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 tapis (batik) produced, sold and exported from Java and the cloth production in southern Sulawesi and the lesser Sunda islands.
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**ABBREVIATIONS**

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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
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<tr>
<td>AESC</td>
<td>Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations</td>
</tr>
<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>
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<td>BMGN</td>
<td>Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden</td>
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<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<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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<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>
</tr>
<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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<tr>
<td>KITLV</td>
<td>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAS</td>
<td>Modern Asian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBRAS</td>
<td>Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>Masyarakat Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PQCS</td>
<td>Philippine Quarterly of Culture &amp; Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>RASGBI</td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Revista de Cultura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBG</td>
<td>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</td>
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<td>THB</td>
<td>Textielhistorische Bijdragen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNI</td>
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<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>T'oung Pao</td>
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<td>VBG</td>
<td>Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</td>
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<td>VOC</td>
<td>Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie</td>
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<td>WHB</td>
<td>World History Bulletin</td>
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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.

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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

4 James Fox, "Figure Shark and Pattern Crocodile: the Foundations of the of the
Textile Traditions of Roti and Ndao" in Mattiebelle Gittinger ed. Indonesian Textiles:

5 Mattiebelle Gittinger, Master Dyers to the World (1982): 145-152; Robert J.
Holmgren and Anita E. Spertus, Early Indonesian Textiles from Three Island Cultures:
Sumba, Toraja, Lampung (1989): 98; Robyn Maxwell, Textiles of Southeast Asia (1990):
21-9; Peggy S. Gilfoy, "Textiles in Africa and Indonesia?" in Mattiebelle Gittinger, ed.
Indonesian Textiles: 357-361

6 M.J. Adams, Systems and Meaning in East Sumba Textile Design: A Study in
Traditional Indonesian Art (1969); J. Fox, "Savu, Roti and Ndao" in M.H. Kahlenberg
ed., Textile Traditions of Indonesia (1977); S. Niessen, Motifs of Life in Toba Batak
Texts and Textiles (1985); C. Ng, "The Weaving of Prestige" unpublished PhD thesis for
the Australian National University (1987); R. Barnes, The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera: A
Study of an Eastern Indonesian Weaving Tradition (1989); J. Boow, Symbol and Status
in Javanese Batik (1989); M.A. Myers, "Sacred Shawls of the Toba Batak: 'Adat' in
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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and preferred to research the complex socio-political relationship between the European newcomers and local Indonesian rulers. 13

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. 14 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


14 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)
Hartkamp-Jonxis 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.\textsuperscript{15} This study addresses the lack of information about the Indian textile trade to Indonesia.

\textit{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

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-

 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.

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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
made. 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,

- 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." 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. 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.

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

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. 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.² 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

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'i) 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 Traditionelle" 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. Boulnois, 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, ft 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 *tirāz*, 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‘in 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 Çizakça, "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.\textsuperscript{16} The earliest find of cotton material was in the ruins of the Indus Valley of Sind (Pakistan) from the 1760 (c-115) BC period.\textsuperscript{17} 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.\textsuperscript{18} 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.\textsuperscript{19} 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

\begin{itemize}
\item Andrew M. Watson, "The Rise and Spread of Old World Cotton" in Studies in Textile History: 355
\item I.H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, vol 1: 1120
\item Mattiebelle Gittinger, Master Dyers to the World: 33
\item Pupul Jayakar, The Indian Printed Textiles: 6, 20
\end{itemize}
wrote and possessed seals in Sanskrit. 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.

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. In both China and Malaysia, where cotton did not grow, the cotton textiles had been more expensive than silk in the first millennium. 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, ki-pei, was an adaptation of the Malay word for cotton, kapas, in turn derived from Sanskrit karpasa.

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


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

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 ki-pei as a word for cotton, it was unrelated to the word 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 kangans 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

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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 Tanma-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-issu," 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-ya-po-ti (also white), Batak country, Aceh, and Ceram; red cotton to Pahang and Tanjung Pura; colored cottons to Jambi, Palembang, Janggolo in Java, Bilitung 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 period31 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

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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 hsüeh-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. 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.

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. 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, ciauter, commerband, malmal, beiramee and sanebab (sinebaff) in the Portuguese sources. Indonesians sail to India or to places where they would meet Indian, Arab

35 G. Coedès, Indianized States of Southeast Asia: Chapter II, 14-35
36 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, vol 1: 99; Lotika Varadarajan, "Textile Traditions - India and the Orient" in Shilpakar: 27; R. Maxwell, Textiles of Southeast Asia: 91
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. 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. 40 At the end of the 11th century it is said that the Javanese wore "sarongs with gaudy patterns." 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.

39 M.C. Ricklefs, 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, Indonesian Commerce: 138. G.R. Tibbits, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia" in JMBRAS, vol xxx, part 1: 42-43. A study of the Arabic Texts containing material on South-East Asia, by G.R. Tibbits did not reveal any trade in textiles.

40 K. Hall, Maritime Trade: 102, 234, 238

41 F. Hirth, W.W. Rockhill translators and eds. Chau Ju-Kua, His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi: 80, fn 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 Sëwu, 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 Sëwu" in Karl Hutterer ed. 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'\textquoteleft 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{tu-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, \textit{Pa-ch'\textquoteleft 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 bēsaran) 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 Ssu-ki-tan was mentioned by Wang in his Tao i chih liō (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. 1: 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, ftn.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

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\(^{52}\) Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Vanishing Jong: Insular Southeast Asian Fleets in Trade and War" in Anthony Reid ed., Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: 206
demand. 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

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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. 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." 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." 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, Maliapur (suburb south of Madras), and Cambaya in return, supplemented by large quantities of yarn, raw silk, and grains for dyeing. 61 White bafta, patolu with figures and elephants, beiramee, cannekin, and asmanis which were all classified under Cambaya cloths, the popular pintados of Paleacat, fancy goods from Masulipatnam, muslin from Bengal, and white and painted cotton from Golgonda 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

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

59 M.L. Dames, Duarte Barbosa, vol 2: 172-3

60 Ibid: 175

61 M.L. Dames, Duarte Barbosa, vol. II: 174-5
Suma Oriental illustrate this traffic in Sunda, Java, Makassar, the lesser Sunda islands, Maluku and Borneo.\textsuperscript{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 sinabaffs\textsuperscript{63}, both large and small, synhavas, pachaelezès, balachos, atobalachos (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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{64} A. Cortesão ed., The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: 169, ftn 2. Cortesao explains that in Negapatnam 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. Tiricandis according to Cortesão may correspond to Tucamduya nyhora, 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 form 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}

\section*{Makassar}

islands trade with Malacca and with Java and with Borneo and with Siam and with all the places between Pahang and Siam." . . . "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 Kling.

\section*{Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa}

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

\section*{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.

\section*{Timor}

They go to these island[s] every year from Malacca and from Java, and the sandalwood . . . 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.

\section*{Banda}

The people of these islands . . . 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 tafecira 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, coraçãoes 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, synhaus, balachos, panchavelizes, cotobalachos; but the principal merchandise is cloth from Cambay"
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

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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\(^73\) 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.\(^74\) 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\(^75\); 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

\(^75\) Arun Kumar Dasgupta, "Aceh in Indonesian Trade and Politics, 1600-41", Ithaca, Phd dissertation: 125
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

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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 van [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 mayor 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 diuers sorts and colours of Cotton Linnen, which come out of seuerall Prouinces; [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 orfe 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 "lyxweten" 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, nammoesisan, ciauter, 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

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 Gootroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vol 3, No 12: 79 and No 13: 74-5; M.A.P. Mellink-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. Glammann, 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 BKI, 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 bezoor 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.

85 B. Watson-Andaya, To live as Brothers: 47
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.90

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.91

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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, Aemoudt 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.\textsuperscript{92} 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid, vol 2: 411. Emphasis added.
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. 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.

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. 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 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 sjahbandar (harbormaster) asked for a written agreement from the Dutch.

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 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"

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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, Opkomst, vol2: 421"

97 Ibid vol 2: 427-8
seemed the best alternative.\textsuperscript{98} 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.\textsuperscript{99}

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 specialities 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.\textsuperscript{100}

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,

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, vol 2: 434

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid vol 2: 209

\textsuperscript{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 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, 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-Indiël 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 Wolfert Harmansen, in a letter in J.K.J. de Jonge, 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, "Joumael ... 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

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 Willemesz 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

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108 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><strong>DABUL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baftas</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><strong>PALEACAT</strong></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>

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

111 G.P. Rouffaer and H. H. Juynboll *De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar Geschiedenis: Bijlage III*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Width (cm)</th>
<th>Length (cm)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Price (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NAGAPATNAM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balaches</td>
<td>10 - 17</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>50 - 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Borneo laya</td>
<td>5 - 6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7 - 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poleng(Jambes)</td>
<td>12 - 15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11 - 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salalus</td>
<td>4 - 8</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>8 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telepocan</td>
<td>6 - 7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MASULIPATNAM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassiopes</td>
<td>30 - 35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20 - 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distars</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain gobars</td>
<td>13 - 14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain mandils</td>
<td>7 - 15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain mogos</td>
<td>15 - 16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12 - 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muris</td>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>4 - 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patta Malams</td>
<td>10 - 12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salemores</td>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>20 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sutars</td>
<td>20 - 25</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>20 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BENGAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beirames</td>
<td>160 - 180</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Casssa-kecil</td>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20 - 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Tanculos)-besar</td>
<td>35 - 40</td>
<td>100+</td>
<td>40 - 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rambuti</td>
<td>45 - 50</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sattu pacoras</td>
<td>16 - 18</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12 - 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PATANI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chiautars</td>
<td>4 - 5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70 - 100</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Pattas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40 - 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pautgypau</td>
<td>60 - 70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50 - 60</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sutra Tulucky</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>50 - 80</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BALI</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Kain Bali</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>15 - 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain Madura</td>
<td>6 - 15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5 - 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUMBAWA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain Kori/Bima</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2.5 - 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOMBOK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kains</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BUTON</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kain Toneti</td>
<td>16</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\textsuperscript{112}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>f 3.15</td>
<td>f 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>

\textsuperscript{112} 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.\(^3\)

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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.

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,
the north-east coast of Java, Brunei, and Makassar offered port-town facilities to substantial populations.\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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.\(^7\) 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

\(^5\) 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 salemore 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 Westcust 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 \textit{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}

\textsuperscript{11} Rouffaer, G.P. and H. H. Juynboll \textit{De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië 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

\textsuperscript{12} John Crawford, \textit{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.”

\textsuperscript{13} B. Schrieke, \textit{Indonesian Sociological Studies}: 32

\textsuperscript{14} Pedro Chirino, "Relation of the Philippine Islands" in Maura Garcia ed. \textit{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.

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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. 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." 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,
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.21

The paths and diversions of commodities are sensitive to political and cultural influences, as exemplified in Gandhi's use of homespun 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."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.

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


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. He indicated that a lack of copper or other metals for coinage had caused substitution of the little cloths as a form of currency.

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.

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

26 Isaac Commelin, Begin ende Voortgangh, vol 4, no 21: 79
27 W.Ph. Coolhaas, Pieter van den Broecke, vol 1: 60
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.  

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. 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. 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

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\(^{32}\) Ibid: 325; James F. Warren, The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: 6

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.

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

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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 sarung 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.44 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.45 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.46 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.47 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, alegia, adati, armosin, cassa, fine chintz, gobar,

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, salempore, 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. 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.

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.

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. 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.

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. In Makassar and Ternate, the women wore a baju of fine transparent betille that made them look "very lascivious and bawdy."

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, fn 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.\(^{57}\)

**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.\(^{58}\) 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.\(^{59}\)

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. *Guinees* cloth was included in the 17th century, but not in the 18th century when only *gerases, fotases, and niquaniases* were given to them.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{60} F.W. Stapel ed., *Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge*, vol 3, part 2: 203; VOC 3180 (1766): 2578

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{64} F.W. Stapel ed., *Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge*, vol 3: 47, 401-2, 413
Council and President of the Bench and:

One gold or silver button might adorn the clothing of former governors, secretaries to Batavia's government, all justices, and directors of subsidiary posts, and these dignitaries could also wear shirts and camisoles made of silk. None below the rank of junior merchant could wear golden shoe buckles.\footnote{68}

The Company did not employ women, but regulated the value and type of jewelry and dress materials they could wear. Chinese were forbidden to "Europeanize" by changing their dress.\footnote{66} Another ruling stipulated that no one was allowed to change his ethnic attire to the Malay dress, on the grounds that some people guilty of a crime or in trouble with creditors pursuing them for debt sought refuge in a different ethnic neighborhood (Malay neighborhoods being popular) and dressed accordingly.\footnote{67}

The Klings (Muslims from Coromandel) and Gentives (non-Muslim Indians) wore a long tunic reaching to the knees, tied around the waist with a cummerbund, which the Muslims closed on the right and the Hindus on the left. Their breeches were wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, with cuffs trimmed with fringes. Of course, they wore a turban. Often their garments appeared to be of the finest cotton or silk, the turban of muslin—all Indian cloth.\footnote{68}

The coarser cloth worn by ordinary people, included the brightly colored chintz \textit{tapis} from the Coromandel coast, which were very popular with the pepper growers behind Banten.\footnote{69} That people were identified by their clothing was also apparent when in 1771 a Ceram messenger could identify to the Dutch the foreigners who disregarded the trade monopoly

\footnotetext{65}{Jean Gelman Taylor, The Social World of Batavia: 66-7}
\footnotetext{66}{Fr. Gerstäcker, "Javaansche Schetsen" in BKI, vol 3: 425}
\footnotetext{68}{F. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1: 486-7; F. de Haan, "everyday Life in Batavia" in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz et al., Dutch Authors on Asian history: 171}
\footnotetext{69}{Coen cited in Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 217, 250}
there, indicating their origin by their clothing.70

Life Cycle Ceremonies

There is strong evidence from both historical and ethnographic sources to support the proposition that a sizeable portion of the imported cloth was never converted into clothing but kept for other areas of use-value. These textiles were consumed, circulated, or exchanged in multiple spheres of value, following changing commodity paths. In the following sections that refer mainly to eastern Indonesia, the function of cloth in life cycle and court ceremonies, in the world of trading and social transactions, and in a few other related uses, will be discussed.

The work of anthropologists and art historians in Indonesia tends to support the generalizations that, 1) life cycle ceremonies in Indonesia have a significant social function covering a whole range of ritual high-points from birth, transition to adulthood, marriage, and death; and 2) that these passages in life are recognized as times of exchange, in which "the ceremonies often centered on the moment when textiles are transferred."71 James Fox, writing about Roti, Ndao, and Savu, pithily summed up the centrality of cloth in the life cycle: "Cloth swaddles the newly born, wraps and heals the sick, embraces and unites bride and groom, encloses the wedding bed and, in the end, enshrouds the dead."72

Both statements express the idea that ceremonies held on the occasion of a life cycle event involve cloths and center around cloths. Given the nature of available sources for the period covered by this study, particularly for the 17th and 18th centuries, it is not surprising that information about the

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70 VOC 3329 (1771): 217

71 M. Gittinger, Splendid Symbols: 20

72 James J. Fox, "Roti, Ndao, and Savu" in Mary Hunt Kahlenberg ed., Textile Traditions of Indonesia: 97
use of cloth in life cycle events was sparse and irregular. The observed uses of cloth in other areas of social life, not related to the life cycle, were greater. This differential incidence, it seems, was not due to the absence of cloth in life cycle ceremonies in earlier centuries, but to the selectivity of the Dutch reporters who, with the exception of Valentijn, were less interested in recording the intimate, private events of families and communities than in the public happenings in the market place and the courts. The information which is available confirms that cloth consumption in life cycle ceremonies added substantially to the overall demand for cloth commodities and currencies.

