligor, Trengganu, Pahang, unidentified place on the Malay peninsula, Jambi, Java, places in the Nusa Tenggara, Timor, Billiton, Luzon and Visayas in the Philippines, Ceylon, Bengal, Mogadishu, Ormuz

The silks listed above left China for coastal destinations in Southeast Asia, India, eastern Africa and western Asia. Silk production also took place in other regions, presumably introduced through contact with the Chinese and their silks.

Silks from Persia, Arabia and Mughal India also played a role in the trade of textiles in Asia. The production of silk textiles in state factories had enjoyed the patronage of rulers under Persian and Byzantine monarchs, a practice subsequently adopted by the Arabs. These palace factories became known as *tîrâz*, forming a network for making Islamic silks from India to

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9 W.W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century" in T'oung Pao (TP), vol 15 and 16 passim.

10 P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese: 86

Spain. During unrest in the Islamic world artisans would spread out to other places. The Mughal Muslim court in the 16th century retained some of the most skilled textile workers in the karkhana, the large textile workshops it patronized.13

West-Asian maritime trade to the east grew as a consequence of improved navigational skills by the Persians and their increased demand for affordable gold specie available in the east. This led to a proliferation of contacts among the peoples from the Indian Ocean and the Southeast Asian shores and an increase in the number of products exchanged. First Ceylon and later the Malay peninsula functioned as collection centers from where the products (and traders) transferred to Southeast Asian ships in order to reach Sumatra, Java, Funan, Champa, Canton, and so on.14 Wolters further demonstrated that the role played by the Malay traders in the expansion of this maritime trade between East and West was crucial for a continued flow of Ta-ch'ìn products and greatly contributed to the inclusion of the archipelago in the international trade network in which silks featured prominently.15

12 R.B. Serjeant, Islamic Textiles: 5-6. The silk industry was a major source of revenue in western Asia and of capital accumulation to private individuals. In 1577, 28 court officials owned 88 workshops, each with 20 to 60 looms. Murat Çızaçka, "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900)" in JESHO, vol 23: 146-7

13 François Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656-1668: 403-4; Lotika Varadarajan, "17th Century Indian Textile Trade and Portuguese Sources" in Indica, vol 18, No 1: 51; Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol 1: 80. Four thousand karkhana workers might be employed by a chief, military leader or ruler to weave and embroider robes of honor and other garments.


15 Reference to the prominence of silk are made by K. Hall, Maritime Trade: 36-8; O.W. Wolters, Indonesian Commerce: 41; P. Wheatley, Desultory remarks on the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula: 41; J.K. Whitmore "The Opening of Southeast
Cotton Textiles in Early Asian Trade

Just as silk and China are thought of together as a celebrated pair in Asian trade, so too India and cotton are a duo that can make a claim to having reached global trade dimensions during centuries of voyaging and discovery. Most researchers consider the Old World cotton indigenous to India, Pakistan, and Baluchistan. The earliest find of cotton material was in the ruins of the Indus Valley of Sind (Pakistan) from the 1760 (c-115) BC period. The cotton cloth from the Sind area was already traded as Sindu five thousand years ago. Printed cotton fabrics from India were also very popular in the Roman Empire, central Asia, China, Siam and Java. The Indians had practiced the resist dye technique since the 2nd millennium BC and the process was known to the west since the 1st century AD. The wax resist dyed cottons may have become known to Asians east of India, in China, Siam, and Indonesia when missionaries brought the Buddhist and Hindu religions to Southeast Asia and with it Indian cultural materials.

The trade was important and large enough for whole villages in India to be solely focussed on producing cloths that conformed to the requirements of the foreign markets. Indian ships sailed in 250 BC from the Ganges River in Bengal to Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and beyond as far as the Philippines. Indian ties to Southeast Asia continued. When the Srivijayan empire dominated the trade routes from the China Sea to the Indian Ocean between the 5th and 12th centuries, the rulers adhered to Buddhism and

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17 I.H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, vol 1: 1120

18 Mattiebelle Gittinger, Master Dyers to the World: 33

19 Pupul Jayakar, The Indian Printed Textiles: 6, 20
wrote and possessed seals in Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{20} The political and religious links between Southeast Asian rulers and India were enforced by commercial links. The association of weaving with religion and trade has often been made in historical writing.\textsuperscript{21}

Indian cottons from Gujarat (Surat), Coromandel and Bengal were traded for gold, silver, tin, pepper and spice by the Indian merchants. The latter started to integrate into the Indonesian communities and were able to occupy a place as commercial consultants along the northern coast of Java. Thus, Indian textiles made an inroad in the Indonesian littoral.

Whereas cotton was also commonly cultivated in most of the Indonesian islands, it was not associated with China until approximately the 12th century AD. Gifts of cotton textiles then began increasingly to be mentioned in the tribute-paying missions to the Chinese Emperor.\textsuperscript{22} In both China and Malaysia, where cotton did not grow, the cotton textiles had been more expensive than silk in the first millennium.\textsuperscript{23} The exposure to the trade in cottons of local manufactures everywhere in Southeast Asia and the large demand for cotton cloths from India cannot have gone unnoticed by the Chinese. A Chinese addition to their trade language, \textit{ki-pei}, was an adaptation of the Malay word for cotton, \textit{kapas}, in turn derived from Sanskrit \textit{karpasa}.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{20} H.I.S. Kanwar, "Ancient Indo-Malaysian Cultural Links Recalled" in Indica, vol 17, No 1: 49-56

\textsuperscript{21} Vijaya Ramaswamy, Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India: 14-5.

\textsuperscript{22} W.P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese Sources: 17, 20-1; Kenneth Hall, Maritime Trade: 181; D. Schlinghoff, "Cotton-Manufacture in Ancient India" in JESHO, vol 17 (1974): 81

\textsuperscript{23} Paul Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese: 226 The author remarks that raw cotton and cotton thread were imported to Malaysia, but dyed and woven locally. This led to the false impression that also cotton was grown locally, pp. 83, 85

\textsuperscript{24} This assertion was made by P. Pelliot, Mémoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge: 160; P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese: 28; W.P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes: 64 remarks that in general the Chinese were not familiar with cotton. Yet when they adopted \textit{ki-pei} as a word for cotton, it was unrelated to the word \textit{po-ti}, also meaning cotton in the earliest accounts, but applied to cotton cloth that came from
The history by Chau Ju-kua shows that China was a greater importer than exporter of raw and finished cotton products. The cotton craze that had taken over China in the 12th century propelled the production of raw (unspun, possibly cleaned) and spun cotton in Vietnam, Hainan, and the Philippines, and its export to China. Indonesia, India, and Persia supplied finished cotton fabrics. Some of these textiles were imitated in China, such as the blue cotton cambays from Gujarat and the black and blue kagnostics from Coromandel. Between 1350-1520 China exported many cotton cloths besides the familiar silks.

The Chinese, like the Indians, Vietnamese and Javanese, produced textiles destined for a specific market. Not all cottons traded by Chinese merchants overseas were necessarily made in China. Many cotton textiles were actually obtained in trade along the way, and sold again elsewhere.

It is regrettable that there is no indication as to what quantities and at what price these cottons were traded. China's 15th-century acute shortage of Turkestan. See Hirth & Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: 218

25 Hirth & Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: 160, 219. Evidence for the large trade in cotton was furnished by Ramon Echevarria, a botanist who researched the specie of the cotton exported and the data on the archaeological finds in ceramics in Cebu in the Philippines in Ramon Echevarria, Rediscovery in Southern Cebu: chapter 1, 2, and 3.

26 W. Lytle Schurz, The Manila Galleon: 32, 74

27 M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630: 70, 72. P. Wheatley, The Golden Khersonese: 86 gives as examples of specialized production the "kan-li cottons for Tan-ma-ling, Annamese and Hainanese for Hsia-lai-wu, Javanese for Pahang, Annamese and t'ang-t'ou for Kelantan, prints for ling-ya-hsi-chiao, Lung-ya-men and pan-isu," etc. W.W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China" in TP: vol. 15 & 16 passim. Printed cottons that seem to have come from China were traded in Lopburi, Singapore, and Lingga Strait; blue Chinese cotton went to Thailand, Lopburi, Cambodia, Lung-yapo-ti (also white), Batak country, Aceh, and Ceram; red cotton to Pahang and Tanjung Pura; colored cottons to Jambi, Palembang, Janggolo in Java, Bilibing Island, Philippines, and Quilon; while Chinese headcloth (T'ang-t'ou pu) was exported to Kelantan.

28 Hirth & Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: 180 such as green Vietnamese cloths to Singapore, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu. The Vietnamese also wove figured cottons. The island of Hainan produced flowered coverlets and sarungs, a specialty of the Li mountain village groups, for Kedah and Madura.
raw cotton kept increasing even though regulations had been enforced for the agricultural households to cultivate cotton. Taxes were to be paid with cotton cloths which the government used as its medium for making payments. 29

Compared to the total production of cotton cloth in China only a small quantity was ever exported. 30 Some of this export reached Japan in the Tokugawa period 31 and a considerable portion reached the Philippines. The Filipinos ascribed great value to the cultivation of cotton. 32 They produced ikat fabrics in the 14th-15th centuries. 33 The Spaniards in the Philippines put a stop to the export of raw cotton to China, which ruined the cotton cultivation in Cebu. 34

29 Mi Chu Wiens, "Socioeconomic Change During the Ming Dynasty in the Kiangan Area", PhD dissertation: 112- 116. In Chiangnan one full length of good quality cotton was worth 0.15 -0.18 ounce of silver in the early part of the 17th century. Each bolt of ordinary cloth had to be 12 x 0.75 meter with a red yarn on both ends "to prevent thievish cutting", (p. 121). Mi Chu Wiens lists distinctions between the six different weaves of cotton cloths and quotes from Ch’iu Chün too, "In our [Ming] dynasty, cotton has spread throughout the empire. It is used a hundred times more than silk or hemp. Mi Chu Wiens "Cotton Textile Production", Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chiu-so hsiih-pao, vol 7 (1974): 516-20.


31 K Chao, "La Production Textile": 969

32 M. Pastor Roces, Habi, The Allure of Philippine Weaves; W.H. Scott, "Sixteenth-century Tagalog Technology" in GAVA, band 17: 528-9 where the terminology indicates a high standard of weaving and dyeing. For vocabulary related to weaving and decorating cloth in the Philippines see contributions by E.S. Casiño and G.R. Ellis in People and Art of the Philippines: resp. 130-45, 220-39; Marian Pastor-Roces, Sinaunang Habi: 16-37

33 M. Pastor Roces, Habi, The Allure of Philippine Weaves, unpaginated. Wrapping yarns for ikat production was attested by finds from the Banton Cave excavations.

34 Ramon Echevarria, Rediscovery in Southern Cebu: 25-6, "By 1636 each galleon carried a registered cargo exceeding 1,000 chests. Each chest usually contained 250 pieces of pearl-colored Cantonese taffeta and 72 pieces of scarlet gauze, weighing about 250 pounds. A galleon carried as much as 10,000 to 12,000 bundles of raw silk in the latter half of the eighteenth century". This meant that each galleon exported from Manila at least 322,000 pieces of silk. C. Han-Sheng, "The Chinese Silk Trade with Spanish America" in JICSHK: 368-9.
Indonesia in Early Asian Trade

Unlike China and India, which had become acclaimed for their exquisite silk and cotton textiles, Indonesia had become known for its natural products and raw materials. Gold, diamonds, camphor, spices, sea products, aromatic woods and fragrant resins were often bartered with foreign traders for textiles.\(^{35}\) With the demand for natural resources Indonesians could indulge in buying the splendid cloths of exotic origin which they admired and desired. Most importantly, the Indonesians accumulated gold (often in the form of jewelry), textiles and other objects as a means to show their wealth.\(^{36}\)

There are few surviving indigenous writings before the 17th century except inscriptions, and even they rarely reveal any detail about foreign textiles. In relating the clothing worn by the princes, princesses and followers in the *kidung* tales, possibly depictions from the fifteenth century, but written later, Robson comes to the conclusion that foreign luxury clothing was admired in Java and Bali among the people where the *kidung* stories originated.\(^{37}\) He also established a close link between the luxury foreign clothing and the trade cloths from India. Some of the words Robson identified were the *kumitir, cahutar, kemer-kendit, makhmal, berem* which in the Dutch sources respectively are known as *committer, chiauter, commerband, malmal, beiramee* and *sanebab (sinebaff)* in the Portuguese sources. Indonesians sail\(^{38}\) to India or to places where they would meet Indian, Arab

\(^{35}\) G. Coedès, *Indianized States of Southeast Asia*: Chapter II, 14-35


\(^{37}\) S.O. Robson, "Notes on the Cultural Background of the *kidung* literature" in Papers on Indonesian Languages and Literatures: 109-10

\(^{38}\) A Tamil epic relates the arrival of fleets of tall roomy "Tondi" ships in South India in the 2nd century AD that came from a place in Malaysia with spices, camphor, sandalwood, aloes, and silk. P. Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese*: 182 followed by more references to similar events in later periods.
and Persian traders to barter their goods for western Asian silks and Indian
cottons. However, these voyages went unrecorded. Neither Indian nor Arab
writings reveal much about export to Indonesia. Most of what is known
about the textile trade in Indonesia prior to the arrival of the Europeans is
from Chinese sources.\textsuperscript{39}

Although the Javanese were importers of cloth they also produced and
exported cloth. People mostly wore locally woven cloth, but at a festival or
ceremony they might show off the honor bestowed on them by the ruler who
had given them a foreign cloth.\textsuperscript{40} At the end of the 11th century it is said
that the Javanese wore "sarongs with gaudy patterns."\textsuperscript{41} Chau Ju-kua
referred to the foreign cloths imported from Java in Palembang, and in eight
places that were dependencies of Java. However, it was not clear if these
cloths included the sarongs with "gaudy patterns." It is therefore difficult to
judge if the patterned sarongs were locally produced or had been imported

\textsuperscript{39} M.C. Ricklefs, \textit{A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300} (1993): 3-5 Arabs or
Ta-shih lived in the 13th century and earlier in Southeast Asia. Persian and Arab
Muslim traders were often agents for big merchants in their homeland, but traded for
themselves between ports in China and Southeast Asia. Some were the traders for the
local royalty who sent them on tribute missions to the Chinese emperor. For example, a
Persian Gandhara, a brocade silk, was gifted to the emperor of China by the Indonesian
kingdom of Ho-lo-tan in the first tribute mission in 430 AD in O.W. Wolters,
\textit{Indonesian Commerce}: 138. G.R. Tibbitts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia" in
\textit{JMBRAS}, vol xxx, part 1: 42-43. A study of the Arabic Texts containing material on
South-East Asia, by G.R. Tibbitts did not reveal any trade in textiles.