Young children did not need much cloth. More often than not they went naked. However, there were instances when special chintz tapi for children were acquired, imported by the VOC. When children grew to be 10 to 12 years old, rites were held to celebrate the transition from childhood to adulthood. In Ambon the first menstruation of a girl was celebrated among the women when a cloth, the cemar kain, the cleansing cloth, was given. Boys, in certain tribal areas, who were accepted into adulthood were given a cidako, or g-string, to wear. The color, design, material, and manner of carrying the new cloth was meaningful in the cultural environment in which the new adult resided. The new cloth signified the young person’s change of status to the adult world.

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73 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, vol 1: 86

74 VOC 11207 (1691): 46-7. The two sizes described as chintz cloths for children were 2.10 x 0.80 and 3.60 x 0.90 meters. There were also tapi sarassa, and tapi telpocan in children's sizes, 360 pieces packed in one bale.

75 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 74

76 In the ethnographic present, for example, a cloth given to a circumcised boy in Kodi, west Sumba, had a finishing border that was said to make the young adult responsible and "strong" in contrast to his aimlessly wondering younger siblings, in D.C. Geinaert-Martin, "The Snake's Skin: Traditional Ikat in Kodi" in G.Völger and K. v. Welck eds., Indonesian Textiles Symposium: 41
Marriage Exchange

The single most important cultural realm in which wealth was exchanged was in marriage. Marriages altered the relationships between two families, realigned feuding families, and received and incorporated foreigners. A major characteristic of east Indonesian society, as described by a number of anthropologists, is a tendency to different forms of dual organization in which a community or portion of it is symbolically divided into segments which engage in a continuing series of social exchanges, including marriage. The segmentation most commonly discussed is between bridegivers and bridetakers in marriage ceremonies in which the transfer of cloth is at the center of the wedding ritual. Typically, cloth was included in the set of "female" gifts that bridegivers give to bridetakers, in contrast to the "male" gifts of metals, weapons, and more practical items that the groom's people gave back to the bride's people. The use of cloths, in addition to its real economic value as in modern terminology "bridewealth," carried as well deep symbolic values. Cloth stands for the fertility of women, weaving being identified as a female role. Women's fecundity, potency and hence economic value in society were embodied in the cloth they wove.

A person who had many daughters was considered lucky, because it was a common custom to "sell" off the girls in a family to the highest bidder. Thus to most Europeans the system of bridewealth appeared as a system of brideprice. A girl who was pregnant or had a child, but for whom the bridewealth offered was considered too small, remained in the house of her parents.  

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79 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 3: 244 where the practice is mentioned for Bali around 1700
parents. The bridewealth in the Philippines consisted often of parcels of land or money. However, in a marriage between slaves a piece of cloth was exchanged. A number of beliefs and practices testifying to the close link between weaving, women and social value have been reported in the history of Indonesia and the Philippines. For example, the rhythmic sound of little bells or bamboo clappers attached to the loom symbolized the industriousness of a good wife or marriageable maiden.

In most of island Southeast Asia, where divorce was very common and slaves were frequently bought and sold, it does not seem to have been unusual to put a value on a girl who could make a good wife. For example, a slave with a special skill such as weaving or needlework, brought a higher price and was judged more valuable than one who had no skills. Paying a bridewealth for a future wife was a way of showing gratitude to the parents who had brought her into the world, given her care, raised her well and would suffer a loss when she left. In turn, parents who were proud of their daughter and valued her presence in the house showed their love for her by putting a high value on her, that is, selling her dear. The expression, "buying and selling" a wife, frequently found in the literature, was by no means degrading in this context, just as Reid informs us that divorce carried little social stigma.

There is mention of cloth involved in bridewealth payments in

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80 "San Augustin on Filipinos" in BRPI, vol 40 (1725): 221. San Augustin wrote this in the Philippines after 40 years of missionary work.


82 E. Casiao, "Arts and Peoples of the Southern Philippines" in G. Casal et al., The People and Art of the Philippines: 130-1

83 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 3: 243

84 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce: 151-58. A similar concept of bridewealth settling a debt as a recompense for taking away a person as a resource was given for the Pacific islands by Nicholas Thomas, Entangled Objects: 67
northern Maluku in the later part of the 17th century. It seems that bridedewealth payments involving foreign cloth occurred among wealthy and royal families in the 16th and 17th centuries, not among commoners as it came to be in the 19th and 20th centuries. Among the Chinese cloth always appears to have played a role in wedding ceremonies. For a Chinese girl in Ambon these consisted of beautiful silks with gold embroidery, and cotton fabrics. In the bedroom of a Chinese couple on their wedding night all the costly textiles of silk and gold were displayed along the walls.

Imported textiles, particularly the so-called patola which gained the generic status of "expensive, ceremonial cloth," figured prominently in many marriage exchanges. Magellan's diarist Pigafetta, who visited the Spice Islands in 1521, wrote the following interesting observation. Note that in this account, foreign cloth moved from the bridetakers to the bridegivers. Cloth clearly stands out as a currency used to purchase brides in the island world east of Java.

The king of Bachian gave our king [a local temporary ally of the Spaniards] five hundred patols, because the latter was giving his daughter to wife to the former's brother. The said patols are cloth of gold and silk manufactured in Chiina [sic], and are highly esteemed among them. Whenever one of those people dies the other members of his family clothe themselves in those cloths in order to show him more honor.

Of particular interest is the role the trade cloths came to play in exchanges between foreigners and the local population. Modern ethnographic literature shows that foreign objects including cloth became incorporated in the bridewealth to be paid by the bridetakers, while in most

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85 Robertus Padtbrugge, "Beschrijving der Zeden en Gewoonten van de Bewoners der Minahassa" in BKI, vol 13: 320
86 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 2: 163
87 Ibid: 277
88 Antonio Pigafetta, "Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo" in BRPI, vol 34: 59
cases the bridegivers continued to contribute locally produced textiles. In tracing the historical development of this reversal in the flow of cloth in marriage exchanges, it is necessary to look back at cloth that came from abroad in earlier times.

The process began before the VOC period, when trade between India, China and western Indonesia increased because of larger demand for the raw products that Indonesia supplied in abundance, such as drugs, resins, aromatic woods and spices. Foreign traders settled in coastal trading towns to obtain these valuable Indonesian products, bartering for them with foreign goods, particularly textiles. There are several mentions of Dutch officers and personnel of lower rank participating in temporary relationships with women for the duration of their stay. Their gifts often included a piece of Indian cloth. Through marriage alliances with local women and the payments of gifts, partly in cloths, foreigners obtained legitimacy for their commercial, religious, and political establishments. Woven cloth after gold, silver and iron was the medium *par excellence* for establishing these relationships between people ashore and people on ships.

Other transactions included exchanges of necessities for foreign objects. For example, some tobacco was exchanged for a *vadem* (1.70 meters) of *tancoulo*, a red betille cloth, by a sailor in 1688. These were not calculated exchanges like barter, but a gift for services: provision of food, a place to rest ashore, to have washing or sewing done. Sometimes the gift was small, like an empty Dutch bottle, or a needle. Reciprocity was expected, but a money value was not always specified.

Long distance peddlars and traders, in contrast to women stall-traders in market places, were men. Masculinity became associated with long

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90 VOC 1483 (1688), No. M, Brouwer: 18, 25; VOC 1727 (1706): 292-3, 299-300. 323

91 VOC 1483 (1688): 51
distance trade because of men's access to traded valuables. Historically, men (Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and later Europeans) came ashore with their cargo containing foreign cloths. They married local women and established themselves, some permanently, others temporarily. This was also the case in Austronesian societies in general—men were the seafarers for thousands of years before the Europeans. The mythic pattern of seafaring, in-marrying male is found from Madagascar to Hawaii.92

The association of textiles of foreign origin with men would gradually have extended to Indonesian men. The Indonesian men were the builders and navigators of boats. They voyaged from the hinterlands to the coasts and from small coastal bays to nearby trading towns where their locally produced surplus could be bartered for necessities and luxuries.

It appears that the contacts they established stimulated a growing demand for the exotic cloths which men and women everywhere in the islands appreciated. Some men would have begun to do business in trading the foreign cloths, stopping off in places along the shores and river banks on their return voyage. The increasing import to Southeast Asia of Indian and other foreign cloth stimulated men and women to dress the best they could especially at ceremonies. To include foreign cloth as bridewealth seems a natural consequence augmenting the demand for them to increase.

In 1605 a factor of the English Company in Banten observed that men and women wore cloth from Coromandel. It seems that although the women could dye and weave themselves, they preferred to buy the imported cloth to clothe their families:

> Also there commeth from thence [Coromandel] many sorts of white callicoes, which they themselves doe both die, paint, and guild, according to the fashions of that countrey. Likewise they can weave a kind of striped stuffe, both of cotton and rinds of trees; but by meanes of their laysinesse there is very little of that wome.93

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92 Georg Schurhammer, Francis Xavier, vol 3: 57-60 where the this process is described for Java.

93 Sir William Foster ed., An Exact Discourse: 172 ft1
The increase of trade at the end of the 16th century and easy access to imported cloth from India in trading towns like Banten probably decreased the cloth production of local women who had easy access to the imported cloth. These changes must have had deep economic ramifications over and above their theoretical significance for ceremonial marriage exchanges. The sizeable imports by the VOC might have, consciously or not, also affected the Indonesian life cycle exchanges.

The demand for women as wives and as workers is a widespread phenomenon. The flow of bridewealth had always been a stimulant to productivity and consumption. Women usually did not travel and were expected to take care of home and children: they also provided cloth that they could weave themselves. Their cloth had value in the community, among other reasons, because they could control the supply by their own industriousness, whereas men could not control imported textiles. The women provided a guarantee that cloth would always be available for the ceremonial occasions that demanded it. This residual female power provided continuity with the traditional view of women's value in society and possibly explains why women, particularly outside the coastal port towns, continued to weave cloth. It also throws light on the symbolic significance attached to the exclusive use of traditionally woven cloth in certain ceremonials in recent times.\textsuperscript{94}

Men took pride in the fine cloths that their women wove or provided.\textsuperscript{95} There was satisfaction for the women in the men's appreciation of their cloth-making skills. When more and more women became acquainted with foreign cloth, naturally they attempted to absorb and incorporate selected designs, patterns, motifs, or hues and other details that appealed to them into their own cloth production. Bühler illustrates with examples the influence of the \textit{patola} designs as cloth decoration by the island

\textsuperscript{94} Barnes, Ruth "Patola in Southern Lembata" in Indonesian Textiles: 13

\textsuperscript{95} A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, vol 1: 85, 89
women. Possibly this process took place along the lines of controlled clan structures and title systems. The women would have been stimulated to make cloths that were considered "prestigious" or more attractive. There were restrictions on which women were allowed to weave prestige cloths. It would only be human for these women to compete with each other in a preoccupation that they practiced. One's name (nama) as a skilled or fine weaver was at stake, especially for those women in the court or those generally known for their extraordinary skill.

The foregoing discussion of the persistence of residual power of women as weavers, the rising incidence of adaptation, imitation, and incorporation of foreign textile motifs and designs, together provide the larger context for understanding how the textile world of Indonesia was reshaped before and during the years of active VOC involvement in Indonesia's economy. The development of patola inspired designs and chintz patterns in Indonesian textile traditions is the continuing manifestation of these earlier processes. The development of batik is a special case because the technique of batik decorating, unlike ikat, is post-loom and seem to have involved initially the use of imported undecorated Indian cloths (quotation above).

While it is true that the process described above is somewhat speculative and not yet thoroughly grounded in historical investigation, it cannot be gainsaid that foreign textiles did influence the contents of the traditional bridewealth. Ethnic communities varied in the ways that they incorporated the foreign trade cloths: some groups incorporated them as the exchange cloths that men offered as bridewealth, other groups incorporated the patterns and designs of the trade cloths into the weaving used for ceremony. Much could be learned from a diachronic study of cloth

98 Ruth Barnes, "Patola in Southern Lembata": 13, 16 and T. van Dijk and N. de Jonge, "Bastas in Barbar. Imported Asian Textiles in a South-east Moluccan Culture": 29 both in Gisela Völger and Karin v. Welck eds. Indonesian Textiles; Jos Platenkamp, De
designs and patterns.

In some places imported cloths were not used as central ritual items but were evident as part of the paraphernalia surrounding ceremonies. They were displayed as symbols of the wealth of an individual or the community, used as hangings, panoplies, or folded and piled up high to demonstrate accumulated wealth. All these alternative uses of cloth surrounding life-cycle ceremonies further support the argument that in Indonesia there was a huge demand which explained the continuing consumption of textiles supplied from overseas by the VOC.

The importance of these and similar reports lies not only in the confirmation of the widespread custom that bridegivers typically offered textiles to bridetakers, but also in the fact that textiles were tied to the whole system of wealth, prestige, influence, and power. 99

Death Ceremonies

The uses of cloth surrounding the rites of passage related to death and burial have a special relevance to consumption and demand. Cloth was buried with the person, in effect removing the commodity from active circulation, and thereby creating a continuing demand for replacement from local weavers and cloth traders. Indian cloth was widely used in such cases.

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99 For example, in the 1850s among the Chinese in Java large quantities of cloth and clothing items were exchanged in a wedding ceremony. It was reported that the day before the wedding, the family of the groom or bride takers brought the wedding gifts, placing them on four trays per table. The number of tables and the value of the gifts depended on the status and wealth of the families involved and were the result of sometimes lengthy negotiations which had taken place a long time before the wedding day. The number of tables expected in an upper class family was 24, in a middle class 16, and in a lower class family arbitrary. In the case described for an upper class family, eight tables out of twenty-four were covered with cloth or clothing, items valued at several thousand guilders. Aquasie Boachie, "Mededeelingen over de Chinezen op het eiland Java" in BKI vol 4: 286-7. At present this custom still prevails in Halmahera as was seen in Jos Platenkamp's video (100 minutes) Tobelo Marriage.
ceremonies, creating additional demand. In pre-Islamic Makassar a Portuguese description from 1544 attests:

The custom of these people was that when a person died they kept him in the house for three months in a great arc of wood . . . and they put in it all the rich cloths, patola, and other fine white cloths, and gold, according to the status which each possessed . . .

In rites of passage related to death, not only were the dead honored by the bestowal of textiles, but those who attended the ceremonies also added to the consumption by dressing in a manner benefiting the occasion. For example, in a Chinese funeral in Ambon around 1700, all members of the family wore a prescribed grayish cloth like a sack, open at the bottom and the top, pulled over the head and hanging down to the knees. When, a few years later in 1709, a Muslim leader died in the same locality, 120 imams followed in the procession in long white caftans and turbans while other members in the funeral train wore white mourning bands, veils and bows on their sabres. With regard to the dead body, Muslim adat prescribed that the corpse be ritually washed and wrapped in an odd number of normally white cloths. Colored cloth was allowed, but not red. Those who fell in battle were buried in their blood-stained clothes. The amount of cloth

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100 Paiva, cited in Helen and Anthony Reid, South Sulawesi: 6; A report by Antonio Marta for 16th century Ambon mentions the same custom. Hubert Jacobs ed., Documenta Malucensia, vol 2: 266

101 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost Indië, vol 2: 285

102 H.J. de Graaf, De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken: 105-6

103 ENI, vol 3: 222

104 B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol 2: 442. In India the Muslims were discouraged from wearing silk. It was thought to interfere in worship when the individual was expected to be in a state of submission to God. There was tension among the Indian Muslim groups concerning the wearing of silk. Some rulers dismissed it while on other occasions it was permitted. The situation was partly solved when weavers made a "cotton-silk mix called mashru (permitted silk) which spread all over India since it helped the less orthodox to look fine while conforming to the law." C.A. Bayly, "The origins of swadeshi" in Arjun Appadurai ed., The social life of things: 290
that was consumed depended on what the family could afford and on its status.

Combes, a Spanish missionary, writing in the mid 1600’s on Magindanao and Sulu, which were then within the sphere of Dutch trading activities, was astounded by the generous quantities of cloth displayed in funerals, where the deceased were treated as royalty.

In the shroud alone, they clothe the dead person in a hundred brazas of fine muslin, which serves him as a shift. Over that they place rich patolas which are pieces of cloth of gold, or of silk alone, worked very beautifully, and of great value, pious generosity endeavoring to give him the best and to clothe him in the finest and most precious garments. It is a law, established by immemorial custom, that the children and near relatives each clothe the deceased in a piece of gauze or of sinampuli (another fabric of equal estimation) arranging it with such loops and knots they find space for it all.... There is no one so poor or so wretched that he does not own a piece (of cloth) eight brazas long, which is reserved for his burial.105

It is possible that under the influence of Islam, burial cloth was kept simple in accordance with the teaching of the Quran, verse VII, 26 "We have revealed unto you clothing to conceal your shame, and finery, but the garment of piety, that is best." It appears that Muslims in Indonesia and the Philippines frequently used uncolored cloths for burial.106

In Magindanao in 1699 the beloved Sultan Barahaman passed away two weeks after the Sultan’s eldest son, the raja muda, had succumbed to a disease. The brother of the Sultan distributed 500 pieces of Indian trade cloths valued at £1,327.50 to the people who came to pay their respects at the

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105 Francisco Combés, "The natives of the southern islands" in BRPI, vol 40: 165-6

106 J.C.M. Radermacher, "Korte beschrijving van het eiland Celebes" in VKBG, vol 4 (1786): 209; Alit Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, Bloemen van het heelal: 32 writing for the last part of the 19th century.

In both the Philippines and Indonesia, there existed a tradition, predating the VOC period, to hire wailing and chanting women to cry and chant for the duration of the mourning period. Sometimes that lasted one day, sometimes one month depending on the importance and wealth of the dead person and the family. In Banda in 1690 the wailing women were paid with a cloth woven with gold thread that was imported from Makassar. François Valentijn, Verhandelingen der Zee-Horenkens en Zeegewassen in en omtrent Amboina, vol 3, part 2: 40
In 1850 in Java, the dress code for mourners in a Chinese family still called for unbleached cotton. It was the custom to cover the face of a deceased Chinese person with a satin cloth. The corpse was dressed in a quantity of cloth commensurate with the wealth of the family and the age of the deceased. If it was affordable, the ideal was to dress the corpse in nine layers of double silk shirt-coats.

The use of cloth in burials is a continuing motif in Indonesian culture. It was practiced before the Dutch came and continues to this day in modern Indonesia. Kielstra wrote about the burial customs of the people in west Sumatra in 1750 that "they wrap their dead in so many pieces of white cloth that when they die they need more cloth than they wear during their lifetime." Writing about Sumba, Gittinger noted the "excesses of the Sumbanese" in their use of textiles as funeral gifts.

Above all, the rich man collected textiles against the day of his own funeral when huge numbers of cloths would be required as gifts and still more to wrap the corpse into a gigantic, formless bundle. The wrappings would be buried with the dead man so that they could accompany him to the afterlife.

If the deceased was a woman, often her loom and other implements were laid beside her. From the perspective of the total stock of available...
cloth in the archipelago, these funerary textiles were totally consumed, just as others were completely worn out on the bodies of the living. All had to be replaced to further fuel importation and production, and thus add another cycle to the consumption of cloth as commodity and currency.

**Power and Communication**

In the sections above, different perspectives were given on the use of cloth: as a commodity in inter-island trade and local market exchanges, as money in special cases, on the body as a garment and social marker, and as content and accent at life-cycle ceremonies. One additional perspective needs to be added to complete the picture of the use of cloth: its role in power relations and in communications, such as gift exchanges. When people bartered or traded cloth in a market situation in its broadest terms, the exchanges were matched, meaning the value of the goods balanced the value of the cloths. There was no hierarchical relationship per se between buyer and seller: cloth was almost socially neutral.\(^{112}\)

It sometimes happened, though, that such a transaction between two equals had not been completed and the case would end up in the courtroom. In the late 1600s, in Saway in the province of Ambon, two cases being arbitrated involved the barter of a slave for cloth. A Papuan female slave had been sold for cloth at an equivalent of 15 Rixd., but the cloth had not been received, while in another case three gongs, cloths, and fifteen porcelain plates had been paid, but the slave had not been delivered.\(^{113}\)

Barter, gifts, and reciprocal services between representatives of the Company and local rulers were sometimes conducted on a level of equality,

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\(^{112}\) J.Fox, "Roti, Ndao, and Savu" in M. Hunt Kahlenberg ed., Textile Traditions of Indonesia: 97

\(^{113}\) François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën, vol 2: 212-14
but could also be conducted hierarchically, in response to demands of local power relations when important personages were involved, as exemplified in the records of historical alliances between the Company and the local authorities. In the case of Magindanao the transactions were frequently conducted from the Dutch perspective as among equals, trading cloth for rice, cloth and iron for a boat, or cloth for *cicir* (wax) and *caret* (tortoise shell). However, there were also instances where the Sultan acted superior to the VOC employees and demanded greater gifts of cloths valued from f1,200 to f1,500, or he let the Dutch wait for a long time before permitting them to trade.\(^{114}\) In desperation English and Dutch traders would bribe officials with, for example, fine muslin cloth in order to advance their trade.\(^{115}\)

A clear case of hierarchical relationships between ruler and subjects is the collection of tribute. A Ternatan chronicle of the early 17th century described the tribute that was paid to the Sultan of Ternate when the war fleet of Admiral *Kichil* Ali went on a campaign to assist the Sultanate of Bone against the Sultan of Goa. Although the figures might be overstated, the intended thrust was to indicate considerable wealth of which much consisted of cloths. Returning a roundabout way, the Admiral collected tribute from Buton, Flores, Sulawesi's east coast, Banggai, and Sula Islands:

The sum of this tribute to triumph must have amounted to at least 1,000 sarongs, 10 shiploads of bolts of cloth, a considerable amount of grass plaitings in the form of mats, pillows and *tatumbu* and 22 war vessels. It was judged a priceless war booty, reflecting not only Ternate's power in the early 17th century, but also the recognized value of cloth to a court that had acquired sophistication and adopted foreign styles of dress for which cloth had to be imported.\(^{116}\)

Other uses of cloth as currency were expressed in the payment of fines

\(^{114}\) R. Laarhoven, "The Dutch-English Rivalry over the Maguindano Sultanate" in Solidarity, No 110: 4-5

\(^{115}\) VOC 1483, No M (1688): 18, 20

and rewards. For example, people from Bonoa, Kelang, and Assahudi, in the Ambon region, had been pirating people from the shores of the surrounding islands. The slave raiders were subjects of the Sultan of Ternate, so the Sultan's intervention in the matter had been sought, but lacking support and action from those quarters, the harassed people in Ambon invited the Dutch to help them request the return of the kidnapped individuals. A hongi or fleet of local vessels, korakoras, was organized in which the Dutch joined. When the hongi arrived in Bonoa, they found that some of the pirated persons were no longer alive or present. Through the mediation of the appointed leader, the Captain Hitu, the Bonoans in restitution were made to pay 100 patola for the loss of an orangkaya, and for every ordinary person lost, 60 patola in addition to a fine of 1800 patola.\textsuperscript{117} It is still common in Sumatra to pay fines in cloth.\textsuperscript{118}

In Ambon payments in cloth were made to dancing girls, dressed in chintz and colorful silks in Ambon. After they finished dancing it was the custom for an older woman to reward them with a silk cloth or an uti uti as if to say "thank you and do not tire yourself any longer."\textsuperscript{119} The orangkaya Guliguli from Ceram once brought back nine shipwrecked slaves who had drifted ashore holding on to a piece of wood. He had taken care of them for six weeks and delivered them back to the Perkenier owner in Neira, Banda Province. The orangkaya was gratefully rewarded with a variety of fine cloths.\textsuperscript{120}

Gift giving was another social function of cloth which the Dutch adapted in their operations. The daily journals of the Company are witness

\textsuperscript{117} F.de Haan, "Rumphius en Valentijn als geschiedschrijvers van Ambon" in Rumphius gedenkboek 1702-1902: 24

\textsuperscript{118} Watson Andaya, Barbara "The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang" in Indonesia, vol 48 (1989): 32

\textsuperscript{119} François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 2: 173. The girls wore regularly a blouse of "apple blossom" (vol 2: 72) writes Valentijn. He means cloth that was dyed using kasumba dye (vol 2: 373).

\textsuperscript{120} François Valentyn, Verhandeling der Zee-horenkens: 27
to the expenditures of gifts to rulers and authorities which consisted, for a large part, of textiles. During 177 years of bookkeeping, the Company spent a total of £19,166,128 on gifts in Asia.\textsuperscript{121} Many thousands of pieces of cloth would have been given away annually. One year in Ambon in the 18th century 30 pieces of fine, painted chintz with small flowers; 20 pieces of checked chelasses; and 40 pieces of fine, red cambaya were presented to chiefs.\textsuperscript{122} Some lists of gifts of cloths are rather impressive. In 1700 to the King of Bone was sent:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1 piece gold Persian
  \item 15 ells Dutch velvet aurora
  \item 1 gold alegia
  \item 1 silver alegia
  \item 1 gold taats (unknown textile)
  \item 10 fine chintz
  \item 10 pieces sarassas
  \item 6 pieces muris
  \item 6 pieces cassa Bengal
  \item 6 malmals
  \item 6 adatis\textsuperscript{123}
\end{itemize}

In addition, there were bottles of rosewater, elaborately decorated guns and pistols, and lacquered shields. Similar assortments of textiles and rosewater were also presented to the wives of the late Raja Palaka. The Council in Batavia regularly requested exquisite European cloths or unusual clothing items to be sent from the Netherlands in order to smooth relations with the rulers in Asia in places where they maintained a factory or ambassador. The Dutch would bring foreign, made-in-Holland, curiosities as presents to a ruler. The European gifts were perceived as very valuable and reciprocated with valuable Asian gifts. The Company calculated that it made profits in these gift exchanges.\textsuperscript{124} For example, the King of Jacarta wanted

\textsuperscript{121} J.P. de Korte, De Jaarlijkse Financi"ele Verantwoording in de VOC: Bijlage 11A

\textsuperscript{122} VOC 3439 (1776) part 1: 162; 3595 (1781) part 2: 327-8

\textsuperscript{123} François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 3: 172

\textsuperscript{124} H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden vol 1 (1614): 54 After a request for goods was written down the author continues "... to sell and to give away because in the Indies gifts need to be presented, thus, if these showpieces were here, a good amount of money could be saved (soo me te vercoopen also verschenken dewijle in
100 red woollen *hoyseskens*, known also as *dreumelde* hats that were worn by sailors and hung down on their shoulders. Also fine *camelot, laken* in several hues, and knitting needles were requested in 1614.\(^{125}\) The items were relatively cheap in the Netherlands, but were perceived in Java as a valuable gift.

In 1657 a gift to Raja Longnan of Bali included 6 ells carmosin red *laken*, 4 *committers*, 4 *sarassa gobars*, and 3 *patola* of 8 asta, while a similar gift to Raja Calerang included the same cloths but fewer of them, namely 3, 4, 4, and 2 respectively. This indicates that the Raja Calerang was of a lower rank than Raja Longnan. The quantities and types of textiles very clearly showed the mutual relationships and statuses between the giver and the receiver or among several receivers if there were many.\(^ {126}\) In Magindanao where slaves were valued highly and a policy existed that no slaves could be sold or exported without the sultan's permission, Dutch merchants brought two young slaves as a present, but dressed them up in Indian *salpicados, distar*, and belts.\(^ {127}\)

The value of the gifts was calculated both by the giver and the receiver and a counter gift carefully evaluated. VOC personnel were notorious for being stingy. The Dutch resented the English and some others for being more liberal in that respect.\(^ {128}\) Luxurious gifts of gold-woven pieces of clothing and an axe decorated with precious stones valued at 30,000 *rupias* or f120,000 were presented to the Sultan of Aceh by the son of the Mughal in Deli. Such a luxury would have been unthinkable for the Dutch.\(^ {129}\)

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\(^{125}\) H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, vol 1: 54


\(^{127}\) VOC 1483 (1687): 8

\(^{128}\) Realia, vol 1 (1643-1800): 437-8

\(^{129}\) Dagh-register Batavia (1641): 206
presents that the VOC Governor in Japan was obliged to present in audience to the shogun every year were considered an extravagance and grudgingly given. The presents underwent thorough scrutiny before being approved by the bongioisen, representatives from Edo. As a rule the crown prince was given a gift worth half of what the shogun received. The valuable Japanese kimonos which the Dutch received in return were sometimes given again to royal personages in other courts in Asia.

A set of rules mandated which gifts were suitable for whom under certain circumstances. Other than the Susuhunan in Java, no one was allowed to receive a Persian horse. It was appropriate for the Governor-General to give 20 pieces of the finest Indian tapi sarassa and patola as a wedding present to the Princess and Prince of Jambi in 1675. On one occasion in 1648 the Chinese presented the Governor-General with Indian cloth. It may seem strange that the Chinese presented the Company with Indian rather than Chinese textiles, but reportedly the Indian cloths were held in much higher esteem.

Gifts often had an underlying message. Sometimes this was expressed in many ways: by the color of a wrapping, the motifs painted or printed on the cloth as in batik in Java, a saying of the prophet embroidered in Arabic script along the edge of the cloth in Mindanao. A keris not properly wrapped up invited revenge. Some readings of a textile gift were wrongly interpreted. An unfortunate Portuguese gave the King of Borneo (Brunei) a tapestry that

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130 A.C.J. Vermeulen ed., The Deshima Dagregisters, vol 1 (1681): 10. Confirming the seriousness of expenses that gift giving entailed for the Company is the long list of 110 pages in which Pieter van Dam showed to the Company's Directors how much was spent on the extravagance in Japan. If that had not been an issue, it would not have been treated so extensively. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 554-664

131 H.T. Colenbrander ed., Dagh-register Batavia, (1636): 91


133 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1675): 84

134 Dagh-register Batavia, (1648): 149
had figures of men on it; the King was convinced that those men would kill him in the night. Thus, both the tapestry and the bringers of the gift were removed.135

Among the textiles that the Company presented to rulers were red and white betille, laken mostly red but also in a variety of other hues, silk distars, sarassa gobar, committer, tape sarassa, silk patola, kain gulong, red damask, satin, red and white parcalle, Mataram gobar, betille Ternatan, alegia, velvets, fine blue bafta, parcalle and muri, Persian gold and silk cloths, Japanese kimono, alcatif, and armosins. It goes without saying that a Mataram gobar was not presented in Ternate, and a betille Ternatan was not given to the shogun, for example. All these textiles were worthy of a ruler, although the majority would be given away again to wives, minor rulers, state officials and other deserving persons. Textiles circulated from commodity to currency, and back to commodity status. Such a switch could sometimes offend. Once the King of Tanjur in Coromandel offered three cloths of honor to the Governor-General in Batavia; the cloths never reached Batavia, but were sold immediately as if it was a commodity, which was not well appreciated.136

If a ruler or chief received gifts or a message from another high person through the representative who was sent on the mission, the receiver would reward the messenger or representative with cloths. Sarapada, who came as an emissary to the Governor-General, received not only cloths for himself but also black bafta for the crew that took him on his mission.137 In western Indonesia the power of cloth was demonstrated in the giving of a sarong of a particular local kind to all envoys, courtiers and visitors to the court of Aceh which they were obliged to wear. A Gujarati ship commander in audience with the Sultan of Aceh in 1603 was helped into wearing "a red silk jacket, a coloured headcloth with gold embroidery, a yellow sarong embroidered with

135 Manuel de Faria y Sousa, The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese, vol 1: 308

136 Realia, vol 1 (1764): 333

137 Dagh-register Batavia, (1636): 207-8
gold, a belt with Arabic letters in gold, a kris with its guard in gold encrusted with precious stones and its hilt of black coral.\textsuperscript{138}

The circulation of local and imported cloth sketched above in ceremonies (other than funerals) and rituals of exchange, has an important implication for trade: these cloths were not destroyed or worn out. However, while they could be counted as part of the total stock of textiles, in practice they were withdrawn from normal circulation because they were hidden away as clan treasures and family inheritances.