\textsuperscript{40} K. Hall, \textit{Maritime Trade}: 102, 234, 238

\textsuperscript{41} F. Hirth, W.W. Rockhill translators and eds. Chau Ju-Kua, \textit{His Work on the
Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries}, entitled Chu-fan-
chi: 80, ft 5. Woodward believes that the Javanese produced patterned cloth in the 7th
century. In an analysis of cloth patterns on a trade textile depicted on the temple wall
at Sêwu, Java, from the 8th century, he explained the mutually influencing medailles
and circles with motifs of flowers, lions, animal motifs, etc. from China and western
Asia. From the same period during which "a network of trade in fabrics covered all of
Eurasia", similar textiles are also depicted on a 9th century Shiva Temple, in Java;
however, these were most likely of local manufacture he adds. H. Woodward, Jr., "A
Chinese Silk Depicted at Candi Sêwu" in Karl Hutterer ed. \textit{Economic Exchange and
Social Interaction in Southeast Asia}: 233, 241
for re-export.\textsuperscript{42} It is possible they were locally produced because a Chinese trader wrote in 1349 that Java produced fine cotton "chintz" (the word the translator used), sheets and fast-colored cotton prints. This could refer to the hipwrappers with gaudy patterns and therefore be a locally produced ikat or chintz. It is intriguing to speculate whether it may have been batik.\textsuperscript{43} These dyed or painted cottons were made in Pigirian and Chungkalo on Java and seemed also to have been exported to Karimata.\textsuperscript{44} In Chungkalo a muslin was woven, but cotton in different colors were also imported.

During the same period references were made to a staple cotton cloth that came from Java and was traded to the Maluku. Most entries refer to the so-called \textit{wulun} cotton; less often \textit{pa-ch'ieh-na-chien} cotton is mentioned. \textit{Wulun} in Javanese means feathery. This was almost certainly \textit{ikat} cloth. This \textit{wulun} cotton came from a dependency of Java, but it is not known where this was located.\textsuperscript{45} Whatever the attraction of the "Java" cotton textiles was, they definitely appeared to be popular because they were also listed as favorite trade cloths for a specific ethnic group on the Malay peninsula, and for trade in Ceram, Pahang, the Karimata Islands, Tanjung Pura, Aceh, Patani, Ceylon, Pondicheri, the Berbera coast (Somalia) and even in Mosul (north of Bagdad).

\textsuperscript{42} Hirth \& Rockhill, \textit{Chau Ju-kua}: 61, 80, 84. A sarung was worn from Vietnam to Sri Lanka and the most common cloth described by Chau Ju-kau for the whole of Southeast Asia. Chinese sources of the medieval period refer to the sarung with words such as \textit{man}, \textit{kan-man}, \textit{ju-man}, \textit{ho-man}, or \textit{man-pu} (p. 64, ftn.4).

\textsuperscript{43} W.W. Rockhill, "Relations and Trade" in \textit{TP}, II: 238, 250, 252

\textsuperscript{44} W.W. Rockhill, "Relations and Trade" in \textit{TP}, II: 250, ftn.1 explains that Pigirian, Pa-ch'ien-na-chien or Pacekan is possibly a village on the right bank of the Mas River which empties into Surabaya Bay, nine miles from the sea. Chungkalo, also known as Jung-ya-lu, or Javanese Panjalu has been taken as the area east of Tapan; B. Schrieke, \textit{Indonesian Sociological Studies}, vol 1: 24 where he points out that Jung-ya-lu is a thing of the past, and that Tuban had taken its place as the port of Majapahit.

\textsuperscript{45} To give a background to the textile trade prior to the arrival of the Europeans I have heavily relied on basically four sources. 1) Hirth \& Rockhill, \textit{Chau Ju-kua}; 2) P. Wheatley, \textit{Golden Khersonese}; 3) W.W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century" in \textit{TP}, vol. 15 and 16; 4) W.P. Groeneveldt, \textit{Historical Notes on Indonesia \& Malaya}. Among these four most of the references I make are from the \textit{Chau Ju-kua} and the \textit{TP} collection.
In Sukitan (central Java) damask and cotton gauze or damasked cotton gauze (translation uncertain), was produced for Maluku and possibly Sumbawa. 46

Silk was also produced locally. There are several references to enormous quantities of silk worms existing in the wild and being raised in Java. It seemed that silk was for home consumption because the export of silk textiles from Java was never mentioned. 47 However, an abundance of raw silk was exported from the northern coasts of Sumatra in the sixteenth century. 48 Silkworms and mulberry trees (the Javanese besaran) were also brought from Java to Sulawesi and Maluku. 49 In south Sulawesi silk was successfully cultivated, but the people in Maluku made no use of it. 50

Sumatra's northern pepper harbors and the Strait of Melaka started to take on special importance as a thoroughfare for foreign traders from the west and the east during the 15th century. Java played a crucial role in the success of Melaka. It provided Melaka with cereal and other foodstuff and dominated the supply of fine spices from eastern Indonesia. 51

46 Rockhill, "Notes Relations" in TP, vol. 16: 253 wherein he says that a cotton cloth called Ssi-k-tan was mentioned by Wang in his Tao i chih lio (1349) under Sumbawa

47 Hirth & Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua: 78; W.P. Groeneveldt, Historical Notes: 16, where it says that a thin silk and a yellow silk was woven. George Percy Badger ed., The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema: 234, 252

48 M. de Faria y Sousa, History and Discovery of India, vol. I: 242; G. Bouchon, "Premiers Voyages Portugais" in Archipel, vol. 18: 129. The raw silk which was produced in large quantities with all people involved in raising the silk worms, but in reeling the cocoons the silk thread was not sorted by quality. W.W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China . ." in TP, part II: 155; Kern, H. ed., Itinerario: 75. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, Asian Trade and European Influence: 350, fn.9 notes that "according to Giovanni da Empoli, the King of Pasai promised the Portuguese the total silk export of his country which, up till then, had been acquired by the Gujarati in exchange for cloth from Cambay and other merchandise to the value of 100,000 ducats." (approx. f 250,000)


51 L.Y. Andaya, The World of Maluku: 2; Anthony Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, vol 2: 10-2; Kenneth Hall, Maritime Trade: 212-3
Portuguese captured Melaka in 1511 and obtained the spices initially through the Javanese in Melaka or in Java. After 1514 they followed an alternative route to the Spice Islands, avoiding Java in favor of Borneo.

In 1567 the Ming Dynasty had lifted the ban on overseas trade. Large Chinese junks started to reappear, taking over the carrying trade from the Malay junks. The Gujarati merchants abandoned Melaka after 1511 and transferred their business to the northern coast of Sumatra in Aceh.52

The Iberians in the Asian Textile Trade

The Portuguese were the first to sail around the Cape of Good Hope and build a remarkable series of more than forty forts stretching from Sofala (1505), Mozambique (1507), Diu (1509), Goa (1510), Ormuz (1515), Melaka (1511), Maluku and Ambon (1522), Macao (1557) to Nagasaki. The three most important trading domains were Goa, Melaka, and Macao. Goa was the residency of the Viceroy and regulations were issued from there. Control was, therefore, strictest in the western Indian Ocean. The Portuguese had also attempted to occupy Aden to obtain a monopoly on the Red Sea corridor similar to the one they enjoyed on the Persian Gulf, but were unsuccessful. They wrecked their chances to trade in the China Sea in the 1520s and had to get access to Chinese products via Melaka, Siam, and Patani instead. It took the Portuguese more than twenty years to recover the trust of the Chinese before they were allowed to base themselves in Macao.

The Spaniards established themselves in Manila in 1571, sixty years after Melaka’s occupation by the Portuguese and fourteen years after the Portuguese settled in Macao. The main trading partners of the Spaniards were the Chinese. The Chinese, were attracted to the Spanish silver which was highly valued because China’s production was not enough to meet its

Souza pointed out the correlation that existed between the increasing silver bullion produced in Peru and Mexico and the export of exceptionally rich cargoes of silk in various forms. "The stream of silver that had found its way across the Pacific from 1571-9 in order to purchase Chinese silks from Chinese and Portuguese merchants was by the late 1590s a roaring river in flood". In 1600 China exported 12,000 pikul of raw silk and hundreds of thousands of pieces of textiles. Until 1602 an average of 5 million pesos or 12 million guilders of silver had annually been imported in Manila for which vast quantities of the best grade of raw silk, silk textiles, and cotton piece goods found their destination in the opposite direction. The Spaniards in Manila defended the expenditure of silver to China by pointing out that it came to a halt there. It did not leave China and did not end up in the hands of the enemies (other Europeans) as it did in Europe. Trade was flourishing in Manila and the citizens felt economically strong and rich.

The Portuguese dominated trade routes to the east and west in the Melaka Straits. Melaka's favorable geographical location contributed to its superiority as a trade center. The main problem of the Portuguese was to declare war on the Gujarati and other Muslim traders. They also lacked organizational and structural underpinnings to their commerce. Never had capital formation been significant enough for the Crown or the fidalgos to


54 G.B. Souza, Survival of Empire: 65

55 In an inquiry in 1591 into the extent of imported cloth consumed by the Filipinos, it was stated that 200,000 pieces of clothing were imported which were bought from the Chinese. Ramon Echevarria, Rediscovery in Southern Cebu, Appendix IV: 167-71

56 G.B. Souza, Survival of Empire: 46, 84. The 5 million pesos represented 1.5 million kilograms of silver. Souza, p. xvi gives a conversion rate of 1 peso = 2 guilders 10 stuivers. Between 1602 and 1636 the import of silver to China was halved. It was always considerably more than official documents revealed. Antonio Alvarez de Abreu "Commerce between the Philippines and Nueva España" in BRPI, vol 30: 51, 55

57 Antonio Alvarez de Abreu, "Commerce between the Philippines and Nueva España" in BRPI, vol 30: 57
operate independently of their strong Asian counterparts and their commerce had stayed inferior in quantity and technical quality to that of the Hindus.\textsuperscript{58}

In about 1515 Duarte Barbosa described all the trade goods available in Melaka among which he mentions the "great wholesale merchants of every kind, both Moors and Heathen, many of them from Coromandel, men of great estates and owning many great ships" bringing a "great store of silk, very fine raw silk . . . . Damasks, brocades, colored satins . . . . sewing silk in various colours" and they take away "Cambay cloths dyed in grain, saffron, . . . . printed and white cotton cloths which come from Bengala."\textsuperscript{59} He sums up the quality of Melaka by saying that "this city of Malaca is the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world".\textsuperscript{60}

During its heyday the Chinese, Gujarati, Arabs, Bengali, Peguans and Javanese ethnic communities resided in their own sections in the town. Among them the Javanese occupied a very high position as the suppliers of rice, chicken, meats of all sorts, and vegetables as well as the valuable spices. They took mainly textiles from Paleacat, Madiapur (suburb south of Madras), and Cambaya in return, supplemented by large quantities of yarn, raw silk, and grains for dyeing.\textsuperscript{61} White \textit{bafta, patolu} with figures and elephants, \textit{beiramee, cannekin}, and \textit{asmanis} which were all classified under Cambaya cloths, the popular \textit{pintados} of Paleacat, fancy goods from Masulipatnam, muslin from Bengal, and white and painted cotton from Golconda reached Java's north coast, and were taken from there to Madura, Timor, Banda, and the Maluku, etc. In c. 1515 the apothecary, Tomé Pires, provides numerous accounts of textiles being mentioned as import, transport or export articles in the Indonesian archipelago. The following passages from volume two of the

\textsuperscript{58} L.F. Thomaz, "Portuguese in the Archipelago": 41 M.N. Pearson, "India and the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century": 77-8

\textsuperscript{59} M.L. Dames, \textit{Duarte Barbosa}, vol 2: 172-3

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid: 175

\textsuperscript{61} M.L. Dames, \textit{Duarte Barbosa}, vol. II: 174-5
Suma Oriental illustrate this traffic in Sunda, Java, Makassar, the lesser Sunda islands, Maluku and Borneo.⁶²

Sunda (west Java) Merchants come to Melaka to sell, up to ten junkloads of rice a year, unlimited vegetables, countless meats, pigs, goats, sheep, cows in large quantities; it has wines; it has fruits; it is as plentiful as Java; and they often come from Sunda to Java to sell rice and foodstuffs, and two or three junks come from Malacca to Sunda every year for slaves, rice, and pepper, and pangajavas come from Sunda to Malacca every year with the said merchandise, and take the following back to Sunda: They buy white sinabaffs⁶³, both large and small, synhavas, pachauelzes, balachos, atabalachos (these are white cloths). They buy Kling cloths, enrolados of large and small ladrilho, which are then marketable and they buy much . . . They buy bretangis and clothes from Cambay, turias, tiricandies, caydes in quantities.⁶⁴

Java

has only heathen [merchandise]: infinite quantities of rice of four or five kinds, and very white, better than that anywhere else; it has oxen, cows, sheep, goats, buffaloes without number, pigs certainly - the whole island is full [of them] . . . For merchandise they have countless Javanese cloths, which they take to Malacca to sell.

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⁶² Armando Cortesão, translator, ed., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, vol 1: 136-227. Short explanations have been added in ( ) for which M.L. Dames ed., The Book of Duarte Barbosa, vol 1: 93, 95, 203; vol 2: 173-5 was consulted.