In eastern Indonesia precious cloths that were used for special occasions such as at a festive dance or at a reception of important visitors, were stored in the house in handwoven baskets, chests, or containers of palm and pandanus leaves (kabilas) with decorations of nipa and white-cut pieces of shell. These tutombos (containers) were about 60-90 long x 1-30 wide x 30-90 centimeters high.\textsuperscript{139} The ruler’s cloths, clothing, and jewelry stored as treasure were cared for by the patoribili among the Latowa (Sulawesi). These persons were not allowed to let other persons into the room and were responsible for anything that disappeared.\textsuperscript{140} Everywhere in Indonesia imported cloths were found among the treasures.

The net effect of this withdrawal was to maintain the demand for replacements and additional imports. When treated as ceremonial objects and prestige items, textiles became subject to the effects of status-driven accumulation, which impacted the overall trade in textiles. By definition, accumulation, as in collecting treasure, results in effective withdrawal of items from circulation so that the net effect is scarcity and therefore stronger demand and more trade.

\textsuperscript{138} Frederick de Houtman, "Le 'Sprake ende Woord-boeck" as cited in Anthony Reid, \textit{Age of Commerce}, vol 2: 238


\textsuperscript{140} G.K. Niemann, "De Latowa" in BKI, vol 32 (1884): 222;
Although textiles are commodities ultimately expressed in the value of metals for the Dutch, who had a Europe-centered mental set, in the mind of the Indonesians there is a residual and irreducible value in cloth that could not be equated with money. This is because cloth has a fundamental connection with the socio-cultural fabric of Asian village life and court ceremonies. Cloth enters into the symbolic universe of social exchange between men and women, between groups, between rulers and subjects. Unlike precious metals changing hands in bazaars, cloth touches the body and soul of people.
CHAPTER 3

INDONESIAN PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

The Indonesian Capacity for Cloth Production

It is important to address the production side of textiles in Indonesia to understand the long tradition in it of Indonesian women. The following section looks at the widespread cultivation of cotton, and indicates the quantities that the Indonesians could produce for the Company over and above that for their own consumption. The regions that were climatically not suited to grow cotton imported skeins from the islands that grew, spun, dyed and traded it. Only two small areas of Indonesia yielded a crudely spun silk in the 17th century, but many women knew how to weave and work with the imported silk thread from China.

Gold leaf and gold thread were essential in embellishing the cloth to make it appear rich. A notion of the quantity of gold thread that was absorbed and a few details about the little known history of gold leaf and thread will be presented. Dyeing threads and decorating finished cloth was well practiced in 1600. The technical knowledge the women applied to dyeing thread was still puzzling textile experts to the beginning of this century.

In showing below the complexity of what is involved in the elements of cloth production it is hoped that the capacities of the Indonesian women weavers and dyers to produce exquisite products will be appreciated and valued. Dutch sources of the VOC period do not reveal information about the loom. In the last chapter of this study it will become apparent that the innate weaving and dyeing skills of the island women contributed to reenergizing local commerce and provided society with the cloth for which there was an insatiable demand.

The issue of local production capacities will be discussed against the continuing Dutch search for profitability at the expense of local producers
and traders. The profitability equation was sufficiently maintained until the trade balance kept by the central bookkeeping office in Batavia started to show a deficit: four years in the 1670s, three successive years (1685-7) in the 1680s, and again from 1690 onwards until at least 1780 except for one gainful year in 1691. The offices in all the eastern Indonesian provinces, Batavia, Melaka, and Ceylon were financial burdens to the Company during those years of negative flow.

Dutch monopolistic policies to control the export of spices which will be discussed in the next chapter and the import of textiles were bound to be challenged by both local and other foreign traders. A persistent challenge was the contraband importation of Indian textiles to be sold outside Company auspices, a "smuggling" trade through Batavia, Banten, Makassar and many minor ports and beaches beyond Dutch surveillance or reach. The more serious challenge, however, came from local producers who always had the capacity to grow their own cotton and dye materials, produce their own yarns, and organize their village women weavers and dyers. The smuggling and weaving capacity of the Indonesian women was delineated by the Dutch in Makassar in 1679:

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1 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 346-7 which concerns the inter-Asiatic trade; G.C. Klerk de Reus, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick: Beilage VIII shows the profits and deficits of the VOC in Asia: i.e. the shipments with goods that arrived from the Netherlands added to the profits made in Asia, less the costs of the return goods to the Netherlands and expenses incurred in Asia to maintain the VOC establishment. The Asian deficits began in 1724 and did not recover but increased gradually reaching 90 million in 1780.

2 G.C. Klerk de Reus, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick: Beilage XI. F.W. Stapel in a footnote to the results in Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 347 gives as the reason the diminishing buying power of the Indonesians and the increasing competition of the English and the French. This viewpoint shared by many other historians, was partly true. Indonesian society was becoming more strongly polarized because the Dutch favored dealing with the regents and Chinese captains who became petty rulers among their people. The volume of wealth was thus shared among the many petty rulers who represented a very small middle class, while the large majority stayed poor because of the heavy burdens laid upon them by the petty rulers who had to deliver to the Dutch if they wanted to keep their positions.
There is little commerce [for the Company] in Makassar because the avenues for import by the Buginese and other small merchants are too many to prevent, but more so because these people know how to clothe themselves and above all as rich as they desire because almost all women are able to spin and weave, be it of silk, fibre, cotton, gold thread and also from the bark and leaves of certain trees, so much so that it is astonishing; and which they have applied increasingly for some years now.³

Ironically the Dutch were unwitting collaborators in the resurgence of Indonesian productive capacity in textiles as well as in related industries that required land, labor, and political organization. In their effort to find alternative profit centers to supplement Indonesian spices and Indian textiles, the Company’s Council members began to encourage the growing of cotton and indigo, components essential to the production of textiles. The main rationale for this, however, was not to supply local weavers; in fact, the Dutch tried to buy out locally produced yarns in order to discourage local weaving. Cotton and indigo were cultivated for export to Europe. The Company also was instrumental in the importation of Chinese silk and gold thread, the latter being in great demand as a value-added embellishment to locally woven cloth used and sold in Indonesia.

After the Dutch concluded a contract with the ruler of the Javanese State, the susuhunan, also known as Sultan Amangkurat I, as a reward for Dutch assistance in recovering the ruler’s power against his dynastic enemies in 1678, the Company gained tremendous power over Javanese trade, productive land, and productive manpower through chiefs in the coastal towns and in the Priangan district, which was awarded to the Dutch in the treaty. This treaty was a pivotal event in Dutch-Indonesian relations, for it opened up significant possibilities for expanded Dutch involvement in agricultural production outside traditional spices. The plan for an agricultural scheme had been conceived a few years earlier in an essay by

Peter van Hoorn on the benefits that could be expected from colonies.\textsuperscript{4} In addition to cotton and indigo, the Dutch began to encourage the forced cultivation of coffee and other minor products, a significant precursor to the "cultivation system" in post-VOC, colonial Indonesia.

In the textile trade it is important to distinguish trade in finished fabrics from trade in raw materials that go into the manufacture of cloth. In a discussion on local production and trade, we need to separately consider such weaving and decorating ingredients as cotton and silk yarns, gold thread and gold leaf, indigo and other dyes. Some of these materials were traded vigorously, both locally and overseas. It is necessary to analyze Dutch attempts to manipulate Indonesian productive capacity, always with the Company's profitability equation in mind. The Dutch began to intervene and participate in the production and trade of these ingredients in the last decade of the 17th century, after they became aware of the decreasing sales of Indian cloths. The declining sales of trade cloth in Indonesia and its consequences will be discussed in Chapter 8 and 10. While the textile trade of the Dutch was declining they were threatened by the Indonesian capacity for textile production.\textsuperscript{5} One of their control measures was to set up a system of quotas to be met by Java's governmental units, especially for cotton and somewhat later also for indigo. Although the Dutch captured part of Java's productive capacity, they could not break the vigor with which local initiative was developing and promoting substitutes for the Indian imports.

Unfortunately, Dutch sources say very little about local cloth production in Indonesia during the VOC period. Much more information is

\textsuperscript{4} J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1675): 130-146. The establishment of "colonies" was seen also as a solution to solve a problem with the burgers in Batavia who could not make a living because they too were handicapped by the monopolies in trade. Colonies had been mentioned earlier by Coen and van Diemen, but in the context of building Dutch enclaves with Dutch or European immigrants. P. van Hoorn expanded the concept to include, among others, occupation of land, the way the Spaniards gave haciendas to Spanish Old World and New World immigrants in the Philippines.

\textsuperscript{5} Ph.W. Coolhaas ed., Missiven, vol 4 (1684): 673
available in the literature of the 19th and 20th centuries than from that of the two preceding centuries. Because the Dutch, busy establishing themselves in the islands, overlooked the value of Indonesian trade cloths and ignored existing patterns of trade in those fabrics, they began to seriously confront local textile production only when it challenged their sales of Indian imports.

*Cotton in Indonesia*

More than a dozen species of the genus *Gossypium*, the cotton tree or shrub, of the *Malvaceae* family, are found in Indonesia.⁶ Through trade contacts many other species were introduced. For example, the Dutch introduced the *Gossypium religiosum* from America, locally known as *kapas panjang*. This variety had a superior long staple, but the growth and development of the plant took longer, which did not suit the Javanese because it occupied valuable rice land.⁷ Cotton could be traded in the market as raw cotton, i.e. the fluff of the blossom of the cotton scrub with seeds in it, or cleaned, with the seeds removed. It sold throughout the archipelago and was delivered to the Dutch as skeins of spun yarn.

Some of the qualities of cotton that made a difference in the spun yarn were the colors of the floss: reddish (*kapas mera*), yellowish, or white blending into greenish-grey. Other qualities of cotton that added value to the thread

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⁶ The remotest and main species in Asia were the *Gossypium herbaceum* and *Gossypium arboreum*. Edward Hyams, *Plants in the Service of Man*: 101. Details about Indonesia's *Gossypium* species can be found in, for example, F.A.W. Miquel, *Flora van Nederlandsch Indië*, vol 1: 162-4; G.J. Filet, *Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië*: 148-9

⁷ P.J. Veth, *Java, Geographisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch*, vol 1: 539. After the rice harvest, during the dry season, the Javanese planted cotton as an annual on the *sawah* beds. The perennial species were on the *tegal* fields. R.E. Elson, "Aspects of Peasant Life in Early 19th century Java" in D. Chandler and M.C. Ricklefs, *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Indonesia*: 60-1
were the fineness and hairiness of the fiber, the capacity to absorb moisture, the elasticity, the sheen, and the length of the staple which could range from about two to seven centimeters. For the people in Java the annual varieties (G. herbaceum) were most convenient, because they could be intercropped with rice. Local names like kapas bengala, kapas jawa, kapas bali, kapas palembang (from China), kapas pulu laut (from Barbados) may reflect the history or the place of origin of a particular species.

The major cotton-growing areas in Indonesia exporting for local or international markets were southern Sumatra, the Sumatran west coast from Padang to Indrapura, Java, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Buton, Salayer, Mangarai, southern Sulawesi, and Ternate.

The lands of Mataram where the susuhunan ruled in central-east Java had produced cotton for a very long time. The Javanese customarily paid their ruler tribute in the form of cotton yarn (panyumpleng in Mataram), believed to be from the first ripe seeds, which produced the finest thread.

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8 The thickness varies from 1/150 to 1/30 millimeter. Cotton does not grow on clay or poor red soils. The climate has to be dry and warm. In Java, planting was done in May and harvesting four months later. B.H. Paerels, "Katoen" in C.J.J. van Hall & C. van de Koppel eds., De Landbouw in de Indische Archipel, vol 3: ??? BLISS 4A3tj/H174d =call #

9 Cotton needs the right amount of rain in the growing period and dry weather after that. The pods and seeds can be utilized for making fodder and oil. Whether that was done in the 17th century is not known, but oil from the seed was produced by the end of the 18th century, after 1784, when Makassar was ordered to send the kapas seed to Batavia. I.H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, vol 1: 1120-1125; J.D. Hooker, The Flora of British India, part 1: 346-7


Indigo and coarse woven cloth including *slendangs* were also given in tribute.\textsuperscript{12} The Dutch explored the possibility of buying yarn from the Javanese as early as 1617-18, having seen samples of quality skeins in Japara and Pasaruan, to send them to India when there was a shortage of cotton there.

There had been a Dutch prohibition on the growing of cotton in the hinterlands of Batavia because priority was given to use the land for rice cultivation. Rice was always in short supply to the Dutch. In 1664 this was changed when the intercropping of cotton and rice was also encouraged in the Tangaran and Krawang.\textsuperscript{13} By allowing cotton production to increase, they simultaneously spurred the revival of weaving as a home industry in these regions. In 1678 during his campaign through Kediri, a Dutch army commander noticed the intercropping of rice with cotton in the lands of Mataram, and the cultivation of flourishing indigo fields.\textsuperscript{14} This was duly reported in Batavia, setting in motion a chain of reactions aimed at developing a cultivation system.

Some four years earlier a letter from the government in Batavia reached the Directorate in the Netherlands outlining significant policy directions. This document, known as: "Preparatory considerations and advice concerning the Dutch colonies in the Indies," was a blueprint for what was to come. A solution was needed to address a growing deficit, a decrease in sales of Indian cloths, and an increase in local textile production. The management of the Company in Batavia recommended finding other sources of profits by developing Pieter van Hoorn's idea about colonies because


\textsuperscript{13} J.K.J. de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 6 (1666): 101-2. The cotton growers from central Java were brought to Batavia's hinterland to start the plantations. W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., *Generale Missiven*, vol 3 (1664): 470. The demand for cotton grew in the Netherlands. Surat could not supply enough and the price jumped from f0.30 in 1626 to f0.50 per pound in 1686, F.W. Stapel ed., *Beschrijvinge*, vol 2, part 3: 102, 104.

\textsuperscript{14} J.F.J. de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 8 (1678): CXXXIII
Colonies mean to bring people in who are put to work, plant and cultivate the lands which are already under cultivation or can be made ready for it.\textsuperscript{15}

How this concept became linked with the sales of the Company’s Indian cotton will be become clearer later in this chapter.

Local textile and other industries had been rekindled already in central Java, Banten, Sumatra, and around Makassar at the instigation of the ruling families in those regions. Each region had its own reasons for reacting in this way to the Dutch.\textsuperscript{16} After 1673 the sales of Indian cloths in Batavia, which served a large area of Java and a few surrounding localities off Java, took a downward turn.\textsuperscript{17} The decline of cloth sales in Java will be discussed in Chapter 10. Dutch officials gave three main reasons, namely, 1) the increase in weaving by Javanese women and 2) the large competing import of Indian cloths through Banten, which was still a free harbor throughout the 1670s, and the poverty of the Javanese who had fought so many wars.\textsuperscript{18}

The Dutch intercepted the competing Indian cloth trade conducted by other foreign traders with the Javanese residents. It closed a treaty with a troubled Javanese State of Mataram in 1678 that promised many commercial advantages\textsuperscript{19} and conquered Banten in 1680.

Discouraging local weaving by buying up the supply of cotton yarn, the Company hoped to contain the expansion of both contraband trade and local production and redirect the population to buying Indian cloths from the

\textsuperscript{15} J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1675): 130

\textsuperscript{16} J.K.J. de Jonge, De Opkomst, vol 6 (1659): 83

\textsuperscript{17} G. Rantoandro, " Commerce et Navigation dans les Mers de l'Insulinde" in Archipel 35: 61

\textsuperscript{18} W.Ph Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1684): 673

\textsuperscript{19} M.C. Ricklefs, War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726: 35-6
Company again.\(^20\) The Company bought the cotton skeins for cash from the regents and rulers, including red-dyed yarn, actually stimulating the production for as long as the rulers found markets to sell to.\(^21\) In 1698 the Dutch allowed Chinese to settle along trading routes in Java, for example between Samarang and Kartasura, to collect provisions and cotton yarn on their behalf.\(^22\)

Throughout the VOC period most of the bales of cotton the Dutch shipped to the Netherlands came from the export regions in India, especially Surat. Increasing prices of Indian cotton thread in the 1680s, followed by political disturbances in India after 1700, induced the Company to export Javanese cotton to the Netherlands. Much, if not most, of the cotton was collected from Krawang and Ceribon.\(^23\) In 1697 the Javanese were supplying all the cotton that was needed to fill the demand for the Netherlands. The Company circulated samples of four grades of cotton in the Priangan with the prices that would be paid for the skeins of cotton thread. At the end of the 17th century and early in the 18th century, the Company paid prices that ranged from 18 rixd. per pikul (125 pounds) in the early period, to 36 rixd. for first-grade cotton and 25 rixd. for second grade. These prices had been raised to stimulate production for export to Europe. When the cotton production in Surat increased in the middle of the 18th century, the price in the archipelago was decreased.\(^24\)

In 1733 a contract was closed with the susuhunan for delivery of 300 pikuls per season. The susuhunan forced upland and inland village groups to deliver 250 pounds of cotton yarn to him annually. Subsequently, for making

\(^{20}\) J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1676): 161-3

\(^{21}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1683): 621-2. The red-dyed yarn was frequently traded to Siam.

\(^{22}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 6 (1698): 44

\(^{23}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1695): 744

\(^{24}\) Realia, vol 1 (1745) and ((1747): 222
these demands on his people, he was much disliked. In 1706 the VOC closed contracts with the Princes of Ceribon stipulating that every bit of cotton from the Krawang and Priangan lands had to be delivered to the Company. The prices the VOC paid to the Javanese were lower than prices they had paid in India before the 1680s inflation. An edict in 1747 restricted the local trade in cotton yarn exported from Java so that the cotton would come to the Company and not be shipped to markets in the archipelago from the coastal towns. Peddlars were forbidden to go inland to buy up the yarn and bring it to the coast. Consequently the cultivation of cotton outside Java also increased to meet local demand.

No edict had specifically prohibited the inter-island trade in cotton yarn in 1747. Because cotton yarn slipped through the coastal towns to the other islands, another edict in 1757 also curtailed the inter-island trade in raw cotton everywhere in Dutch territories. The initiative did not come from Batavia, but from the Directorate in the Netherlands. They had noticed that there was a great demand for cotton within the Indonesian archipelago itself and wrote to the Council in Batavia that the cotton trade was to be made a monopoly of the Company. It meant that the export of cotton from Ceribon, Makassar, Lesser Sundas, and other areas of Java was not allowed to Amboina, Ternate and Banda. Nine years later the trade in cotton yarn was also prohibited to the free traders in Java, and the monopoly on cotton yarn

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25 W. Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 8 (1726): 43. When Governor-General Imhoff travelled through Java he raised the price to respectively 40 and 30 rixd. of which one third had to be the highest quality. If more high-quality cotton thread was delivered the price would be 50 rixd. Private deliveries could also be made to the Company. G.W. van Imhoff, “Reis van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Imhoff, over Java in het jaar 1746,” BKI, vol 1: 302. Later similar arrangements were made with the Sultan of Banten for 140,000 to 155,000 skeins of spun thread annually. J. de Rovere van Breugel, "Bantam in 1786," BKI, vol 5: 122 ftm. 1; Ibid "Beschrijving van Bantam en de Lampongs," BKI, vol 5: 346.

26 Realia, vol 2 (1747): 57

27 J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, 14 June (1757): 217

28 VOC (1758): 10, 77
enforced. The Company wanted to monopolize the export to Maluku.\textsuperscript{29}

In Java the cotton deliveries to the Company had to be made in July or August.\textsuperscript{30} Between 1701 and 1741 the average value of the cotton the VOC shipped annually from the east coast was £66,843.\textsuperscript{31} This amounted to 6,000 and 7,000 pounds. Ceribon delivered about twice as much as the coast of east Java.\textsuperscript{32}

One bale in Java weighed 125 pounds, equivalent to one pikul; in India the weight of a bale had varied from 120 to 150 pounds depending on where the cotton yarn was produced.\textsuperscript{33} The packaging costs were set at £2.45 per bale. That included sewing thread and cloth wrapper, gunny, sorting of the cotton, and labor to pack it and take it aboard ship.\textsuperscript{34} The Company wanted skeins of a certain size in circumference, to fit the warps of the buyers of the cotton thread, and of a single yarn, so that the skeins would not need to be rewound. The cotton came in four grades, labelled A to D. It was exported by the Company to Europe, Japan, China, the Cape of Good Hope, India and to Maluku. Some cotton was woven into cloth, sometimes mixed with other fibers or used for fishing nets. There were years during the 18th century when only 150 bales were shipped to the Netherlands; in other years, up to 1,400 bales were sent, depending on the harvest and quality that was delivered. An average of 40 bales per year were exported to Japan from Java; to Maluku a similar quantity. For China, India and the Cape, the figures are

\textsuperscript{29} Realia, vol 1 (1757): 222

\textsuperscript{30} J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 4 (1722): 20, (1724): 173

\textsuperscript{31} Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 173

\textsuperscript{32} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5: (1707) 509, (1709) 638; vol 7: (1715) 195-6, (1716) 212, (1719) 410; vol 9: (1730) 192, (1731), 219, (1733) 517, (1734) 620-1; (1736) 798, 799

\textsuperscript{33} VOC 11207: 47, 50

\textsuperscript{34} J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 7(1754): 644
not clear, but shipments were not very large.\textsuperscript{35} Between 1745 and 1780 an average of 125 bales were obtained through the Company's delivery system.\textsuperscript{36} The rest was sold on a private basis to the Company. When the cotton harvest in India failed Java cotton was even occasionally shipped to Coromandel where it sold with only 9\% profit. However, in Canton in 1735 the profit was 87\%.\textsuperscript{37} By 1795, the export of cotton thread from Java to the Netherlands was diminishing. The cotton for the cheap mechanically produced yarn in the European cotton mills came from America.\textsuperscript{38}

In summary, the Company had begun to stimulate cotton growing in Java to replace it for the increasingly more expensive Surat thread. By the end of the 17th century Java served the demand for Europe. When the cotton export from Surat supplemented by cotton purchased in Bengal to Europe increased, the cotton cultivated in Java was exported to other Asian ports such as Japan, Tonkin, and to Maluku. However, the people in Java had grown cotton interspersed with rice before the Dutch began seriously to encourage them to deliver to the Company against payment. Increasing


\textsuperscript{36} F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 3: 920-2. De Haan's figures are close to what the archives indicate. For example, VOC 2944 figures from (1758): 2149-50 gives for indigo 3,781 pounds and for cotton delivery 9,726.5 pounds. De Haan gives resp. vol 3: 921, 30 and 78 pikul or 3,750 and 9,750 pounds.

\textsuperscript{37} W. Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1699): 81, 110, 207; vol 9 (1735): 719

\textsuperscript{38} Realia, vol 1 (1795): 223; E.C. Godee Molsbergen, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, vol 4: 381 The government in Batavia encountered a problem in the 18th century, because of the restrictions to its trading territory. It did not enjoy the freedom to look for new markets globally when a product that had been dependent on Europe for its sales decreased in demand. Thus, when cotton was made cheaper in Europe, Batavia could not immediately look elsewhere. Once in 1745 Governor General Van Imhoff in 1745 had sent ships to Mexico via the Pacific. This was "unlawful" and met with much controversy.
Company pressure to increase deliveries and the contract with the *sushunan* made cotton a commodity with a higher value than it had been perceived by the Javanese before the Company began its campaign. Parallel to this development the Javanese began to increase production themselves for trade purposes. When production reached levels where the Company saw that profits could be made by monopolizing the export of it, it issued edicts first in 1747 that forbade the peddlers to collect from Java’s hinterlands and ten years later to stop the Chinese and free traders from taking cotton as cargo to on inter-island trade expeditions. At the same time it ordered the Preanger and areas around Batavia to diminish its cotton cultivation in order not to be oversupplied.\(^{39}\)

**Silk in Indonesia**

The technology of producing silk is very complex. The Chinese had a long tradition of silk production and continuous trade. Their mastery at raising the worms, reeling the fine yarn, and weaving it into silk had gained them a reputation around the globe. When the VOC attempted to begin silk cultivation in Java, it encountered many difficulties and its attempts were unsuccessful.

Unlike cotton, a plant product, silk is an animal product, formed from the gluey fluids secreted by the moths of the family *Bombycidae* when it is in the caterpillar stage. The cocoon of the best silk comes from the domesticated *Bombyx mori* (Linneas), a univoltine, which evolved into many subspecies. The *Bombyx* silkworms were the favorite breed of the Chinese. Univoltines required a temperate climate; a temperature over 70 was injurious to them.\(^{40}\)

The word used in Southeast Asia for silk came from Sanskrit, *sutra*. However, the raw silk the Indonesian weavers used came from China and

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\(^{39}\) Realia, vol 1 (1767): 223

\(^{40}\) A. Yusuf Ali, Silk Fabrics: 2-3
not India. Chinese silk was elastic, soft, strong, very white, and gave unusual luster. The women in China skillfully reeled the thread evenly and prepared it just right; not sticky, but also not too slippery, so that the skeins were easy to handle. Chinese raw silk was preferred everywhere. Its quality could not be surpassed; even in 1823 a silk expert was prompted to say that the raw silk from Bengal was "in its infancy as far as quality" was concerned. In the Chinese process of unwinding the cocoon, the right temperature of the water and the air was pertinent to the good quality of the thread. The water should not be too hot or the thread would lose its sheen, while the air had to be dry or the thread would break. The ends of 12, 15, 20, or 25 cocoons, still bobbing in hot water, were taken to be reeled and to form one thread. The number of cocoons reeled regulated the thickness of the thread and ultimately the heaviness of the woven silk textile. It explains why the silk textiles were sold by weight because it indicated the heaviness of the thread that was used as opposed to buying a silk textile by length and width measures. The fineness of the thread was one of the determinants in the quality of the woven silk cloth.

A coarse silk was also produced, but this was spun from a multivoltine wild silkworm, mostly in India and to a lesser extent in China. The thread of the wild silkworm was often referred to by the name of the people or the place where the cocoons were gathered, or by the name of the tree on which it fed. In general the silk of the wild silkworm is called tasar or tusser (Antheraea mylitta) in the sources. Actually the term "tussah" silk cloth did not necessarily indicate that threads of one of the numerous wild silkworms were used in the weaving; sometimes it referred to cotton cloth with a little tussah silk woven in for nuance. The main attribute was the coarseness of

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41 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 67-8; I.H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula, vol 2: 2063-4. In Bengal, where the silk industry flourished in the period of the European companies, the reeling of silk was improved only under the guidance of European silk experts. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol 1: 293

42 Natalie Rothstein, "Silk in European and American Trade before 1783. A commodity of commerce or a frivolous luxury?" in Textiles in Trade: 2
the silk thread that was seen, for example, in a stripe. A silk thread from the *eri* or *eria* insect, a multivoltine that fed on the castor oil bean, showed qualities of being very white, stronger, more durable, and easier to reel than the thread of the *Bombyx mori*, but it did not display an equal softness and sheen. Thus, Chinese and Indian silk each had their own qualities, both of which were in great demand in the international market.

Tangled cocoons not suitable for reeling were used for wadding. Many wadded chintz blankets found their way to Indonesia, especially from Coromandel in the 17th century. By raw silk was meant the silk filaments that were not degummed. The thread was not twisted, cleaned, or dyed. Raw silk was widely traded by the Dutch and the Chinese.

The Indonesians bought the raw silk from the Chinese. Before dyeing or twisting the thread they boiled it in water with a strong lye, the ash of burned rice straw, in order to clean it and prepare it to absorb dye. Raw silk came bundled as a little pillow or *bantal* of almost one pound in weight. Each *bantal* contained 15 skeins. A bale of Chinese raw silk weighed approximately 50 *katis* (62.5 pounds).

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44 In Dutch sources raw silk is, "ruwe zijde", twisted silk, "getwirnde" or "gereede" zijde. Cocoons gathered in India and China in the wild (sometimes from the oak tree) were usually pierced resulting from moths, pushing their way out of the cocoon when the pupal metamorphosed, thus breaking the interior continuous filaments. In India it was thought to be associated with the Hindu religion, which prohibited the killing of animal life and could not permit boiling the domesticated silk cocoon. The broken silk thread was called "florette" or floss silk. This could not be reeled, but was spun, giving a weaker thread which was often used for embroidery.

45 J.E. Jasper, and Mas Pirngadie, *De Nederlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië*, vol 2: 20-1. In India one *kati* (1.25 pound) of raw silk contained 20 skeins.

46 VOC 11207: 14, 61. In India the weights were different. A weight measure of *man* which amounted to 67.5 pounds was used for raw silk. One bale weighed 2 *man* or 151.75 pounds. F.W. Stapel ed., *Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge*, vol 1, Part 2: 93; In Persia one bale weighed 80 pounds. H. Terpstra, *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*: 163
In addition to all the qualitative differences in silk mentioned above there was also a seasonal factor that marked the name or "band" of silk and, by implication, the grade. The "band" of the silk indicated one of several harvests in the annual cycle of the multivoltines. Bands could be from two to five harvests. The first harvest was always the best and largest in quality, the second less so, the third even worse, depending on the rainfall. Weather conditions also influenced the outcome of the fourth "band", which might be good, while the last "band" was the worst and considered unimportant. Even with the univoltines the beginning and the end of the harvest made a difference in the quality of the thread.

In the Indian process of reeling silk thread three distinct parts were recognized and kept separate: the cabessa, barriga, and pee or the "head", "belly" and "foot", from first to third quality respectively. If a certain technique in reeling the silk was used to fluff the thread in order to weave it into velvet cloth, the silk was referred to as poil or pool silk.

It goes without saying that making the right choice from these many varieties would have an impact on the work of the weaver, embroiderer, or dyer. For example, the warp threads of a silk textile had to be of a higher quality.

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48 K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740: 124

49 The embroidery was done initially with thick needles that broke easily. Barkcloth was sewn with locally produced needles of bamboo or iron. N. Adriani and Alb.C. Kruyt, Geklopte Boomschors als Kleedingstof: 11. Local thread was coarse, which made sewing a tedious task. Traditionally therefore clothing did not have any sewing on it. This was a phenomenon of contemporary times. Embroidery did not develop until thread became thinner and stronger. So did the needles. Th. Pigeaud, "Javaanse Beschavingsgeschiedenis" in KITLV, ms H717a en b: 311. Iron needles and sewing thread had been imported as early as 1600 by the Chinese and the Dutch, often by the thousands. H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden, vol 5 ((1617): 255, (1620): 564; J.F.K. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 2: 335; Knitting needles were also introduced by the Dutch, H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden vol 1 (1614); 38; Illustrations of beautifully worked bone, copper, and bamboo needles can be found in H.H. Juynboll, Borneo, catalogues, vol 2: 55; Needles of gold were used at the courts in Sulawesi as early as the 1660s. Cornelus Speelman, "Notitie dienende voor een corten tijt ..." in KITLV, ms H 802: 67
quality than the weft because they took the strain of the loom in weaving.⁵⁰

Although they valued silk, the Indonesians did not voluntarily take to silk production, except for northern Sumatra and a small area in southern Sulawesi. In the 17th century the Makassarese wove fine silk textiles embellished with gold thread (see Appendix D).⁵¹ In Indonesia the silk sarong woven in Mandar in southern Sulawesi had a reputation of being so fine that a folded tube skirt could fit in a pocket.⁵² Indonesians, however, imported many pikuls of raw silk skeins and large numbers of silk cloths from the Chinese traders who came to barter Indonesian pepper and products from the sea and the forest. The Company did not interfere in these exchanges because it frequently collected import and export duties from the Chinese traders and was itself, like the Indonesians, a buyer of the Chinese silk products. We may therefore assume that information about aspects of the silk obtained by the Company from the Chinese would also apply to the silk obtained by the Indonesians.