⁶³ A variety of spellings are known, but the Portuguese called it sinbafos, a fine muslin made since early times in Decca in Bengal. M.L. Dames, The Book of Duarte Barbosa, vol 2: 146, ftn. no number.

⁶⁴ A. Cortesão ed., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: 169, ftn 2. Cortesão explains that in Negapatanm the white cloths are produced called enrolados, which were thin like bofetas; further ballachos, colonias of two threads, a piece good apparently of silk or mixed silk and cotton; and many sorts of printed sarassa and tafessiras. (I interpret "sira" to refers to wax being used).

Cortesão interprets Enrolados de ladrilho to mean checkered enrolados. Sometimes ladrilho was given the meaning raw or coarse, he adds. Bretangis, Cortesão describes as a blue, black, or red cloth exported from Cambay. (I recognize it as the VOC trade cloth bafta which also only came in those colors and from Surat as the primary export port). Turias is thought to come from Arabic turuk and Persian undam, resp. "a kind" and "the body", a muslin which was according to a 1851 English language source earlier imported under the name terendam. Tiricamdis according to Cortesão may correspond to Tucamdya nylora, green and red cloths ornamented with painted birds; Caydes or candya azares, are thick cloths from Khorasans (Corçones), according to a source in 1525.
All Cambay cloth and whatsoever merchandise comes from there to Malacca, all are of value in Java; Kling enrolades of large and small ladrilho, taforio, topitis\textsuperscript{65} and other kinds of cloth from Bengal, sinabaffs of all kinds, bleached and unbleached and of all other kinds; so that note should be taken of the large number used by so great a people, and all these are supplied from Malacca, and they get some few by way of Pamchur- (Pansur, west Sumatra?) some, but really it is nothing.\textsuperscript{66}

\textbf{Makassar}

islands trade with Malacca and with Java and with Borneo and with Siam and with all the places between Pahang and Siam.\ldots They bring many foodstuffs: very white rice; they bring some gold. They take bretangis and cloths from Cambay and a little from Bengal and from the Klings

\textbf{Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa}

Each of them has many ports and many waters, many foodstuffs, many slaves, male and female\ldots They bring foodstuffs and cloths of their kind for merchandise, and many slaves and many horses which they take to Java to sell.

\textbf{Bima}

People who are going to Banda and the Moluccas call here, and they buy many cloths here, which sell well in Banda and the Moluccas.

\textbf{Timor}

They go to these island[s] every year from Malacca and from Java, and the sandalwood\ldots sells well in Malacca, because it is used in all the nations here, more especially among the heathen. They take sinabaffs there, panchavilezes, sinhauas, balachos, cotobalachos, which are white cloths, coarse Cambay cloth, and [in return] for a little merchandise they load their junks with sandalwood.

\textbf{Banda}

The people of these islands\ldots are richer now than they used to be, because now they sell their mace better and for better prices. Formerly the Javanese and Malays used to sail (from Malacca) to these islands every year bringing a

\textsuperscript{65} Cortesao suggests that taforio stands for tafeira and topitis is a coarse cotton cloth from Ceylon, from Cingalese tupatti.

\textsuperscript{66} A. Cortesão ed., Suma Oriental: 180
little cloth, calling at Java. They sold there the most and best of their cloths for cashes and for other low-class things, and went from there to Sumbawa and to Bima, and they sold the merchandise they brought from Java in these two islands ... and in the islands they used to buy cloth that sold well in Banda ... and when the people of Banda had good cloth in their hands it was a great novelty to them, and they used to fix a price for the people of the country, and the captains of the junk were adored by the people. Now ... the people of Banda can obtain the rich cloth in great quantities and at small prices, always receiving favours ... and gifts and good companionship from the Portuguese. ... Sinabaffs of all kinds and every other kind of fine white cloth from Bengal; all the cloths from Bonuaquelim (Coromandel), to wit, enrolados of large, medium, and small ladrilho, topetins and cloth of all kinds from Gujarat. ... The chief merchandise for Banda is the Gujarat cloth, to wit, red and black bretangis, caçutos, white and black maindis, coraçones cloth, patolas, and after these cloth from Bengal and after Bengal from Bonuaquelin, from Gujarat, lamedares

**Ternate, [This]**

country is abundant in foodstuffs from the land, although many foodstuffs come to the Molucca kings from other islands ... The country produces cloves. A great deal of iron comes from outside, from the islands of Banggai ...; it has coarse native cloth.

Coarse cloth from Cambay is of value in the Moluccas; and for the finer sort, all the enrolado cloth from Bonuaquelim, with large, medium or small ladrilho, patolas, all the coarse and white cloth, as for instance, synhausas, balachos, panchavelizes, cotobalachos; but the principal merchandise is cloth from Cambay”

**Tanjung Pura**

It has a great deal of gold, and rice and other foodstuffs; it has many diamonds; it has junks, pangajavas; it has many inhabitants. Merchandise comes from Malacca: cloth that are of value in Java, chiefly red and black bretangis and cheap white cloth from Bengal.

**Laue**

It is a country with many foodstuffs ...; Kling cloth is of value.

**Madura**

The country produces many foodstuffs. They have many horses. They use large quantities of cloths in Madura, made in the island itself, and others that come from outside which they wear.
At first cloves, nutmeg, and mace were brought to Melaka. Portuguese traders also traded in Java, but after 1514 they followed an alternative route to the Spice Islands in Maluku, avoiding Java in favor of Borneo. On their return they made profits of 700 to 1,000 percent selling the fine spices in Melaka. They competed for the pepper, a food flavoring and health food for the Chinese, in Indonesian trading places. The Portuguese established protectorates over rulers in Flores, Ambon, Banda, Timor and Ceylon and kept a small occupation in these places. The inter-Asiatic trade of the Portuguese surpassed the trade to Portugal. More than half of the total profits of the inter-Asiatic trade was made from the trade in the Southeast Asian archipelago.

Each year the Captain of Melaka sent eight or nine ships to the Coromandel coast to buy cloths for the spice trade. Only one of the ships was for the Crown, the others were for private entrepreneurs. It is impossible to know the quantities of textiles being traded before 1600, but a reasonable estimate can be attempted. In northern Coromandel alone textiles were exported with a value of 260,000 cruzados in around 1600. The average value of the textiles was estimated by Reid at 460,000 cruzados in 1515. Reid arrives at this figure by taking an average from the account of


68 B. Watson-Andaya, To Live as Brothers: 43-44


70 Ibid: 122-4. Thomaz shows that the profit in the archipel was 54%, in China 26% and in the Gulf of Bengal 20%

71 J.J. Brennig, The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel: 8; Meilink-Roelofsz, Asian Trade: 67 informs us that the ships from Paleacat consisted entirely of cloth in thirty different varieties, some of which were very expensive.

72 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, vol 2: 27-8
Tomé Pires. Assessing the import of textiles to Southeast Asia around 1600, Reid argues that Gujarat exports of cloth to Southeast Asia "roughly doubled"; he also concludes that Coromandel exports to Southeast Asia appear to have grown dramatically. Taking a conservative estimate, it can be reasoned that at the beginning of the 17th century when the Dutch entered the competition for the Indian trade cloths, the import to the archipelago would have reached at least a value of 900,000 cruzados in the Singapore Straits or approximately 550,000 cruzados buying price in India. Brennig found that the price of one yard of cloth in Coromandel early in the 17th century was roughly 0.05 cruzados which translated into a transfer of 11,000,000 yards or 10,120,000 meters of cloths being imported in the archipelago annually. An average length of a piece of Indian cloth was estimated at 11.50 meters (see Chapter 7). It can be concluded that, early in the 1600s at least 880,000 pieces of textiles had passed through the Singapore Straits annually. In addition to that, Siam imported large quantities of Indian textiles that were transported via the Isthmus of Khra after the Portuguese capture of Melaka; Sumatra also accepted vast quantities of Indian trade textiles via its northern (Aceh) and western ports (Barus, Tiku, Pariaman) where 174,000 pieces were estimated to have been imported in 1608; the Chinese continued to bring silks to the archipelago; the southeast Asian women never ceased weaving. Taken together, these facts indicate a considerable, or rather an immense consumption of cloth by the people in Southeast Asia. This demand was by no means clear to the first Dutch merchants when they arrived in the archipelago.

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73 J.J. Brennig, The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel: 8

74 Moreland gives as an average size of a cloth 17.83 square meters, but that was based on cloths going to Europe which were generally longer pieces than those destined for the archipelago. My conclusion on the average size of an Indian cloth be explained further in Chapter Four. W.H. Moreland, "Indian exports of cotton goods in the seventeenth century" in Indian Journal of Economics: vol V, III: 229, 233-5

Little Did They Know

After a voyage of more than fourteen months the first Dutch fleet arrived in Banten on June 23, 1596. Aboard the ships were one hundred thousand guilders worth in reals-of-eight and reals-of-four for the purchase of spices. The remainder of the cargo consisted of European trade goods such as Dutch laken in different colors, linen, says, woollen manufactures, blankets, scissors, etc. The Dutch went ashore in Java because it was a suitable place to trade for pepper and spices, away from the Portuguese strongholds in Melaka and western India.

The shipowners of Amsterdam appear to have been keen to inform themselves prior to their new venture in the east. The commander, Cornelis de Houtman, and officers of the fleet were guided in the enterprise by a copy of Linschoten’s Itinerario and a collection of documents which Warnsinck appropriately designated "The Scientific Preparation of the Navigation to East India." This little known collection consists mainly of a memorandum and maps by Plancius, a scientific essay about the sphere, and three descriptive reports concerning places to trade, including the products that

76 "Instructie ende memorie voor (Cornelis Houtman)" in de Jonge, De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie, 1595-1610, vol. 1: 222-26. Taking into account the knowledge that was collected for the enterprise, as is demonstrated in Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s Itinerario, Voyage ofte schipvaert von [author] naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592, and in J.C.M. Warnsinck, De Wetenschappelijke Voorbereiding van onze Eerste Schipvaart naar Oost-Indië, and comparing this instruction to those given by the Directorate for the management of the VOC in Indonesia a few years later, the instructions prepared for Houtman appear relatively vague.


78 According to Cornelis de Houtman’s declaration in the Berg Family manuscript: fol. 8, "The Portuguese have lost their trade in Sunda because of a treacherous plot."
could be found in each of them. The documents collected in the "Scientific Preparation" were found in part of the legacy of the major of Amsterdam, Johannes Hudde, whose grandfather was one of the investors of the first fleet. But the information provided in the collection does not convey the complexity of trade goods in circulation, nor the existence of the maritime linkages that connected the different markets. Textiles are barely mentioned in this "Scientific Preparation". Only one sentence in the Itinerario gave away the essential exchange that took place in the spice trade: "The wares that are there desired and exchanged for spices, are divers sorts and colours of Cotton Linnen, which come out of severall Provinces; [Cambaya.

Manuscript in het bezit van de Familie Berg, "Korte verklaring van Cornelis de Houtman betreffende de landen van Oost-Indië en andere stukken" (1594) 208 folios. One of the descriptive accounts was by Willem Lodewycks. I could not discover among the documents who the author was of the third account. J.C.M. Warnsinck was given access to this collection of papers in 1936 and based a lecture on it entitled "De Wetenschappelijke Voorbereiding van onze Eerste Schipvaart naar Oost-Indië." The 16th century handwritten manuscript collection was found in the estate of Johannes Hudde who had been mayor of Amsterdam and whose grandfather Hendrick Hudde Arentsz was one of the shipowners of the first fleet. I obtained a film copy of the manuscript collection from the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague. Amongst the papers was the report by Comelis de Houtman, who had lived in Lisbon in order to obtain information in preparation for the first fleet. The reference to the publication Itinerario voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579-1592 was known as "Reysgeschrift" before the first fleet left and served as a guide. Linschoten had accumulated this information during his stay in India.

"Korte verklaring van Cornelis de Houtman," fol.4-14. This is followed by a report from Willem Lodewick, fol. 16-51, who mentions that "lywaeten" are available in Cambay; that much Indian cotton can be loaded in the ships in the Maldive Islands; that Bengal has much cotton cloth and silk and as a last thought scribbled down a few types of textiles at the bottom of the page: lalus, beyrams, namnoesisan, clauter, doazo, zynahaf ... and cotton thread, while somewhere in the 5,000 islands west of Maluku it is good to barter white cloth and cloth of many colors. Fol. 60 mentions that a cotton men's shirt costs 5 stuivers in Bengal. Fol. 137 - 157 is a similar listing of islands and trade by an anonymous author, but again no trade in textiles is mentioned in Sulawesi, Ternate, Tidore, Makian, Bacan, Banda Islands, Ambon, Borneo, Timor, Java, Ball, or Sumatra. Only among the variety of trade goods in Melaka are silks and cotton listed, and in Luzon some European and Chinese types of cloths are found. Altogether the document is a very disappointing start for an inquiry into the textile trade by the Dutch.
Choramandel and Bengal). Yet the significance of this information appears to have escaped the Dutch merchants.

Instructions to the commanders of the ships that left prior to the formation of the VOC in 1602 did not indicate that they should attempt to sail to the Indian provinces of Cambay (Surat), Coromandel and Bengal to obtain the cottons before sailing to the Spice Islands. The first Dutch traders were obliged to exchange their coins with the Chinese and Javanese for rice, local cloth and imported textiles from India before they could barter for nutmeg, mace or cloves. The Bandanese and especially the Ambonese did not want to accept the reals-of-eight, much less the Dutch textiles in the cargo listed above. Trying to sell Dutch textiles in Indonesia turned out to be an unprofitable business.

Before sailing out to the east Cornelis de Houtman had spent some

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81 J.W. IJzerman & G.P. Rouffaer eds., Eerste Schipvaart Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597, vol 2: 112. An abbreviated quotation that omits the text in square brackets did not include the part in [ ] was copied from an English translation of the original by H. Kern, Itinerario, vol 1: 78-9, to which Rouffaer and IJzerman authors of Eerste Schipvaart referred on page 111, fn 1. I added the part in [ ] to complete the quotation as it exists in the Dutch original and underlined the identified three textile production areas, that were recognized at the time of the Eerste Schipvaart and continued to be the main export regions during the period of the VOC.