Indonesians were aware of the labor and specialized skills that the production of raw silk required. Indications are that they knew that their environment was not exceedingly suitable for silk cultivation even though mulberry trees, and possibly silkworms⁵³, were indigenous to the country. The high temperatures and humid air could make the thread break easily in the process of reeling; the breeding of the worms and their care were an intensive, day and night occupation.⁵⁴ This meant that income from other commercial activities, agriculture or craft had to be postponed or altogether given up. Also the land assigned to mulberry planting could be used for

⁵⁰ Natalie Rothstein, "Silk in European and American Trade before 1783", Textiles in Trade: 1

⁵¹ KITLV ms H802: 65, Appendix D

⁵² Personal communication of Greg Acceaoli, 7-3-89

⁵³ A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, vol 1: 92

⁵⁴ A very detailed description from 1700 or earlier in Tonkin has been recorded in F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 363-4
more profitable crops such as rice. It does not seem to have been cost effective for the Indonesians to engage in silk cultivation as long as they could easily barter for their supplies with the Chinese.\textsuperscript{55} As Chinese silk became progressively more available and cheap through trade—as Chinese trade bans were lifted after 1567 and again after 1684—Indonesian production declined, especially in Aceh.\textsuperscript{56}

The observation that it was impractical and unprofitable for Indonesians to produce their own raw silk is confirmed by the dismal attempts of the VOC to cultivate silk, first in the middle of the 17th century in Java and Taiwan, and again later in Java between 1725 and 1763.\textsuperscript{57} When Governor-General Zwaardekroon retired in 1725, he devoted much time and effort to the raising of silkworms on his property in Java. The silkworms were imported from Cambodia. He was given support for the project by the Directorate in the Netherlands. A reward of 800 rixd. was announced in June, 1729 for the first delivery of 1,000 pounds of cocoons from the Jakarta lands.\textsuperscript{58} In 1730 only five pounds of silk grown and spun in Java were exported, valued at f30.\textsuperscript{59} However, the attempt to cultivate silk continued to be taken seriously, possibly because of the ex-Governor-General's interest. The Company sold land to promote the growth of mulberry trees and raising

\textsuperscript{55} J. van Goor, ed. Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1730): 201. In 1730, for example, 11\% of the cargo of a Chinese junk consisted of silk items.

\textsuperscript{56} F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 30; W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed. Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1657): 121. The attempts to cultivate silk in Java and Taiwan in the middle of the 17th century were connected with the difficulties that silk cultivation encountered in Vietnam (Tonkin) at that time. Silkworms died massively, the mulberry trees did not grow well and many harvests failed because of too much rain and floods. P.W. Klein, "De Tonkinees-Japansse zijdehandel van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie en het inter-Aziatische verkeer in de 17e eeuw" in W. Frijhoff & M. Hiemstra eds., Bewogen en Bewegen: 164-5

\textsuperscript{57} Realia, vol 3 (1729): 405

\textsuperscript{59} J. van Goor, ed. Generale Missiven, vol 9: 92
of silkworms. The Captain of the Chinese was encouraged to have the areas between the graves in the Chinese cemetery planted with mulberry. Fifty slaves were hired to reel the cocoons for which a big shed was built.\(^{60}\) The cocoons had to be reeled according to the Bengal way.\(^{61}\) This meant that the different qualities discussed above had to be distinguished, which traditionally had not been a practice in Indonesia. The reward was never claimed, because between 1731 and 1735 only 770 pounds of raw silk was shipped to Europe.\(^{62}\)

The project, started with such optimism, ended in failure. The Company withdrew its claim on silk production in 1756 and left it to private individuals.\(^{63}\) The Dutch had not bothered to ponder why the Javanese had not produced silk in commercial quantities earlier. The people from Jakarta, Ceribon and Tagal in Java were not the only ones who had been drawn into the project. Similar projects in Ceylon, Timor, and the Cape of Good Hope were unsuccessful.\(^{64}\)

The failure of the Dutch shows the complexities involved in the production of silk. Without Indonesian interest, cooperation and expertise available the Dutch were unsuccessful in their attempt to set up a silk business that they anticipated to become very profitable. They dealt in large quantities of raw silk in their inter-Asiatic trade, exporting annually from Bengal over 100,000 pounds to Japan in the 17th century and approximately a same average quantity to Europe. Around the turn of the 18th century the export to Europe increased to over 200,000 pounds while that to Japan decreased to several 10,000s. In addition the Dutch exported in the 17th century hundreds

\(^{60}\) Realia, vol 3 (1729): 405; J. de Goor, ed. Generale Missiven, vol 9: 66, 199, 343, 781

\(^{61}\) Realia, vol 2 (1759): 61

\(^{62}\) F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 1: 238-42

\(^{63}\) Realia, vol 1 (1756): 264

of bales of 100 pounds each, of raw silk from Persia and Tonkin to Europe and Japan. Keeping the profitability equation in mind the Dutch attempt to produce silk in Java is explainable.

The Indonesian woman buying her bantals of silk thread from the Chinese had to be a skillful weaver and knowledgeable about the qualities of silk to know what kind of thread she needed, keeping in mind the future use of the cloth she was to weave.

Chinese society displayed skills and refinement in silk production accumulated over a period of several thousand of years. For the Indonesian women it was not cost effective to produce her own silk—a labor intensive activity. Land was valuable and rice production more profitable. A silk garment was a luxury and showed refinement, but in a hot climate not a practical garment and less durable than cotton, hence she restricted her self to weave fine silk cloths, but did not cultivate the worms.

**Gold Thread in Indonesia**

The Indonesians highly valued gold decorated cloths, even the smallest stripe of gold thread in the kepala of a cloth was much appreciate. Gold thread and gold leaf greatly enhanced the beauty and the price of the Indian trade textiles. In the 17th century orders were sent regularly to Coromandel specifying, for example, that fine black salalu, or kain gulong should be supplemented with gold thread in the kepala. Because of the fineness and high quality of the cloth and the weight of the gold elaborations, the salalu and gulong were rolled and not folded; in some gulongs the whole badan or body of the cloth was filled with gold stripes.

Javanese textile connoisseurs refused to buy gulong woven of an

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65 K. Glamann, Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740: 114-130; Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720: 126 Table 5.1 to Japan, 198-9 Table 7.3 to the Netherlands.

66 S.D. Goitein, "Two Arabic Textiles" in JESHO, vol 19, no 2: 222

inferior quality cotton with gold kepala. They considered the combination of a poor-quality cloth with a gold kepala a mismatch. They considered the combination of a poor-quality cloth with a gold kepala a mismatch. Kain gulong was a best seller in Java during the greater part of the 17th century but disappeared from the Company's inventory early in the 18th century (see Timeline, Appendix B). The demand for cloths with gold kepala appears to have diminished in the 18th century. The reason for that is not clear.

The weavers in Coromandel regularly had a problem with a quantity of gold thread insufficient to satisfy the demand for woven gold kepala for the Indonesians. It was in the interest of the Company to ship gold thread from Batavia to Coromandel to sell to the Indian weavers, even though the profits were small. To sustain the Indonesian demand and satisfy the clientele the Company needed to provide the cloths that were most wanted—cloths that showed much gold.

A more compelling reason for the Company's determination to supply specialty cloths was that the Indonesians were willing to pay very high prices if the cloth had some gold in it. The profits for the Company were accordingly much larger than for cloths without any gold embellishment.

The gold thread which supplied Coromandel as well as Indonesia came from China. It was traded in paper packages. Both Indonesian and Dutch dealers bought these in Batavia or Makassar from traders on Chinese junks. The Company sold them in Puleacat, Masulipatnam, and Arakan. Coromandel was also supplied by the VOC factory in Taiwan. For example,

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69 Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 212.
70 Recent scanning electron microscopy/energy dispersive x-ray spectrometry (SEM-EDS) of supplementary weft gold thread of west Sumatran textiles dating from the 19th and 20th centuries was undertaken by D. Montegut, N. Indictor, and A. & J. Summerfield. The results are being prepared for publication. Correspondence, November 1992 with A.& J. Summerfield
21,280 packages (36 chests) were sent from Taiwan to the Coromandel coast in 1643.\(^{72}\) Taiwan imported the gold-thread packages from Hokchou (Fuzhou) on the Min River, a little north of Amoy. One *ceer* (weight measure) of gold thread weighed 9.03 ounce. The gold thread in one package was 56 ells, or 38 meters long.\(^{73}\) In Batavia the selling price per package in 1643 was f2.20. In 1653 the VOC bought 550 packages at f2.03 per package from the Chinese.\(^{74}\) In 1620 the English had sold 10,000 packages in Aceh for f1.25 per package.\(^{75}\) The difference in price might reflect a difference in quality. By the end of the 17th century the Company discontinued its trade in gold thread because, they explained, plenty was imported by other traders. The commodity was no longer profitable to the Company. It sold the last stock for a loss.\(^{76}\) A shipment to the Netherlands had also been unsuccessful and was returned.\(^{77}\)

During the 17th century gold thread had sold particularly well to all places in Sumatra, as well as Banten, Bali, the Java north-east coast, and Banjermasin.\(^{78}\) The export of gold thread to Maluku was much less and in some areas relatively rare. The Chinese traded the gold thread around the archipelago. In 1657 one Chinese junk sold 348 chests and another junk 120 chests, altogether more than a quarter of a million packages of gold thread.\(^{79}\)

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\(^{72}\) H.T. Colenbrander ed., *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, (1643-44): 259

\(^{73}\) One *ceer* is normally 10 ounces. VOC 11207: 13, 50

\(^{74}\) VOC 10396 (1653): 188-9; H.T. Colenbrander ed., *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, (1643-44): 259


\(^{77}\) Ibid, vol 1, part 2: 136; vol 2, part 2: 170

\(^{78}\) To Banten were sold over 4,000 packages annually in the 1630s, to Andragiri, 500; Aceh, 12,000; Palembang, a few hundred; Japarra, 1,200; Jortan, a few hundred; Kendal, 1,200; Bali, 2,400; Banjermassin, 1,750; Tegal, 600. H.T. Colenbrander ed., *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, (1634): 454; (1636): 29, 34, 95, 121, 126, 153, 217; (1637): 47, 71, 87, 86, 107, 110, 116, 143, 248, 249.

\(^{79}\) *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, (1657): 100, 113, 131
In 1786 the Chinese junk from Amoy brought 250 chests or approximately 150,000 papers of gold thread to Makassar. Within one year, 113,000 papers were exported again to the surrounding islands.\textsuperscript{80} There is not enough information to show fluctuations of the quantities of gold thread and leaf imported by the Chinese.

The Dutch described gold leaf in different terms. In 1636 Batavia sent 165,000 pieces of gold leaf, \textit{papieren van geslagen goud} to Banten, and one year later Gresik imported 30,000 "\textit{prada}", the Javanese term for gold, but also used by the Dutch. In 1657 Batavia imported 5,000 gold leaves, \textit{chinese goud papieren}. It is not clear if from these three descriptions of gold leaf if exactly the same product was meant.\textsuperscript{81} One suspects there were grades in quality. The Company did not record the export of gold leaf to Coromandel, which meant that it was not used there on the trade textiles for Indonesia. The Indonesians applied the \textit{prada} themselves to the imported cloth, just as they used foreign cloth to decorate local bark and woven cloth, or embroidered and embellished other imported cloths. There was enough demand for gold thread and gold leaf in the 17th century for its absence to be noticed in the Company records of the 18th century. In the 18th century the sale of gold thread and leaf in Indonesia was left to the Chinese.

The technique of applying gold leaf embellishment was similar in India and Indonesia: the desired pattern was stamped or brushed with glue on a piece of cloth; the pattern was then covered with the gold or silver leaf, which naturally adhered to the glue. When the glue had dried, the remaining unglued particles were brushed off.\textsuperscript{82}

It could not be established however, whether the process of making

\textsuperscript{80} H.A. Sutherland and David S. Bree, "The Harbourmaster's Specification": 15

\textsuperscript{81} Dagh-Register, Batavia, (1636): 29, 34, 56, 121, 126, 153, 175; (1637): 127

\textsuperscript{82} Robyn Maxwell, Textiles of Southeast Asia: 182; J. Forbes Watson, The Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India: 19
gold thread in Indonesia was similar in Indian and China. European gold and silver thread was also used in Indonesia and sold by weight per pound or part thereof. A little was sold in Amboina in 1737 and 1747.  

Analysis of gold artifacts from the Kota Cina site in northeastern Sumatra indicated the presence of Chinese manufacturers who produced, then traded gold leaf. The gold was presumably delivered by the indigenous population in Sumatra. Similar gold production by Chinese is believed to have taken place in western Borneo, as evidenced by data from the Santubong site. Veltman, an army captain who was stationed in Aceh for more than a decade at the end of the 19th century, made a study of the silk cultivation and weaving there. He claimed that gold thread, kasab, was locally produced in northern Sumatra and used as supplementary thread in the weaving and in embroidery on ceremonial cloth.

83 J.B Bhushan, The Costumes and Textiles of India: 53-4 One account of the process in India showed that the production of gold or silver thread took three steps. First beaten wire from an alloy of silver and gold was drawn in successive steps through holes in a steel plate until the wire was as fine as hair. Then two or three fine threads were simultaneously, but separately, drawn by a worker using the left hand through a steel plate with holes onto a highly polished anvil while with the right hand the worker rapidly and firmly beat the wires flat with an equally highly polished steel hammer. Each thread was wound on a reel. Finally the flattened wire of one reel was attached to a slightly twisted silk thread at the bottom of a spindle. The silk thread that comes to the spindle over a polished steel hook suspended from the ceiling was brought into rapid winding motion by the worker who held the flattened wire that came from a reel behind him and guided it upwards to cover the silk thread that was in twisting motion. The foiled wire wound itself around the thread through the motion of the turning spindle. This dexterous manipulation was stopped once it reached the worker's height and fastened in the notch of a shank attached to the spindle. This third step was then repeated over and over again to make up designated lengths which were subsequently sold for couching or weaving.

84 VOC 2379: 1354-63; 836-7


86 Th. J. Veltman wrote a treatise on the "de Atjehsche Zijdeindustrie" ed., Fischer: 26-7. Silver and gold threads, kasab, were always used in the weaving of silk textiles in Aceh. "In earlier times this thread was selfmade, at present [around 1900] no longer unless it is necessary for furl (krawang) work. ... The production is so costly, that in woven cloths nowadays no longer selfmade silver and gold thread is observed and can only be found in very old, expensive fabrics." The necessary metal thread was imported from Weissenburg in Germany and sold in the keude in little parcels of 66
The women in Aceh embroidered with gold in 1602. Rich textiles heavy with gold were a way to display wealth. Veltman remarked that the women who wove them cared more for the amount of gold they put into the cloths than for the skill with which they wove them. At the end of the 18th century they were quite often crudely done. The Javanese gold-woven cloth was coarser and less sumptuous than that of the Malay women.

The import of gold thread by the Chinese in large quantities seem to indicate that the Indonesians could not make the thread themselves competitively. However, that gold thread was very important in Indonesia is demonstrated by the large export quantities in Batavia and Makassar and the request for gold kepala in many types of cloth imported from India. Information concerning the gold thread trade is scarce.

Again in the case of gold thread the Company's profitability equation played a role in the demise of this trade. Competing Indian and European traders did not have the overhead the Company carried. They could buy the thread from the Chinese in the harbors where they collectively traded, for example in Aceh, Makassar and Banten until the last quarter of the 17th century and after that in Manila and on the south China coast. When the Company could not make minimum profits of 60 or 70% it left the trade to others who were satisfied with a smaller gain.