82 J.K.J. de Jonge Opkomst, vol 2: 378, a "Brief van Wybrandt van Warwyck, geschreven den 20 January 1600, in't schip Amsterdam, voor Bantam"; Ibid: vol 2: 448-54, a "Memorie, door Jacob van Heemskerck opgesteld over de wijze waarop, naar zijne bevinding op de kustplaatsen van Java en in de Molukken, den handel moet gedreven worden"; Commelin, Isaac Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vol 3, No 12: 79 and No 13: 74-5; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofz, Asian Trade: 94 who states "Spices lay at the very centre of their existence because only through them could they obtain food and clothing."

83 The coins did not resemble exactly the Spanish reals. In 1600 the Dutch had minted the reals-of-eight themselves. K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740: 51; F.S. Gaastra, "De VOC in Azië" in Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, vol 7: 211 The copying had infuriated the Portuguese who maliciously spread rumors that they were counterfeit coins by which they successfully created trouble for the Dutch. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 2: 323, 435-6, 503; A.K. Dasgupta, "Acheh in Indonesian Trade and Politics, 1600-1641", 68; P.A. Tiele "Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel", part 6 in BKJ, vol 30: 185

84 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 2: 467, a letter from Banda by Adriaen van Veen to his Vice-Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck in Amsterdam, dd. Sept. 15, 1600
time in Lisbon with the Portuguese to collect information. His report indicated the cloth bartered with the Portuguese in Melaka, but it did not mention that these cloths were predominantly Indian textiles, nor did it mention that these cloths were also traded to Java, Sumatra, Ambon, Banda, and the lesser Sunda Islands for pepper and spice. De Houtman concluded his report with a list of more than sixty products which the inhabitants of Maluku desired. Amongst them were some cloth items: predominantly European types; one mention of cotton cloth from Bengal and some coarse cloths from the Coromandel coast. What de Houtman had omitted to find out in Lisbon, or what he was not told by the Portuguese, were prices and quantities in which the trade items were traded. This would have helped the shipowners to understand more about the proportional relationships between the trade goods and the importance of one item over another in different ports. As it stood, the trade pattern in cloth, and the proportion in which cloth was traded compared to other trade goods, was not at all clear.

Were the Portuguese so successful in keeping secret their eastern exploits? They tried. For instance, they intentionally put trading places in the wrong location on a map.85 A Malay trader informed the Dutch factor in Banda about the camphor, diamonds and lapis bezoar trade in Borneo. The factor who tried to find out more about it from the Portuguese remarked later, "the Portuguese trade there very secretly because I have often asked them about it, but they fool me so that I will not know about something they want [for themselves]."86 Only when the Dutch reached the Spice Islands in 1599 and stationed their factors there who sent reports back to the Netherlands, did the shipowners learn from the written memoirs about the commercial value and preference for cloth there.

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85 B. Watson-Andaya, To live as Brothers: 47
86 G.P. Rouffaer and H.H. Juynboll, De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch Indië en haar Geschiedenis, Bijlage III: XVIII, "dese handlinge geschiet by de portugesen seer bedeectelyc want ic hebbe haerluiden daer dicwils naer gevraech maer hebben my diets gemaect tgene zy begeerden ic daer van weten soude."
Dutch Discovery

With the return of the first fleet Dutch merchants learned little more about the role of textiles in Asian trade. Crew members like Lodewijcksz and Frank van der Does had returned with journals that somewhat helped expand the limited knowledge about trade from firsthand accounts, but this was localized to Java and Bali.

Lodewijcksz, for example, pointed out the weaving of canjorins or kain lurik, mainly striped cloth in the town of Panarukan (Java) and the exchange of cotton cloths woven in Passaruan for Chinese wares in Banten. Traders brought salt from Java to different regions in Sumatra and returned with raw cotton for processing in Java. The Balinese also imported cotton from the surrounding islands, especially from Sumbawa where much cotton was grown. Java and Bali also produced cotton, but not enough to satisfy the demand.87

The coastal Javanese wore woven clothing, but many farmers and slaves were said to be wearing barkcloth. In Java and Bali practically every agricultural household had weaving equipment with women spinning thread or weaving to earn a living for themselves and their family. The larger export of woven cloths came from Bali and less from west Sumbawa and Java. In the quotation at the beginning of the Introduction Frank van der Does expressed surprise at seeing the quality and colors the Balinese cloths which they sold mainly to Javanese traders.88

The kain bali was a rather cheap cloth of undecorated white, red or black. Bali-maduras or just maduras cloths were well known undecorated white cloths sold in pairs. They were sewn selvedge to selvedge forming an oblong of 2.55 x 1.06 (double width) meters which is how they were worn in the cara melayu or Malay fashion. This costume is known in Java as the kain

87 G.P. Rouffaer & J.W. Ijzerman eds. De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597: 100-1,119,128-9, 189, 199
88 "Joumaal gehouden op het schip Hollandia, door den adelborst Frank van der Does, 2 April, 1595 - 13 Junij, 1597" in de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 2: 363
The Balinese in Prantjak along the Loloan River wove bright multicolored cloths for export. These were traded to Ceram, Banda, and Java. Traders sailing east or west stopped in Bali to buy cloths. They were bartered for victuals and spices in Maluku, Ambon, Banda, Timor, Solor, Makassar, Banten and Sumatra.

Wider inter-Asiatic trade was barely mentioned in these early reports because of the limited geographic areas that were covered. The importance of the Indian imported textiles is not obvious from the journals. Altogether, the benefits from the first fleet had been disappointing, except for the confidence that was gained in the feasibility of a voyage to the east.

The second fleet of eight ships was from the perspective of the shareholders a great financial success. Within fifteen months four ships returned from Banten loaded with 852,300 pounds of pepper and spices. The remaining four ships sailed via Jakarta, Tuban, Jurtan and Grisek to Maluku, the source of the spices, the main objective of the Dutch investors. Some journals of the crew of the second voyage confirmed the active international trade described earlier. There was prosperity from trade in many islands in Indonesia.

One may assume that matters which do not impress the traveller are not written about. Thus, what was expressed in the journals would seem to be items that surprised, interested or were seen as valuable to know for the future. For this study the observations that were made concerning textiles and the trade in them are most valuable.

First of all, the international character and size of the trade conducted along the shore of Java, especially in Banten, was considered noteworthy.

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89 G.P. Rouffaer & J.W. IJzerman eds. De Eerste Schipvaart: 189, ftn 2

90 The journal of a crew member of the first fleet, Aernoudt Lintgensz, about Bali did not touch on trade. P.A. Leupe ed., "Bali 1597" in BKI, vol 5: 203-34

91 "Brief van Wybrandt van Warwyck" Jan 20, 1600 in J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 2: 398 The Dutch of the first fleet noted the trade conducted by many Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Gujarati and others. Eight years later, in a journal of 1603, traders from Turkey, Malabar, Bengal, Coromandel, Pegu, Malaysia, Ternate, and Banda are still in Banten's market. "Dagboek gehouden door Hendrick Jansz. Craen" in Ibid, vol 3: 181
Asian rulers and dignitaries made use of and showed an interest in laken that they must have obtained in trade from the Portuguese. The laken was popular for covering couches and beds. Chinese or gilded pillows often decorated the seats. Especially rich red colored laken was popular; it came from Leiden in the Netherlands which had a reputation in Europe for its laken industry. On one occasion a ruler was sitting on a rug which the Dutch learned was referred to by the Portuguese name, alcatifa. Such rugs were later to become one of the trade items of the VOC.

In Tuban and Jurtan (10 miles east of Tuban) the Dutch were advised to stay and wait for the 40 to 60 junks that would arrive in a few months from Maluku with the spices. Gresik and Jurtan were the staple places for spices. The Portuguese waited there too for the return of the Javanese junks. They had sent out cotton cloths and other types of textiles to these traders in expectation of the cloves, nutmeg and mace that the Javanese would return with.

In appreciation of the visits by the Dutchmen, the King of Tuban sent some gifts for them to bring back with a Portuguese renegade who had been the mediator and interpreter between the Dutch and local dignitaries:

A very beautiful keris with a golden handle and sheath . . and two beautiful lances as a present for His Princely Excellency, Count Maurits [in the Netherlands], in addition to a quantity of cloves to pay off 150 reals-of-eight for which he had stayed privately indebted to the Admiral, and some other Javanese cloths to buy something else with.93

The pieces of Javanese cloths with the remark "to buy something else with" indicated a market value attached to the gift of cloth, which was

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92 Ibid, vol 2: 401, 406, 412, 419. The ransom for the Dutch prisoners, taken in revenge by the Madurese, was 2,000 reals-of-eight which the ruler wanted in velvet (from Utrecht in the Netherlands) and laken manufactures.(p.416). Alcatifas were not always carpet like, but in the 17th and 18th century also came as a chintz, a dyed painted or printed piece of cotton cloth the size of a rug with imitated muslim patterns.

worthy of barter. A textile was a commodity like a piece of wood to build a boat, a quantity of pepper, or a knife, or a piece of iron. The prices of commodities boiled down to the value the trade items were given by the two parties bartering. Thus haggling, to get more value from the other than you offered and seeing how far the difference could be stretched, was an important component in exchanges. However, there was a clear division to what items could be paid for with cloth and which goods needed to be paid with cash, the local copper currency. In order to buy spices, rice, victuals or other small items in Java the Dutch had to exchange reals-of-eight: one silver piece for 9,000 caixies (cash) at a certain moment. The rate of exchange could vary considerably, depending on the demand and supply ratio of the major trade good in a port, and on what time it was in the trading season: the beginning or the end of it.94 There were female money changers in the market who readily changed many types of currencies, caixies or picis being the most common in Java. They came in strings of one thousand. The Dutch were always very alert in watching the rate of exchange, and constantly used the most advantageous currency rates in the places they traded.95

Although Frank van der Does had reported the multitude of cloths for sale in Bali and was an officer in the second fleet again, none of the four ships in this fleet stopped there to buy some. They were still not fully aware that textiles could give them advantages in the exchange for spices. The Dutch sailed straight to Hitu on Ambon, where the Captain Hitu, appointed

94 "Memorie voor Adriaan Schaeck ofte de gheene die benefens hem, in de handelinghe tot Grisse ghebleven syn" in J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst: vol 2: 520

95 Caixies or picis were the Chinese copper and lead coins, used until well into the VOC time. Korte verklaring van Cornelis de Houtman et al, fol. 8, 12, 143-44, 153 gives descriptions of the coins in different parts of the islands. Further see L. Blussé, "Trojan Horse of Lead: The picis in early 17th Century Java": 36-41 in his Strange Company publication. Rates of exchange for coinages and bullion fluctuated and varied tremendously from place to place and from year to year. The value of the copper and silver coins was constantly falling during the 16th century as a result of the debasement of the alloys. Stalpaert van der Wiele advised in 1600 in Banda to use gold to buy sago because silver was not as profitable. During the same year the values in Makassar were the opposite: one would buy with silver, not with gold, because the rate for gold was comparatively lower than for silver.
there by the Sultan of Ternate, advised them to continue to Ternate because there were not enough cloves in Hitu to fill up a ship.\textsuperscript{96} Thus, two ships under Admiral van Warwijck headed towards Ternate while the other two ships under Vice-Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck turned to Banda. Admiral Warwijck bought some cloves in Ternate, left a factor, Frank van der Does, and some men behind to receive the cloves that were commissioned, and returned to Banten and then to Europe.

In the meantime Heemskerck arrived in Ortatan on the island Lontor (Banda group). He encountered difficulties in his negotiations concerning the \textit{ruba-ruba} (harbor tax-gift to authorities on arrival in a port) that was demanded. An Arab mediator helped him to solve the problems and get the best deal in cutting costs for anchorage, a house, and taxes or charges. When the negotiations were settled, the \textit{sjahbandar} (harbormaster) asked for a written agreement from the Dutch.\textsuperscript{97}

Collecting the spices was another struggle, as was weighing and paying for them. The Bandanese were circumspect about the silver reals and the coins had to be publicly tested. Subsequently, the local weight was found six ounces (to the \textit{kati}, one assumes) too light. Again a mediator was called upon. He explained that the weight was old and thus might have become lighter through handling it.

The Dutch had only European trade goods and silver. The exchange rates offered by the other foreign traders was very disadvantageous, which made the bulk buying of nutmeg and mace too costly. To buy retail had proven to be much cheaper, but would take a longer time, therefore "to leave a part of the crew with trade goods from the ship in order to set these out and to learn the customs of the place and the people, including the language"

\textsuperscript{96} The Sultan of Ternate solicited the help of other European foreigners to fight the Portuguese whom he wanted removed from his territory. The English explorer Drake had promised to come back to help him do that, but Admiral Warwijck had to inform the Sultan that Drake had died. It was hoped that the Dutch would be helpful now. "Journaal gehouden door den Vice-admiraal Jacob van Heemskerck, 1598-1600" in J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 2: 421"

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid vol 2: 427-8
seemed the best alternative. For this purpose a house was built on the island of Neira where Augustyn Stalpaert van der Wiele was stationed with eight men and another house in the village of Lontor (west of Ortatan) with Adriaan Veen and seven men.

The groups achieved their goal. A memoir by Augustyn Stalpaert attests to the knowledge that was gained during three years from 1599 to 1602. Stalpaert’s manuscript was the first and best illustration of the textile trade discovery for the Dutch. He paints the whole trade pattern from the Bandanese point of view. He related the trade in nutmeg because he was stationed in Banda, but one could translate the types of textiles and their price in terms of rice if in Java; or cloves if one was stationed in Ternate or Ambon, camphor in Baros, pepper in Banjarmasin, etc. Each place had its own specialties and “prices” were expressed in the principal trade medium.

What made Stalpaert’s memoir the best expose, much more useful than the papers of the “Scientific Preparation,” was the connection it made between the products available in one place, and where, how, in what quantity and for how much they could sell in another place. He also indicated the manner of payment, the buying price, the trading season differences in a price, the equivalent value in a barter situation, and the most advantageous methods of trading. The document was a revelation for the directors of the Company when it reached the Netherlands some time between 1601 and 1602. There is no doubt about the date because the memoir was given to Admiraal Steven van der Hagen when he left the Netherlands for the east in December of 1603.

Stalpaert’s manuscript was first published in 1865 by J.K.J. de Jonge. It appears that the editor de Jonge was not interested in textiles or the business side of the Company. He obviously thought the details, especially on textiles,

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98 Ibid, vol 2: 434
99 Ibid vol 2: 209
100 H. Terpstra, "De Vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel", PhD dissertation University of Groningen: 29; J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 3: 146
insignificant and omitted them from the manuscript publication.\textsuperscript{101} The manuscript did not, however, escape the microscopic research of G.P. Rouffaer who published it as an appendix, word for word, adding copious notes, in his well known publication concerning the art of \textit{batik} in Indonesia.\textsuperscript{102}

The data from this manuscript concerning the trade in textiles is summarized and shown in Table 1 at the end of this Chapter. Stalpaert writes in a way that shows he took his assignment seriously. There are copious notes of the lowest and the highest buying price for one \textit{corge} (20 pieces) of each type of textile and where they were produced. The majority of textiles were exported from the Coromandel coast (21 types and varieties), six from Bengal and eight from Dabul (Surat), all in India. In addition four types are listed as coming from Patani. Those were cloths that had been transferred from ships coming from India and China. Among the Patani textiles, the \textit{pautgypau} (shot silk) and \textit{sutra tulucky} (damask) were Chinese silks, the \textit{chiautar} (here silk) and \textit{patta} (half silk, half cotton) came from India. Stalpaert also listed several Indonesian islands known for their export of cotton \textit{kains} (a rectangular piece of cloth, see Appendix A) that were exchanged in Banda.

Most textiles were made totally from cotton, some from cotton mixed

\textsuperscript{101} J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 3: 149-63; ftn. 1, p. 149. De Jonge states that, "we do not communicate this information as a whole because the author, for example, enters into details about the textiles which indeed attests to his knowledge about commodities but is of less importance at present."

\textsuperscript{102} G.P. Rouffaer and H.H. Juynboll, \textit{De Batikkunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar Geschiedenis}, Bijlage III "Informatie van Diverse landen & Eylanden gelegen naer Oostindien om aldaer bequamelick te handelen ende wat coopmanschap daer valt, etc." The original is found in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, the Netherlands.

While Stalpaert van der Wiele resided in Banda he was visited by the crew of two ships of the same "Old Company" from mid-May to September 18, 1600. He helped load the ships with the nutmeg he had collected, but he stayed behind. J. Commelin, \textit{Begin ende Voortgangh}, no 8, "Historisch Verhael van de Voyagie . . . Steven vander Hagen": 11-2. Stalpaert stayed as a merchant in Banda for almost three years until he was given permission to return in the fleet of Admiral Wolffert Harmansen, in a letter in J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 2: 529. He loaded two more ships in 1602 with nutmeg and mace before leaving. Ibid vol 2: 534; J. Commelin, \textit{Begin ende Voortgangh}, No 9, "Journael . . . Wolfhart Harmansen": 22
with silk or other fibers, a few completely from silk. Stalpaert also presents characteristics of the cloth in the features of design, color and size. It is lamentable that the drawings of the designs and patterns that accompanied the document have gone astray. Many of the textiles were again exported to places outside Banda, to Ceram, Aru, and Ambon. For instance, bafta, patta, salalu, telpocan and an Indonesian cloth named toneti, woven in Buton island were all in demand in Ceram, while karikam was one of the most popular cloths in Ambon in 1600. Besides the particulars about the textiles, Stalpaert states the possible quantity for each type of textile that could be sold annually. Each textile had its value expressed in a kati weight of 2.7 kilograms of nutmeg. The value changed depending on the time of sale in the trading season. This seasonal high and low are indicated in Table 1, below, see the two columns "Price" and "Kati".

Stalpaert suggested that in Banda alone approximately 70,000 pieces of textiles could be sold per trading season, of which roughly 85% were Indian cloths and 15% Sunda islands’ cloths. These estimates might seem high, but that is due to the extensive commercial linkages of the Bandanese with islands such as Ceram, Buru, Kai and Aru to which they exported predominantly metals and cloth in exchange for sago, coconuts, beans, peas, parrots and slaves. Sometimes the Ambon and Ternate islands were partly served by the textile import of Banda. The quantities of textiles needed for the trade which Stalpaert listed were only a fraction of the entire import and consumption of cloth in Maluku because in 1600 the Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and some Arabs were still active traders in the region and the Dutch one amongst them.

50% of the Indian varieties of textiles came from the Coromandel coast, 30% from Surat, and 20% from Bengal. Comparing the differences in profits derived from the textiles that came from India, Patani, and the lesser Sundas, it is clear that the highest profit was made on the Patani textiles, namely, 274%; on the textiles from India, 153%; and on the local textiles 75% (see

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103 W. A. Hanna, Indonesian Banda, Colonialism and its aftermath in the nutmeg islands: 66-7; J. P. Rouffaer, Batikkunst, Bijlage III: XII - XII, XVIII - XX
Table 2 at the end of this Chapter).\textsuperscript{104}

The mark-up of the Patani textiles was considerably higher than for textiles from the coasts of India or Nusa Tenggara. Patani functioned only as a transit port.\textsuperscript{105} It is to be expected that the Lesser Sundas textiles had the lowest markup. Distance was short and costs minimal.

Had the Dutch learned something from the second fleet? Yes, but only after the important memoir of Stalpaert van der Wiele, a crew member of the second fleet, reached the Netherlands.

The fleets were sent out from different trade centers in the Netherlands. There was no unified command then. The first, second and fifth fleet had been sent from Amsterdam, but the third and fourth from Zeeland. The fifth fleet, from Amsterdam, left before the final results of the second fleet were known. The officers of the fifth fleet passed by Banten, bought some porcelain from the Chinese but no cloth, and sailed straight to Hitu (Ambon). Thirteen fleets were sent before the formation of the Dutch East India Company. The litany of fleets, routes and results is long, but there is no indication that shipowners gave directions to any of the fleet commanders to invest in textiles before reaching the spice islands. The new directions related to textiles were issued only after the memoir of Augustyn Stalpaert van der Wiele reached Amsterdam's big merchants.\textsuperscript{106}

This seemed to have happened in the fall of 1601 when the fifth fleet of Admiral Steven van der Hagen arrived. He had left Banten in January on his way back from Ambon and Banda where he had loaded cloves and nutmeg. The nutmeg were collected by the factor Stalpaert van der Wiele

\textsuperscript{104} VOC 11207 (1691): 6, one \textit{kati} Banda equals 2.71 kg. M.E. Opstall ed., De Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemisz Verhoeff naar Azië 1607-1612: 263, reported that 1 bahar of 271.7 kilograms nutmeg cost 9 reals. This contemporary information was used to transfer the barter price to a specie amount. The mean price of each textile was calculated before the mean of the column was taken. One real-of-eight was taken to be f 2.50 or one rixdollar.

\textsuperscript{105} H. Terpstra, De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani: 5

\textsuperscript{106} I reached this conclusion based mainly on the routes and information about the first explorations before the VOC has been established, notably J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst: vol 2: 187-282, 434 and the observations of H. Terpstra.
who must have given his very important memoir to Steven van der Hagen to carry home.

After reading Stalpaert's memoir, it became clear to the shipowners that in order to trade cloves and nutmeg profitably, one should come with merchandise that the people wanted. The instructions to the next fleet that sailed out in December, 1601, included the directive: "When the ships are quickly provided in Banten with victuals, necessities, also tradegoods useful in Maluku and Banda, they must sail to Tuban, Jurtan or Bali, one of the three in which one expects to receive one's convenience of rice, cotton cloths or other trade goods that are beneficial in the Molucos and Banda." Had the Dutch discovered that they had to substitute cloth and other goods for their coins and European goods? The importance of textiles for all trade activities in Indonesia, and by extension in Asia, is one of the most fundamental Dutch discoveries at the birth of the VOC.

When England's Royal Navy ship Mary Rose was shipwrecked in 1545, every sailor aboard owned a small bag of peppercorns "to mask the taste of rotten meat and stinking fish". The demand of Europeans for exotic items was for the greater part oriented towards food. In particular, the demand for pepper and fine spices had gained increasing popularity ever since the Crusades and was still on the rise in the early part of the 16th century, practically tripling in the second half. The increasing demand for spices in Europe motivated the Dutch to concentrate on bringing as many spices home as possible in order to reap great profits.

With the reports that had come to the Netherlands about the lucrative trade in Asia the Dutch merchants sensed another opportunity to make

\[\text{107} \text{ Ibid vol 2: 527 Emphasis added.}\]
\[\text{108} \text{ H. Hobhouse, Seeds of Change: five plants that transformed mankind: vii}\]
profits through the trade in Indian textiles. Textiles were familiar to them as trade items because the Netherlands was a main producer and exporter of linen textiles from Haarlem and woollen manufactures from Leiden to all other countries in Europe. Cutting out the middlemen in Indonesia and going to the producers of textiles seemed a reasonable step to realize extra profits. Indian textiles could be sold not only to the producers of spices, but to all the people in Asia. Cloth was a medium that could replace specie as currency practically everywhere in Asia except in India and China.

**TABLE 1**

Textiles Prices, and Sales in Banda

Around 1600

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ports of Export</th>
<th>Textile Names</th>
<th>Price per Corge* in Reals</th>
<th>Annual Projected Sales in Corges</th>
<th>Kati** Nutmeg per Piece</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DABUL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafts</td>
<td>15 - 25</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>40 - 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannikens</td>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30 - 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chavonis</td>
<td>4 - 6</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>12 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindais</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40 - 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karikams</td>
<td>7 - 10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecanis</td>
<td>30 - 35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40 - 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanis</td>
<td>3 - 4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.5 - 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turias</td>
<td>3 - 4</td>
<td>plenty</td>
<td>7.5 - 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALEACAT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelas</td>
<td>35 - 40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30 - 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragams</td>
<td>16 - 21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattas</td>
<td>13 - 16</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15 - 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarassa -Tapis</td>
<td>10 - 13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cara Malayu</td>
<td>40 - 70</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30 - 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gobars</td>
<td>70 - 80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50 -100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

110 I. Schöffer, H. van der Wee, J.A. Bornewasser, *De lage Landen van 1500 tot 1780*: 198-9

### NAGAPATNAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balaches</td>
<td>10-17</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>50-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo laya</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poleng(Jambes)</td>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salalus</td>
<td>4-8</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>8-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telepocan</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MASULIPATNAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cassiopes</td>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distars</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kain gobars</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kain mandils</td>
<td>7-15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kain mogos</td>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muris</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>4-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patta Malams</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salempores</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>20-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutars</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>20-40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BENGAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beirames</td>
<td>160-180</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casssa-kecil</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tanculos)-besar</td>
<td>35-40</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>40-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambuti</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattu pacoras</td>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12-33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PATANI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chiautars</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pautgypau</td>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutra Tulucky</td>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50-80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BALI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kain Bali</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kain Madura</td>
<td>6-15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5-20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SUMBAWA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kain Kori/Bima</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2.5-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LOMBOK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kains</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BUTON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Price/Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kain Toneti</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Selayar made)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### JOHOR & PAHANG

"where also many textiles can be bought which are patronized in Banda and the Moluccas, the types of which are described under..."
Patani."

* a corge = 20 pieces  ** a kati = 2.7 kilogrammes

### TABLE 2

**Profit Comparison Between India, Patani and Indonesia from the Average Price per Textile**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textiles of</th>
<th>Purchase Price</th>
<th>Selling Price</th>
<th>Gross Profit&lt;sup&gt;112&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>£ 3.15</td>
<td>£ 7.96</td>
<td>153%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patani</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>14.90</td>
<td>274%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Sundas</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>112</sup> The profit is in terms of the cost price
CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF CLOTH IN INDONESIA

Textiles as Commodity and Currency

Among the primary questions underlying this investigation is the issue of the consumption of cloths in Indonesia. Why was there such a great demand for Indian and other foreign textiles? Did they end up as clothing on the bodies of Indonesian men and women? Or were they accumulated as surplus in storeroom chests and on shelves to be used in other ways? The volume of textiles imported over two centuries from 1600 to the end of the 1700s was so great that not all could have been used as clothing. In Indonesia there was enough cloth woven locally that could have provided the quantities needed for daily wear. A piece of clothing, furthermore, lasted seven years, it was said.¹ The only alternative explanation for such high demand and consumption is to accept that cloth as a commoditized product was given a symbolic value to fuel different economic, social and cultural exchanges for which accumulation and surplus were necessary or desirable. In other words, cloth must be seen as a multivalent and polysemic product, operating both as commodity and currency, as having use-value and exchange-value in several areas of social interaction.²

Cloths as objects, together with the ideas and values people attached to them, were literally woven into the entire fabric of Indonesian society. Cloth was more than a covering for the lower and upper bodies (mostly lower) of men and women, more than a purely utilitarian, socially-neutral garment.³

¹ H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden, vol 7, Part 2: 969 "... go seven years in one cloth (gaen seven jaer in een cleeet)." Valentijn made similar remarks.