The Indonesian women in Sumatra, Java, Makassar and surrounding islands frequently embellished their cloth with gold judging from the more than 100,000 packages that could be sold annually.

strings: eight small packages weighing one katoè or 0.62 kg. There are three qualities: silver thread "500 fine" which cost f7.50 to f8.00 per package; another quality of silver or gold thread at a market value of f3.20 per package in 1904; and a third of lesser quality, which was actually copper wire that was gilded or silvered, which cost f1.50 per package. A sample of the first quality was described as "wrapped in a paper enhanced with the picture of one rixdollar on which is printed in golden lettering: '1/8 cally Silver-Thread 12/8 on Silk manufactured in Germany. Ingevoerd door de Atjehsche Handelsmaatschappij Koeta Radja'."

87 B. Leigh, Hands of Time: 26, 29-30

88 John Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, vol 1: 182
Dyes in Indonesia

The Dutch saw also an opportunity in maximizing profits by utilizing the island people's capacity to make dyes and deliver either dyewoods or prepared indigo. For the Indonesian women the preparation of dyes had been a very long tradition.

They used mineral pigments and organic dyes from animal and vegetable sources to color thread or cloth. The ingredients involved in the dye processes were also sold inter-island and overseas. For example, people north of Baros in Singkel, Sumatra brought sappan wood for dyeing to Aceh where it was sold locally and to Muslim traders who took it to all regions in India. Southern Borneo exported myrabolan to Gresik for the batik industry and Timor sent curcuma (turmeric) to Java, where it was used although the yellow dye made from it is fugitive. The Javanese and Makassarese shipped indigo to Banten, Palembang, the Sumatra west coast, Johor, Banjermasin, and other places.

The Indians and Indonesians used vegetable dye processes that had evolved over a long period of time. These were unique and among the most complex in the world. Rumphius, a botanist, who lived in Ambon at the end of the 17th century, described, for example, one complicated vegetable dye process used with the red-orange flowers of the safflower, carthamus.

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89 H. Kroeskamp, "De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1668)"; 155

90 B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies: 29; Realia, (1731): 345 In 1685 6,240 pounds curcuma in 47 bags at 17.24 per bag were shipped to the Netherlands in F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 77.

91 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 8 (1705): 138

92 Nobuko Kajitani, "Traditional Dyes in Indonesia" in M. Gittinger ed., Indonesian Textiles, 1979 Proceedings: 305; J.L.Larsen, A. Bühler, B. Solyom and G. Solyom et al., The Dyer's Art: ikat, batik, plangi: 5-12. These conclusions were reached by two totally different research approaches. Kajitani from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, studied the organic chemical compounds of Indonesian textiles and Larsen et al. based their conclusion on descriptions of the uses of plants in George-Evehard Rumphius's Herbarium Amboinense, which were written in Ambon province at the end of the 17th century.
tinctorius, in Sundanese called kesumba. Two dyes were extracted from the kesumba, a red color, carthamin, and a yellow fugitive dye. After the yellow dye was removed from the flowers by spreading them on the dye-cloth and sprinkling them with water until the water ceased to show any yellow, they were crushed in a bowl of china or pottery, and covered with the ash of various peels, sticks and leaves, or with alkaline earth obtained from Cambodja or Siam. They further added a number of substances, cut in very small pieces (leaves, roots, spices, etc.) which increased the chemical reaction. The dye was then well kneaded and passed through two sieves with fresh water or, even better rain water. In this way they obtained clear red liquor, which was mixed in a bowl with acid lemon juice.93

The cloth, previously tinted yellow slightly from the yellow substance that was removed from the kesumba on the cloth, was then dipped in the red liquid. After the cloth was worn, it was washed in the juice of young coconuts and lemon to keep it from fading.

It was common in Indonesia and India to use dung, urine, ashes, certain barks, twigs and leaves that contained soluble aluminum or other chemicals that would act as mordants, fastening the red and yellow dyes, a usage that puzzled Europeans until early in this century.94 The knowledge of how to obtain certain colorants varied from village to village and were kept closely guarded secrets.95 Dye ingredients, such as the kesumba flowers, were available in the pasar.96 Kesumba was grown in Sinkel near Kediri and

93 A. Bühler, "Primitive Dyeing Methods" in Ciba Review, No 68: 2490
94 R. Haller, "The Chemistry and technique of Turkey Red Dyeing" in Ciba Review, No 39: 1417-8
95 J. Mallat, The Philippines: 316-8
96 François Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 2: 373 lists kasumba as an import from Java to Ambon which he called apple blossom.
in other places in Java and Indonesia.97

Some other natural dyes that Indonesia produced were indigo (blue), turmeric (yellow), *annatto* (red/yellow), sappanwood and lac (red or brown), *catechu*, papaya and *gambir* (brown or black). Depending on the mordant that was used, the colorant from the same plant matter could vary. For example, the alkaline dye from sappan wood applied with inorganic aluminum gave red, but with iron, brown.98 Shavings of the sappan wood were boiled to extract the dye. During the 16th and 17th centuries sappan wood was exported from Bima and Sumbawa in large quantities by the Chinese and the Company.99 By 1702 Bima was practically devoid of sappan trees and only Sumbawa could offer supplies.100

The art historian Bühler observed variations in the technical processes of dyeing between western and eastern Indonesia. He thought eastern Indonesia was less advanced in the ways oil, temperature, and the Turkish red dye-processing method were applied for coloring yarn. He attributed the difference to the degree of contact dyers had with the world outside.101

The most important dye the Indonesians used was *Indigofera tinctoria*. The name indigo was applied to the plant as well as to the dyestuff. The

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97 J.K.J. de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 7 (1679): 231 *Kesumba* was also called the bastard saffron (*crocus sativus*). Saffron itself was very expensive which made wearing clothes dyed with saffron a status symbol. If worn against the skin saffron was believed to have medicinal value in Tokugawa Japan and earlier. Valerie Foley, "The Jinbaori" in *Textiles in Daily Life*: 92

98 N. Kajitani, "Traditional Dyes in Indonesia" in M. Gittinger ed. *Indonesian Textiles*: 311. See Kajitani's dye chart for many more details concerning the fastness of the colorant to light or water, results on selected fibers, other agents that are needed, parts of the plant being used and their latin names.


100 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., *Generale Missiven*, vol 6 (1702): 195

101 A. Bühler, "Turkey Red Dyeing in South and South East Asia" in *Ciba Review*, No 39: 1424-5
preparation of the dye was traditionally a woman's task. The Indonesians successfully planted cuttings of a native indigo variety of *Indigofera* for many centuries. In Buton, and perhaps in other islands, indigo grew profusely, but the inhabitants did not always use it.

In Java, where indigo was commonly prepared, the fermentation method, described for Coromandel by H. Adriaan Rheede van Drakesteyn (see Appendix C), was known, but the Indonesians did not dry the indigo. Some of the wet Javanese indigo was tested in Coromandel in 1690-1. It was good dye, but for one pound of Coromandel dry indigo, thirty-six pounds of the wet Javanese indigo was needed. The Javanese altered the preparations for export under the influence of foreign indigo experts who were employed by the Company and later the Dutch Government. Rumphius' description of the preparation of indigo, which he identified as a Chinese method, appears to be an Indian method. The Javanese indigo was, in lay terms, known as wet indigo, the same as the indigo prepared in Kerek, Java north coast, nowadays. Banten was well known for the production of wet indigo during the VOC period. Wet indigo was kept in jars that were breakable and expensive, not practical for the Company, which had to ship them to the Netherlands.

When the Dutch tried initially to transport the wet or paste-like indigo in the 17th century from Java to the Netherlands, it had hardened to rock,

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102 In Java, where much of the production took place for export by the Dutch and use in batik in the 19th century, men also became involved. A. Bühler, "Notes" in Ciba Review, No. 68 (1948): 2509


104 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 8 (1690): 138-9

105 Musée de Marseille, *Sublime Indigo*: 176. F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 2: 238, fn.4 thinks Rumphius copied the information from existing source material of the VOC and that it was an Indian method.

106 Rens Heringa, "Dye Process and Life Sequence" in M. Gittinger ed., *To Speak with Cloth*: 115

107 Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 177
making it useless. The experts the Company sent into the field taught the Javanese to produce little solid cakes (see the illustration on the next page). In 1760 it was regulated that the solid pieces had to be shaped as a "cookie", not as a "cork." They were packed in wooden chests of prescribed sizes and shapes. At the end of the 18th century the solid cakes were marked with a VOC stamp which indicated the year of production.

In the 17th century the Dutch had imported indigo from India because it was cheaper and thirty times stronger than the European woad used for blue dying. Until approximately 1700 the best solid indigo cakes had come from Surat, the well known indigo from Bayana, Sarkhej, Mewat, and Khurja. From these places between 1620 and 1660 a total of 4,975,000 pounds reached the Netherlands at an average price of approximately f1.08 per pound. The Company also exported indigo from Coromandel which was cheaper, but the dye was found not to be as powerful in the way it gave off color as those from Bayana or Sarkhej. Indigo from the north of Coromandel was considered to give the best blue dye from the coast. In 1617 guidelines had been issued to the merchants in India for the purchase of indigo, but they claimed they could not do the buying. They needed experts

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108 Realia, vol 1 (1760): 114

109 C.J. van Lookeren Campagne, Indigo: 9 From the last quarter of the 16th century, dyers in many places in Europe were prohibited from using indigo, in order to protect the woad industry in which hundreds of people were employed. Woad had been threatened by Portuguese import of nila (Sanskrit for indigo) from India. No restriction existed in Holland.

110 H.W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660: 148, computed from Table 16. Surat exported 12% more than was ordered.

111 VOC 10396 (1652) The price in Surat was f1.24 and in Coromandel f0.52 per pound; VOC 10810 (1703) the price in Coromandel was f1.20; VOC 10823 (1733) it was f1.36. The export of indigo from Coromandel continued until 1762, when it ceased. Realia, vol 1 (1762): 331

112 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast: 51-55
to judge the quality.\textsuperscript{113} Thus, the Company always employed indigo experts. Ultimately, the quality of indigo was judged by the number of cloths that could be dyed from a given quantity of dyestuff.\textsuperscript{114} When indigo production in Surat diminished, the Company put pressure on Java to compensate for the lack.\textsuperscript{115}

That there was much experimentation with indigo in Indonesia is evidenced by the many replacements of the dominant species of indigo plants that occurred over a period of 250 years. The Dutch introduced the \textit{Indigofera tinctoria} from India in the 1690s. This species was successively replaced with \textit{Indigofera suffruticosa}, \textit{Indigofera arrecta}, \textit{Indigofera guatemalensis}, and \textit{Indigofera longeracemosa}.\textsuperscript{116} Two of the more important types, the \textit{Indigofera tinctoria} and the \textit{Indigo suffruticosa} were respectively distributed to the Indonesians as seeds, and as plantcuttings.

Dutch indigo experts had intermittently been teaching in the 17th century in Java, but in the 1690s the Company in Batavia intensified its requests for help from India. The Indian indigo makers were not eager to

\textsuperscript{113} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 2: 119-26 In India indigo came in a solid form in the shape of a squarish cake. Quality indigo should be brown-violet in color, of fine material, like ground wheat. If pressed in the hand, it should break. The mixture should be pure, without sand or gum inside or outside. It should feel light in the hand. If it was heavier, it had been mixed with other materials. To test that, one should throw the solid piece of indigo into a bowl of water. If the indigo floated, it was acceptable, although a good variety sometimes sank too. Philippus Baldaeus, Nauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende Ryken, en het machtige Eyland Ceylon, vol 3: 659 gave similar tests.

\textsuperscript{114} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 201-5 For example, in the latter part of the 17th century 560 pieces of \textit{Salempore} were dyed using 480 pounds of good indigo that had cost between £225 and £400. From a lesser quality 480 pounds of indigo only 344 pieces of \textit{Salempore} were dyed, and 216 pieces from a still worse quality. The price of the indigo was not necessarily an indicator of its quality. From Surat in 1697 there exists an extensive account about the preparation, buying and trade in indigo by Matth. van Heck in Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge vol 2, part 3: 73-93. Two valuable letters with indigo instructions from 1705 in Tegenapatnam and 1765 in Japara are printed in F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 2: 236-41, 596-606

\textsuperscript{115} T. Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib The Cambridge Economic History of India vol 1: 402-3

\textsuperscript{116} Loan Oei ed., Indigo: 15-6
move, so the Dutch trained some of their soldiers in India and sent them to Java with knowledgeable slaves. Sometimes these "experts" came from Coromandel, others from Surat. There was no uniformity in the details of the preparation of the dye, but as long as the results were satisfactory, those employed continued to propagate their methods. At first there was little success in increasing the yield. One reason was that the experts used methods that were labor intensive and costly, but another reason was the meager monetary reward paid to the regents. Once the Company started to pay a reasonable price for the production and preparation of indigo, the quantities increased.\textsuperscript{117}

The intensification of indigo preparation paralleled the increasing attention given to cotton cultivation, noted above.\textsuperscript{118} When the Dutch intervened in the local trade of the Javanese after 1678, they also planted the seeds for the colonization of Priangan and of greater Java. Jacob Couper, who spoke, read and wrote Javanese fluently, became the mediating spokesman for the Company, and in 1684 he proclaimed the rules which were repeatedly reinforced:

All Priangan regents and inhabitants have to diligently and seriously cultivate the land and deliver annually all the cotton thread, pepper, and indigo that is produced to the Company in Ceribon for set prices of cash. Especially the thread [has to be spun] as fine as possible and the indigo [has to be] planted and delivered in increasing quantities, the volume to total one \textit{kati} per year for every man in all districts.\textsuperscript{119}

These Company-initiated quotas and restrictions marked the beginning of the so-called contingencies, tributes paid in kind, that were levied in Priangan. Forced deliveries of products that the Company stipulated meant


\textsuperscript{118} E.C. Godee Molsbergen, \textit{Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië}, vol 4: 44

\textsuperscript{119} F. de Haan, \textit{Priangan}, vol 2: 250
that the Javanese were obliged to grow and deliver them at a fixed price. In 1708 Batavia sent the emissary Cnoll to Kartasura with the request that the payments for the Company’s army stationed there were to be made in indigo, cotton and pepper.\textsuperscript{120} The head tax that was expected as payment in other places in Java was also demanded in the form of products favored by the Company. Some regents in Java were more cooperative than others and started to take the production into their own hands. Samarang apparently showed greater initiative in this regard than Krawang and Priangan, which were forced to cooperate and deliver their produce to Ceribon. If the delivery was not forthcoming, a money fine was charged. Every year from 1700 onwards the Dutch in Batavia sent inspectors to the indigo fields to list the quantities that could be expected to arrive by July and August, and remind the regents of their obligations to the Company.\textsuperscript{121} They also checked that the regents were not extracting the products from the people without payments. For the lowest quality of indigo the Company paid f0.30 per pound; after 1760 this price was raised to f0.45 and f1.60 for top quality.\textsuperscript{122} In 1730 Java produced more indigo for export than Coromandel.\textsuperscript{123} For 35 years between 1745 and 1780 the delivery from the Priangan alone averaged 4,250 pounds. A similar quantity was delivered from Java’s northeast coast.\textsuperscript{124} In addition, there were deliveries from regents who privately engaged in indigo production. In the 1733-34 bookyear the Company bought from the Javanese a total of 20,942 pounds, valued at f29,775.\textsuperscript{125} In 1711 an indigo program was launched in Makassar, Ambon and Buru. Experts, among whom were Javanese, were sent to those areas

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{120} Ibid, vol 1: 805
\bibitem{121} F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 2, Bijlage XVII: 193-219
\bibitem{122} Realia, vol 2 (1761): 61, vol 3 (1760): 91
\bibitem{123} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1730): 204
\bibitem{124} F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 3: 921-2; Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 179
\bibitem{125} VOC 10823 (1733) account "Indigo Javas."
\end{thebibliography}
too. Earlier, indigo preparation had been unsuccessfully tried in the Cape of Good Hope, Banda and Makassar. Production under the auspices of the Company outside Java was small compared to Java. Ambon contributed a few hundred pounds irregularly; however, it delivered thousands of pounds of yellow and red dye wood to the Company.