³ The term social-neutral was borrowed from J. Fox, Harvest of the Palm
more than an all-purpose fabric that was used as a curtain, as a cover for thrones and beds, as a wall decoration for Muslim houses, as a temple hanging, or as a marker for a ceremony in the balai (open sun-roofed structure for audiences and public meetings). Cloth functioned as a status symbol separating royalty and commoner, as an ethnic marker distinguishing one community from another, as a marker of regional affluence, for example differentiating between the wealthier lowlanders and coastal traders and the inland horticulturalists and mountain forest dwellers. More than that, cloth also figured in the dynamics of politics and economics, in that the accumulation of textiles was recognized as a measure of one's wealth, class, status, and power. People received wages in cloth, paid taxes in cloth, squared debts in cloth, protected themselves from enslavement or redeemed themselves from it in cloth, obtained brides with cloth, presented gifts to local and foreign dignitaries in cloth, rewarded accomplishments in cloth, rendered services for cloth, purchased food and valuables with cloth. Thus, the underlying consumption pattern pervading Indonesian communities everywhere was cloth-centered. Cloths functioned in a multitude of ways, which could be encapsulated under the headings of commodity and currency, cultural relations and meanings.4

The Dutch East India Company realized but did not control the multivalent function of cloth. It limited itself to prescribing a dress code for the people living in domains under its control. However, the Company sold Indian cloth without discrimination. Profits from the sales were the main motif for the Company's involvement in the Asian cloth trade.

Trading Cloths, Barter, and the Market Place in 1600

By 1600 Indonesia had reached the height of its "Age of Commerce". Many small and large trading towns skirted the numerous rivers, bays, and waterways that served as Indonesia's natural infrastructure. Aceh, Banten,

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the north-east coast of Java, Brunei, and Makassar offered port-town facilities to substantial populations. Many international traders took up their residence, permanently or seasonally, in the neighborhoods of such cities.

The economy of Indonesia in 1600 and for a long time afterward was based for a large part on a barter system. Money in the form of metal currencies had circulated for several centuries, mainly in urbanized areas of Java, in Aceh and began to emerge in growing towns like Makassar and in Maluku, but Indian cloth as well as Indonesian trade cloth still figured prominently in the barter exchanges for pepper and spices. A moderate amount of silent trade, when goods were exchanged without a word being spoken, also took place. It probably involved a small quantity of Indian and

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5 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, vol 2: 71-2 where tables show approximate populations in the 17th century rounded off to 1,000: for Brunei-16,000; and averages for Banten, 100,000; Makassar, 100,000; and Java's east coast (Surabaya, Tuban, Japara, Semarang) close to 200,000; Mataram, 150- to 200,000.

6 G.P. Rouffaer, and H. H. Juynboll De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar Geschiedenis: Bijlage III; In around 1680 in Minahassa the people cultivated a surplus of corn and rice in order to exchange them for imported items, for example, 15,000 corn cobs for one piece of blue salem pore in E.C. Godee Molsbergen, Geschiedenis van de Minahassa tot 1829: 56, 66, 67. Even today barter is still fairly common in many rural areas in the archipelago. A Rumanian primitive art dealer residing in Paris bartered in 1990 in Sulawesi a beautiful carving of a god for a pair of two-year-old oxen. C. Humphrey & Stephen Hugh-Jones eds., Barter, exchange and value: 1; Beginning February 1972 I lived for four months on a then peaceful hill farm along Makajalar Bay, in the village of Bobotogan a few kilometers east of Jasaan, Misamis Oriental in northern Mindanao. Going on my way for a daily swim in the sea, I was asked sometimes to take a few coconuts from the farm's produce down to the sari-sari store along the main road and bring back a box of matches. I observed that bananas, garlic, corn, and coconuts from the farm were bartered for daily needs like a refill of cooking oil in a little glass bottle, some salt, one or two eggs, a fish, etc. Only during the time of the large harvest when bagged produce such as garlic, corn, dried coconut, etc. was brought to the big town of Cagayan de Oro, was the barter replaced by a commodity for currency exchange. With the money large items like clothing, a petromax (kerosene pressure lamp), or large plastic containers were bought. Part of the harvest was exchanged for rice with relatives who dealt in it. The region was not a rice eating area; corn was prevalent and rice a luxury. Dozens of rural areas in which I subsequently lived in the Philippines and northern Borneo displayed the same barter pattern outside the towns.

7 B. Schrieke, The Effect of Western Influence: 240. Early this century Schrieke living in Indonesia wrote "in many places, money is still purely an article of consumption or, until a short time ago, was only a store of value and not a source of profit or a medium of exchange."
other foreign cloths. At least 15%, or one out of seven, cloths being exchanged were not Indian imports, but Indonesian trade cloths. For the supply of Banda alone the cloth production of the Sunda islands amounted to 10,000 pieces annually. At the time of Dutch contact there was an existing textile industry in Indonesia, in which local cotton growers, dyers and weavers produced, distributed, and consumed "cottage industry" trade cloths. From many islands in the archipelago, raw and spun cotton had been exported to other islands and China. Conversely, imported Chinese silk thread was used in the weaving of silk cloths in Ternate, on Borneo's east coast, on the Sulawesi south coast, and in Sumatra and Java. Several Indonesian textile types—Madura's fine white cotton cloth popular in Buru, the pairs of kain Bali with bright colors, the kain Taneti, bought in Buton but woven in Salayer, and kains from Lombok and Bima—had been carried eastward to the spice-producing islands for barter in the early 1600s. For Indonesian men and women, then, the barter trade, using cloth in exchange for other goods, was common. The Dutch, however, had

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8 Silent trade was known in Engano Island where coarse cloths were placed on the beach in exchange for coconuts. P.A. Leupe, "Beschrijvinge van de eylanden Banda, van de Molucse Eylanden en van de Westcru van Sumatra" in BKI, vol 3: 138; between the Punans and the Dajaks in Borneo. L.W.C. Gerlach, "Reis naar het Meergebied van den Kapoeas in Borneo's Westerafdeeling" BKI, vol 29: 304; in many places in the Maluku: Kei, Aru, Buru, Ceram and New Guinea coasts involving the Ternatans, Tidorese, Tobelo, and Galelarese. J.C. van Eerde "Onpersoonlijk ruilverkeer in den Indischen Archipel" in Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap etc., vol 1: 103-6


10 Roy W. Hamilton, "Local Textile Trading Systems in Indonesia: An Example From Flores Island" in Textiles in Trade: 197 describes the barter of a coastal weaving villager from Wolotopo in Flores to Pu'utuga, 7 kilometers inland, to sell handwoven sarongs which he thinks "are the last vestige of a system of barter that once regulated the exchange of agricultural surpluses from the interior for textiles produced on the coast." In the 1920s a woman's sarang was said to be traded for 10 sacks of unhulled rice, or 5 sacks of hulled rice, or 1,500 ears of corn. An oversized men's sarung dyed in indigo was the same price, but an ordinary men's sarung half the price. Hamilton debated the age of the barter system and one of his models includes the influence of the trade textiles from India on the settling of the mountain people along the coast to benefit from this import.
difficulties trading in a culture where the value of a spice commodity was set against the value of a cloth commodity. They were used to a money economy. Like international tourists today, they must have mentally converted the values of commodities into their own currency. The Dutch valuation of a local cloth was set at a rate computed in terms of familiar Dutch currency, rather than in the local barter custom, which may be called "cloth currency" in eastern Indonesia. The correspondence of Director-General Coen attested to the metal-money currency mind-set in the Dutch conduct of trade. Coen and other leading officials did not attempt to understand the ways in which the Indonesians traded by bartering. They also ignored trade that seemed unimportant in terms of profits.

Their unwillingness to operate under the conditions of the established Indonesian barter trade system contributed to the Company's overlooking and ignoring the trade cloths of local production centers in Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, Sumbawa, Buton and the role of Makassar as a port for stocking local cloth. The Company's harsh imposition of a spice monopoly affected the existing circulation of goods and services in the islands; ironically this policy contributed to the further growth of Makassar as an uncontrolled trade emporium until its rivalry with Batavia threatened the commerce of the Company, prompting the Dutch to take action in the years from 1667 to 1669.

The initial attraction of Makassar had been its surplus of rice and the cooperation and security which the ruling family offered the foreign communities there; even the mosque and the Catholic church had stood within close proximity of each other before 1600. Makassar, more than Banten, had become a major outlet for both Indonesian locally-imported spices and local trade cloths. Makassar had no immediate hinterland that supplied spices; but it grew an abundance of rice, also a highly desirable trade item in the barter for spices. In the early part of the 17th century Makassar and Ternate competed in the quest for spices to satisfy the demand of those Europeans and other foreigners operating outside Dutch control, who provided them with the luxury goods from abroad. A commercial advantage for Makassar, compared to distant Ternate, was its easier access to the
weaving centers of Salayer, Sumbawa, Flores, Bali and Madura.\textsuperscript{11}

Banten in west Java was in a different position. Banten's hinterland and tribute-paying domains grew pepper and also wove cloth, although the quality of the latter was not as high as that which supplied Makassar.\textsuperscript{12} The pepper for which there was a high demand was traded for foreign commodities, especially Indian cloths. These cloths were consumed in Banten and its hinterland. The surplus was used to barter for the finer spices, as Banten was also an outlet accommodating foreign traders, including the Dutch until 1619. Banten was on its way to becoming a flourishing town like Makassar. Its commerce had started to thrive after it became independent from Cirebon around 1568\textsuperscript{13} and profited from the closure of other non-Dutch outlets-Melaka (1641) and Makassar (1669).

The wealth of material culture described in Reid's first volume of *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680* is witness to the general prosperity in Southeast Asia around 1600. Dutch accounts from the beginning of the 17th century did not describe the Indonesians as poor people, nor did Spanish accounts report poverty-stricken Filipinos when they first arrived in the Visayan islands. On the contrary, they commented on the silk and cotton clothing worn, and gold jewelry, which the Indonesians and Filipinos valued much more highly than silver.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
  \bibitem{11} Rouffaer, G.P. and H. H. Juynboll De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indi\ë en haar Geschiedenis: xvii; Anthony Reid, "The Rise of Makassar" in Rima, no 17: 138; In the early 1600s Ternate raided enormous amounts of cloths, not slaves, from the people in Buton and places in the neighborhood, Flores, several places on the eastern shores of Sulawesi, Sula, and Banggai. The raid also yielded ten *prahu* to carry it all. The value and need for cloth in the barter for spices was eminent. Paramita Abdurachman, "Spinning a Tale of Yarn" in Garuda Magazine (1988?): 24
  \bibitem{12} John Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago: 181 writes "the cloths of Bali and Celebes, for fineness and durability, rank before those of Java or the western countries."
  \bibitem{13} B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies: 32
  \bibitem{14} Pedro Chirino, "Relation of the Philippine Islands" in Maura Garcia ed. Readings in Philippine Prehistory: 241 which states "people who, though not rich, were accustomed to wear cotton and silk garments, and gold pieces (not merely of thin plate) and brooches to fasten them; and rich necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, finger-rings, ankle-
Like large towns in present-day Indonesia, Aceh, Banten, Gresik, Tuban, Japara, Makassar and Ternate were population magnets attracting local village people who exchanged their produce for necessities and luxuries. For example, Dutch records painted Banten as a bustling trading port with markets in three separate sections of the town. Arabs, Turks, Chinese, Indians, Malays, Burmese, Javanese, Sumatrans, Borneans and other inhabitants of the archipelago came there to do business. Many street vendors with all types of textiles for sale walked near the entrance of a dead-end street where the onion and garlic market was located. In another street young Bengali girls sold small brass and other metal trinkets while in stalls opposite them men from Bengal praised their cloths for sale. In the same row next to them the married women from Bengal ran their textile stalls, where no men were allowed to enter. Just behind the brass trinkets stood the Chinese with a display of attractive silk and damask materials, velvets, satins, gold thread and gold cloth, sewing thread in many bright colors, porcelain and other gimcracks. As easily as merchandise flowed into the city, it dispersed again with the same fluidity to surrounding areas, outlying islands and trading ports overseas.

The Chinese traders had introduced copper and lead caxies or picis as currencies in Indonesian cities long before the Dutch arrived. Liquid assets changed value in unpredictable ways. They depended on the supply and demand in the trading season and differed from year to year and from place to place. The VOC was very alert and sensitive to the exchange rates for all the metal currencies in Asia where its merchants did transactions. So rings, on the neck, ear, hands, and feet—the men, as well as the women.”


16 The frequently changing rates of currencies are demonstrated in the more than fifty resolutions taken by the Council in Batavia before 1700 with regard to this important business. Realia, vol 1: 429-31 "Geld"; The minting, variety, and circulation of coins that were current in the places where the Company traded was overwhelming. Between 1700 and 1800, more than 100 resolutions were taken that regulated the affairs
were the Indian money changers who kept track of all major markets. It was a speciality of the Indian commercial cartels. What is abundantly clear is that cloth operated both as a commodity in the market and as a pervasive and flexible medium of exchange in all arenas of interaction—economic, social, cultural and political.

**The Uses of Cloth: Commodity Versus Currency**

To make a distinction between commodity and currency as applied to cloth might help answer a central question of why there was so much demand for Indian textiles in Indonesia, a demand that the Dutch undoubtedly encouraged and exploited to their economic advantage. The basic context of both "commodity" and "currency" (together with "barter" and "gift") encompasses the concepts of exchange, use and value. Marx elaborated on the notion of product and commodity by distinguishing use-value and exchange-value.\(^{17}\) Cloths, whether locally produced or imported, were traded as commodities, and were also doubtless consumed for their use-value as clothing on the body. Commodities "are placed in a context in which they have exchange value and can be alienated. The alienation of a thing [textile] is its dissociation from producers, former users, or prior context."\(^{18}\) As I hope to demonstrate in this chapter, local and imported cloth carried an exchange-value far beyond its ordinary use-value as clothing. Beyond its utilitarian role as clothing, cloth functioned principally as "currency" in so far as it facilitated, in the same manner as money, transactions of all sorts, secular as well as ceremonial. In other words, wherever cloth (rather than money, as happens in modern economies) functioned to facilitate transactions—such as the payment of salaries, taxes,

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\(^{17}\) Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value" in *The Social Life of Things*: 7-8

\(^{18}\) N. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*: 39
fines; the purchase of other commodities; or the buying or redemption of slaves etc.—cloth, in these contexts, was treated as currency rather than as commodity.

And just like money which can be accumulated to express wealth, consolidate status, or exercise power, cloth was accumulated for its potential in non-economic spheres of interaction, in other "regimes of value." Cloth was used to encourage social distinction, enhance relations, and communicate social meanings and values outside the cultural comprehension of most VOC administrators and employees. Central to the argument stands the demand for cloth as currency in a variety of contexts—as a medium of value expression, as a symbol of distinctiveness and status, as a carrier of values and meanings in gift exchanges, and as an embodiment of power and solidarity—in addition to its function as apparel. The many roles must be combined to provide an adequate explanation for the huge consumption of imported Indian textiles.

A second set of concepts helpful to the argument needs to be considered. Commodities have recently been re-examined by social historians and anthropologists who are concerned with advancing the comparative understanding of capitalist and precapitalist economies. One of the new ideas, introduced by Igor Kopytoff, is that commodities have life histories. Things can go in and out of what he calls "commodity status." Commodities have paths and trajectories from production to distribution and consumption. Commodities are also subject to diversion from their paths to take on novel meanings and functions that transcend their original intended trajectories. Cloths in Indonesia experienced a busy "social life." Cloth in the Indonesian cultural tradition, like cloth in India before and during the time of Gandhi, had and still has multiple and flexible social applications which may be reduced to three basic uses in social process: use in signifying status or

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19 Ibid: 15

20 Igor Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process" in Arjun Appadurai ed., The social life of things: 66
recording changes in status; magical or "transformative" use, in which the moral or physical being of the wearer is perceived to be changed by the innate qualities of the cloth or the spirit substance inherent in the cloth; and use as a pledge of future protection.\textsuperscript{21}

The paths and diversions of commodities are sensitive to political and cultural influences, as exemplified in Gandhi's use of homespun \textit{khadi} cloth to fight British power over India. The various uses and meanings attached to cloth, whether in India or Indonesia, "affected not only the social and economic position of donor and recipient, but also the status of the various artisans and service communities that encountered the commodity cloth as it passed from production into social use."\textsuperscript{22} This is another way of rephrasing the concept that cloth in Indonesia was and is multivalent and polysemic; cloth follows paths and diversions in its life-history, because it is subject to the pulls of economic, social, cultural, and political forces.

\textit{Cloth Used as Money}

Using the concept of cloth paths and diversions requires clarity regarding cloth as a commodity object and its value. The value of a cloth is not an inherent property of the cloth, but is a judgment made about it by a person or society. Whether a particular cloth is functioning as a commodity or a currency in a given transaction cannot be determined by the form or the appearance of the cloth itself, but only by the intention and judgment of those involved in the context of a given transaction. In several cases of transactions the imported textiles remained still wrapped in bundles, or neatly folded in a chief's "treasure house", far from being ready for immediate conversion into clothing or garments. Thus, presence or absence of physical alteration is not a reliable guide to judging a shift from a commodity to a currency path or

\textsuperscript{21} C.A. Bayly, "The origins of swadeshi (home industry): cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930" in Arjun Appadurai, \textit{The social life of things}: 287

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid: 286-7
vice versa.

However, there existed, for example, the Butonese custom of physically converting raw cloth into "cloth money," somewhat analogous to the minting of silver or gold bars into coins. The custom was to cut up cloth into small, recognizable patches to be used as a substitute for coins or shell-money, and such cloth money then circulated as a medium of exchange in marketplace transactions, much like money.

It should be noted that the use of "cloth money" as a currency in Buton is a special case because it involved alteration of cloth. In the majority of transactions, cloth remained in its original form, without alteration, when it circulated in a currency path. In other words, "cloth money" was only a special case of "cloth currency." Several interesting paths illustrate the use of "cloth money."

Small, almost square pieces of cloth measuring barely three fingers were used in the Muslim kingdom of Buton, southeast Sulawesi. Coen thought the cloth money pieces, *kampua*, peculiar.23 Judging from pieces that still exist (see Illustration next page), their sizes ranged from approximately 16.5-19 cm (warp) x 15-18.5 cm (weft).24

They circulated folded double and thus approximated the size of a short envelope. Governor-General Both wrote to Holland on January 1, 1614 that everything was very cheap in the market of Buton if one used these little cloths.25 A year later the venturesome Pieter van den Broecke visited the old and the young kings of Buton on horseback. He presented them with one *kati* of Chinese raw silk and observed that nothing could be bought without the use of small, old pieces of cloth for which the exchange rate was

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24 The two cloth money pieces illustrations above were taken from Mattiebelle Gittinger, Splendid Symbols: 201; one is "a blue plaid on a natural beige cotton base," and the other "fine red stripes on a natural beige background." In G. Vissering, Muntwezen: 272 is a photo of five pieces of cloth money each showing a different striped colored pattern distinctive to the issuer.

25 P.A. Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol 1: 35
Illustration 2
Cloth money pieces, Bouton
approximately 100 pieces for f0.10 cents. The old king, sitting on a quilt from Bengal, expressed to van den Broecke the wish for some copper coins.\textsuperscript{26} He indicated that a lack of copper or other metals for coinage had caused substitution of the little cloths as a form of currency.\textsuperscript{27}

More than two hundred years later when Dr. Hollander visited the court in Buton, he noted that the pieces of cloth were still being woven by Buton's princesses. Female members of the ruling elite issued their own "money." A specific combination of colored stripes or checks identified the issuer who used them as payment to the vendors in the markets. Later these cloths were returned to the rulers for payment of taxes, headtaxes, and other such purposes. Sometimes non-royal women were asked to weave the cloth for the ruling family members. The punishment for copying them privately was severe. The exchange rate around 1850 was 160 pieces for f0.10 cents. Hollander observed that there had been very little European influence in Buton and that therefore the people were somewhat conservative which, according to him, was demonstrated in the continued use of the cloth money. To keep foreign elements out, the king had forbidden his subjects to trade with either the Chinese or Europeans. The heavy fine for disobeying his order amounted to sixty guilders.\textsuperscript{28}

For some inhabitants of south Sulawesi the Buton cloth money had become rare and changed its path to take on sexual connotations early in the 20th century. Representatives of the Java Bank and Batavia government who were travelling throughout the archipelago to standardize the currency and give people a chance to turn in old coins of different valuta, came across Buton-like cloth currency in Palopo (Bay of Boni, Sulawesi) which had been in circulation there in former times. They were informed that a man possessing such pieces of cloth had total power over every woman in his territory. The pieces were associated with those who had wealth, power and

\textsuperscript{26} Isaac Commelin, Begin ende Voortgangh, vol 4, no 21: 79

\textsuperscript{27} W.Ph. Coolhaas, Pieter van den Broecke, vol 1: 60

\textsuperscript{28} J.J. Hollander, "Eenige Opmerkingen" in BKI, vol 19: 80-1
fecundity, and also the authority to have them produced. Therefore, by public consent such a high personage was allowed to indulge in sexual excesses not available to the poor. The transference of this connotation had resulted in instances where elderly men who still owned such a piece of cloth rented it for a high price to prospective bridegrooms, who brought it to the house of the prospective bride to charm and beguile her as though he were a king. 29

Two other regions where cloth money was commonly in use during the 17th and 18th centuries were Magindanao and Sulu in the southern Philippines. Prior to 1900 both sultanates were culturally part of the Indonesian island world: Sulu kept close ties to Makassar, and Magindanao looked to Ternate. In the 17th century, trading Dutchmen had noticed the absence of coins in Magindanao. 30 A century later the Englishman Thomas Forrest wrote that "all was bought and sold with unhusked rice, and Chinese kangans," the latter a thinly woven, coarse cotton cloth of 5.5 x 0.45 meters that came rolled up as a cylinder. A quantity of 25, rolled up together, was called a gandang. Also used as currency were a black dyed Chinese nankeen-like cloth called kowsong, and a strong white linen, kompow. The Sultan of Sulu also circulated these same cloths as currency, concurrently with copper coins. As in Buton, the use of pieces of cloth as cash stemmed from a lack of access to metal coinage. 31 The Chinese cloth currency was brought on the junks that arrived annually from Amoy or from Manila. In the 1730s the Spaniards in Zamboanga stopped the Chinese traders from passing through or on to Magindanao, which then became dependent on the small traders from Sulu to barter cloth for rice. The Chinese brought annually to Sulu 50 pikul of raw silk, 3,000 pieces of black kowsong, 5,000 pieces of kompow, 500 gandang kangan, 200 pieces of flowered silk, and one million pieces of all

29 G. Vissering, Muntwezen: 273-4

30 R. Laarhoven-Casino, "From Ship to Shore: Maguindanao in the 17th Century" MA thesis, Ateneo de Manila University: 72

31 Thomas Forrest, A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774-1776: 279
kinds of porcelain. They exchanged their cargo for such culinary delicacies as bird’s-nests, shark fins, sea cucumbers, seaweeds, and other products from the sea.32

Clothing on the Body

In Indonesia as in India a piece of kain has always been a piece of untailored cloth which functioned as clothing. A kain was oblong and formed the most essential covering for the lower part of the body. Traditionally the upper part of the body was bare. Under Islamic and Christian influences the people in the archipelago began to cover the upper body as well. There was a basic difference between the way the people in Southeast Asia and the way the Indians wrapped cloths of approximately the same size around the body. The combinations of colors and designs also differed. In India the cloth for male and female attire was distinct: a longi and doty for the men and a sari for the women.33

The longi was worn over the shoulders while the doty covered the lower part of the body. The longi measured 3-5 meters in length and 1-3 meters wide. Like the Indonesian kain, two longi could be joined selvage to selvage to form a wider garment. The doty measured 2-3 meters in length and 1-2 meters wide. In addition, all men wore a cloth headdress. The sari covered the whole body of the woman and frequently also the head. It was the woman’s only garment and measured from 3-7 meters in length and about 1-1 meters wide. The sari in South India was "more ample" than in North India.

In Indonesia there was less difference in the way men and women wore a piece of cloth around the body. From the first millennium A.D. Indonesia (and Thailand) had distinguished a kain for men and a kain for


women. Even today there are a variety of different meanings attached to the men's and women's cloths in Indonesia, but it has not been possible to trace a connection between the differences at present and the differences in, let us say, about A.D. 900. In the latter case it seems to have been a matter of size only.

The measure of a man's kain, mentioned in a Javanese charter from A.D. 905, was one kayuh, still in use today in Java as a measure for a piece of cloth of eight kacu. Pigeaud explains that a kacu was a square measure based on the width of the Javanese loom, i.e. about 50 cm. Eight kacu, i.e. one kayuh, can be made into one kain by cutting the piece in two and joining the halves selvage to selvage. According to the charter of A.D. 905, after a community festival in Java the men were presented with a kain, but men of lower rank and women received only one half of a kayuh, i.e. four kacu, referred to in modern Javanese as sele, one of a pair. The tradition of weaving cloth in pairs was still prevalent in Bali when the Dutch arrived. Weaving cloths in pairs was still a tradition on Sumba island to the 1990s. In India the Dutch ordered various cloths in pairs for the Indonesian market. Cloths in pairs will be referred to in Chapter 7, the section A Piece of Indian Cloth, and has also been mentioned in Textile Appendix A under: gobar, muri, parcalle, negrocloth, and sarassa.

Early in the 17th century there existed a clear distinction between the size of the kain that were "cara Malayu" and the kain called "gobar." The former were 3.40 x 1.05 meters, the latter 5.10 x 1.05 meters. The cara Malayu size, also called kain panjang, seems to have had a pan-Malay distribution, while the gobar was associated with Java and sometimes worn in other parts

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34 Th. Pigeaud, "Javanese Gold" in BKI, vol 114: 193
36 Th. Pigeaud, "Javanese Gold" in BKI, vol 114: 194
37 Communication from James Fox, Feb. 1994
of western Indonesia. The "standard" Malay kain woven on the backstrap loom in the archipelago was 0.45 - 0.55 meters wide, the width of the loom. Two woven pieces, folded together the way they were sold in Bali, were stitched selvage to selvage to make a width of 0.90 - 1.05 meters. The kain could be worn in many ways, but a standard Malay way was described by an anonymous writer in the Philippines around 1600 as follows:

A mantle [cover] is sewn in such a way that it becomes like a big sack of wheat with two openings; the head is placed through one opening turning it down to the waist with both openings of the mantle falling below; a slipknot with the same mantle above the waist is made by grasping it because it is very wide to be able to make the knot; it hugs the body, with the knot to one side, very elegantly done, and then the dress appears as if they were wearing skirts. One side is longer than the other because of the fold they make.

The Dutch paid careful attention to the size of the cloths the Indonesians wanted, because if it was not right they could not sell their goods. However, the sizes of the imported Indian cloth seem to have been double the local kains. The medium width was 1.05 meter, but double the width would have made it 2.10 meters wide. Few Indian trade cloths were the width of the Malay backstrap loom (see sizes listed in Appendix A). The frame looms of Indian cloth weavers were able to support the sizes required for a longi, doty, or sari; Indian weavers were very reluctant to change when the Dutch requested different sizes. Since the backstrap looms of Indonesia could not easily support larger sizes, an Indonesian wearing an "oversized" kain, was easily noticed; it was obviously an imported item and was therefore

38 Nagtegaal made the observation that the cara Malayu types could not be sold with a profit in north Java between 1705 and 1730. L. Nagtegaal, "Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger": 183

39 Cited in M. Garcia ed., Readings in Philippine Prehistory, vol 1: 315 from the anonymous manuscript that is kept in the Lilly library at Indiana University, Bloomington. A. Reid in "The Rise of Makassar", Rima, vol 17: 117-60 describes during the reign of Tunipalangga (1548-66) special guarantees for peaceful trade, given to those who wore a tied sarung. Is the sarong tied as described in the quotation the one?

more prestigious.

Questions have been raised concerning the use-value of imported Indian cloth. Nagtegaal presented it as an item that was "such a luxury that it is against all probability that this Indian textile indeed functioned as daily clothing in Java." He conjectured that it was never worn regularly and served predominantly as a means of hoarding, "oppotmiddel." The Javanese, he assumed, stored Indian textiles primarily to accumulate the social prestige that emanated from ownership of a large store of expensive, sumptuous cloths.\(^{41}\) Such a store additionally functioned as a financial reserve for a rainy day, much like a bank. One could deposit cloths when one could afford to and withdraw from the store when the need arose.

There is no denying that Indian textiles served this purpose, but was this the primary function? Indications are that in many trading towns and in the productive hinterlands of Indonesia, also the north coast of Java, quite a number of people, including slaves, wore Indian textiles daily. Throughout the Company time, especially in Batavia and the Maluku towns, for example Ambon, the people wore Indian textiles as complementary to their own woven cloths. The use of Indian cloth in daily wear in Java and other many other places in Indonesia is amply demonstrated in descriptions by European travellers.\(^{42}\) For instance, Scott, a factor in Banten (1603-5), describes the apparel:

of the better sort is a tucke on their heads, and about their loynes a faire pintado [chintz].....The common sort weare on their heads a flat cap of velvet, taffata, or callico cloth.....about they loynes they weare a kinde of callico cloth, which is made at Clyn [Coromandel], in manner of a silke girdle, but at the least two yards broad, beeing of two cullours.\(^{43}\)

\(^{41}\) Luc Nagtegaal, "Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger", PhD dissertation Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht: 182

\(^{42}\) A. Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 1: 85-96

\(^{43}\) Sir William Foster ed., The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas 1604-1606: 172; "in manner of a silke girdle" is explained by the editor as the skirt commonly worn by both sexes.
With the rise of a batik industry and an increase in the production of locally woven cloth during the third quarter of the 17th century, the commoners under the Javanese on the north coast seem indeed to have replaced Indian imported cloth with local cloths. Nagtegaal reports that VOC employees in 1617 already acknowledged the replacement of Indian cloth with local cloth. This replacement was not an isolated phenomenon, but a response when a temporary shortage of cloth was felt. Indonesian women resumed weaving when the Indian cloths did not arrive. This suggests that they were dependent on the Indian imports for their basic need of clothing. Every time a major port was at war or blockaded, for example Banten, the women are reported to have resumed weaving.

In the year 1617 there was no war. However, the Company had the misfortune to miss two of its most important shipments. On July 17, 1616, the ship *Aeolus* was shipwrecked on Engano Island. Of the 417 bales of cloths aboard only 150 bales of poor quality and in bad condition were rescued for the Indonesian market. This was an enormous blow for the Company. It took two years to replace the loss, because the cargo contained many painted chintz, a type of cloth that needed two years of preparation to fulfil an order. In addition to the loss of the *Aeolus*, two ships from Surat, the *Middelburgh* and the *Duyve* were also shipwrecked in 1617 with a shipment of cloth.

It is possible that internal economic pressures in Java also forced the resumption of local weaving in east Java temporarily, as it had done in Banten when the port was blockaded.

The hoarding or "oppotten" of Indian cloth which Nagtegaal describes was more applicable to luxury cloth that the Javanese could not easily produce themselves, such as fine alegia, adati, armosin, cassa, fine chintz, gobar,

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44 Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*: 182


silk *patola, butidar*, Dutch red *laken* or Persian and Chinese silks. However, the everyday types of cloths such as the *guinees, salem pore, bafta, niquanias, fotas, coarse chintz, tapi* and cheap *sarassa*, formed the bulk of the import, and their prices were commensurate with prices of locally produced cloth. Around 1700, the price of one *tapi sarassa* could range from f1.15 to f4.00. At that time in Batavia one piece of *guinees* cost no more than f15.00, but the cloth was 35 to 45 meters long and one meter wide, providing enough material for ten to twelve sarongs, thus, approximately f1.50 per sarong. Compared to a local batik for f1.20, these prices would have seemed competitive and also affordable since one pound of meat was f0.20 and three eggs cost f0.05.48 The value-added Indian cloth, however, enjoyed higher prestige.

For Indonesians everywhere it was important to look as well dressed as possible when one appeared in public, and no expenditure was spared to achieve that goal. In 1619 Christaensz Grijph wrote:

> The people very much enjoy pomp and circumstance; [they] do not take into consideration how much they have to spend for a cloth which is not ordinary, but which they covet; a [person] does not want the other to look better; when one [person] would own something exquisite, the other cannot tolerate it and wants it too.49

The Indian imports provided a large selection of fabrics, a variety for any occasion (see Appendix A). Local people appear to have considered the pattern and the color of a cloth on many occasions to be more important than the quality of the thread.50

François Valentijn, a minister in Ambon and Java around the turn of the 18th century, applied his descriptive talent to depict the clothing of the

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48 A locally made batik cost f1.18 in around 1690 in L. Nagtegaal, "Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger": 184. The local prices from 1690 to 1740 were listed in F. de Haan, "Everyday Life in Batavia" in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz et al., Dutch authors on Asian history: 165


50 L. Nagtegaal, Rijden on a Hollandse Tijger: 183
Indonesians wherever he travelled. He made clear that Indian cloth provided clothing for the residents.

According to Valentijn, for the people of Ambon there was little differentiation between the costly and the more everyday clothing of the ordinary people. On Sunday the men wore to church a special pair of pants and a topcoat, which they did not wear during the week. The pants ranged from the finest to the coarsest gingam. The topcoats were of blue bafta or of salempore or of a dark blue cotton. Rarely was any clothing lined. An undershirt was sometimes worn in imitation of the Dutch. The coat looked like a baju or was a little longer. In addition, the men wore a colorful cambaya (named after the cloth that originally came from Cambay) which might be of checked cotton, 3 or 4 ells long. They wrapped it around them; it also covered them during the night. These cloths were sometimes of colorful chintz. Some men wore a hat, others a white or red rumal.

At home, the women usually wore an uti uti, a tube skirt about a meter wide. The women wove it themselves from white or red cotton thread that they had unravelled from woven cloth and mixed with other fibre. They would vary the color and width of the stripes. The uti uti was hard and stiff. Underneath it they wore a tapi or other cloth. The woman's upper body was covered with a short baju with very narrow sleeves that extended over the hands. When a woman wanted to be fashionable and look her best for an outing, she would wear an additional uti uti draped over her left arm and shoulder. The baju reached to the navel, sometimes a little lower, and was slightly open in front. The baju of a wealthy woman was made of very fine betille, or fine white cotton. The ordinary woman could use bafta of light blue, purple, green, or some other color, or a salempore or a coarser muslin. More often her baju was made of brown salempore or blue bafta. All these garments, Valentijn observed, were the daily wear of the Ambonese.

There were also variations of the baju. For example, it could extend to an extraordinary length or it might be made of a special fine chintz cloth. Slave tailors and seamstresses sewed the clothing according to the wishes of
their masters. Indian cloths never came as ready-made clothes like the items just described. The three wealthiest women referred to as koninginnen (queens) sat on chairs in the church and not on mats like the rest of the congregation, wearing majestic, long, flowered silk garments of a most intriguing design. The main difference between the Muslim and Christian men was the distar or turban worn only by the Muslims. In contrast to Java where the distar of the Muslims was regularly green, in Ambon it was red, blue or white.

The striking dress and hairdo of the mestiza or mardijker woman identified her status immediately. She did not wear any local cloth. Her baju was of muslin with lace trim around the breasts, on the shoulders and over her hands at the end of the long narrow sleeves. Underneath the baju she wore a cole or undershirt which was laced up or closed with little golden buttons. The woman who was not so well off wore just a salempore or bafta baju. From the waist down, almost reaching to the feet, she wore a tapi or underskirt and over that a colorful chintz, a Chinese silk, or other cloth which was wrapped tightly around her body several times and pinned closed with large clasps. She wore green, blue, red or other silk stockings, which in 1700 cost approximately nine to ten guilders. Her feet slipped into gold mules, slippers with the heel exposed. Over her left shoulder she threw a slendang or cloth of about 3.00 x 1.00 meters with a five-centimeter wide border of gold sequins. The cloth was folded a few times in each direction so that only the gold showed. The slendang hung over the shoulder almost down to the knees in front, and in back to the waist. When she sat down, she would carefully spread it over her lap to show off the gold handworked pattern. A lace handkerchief was tucked into the colorful chintz wrapper on her right side. As a hairstyle she arranged flattened curled locks to frame her forehead and wore the rest of her long clean hair, which shone from coconut-oil,

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51 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën, vol 2: 373

52 Ibid: vol 2: 176-8 Valentijn gives the minutest details about the dress of the Muslims and other people, too long to relate.
wound at the back of her head like a snake. She wore red lipstick and kept her teeth very white with charcoal and salt. The *mestizas* and *mardijker* women walked with self-assurance under a parasol.

This picture of *mestizas* and *mardijker* women in Ambon in the 1690s fits exactly the picture that de Haan describes for Batavia.\(^53\) In a footnote he expresses puzzlement that the fashionable Indian *saja* of the 18th century worn in Banten and Batavia by the *mestizas* was also known by the same name in Lima, Peru. It appears that the *saja*, a white or colored cotton with many starched pleats, was also known in Manila from where it reached Peru via Acapulco, on board the famous Manila Galleons.\(^54\)

A different attire, not as eccentric as that of the *mestiza* and *mardijker* woman, was described by Jan de Rovere van Breugel, who lived in Banten as a merchant. In 1787 he wrote about the dress of both wealthy and ordinary people; it still consisted of much Indian cloth. The ordinary person wore a *rumal* or headdress, a short pair of trousers and an ordinary *sarong* with a chintz or *gingan cabaya*. The women who could afford it were dressed in the finest cloth from the Coromandel coast, or the red silk with gold flower embroidery from China that they called *songkit*. The upper part of the body was also covered with fine *cacamban* from the Coast.\(^55\) In Makassar and Ternate, the women wore a *baju* of fine transparent *betille* that made them look "very lascivious and bawdy."\(^56\)

In the towns the dress of the Chinese men consisted simply of an upper garment, a long, wide, white cotton smock, sometimes blue with wide

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\(^53\) In 1674 20% (5,400) of the population inside the city of Batavia, counting a population of 27,000 were Mardijkers and would have dressed in the way described. M.C. Ricklefs, War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726: 15

\(^54\) Ibid: vol 2: 272-3; F. de Haan, "Everyday Life in Batavia" in M.A.P. Meellink-Roelofsz, Dutch authors on Asian history: 181, fin 37

\(^55\) J. de Rovere van Breugel, "Beschrijving van Bantam en de Lampongs" in BKI, vol 5: 330-1

\(^56\) VOC 1483: 30; François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie, vol 3: 137; I am grateful to Prof. Anthony Reid for informing me that the *baju* of fine *betille* was still known until the 1940s as the famous *baju bodo*, worn by Bugis women in court rituals.
white trousers underneath. These were closed around the ankle, but not tightly. Attached to the trousers at the waist was a large laken red coinbag with tassels.

Clothing as Social Marker

Clothing was very much a means of identification that was both local and a Dutch preoccupation. Men and women of central—and most of east—Java might be recognized by their dark, indigo-colored clothes. Indigo was cultivated there and had been used as a dye from very early times. In central and east Java, where the women were used to carrying heavy loads to the market, the selendang, a handy combination of carrying sling and Muslim veil, was made of strong, striped blue and white cloth. In the western part of Java, it could be made of a light, colorful cotton for carrying a child perhaps; at the same time a muslin cloth from Bengal might be added as a flimsy shawl, draped elegantly over the head.

The literature is rich with descriptions of dress during the VOC period in Indonesia. Characteristic was the combination of locally made and imported cloths. Everyone who could possibly afford it would dress in foreign materials like the mardijker or mestiza. Those who did not have the means to do that would supplement a locally woven sarong with imported accessories such as veils, shawls, belts, sashes, headdress or vice versa. The major difference between those with means and those without lay not so much in the use of foreign materials, because practically everyone owned some foreign cloth, but in their quality.

Throughout the VOC period, slaves were expected to wear clothing which differed from that worn by free burgers. The Company prescribed the

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57 Ibid: 275


59 P.J. Veth, Java, vol 1: 603
dress of the Company’s own slaves by means of the cloths it distributed to them. *Guines* cloth was included in the 17th century, but not in the 18th century when only *gerases*, *fotases*, and *niquaniases* were given to them.\(^{60}\) The Company encouraged the use of different clothing as a means of identification and status recognition, and also of reinforcing its own strong sense of a hierarchy among its employees.\(^{61}\)

The Dutch, already identified in other parts of Asia as the "hatwearers" (*hoedendragers*), attached great importance to the wearing of hats and consequently reserved the wearing of Dutch hats for those who spoke Dutch. When Maluku Muslims changed their affiliation from a local king to the Dutch, they would remove their *fez* and substitute a Dutch hat to symbolize their new allegiance.\(^{62}\) A few hundred *codebex* (after Cau de bec en Caux on the Seine River) or *coddebecken*, a type of felt sunhat, and other types of European hats arrived each year. Slaves marrying upwards were permitted to wear European hats only if they spoke Dutch and passed a test to prove it. They were given a written statement of their accomplishment. The use of parasols of particular colors was also associated with particular classes.\(^{63}\) The first code of "Pomp and Circumstance" was issued from the Netherlands in 1633, followed by a more extensive code in 1680. Both were concerned mainly with details about the use of carriages, parasols, and jewelry.\(^{64}\) A considerably larger piece of legislation was issued in 1754 by Governor-General Mossel, who paid particular attention to the dress code. For example, it stipulated that gold and silver embroidery was reserved for the

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\(^{61}\) F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge*, vol 3, part 2: 305-8 where the exact rank of each employee in the bureaucracy of the Company in Batavia and the branch offices is summarized.

\(^{62}\) Laarhoven-Casino, Ruurdje "From Ship to Shore: Maguindanao in the 17th Century": 159-60; H.J. de Graaf, *De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken*: 71

\(^{63}\) Realia, vol 3 (1641 and 1647): 61

\(^{64}\) F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge*, vol 3: 47, 401-2, 413