There are two main points to be made from the examination of textile related products. For Indonesians the production of cloth and dyeing them was a very old handicraft. They often cultivated dye stuffs in the gardens next to their houses. Under the influence of the Dutch they became aware of the value of indigo and cotton as articles for which there was a market in very distant places. The Dutch interfered with the ecology in especially Java by introducing numerous new species of cotton and changing the way indigo was traditionally prepared besides the cutting down of forests. The quality control of the Dutch caused new species of cotton and indigo plants to be introduced, again changing the ecosystem. The cultivation system increased in magnitude in the 19th century, but had a precedent in the deliveries of cotton since 1678 and indigo since the turn of the 18th century.

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127 VOC 2283 set 2, (1733): 106 A total of 3353 pounds of red and yellow dye wood were shipped to Batavia.
CHAPTER 4

FOUNDATION OF DUTCH ECONOMIC EMPIRE

Establishment of the VOC in the Netherlands

In the 16th century Portugal supplied the Netherlands with Asian products, but between 1591 and 1602 none were received. A shortage of pepper and spice supplies combined with high prices because of the scarcity, motivated the Dutch to attempt sailing directly to the Indies—first by a northern route and a few years later successfully around southern Africa.

The first expedition of four ships was fitted out by a group of Amsterdam merchants, bewindhebbers (directors-in-charge), who invested £290,000. Bewindhebbers paid with private money and deposits received from participants who also wanted a share in the enterprise. The enterprise was called a company. Such a company usually dissolved after the expedition was over and the profits were divided. The Dutch had been financing many such companies for enterprises in Europe. A new company would be formed for the next enterprise. For the second fleet of eight ships in 1597, 18 bewindhebbers brought together an operating capital of £768,466. The success of the fleet generated more interest and more citizens began to invest in the ventures.

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1 F.S. Gaastra, De Geschiedenis van de VOC: 10-1

2 The participants enjoyed a proportional part of the profit, but had no decision making authority which lay entirely with the bewindhebbers. The names of the participants were only known to the bewindhebber, to whom the investment share had been made. The latter were not responsible for an accounting to the participants. J.P. de Korte, De Jaarlijkse Financiële Verantwoording in de VOC: 3

3 J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffer, Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries, vol 1: 3
Between 1596 and 1601, 15 companies were formed. Because of competition in Indonesia for the pepper and spices among traders of these companies, the buying price increased. The higher imports in Europe made the market prices drop, consequently lowering the profit margins for the investors. To make the enterprises more viable and lucrative the governing body, the *Staten Generaal* of the recently formed Dutch republic (1579), urged on by the High Councillor, moved to bring the *bewindhebbers* of the trading towns together to collaborate instead of compete. Success was achieved when a charter was granted to the United East India Company on March 20, 1602. It gave the monopoly of trade to the east to the United Company or VOC (*Verenigde Nederlandse Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie*).

Initially one household in every 200 in the nation held shares in the VOC. The stock of the Company offered in 1602 amounted to almost 6.5 million guilders, equal to 3% of the national product and more than 0.5% of the nation's wealth. This capital was accumulated through the *bewindhebbers* of major trading towns: the Chambers of commerce of Amsterdam (f3,674,915), Zeeland (f1,300,000), Delft (f469,400), Rotterdam (f173,000), Hoorn (f266,868) and Enkhuizen (f540,000). In Amsterdam in 1700 four households out of every hundred were shareholders in the Company.

Continued capitalization of the Company's trade gave it advantages over and above other trading Companies. Domestic and foreign currency in the Netherlands fluctuated in terms of silver. Bank accounts denominated in *banco* guilders provided money expressed in an account of constant silver value, not gold. There was no policy stimulating the accumulation of stocks of precious metal. A partial explanation is that the country "had a two-currency system, one of book money of uniform metallic value for substantial commercial transactions, the *banco florin*, and another consisting of numerous coins of fluctuating value for the rest, particularly for wage payments and

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4 F.S. Gaastra (1982), *Geschiedenis van de VOC*: 16, Table I


6 J.P. de Korte, *Financiële Verantwoording*: 2
retail trade." The bookkeeping of the VOC was also in *banco florin*.

The organization of the Company was based on pre-VOC models of trading expeditions. Each Chamber consisted of a stipulated number of *bewindhebbers* with their participants. From among the *bewindhebbers* representatives were chosen for the meetings by the Board of seventeen directors, the *Heren XVII*, referred to in this thesis as the directorate. The input of capital for the outfitting of fleets (*equipage*), the division of return goods and profits, and the representation on the board followed proportions prescribed by the charter: Amsterdam 50%, eight *bewindhebbers*; Zeeland 25%, four-; and each of the other four Chambers 6.25% and one *bewindhebber* each on the board. To make up the *Heren XVII*, one extra director-at-large was selected rotating from amongst the smaller Chambers.8

Two major differences characterized the newly formed Company from the former pre-companies. The initial capital investment was not returned to *bewindhebbers* and participants after each voyage, but was carried over to the next voyage. In addition, shareholders could not personally be held responsible for any losses that the Company incurred. Most years during the Company's existence (1602-1795), the shareholders received dividends in cash and sometimes in kind. In the early 1670s, the Company's equity was valued at £40 million, equal to 20% of the national product and 5% of the national wealth. These high values seem to stem from the inflated prices of the shares of the Company which had risen to 400% of their face value by 1640 and 650% at their highest price in the early 1670s.9 Most wealthy Dutchmen had invested about 12% of their estate in the Company. The distribution of wealth was very skewed to the top wealth group. In 1675 seven eighths of all wealth based on assessed value belonged to 20% of the population, and more than 90% based on the market value.10 The accumulation of wealth by

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7 R. Goldsmith, *Premodern Financial Systems*: 212
8 J.P. de Korte, *Financiële Verantwoording*: 4
10 Ibid: 209
the renteniers (people who lived off their capital), seems to have had an adverse affect on the economy. Present research shows that from the 1670s the GNP ceased growing until 1760, suggesting a decrease in income velocity of money and resulting in economic stagnation in the country. The charter of the VOC was initially issued for 21 years, but subsequently went through seven renewals. This was not an automatic affair and could take many years of debate and negotiation before it was finalized.11

Establishment of the VOC in Asia

The foundation for the Company in Asia was laid only in 1609 when the Staten-Generaal approved the appointment of a Governor-General who would reside in the east and function as the highest authority over the VOC possessions and ships, and chair the Council of the Indies. The embodiment of Company rule was finally realized in 1619 when a decision was made to establish the headquarters in Batavia. For a fleeting moment Aceh had come up as a possible place for the VOC to centralize its administration, but two fleet commanders, Verhoef and Matelief, agreed in 1607 on Ja'karta as a cheaper and more suitable place to conduct trade when some warring factions made Banten insecure and dangerous.12 The Dutch were to remain in Batavia for more than three centuries. In the eyes of the Asian rulers the Governor-General appeared like a sovereign. He was assisted by ordinary members of the Council (Raad van Indië) and could not take important

11 J.R. Bruijn, et al., Dutch-Asiatic Shipping: 6-8; J.P. de Korte, Financiële Verantwoording: 4-8. Strong opposition against the renewal of the charter came from the wool and linen manufacturers in the Netherlands. The import of cotton cloth, twined silk thread, and silks were in conflict with their interests and therefore periodically restricted. To ban these imports altogether was not a solution because they would encourage smuggling from competing markets in France, England and Denmark. The VOC also committed itself to annual wool purchases for £200,000– from the Dutch manufacturers for export to Asia. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 56-9

decisions without consulting them. The second most important person in the VOC structure was the Director-General, who was in charge of all commerce in Asia. The six Council members (between 1617-1650 nine) were given different tasks such as heading the department of justice, of shipping, of bookkeeping, of defense, the orphanage, etc. They and visiting governors and senior merchants from branch offices had voting power when they attended Council meetings. The Council also included a number of extraordinary Council members in advisory capacities; usually career men, who had advisory votes.

Important branch offices (Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Coromandel, etc.) were managed by a governor assisted by a secunde of the rank of a senior merchant, a military commander, an accountant, and a fiscal and lower personnel. In subordinate offices where the Dutch had no supreme rights, a Director (not a bewindhebber) had the highest authority such as in Bengal, Surat or Japan. Smaller outposts and settlements were administered by lower ranking officials.

An enormous bureaucracy was built up while the Company expanded. The communities of employees and ex-Company personnel consisted of multi-ethnic Europeans and Asians. The total number of people employed by the Company changed as follows:

- in the year: 1625 - 4,500 employees
- 1688 - 11,500
- 1700 - 18,000
- 1753 - 25,000
- 1780 - 18,500

Not included are the approximate 10,000 sailors and ship’s officers that were employed on VOC vessels in Asia around 1700 and the fleets that sailed between Asia and Europe.

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13 F.S. Gaastra (1982), Geschiedenis van de VOC: 79-82
The Pattern of the VOC Economy in Asia

The Dutch preferred initially to avoid the places where the Portuguese were located and set up their posts where they saw business opportunities and they did not have to deal directly with people of "that hated nation" from whom they learned, nevertheless, a few things.¹⁴ War between the Netherlands and Spain since 1568 included Portugal since 1580. The entanglement of the Dutch States-General in political turmoils with other European powers, first the Spanish and later the English and the French, influenced the directives given to the Company commanders and authorities in Batavia. The war with Spain ended in Europe in 1648, but it was announced in Asia in 1650. However, political quarrels and wars in Europe were a lasting impediment in the conduct of peaceful trade in Asia.

When the Company's first fleet sailed out in 1602, the instructions from the directorate indicated the importance of making accurate observations about trade goods, especially cloths, that were being traded from one port to another. It ordered "to call in at Jurtan [near Gresik] and Bali in order to provide for a large quantity of cotton textiles, rice, and other things that are of use in the islands, because one can barter better with these goods for cloves, nuts, and mace than with reals-of-eight."¹⁵ The instructions show that the VOC directors had become cognizant of the importance of cloths in the spice trade, as pointed out in the first chapter. As soon as the Company opened offices in India where the preferred textiles were produced, and trade in the Indian cloths increased, the Company ignored the locally produced textiles from Madura, Bali and the lesser Sunda islands that had helped supply at least 15% of the cloths needed for the spice trade in the pre-VOC period. Larger profits on the sale of Indian cloths than on locally produced cloths was a decisive factor for the Company to neglect the trade and

¹⁴ J.K.J de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 1 (1598): 222-6 and vol 2 with journals describing the first settlements and conquests

production of local cloth.

During the first two decades offices were established in dozens of ports from Persia to Japan; VOC ships sailed the coasts from these trading establishments. Trade was conducted out of the ships, from a simple house with storage place, or from large forts in which they lived.

After a period of about ten years of exploration and evaluation of the commercial and political situation in the east, the VOC directorate developed a two-pronged strategy.

Firstly, they aimed to keep all trading zones important to the quest for spices free from European competitors and smugglers (the VOC saw no wrong in forcing the local parties to comply). In order to fulfil this first ambition, the Iberians needed to be dislodged from crucial trading zones in the spice islands and undermined elsewhere. All other foreign traders also had to be kept at bay. The VOC regarded other Europeans as more threatening competitors than the Asian traders, because they shared the same markets to buy and sell in the same trade goods. The English, Danish, and French traded predominantly from the Indian coasts and for the greater part of the 17th century were a major obstacle in Banten and Makassar, port cities in which they obtained supplies of pepper and fine spices brought from other parts of the archipelago. Here the linkage between trade and politics is abundantly clear. The aim of first dislodging the Iberians by force and harming them elsewhere explains why the Dutch succeeded initially in establishing themselves in Maluku and Java. In the second half of the 17th century also the other European, Hindu and Muslim traders were excluded from the Indonesian archipelago.

The second prong of VOC strategy was to develop an international network of trade in Asia for products suitable for the European market. This twin program had been expanded in 1607. The directorate ordered that while goods were being purchased for the return fleet, trade for profit should be conducted simultaneously from place to place within Asia on the ships

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16 A. de Booy ed., De Derde Reis van de V.O.C. naar Oost-Indië, vol 1: 12
destined to stay in the east. Thus the advocacy for Dutch participation in the inter-Asiatic trade was articulated in the Netherlands by the directorate much earlier than in Batavia by the Director-General of the VOC, Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Coen has usually been credited with the promotion of inter-Asiatic trade, but actually he was an energetic implementer of earlier directives. The profits gained from the inter-Asiatic trade would subsequently cover the expenses of the VOC and following Coen’s optimistic reasoning, even pay for the return goods.

Coen was quick to grasp the complexity of the three way exchange system in which the Company was involved: spices, species, and textiles. He envisioned in 1619 the Company actively manipulating all three key ingredients:

cloth from Gujarat (obtained against spices, other goods, and rials) to be exchanged against pepper and gold on the coast of Sumatra; cloth from Coromandel (obtained against spices, Chinese goods and gold, and rials) to be exchanged against pepper at Bantam; sandalwood, pepper, and rials to be exchanged against Chinese gold and goods, the latter also being used in exchange for silver from Japan, Finally, rials of eight could be obtained at Arabia against spices and other sundry items.

This overview excludes imports from Europe to Asia. It is true that Europe did not produce tradegoods the Asians were interested in, but a continuous flow of silver and a few products, investments in the outlay for ships, personnel and cargo from the Netherlands to the east paid for most of the return goods and operating expenses. The VOC was never able to buy its return goods from the profits made in the inter-Asiatic trade. The amount of profit that was made in the Asian trade of the VOC is unknown. A study of

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17 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 587. The seed for Dutch involvement in inter-Asiatic trade was planted in these instructions. Jan Pietersz Coen only heralded it somewhat louder fifteen years later.


19 Om Prakash, Economy of Bengal 1630-1720: 16
the inter-Asiatic trade is being undertaken by Jacobs. Her preliminary investigation shows that precious metals as commodities carried the highest value, while textiles came second.\footnote{E.M. Jacobs, "Van nood, deugd en handelspolitiek. Inter-Aziatische handel en scheepvaart van de VOC in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw: een verkenning", doctoraal scriptie Rijksuniversiteit Leiden: Appendix B. In 1751-2 precious metals comprised 35.7% and textiles 12.8%; in 1771-2 these were resp. 24.5% and 15.25%}

Hendrik Brouwer, head of the Japan office and founder of the office in Siam, noted in 1612 the crucial role Coromandel cloths played: "without the textiles of Coromandel, commerce is dead in the Moluccas".\footnote{G.D. Winius & M.P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 13} This perception was not unique, however, to the Dutch, for the Portuguese, who had earlier enjoyed the cloth-for-spice trade, used an even more graphic metaphor for Paleacat (Coromandel) referring to it repeatedly as the chave de Sul, the key to the Southeast Asian region. The Portuguese, therefore, believed that if they succeeded in expelling the Dutch from Paleacat and the Coromandel coast, "their [Dutch] ability to procure Indonesian spices would decline precipitously. Without spice cargoes for Europe, the Dutch Company in its entirety would be hard put to justify its existence."\footnote{Sanjay Subrahamnyam, Improvising Empire 201}

Within two decades of its establishment the Company had, affirming Portuguese fears, become settled in Paleacat and other textile producing places along the Indian coasts. Because the VOC used aggressive measures at first and maintained policies that aimed at controlling trade and commodities, it was able to build up a network of branch offices where it could bring the Indian textiles to the market: the eastern provinces,\footnote{In VOC sources often reference was made to "the eastern provinces" by which was meant all the main branches in Makassar, Timor, Ambon, Banda, Ternate and their subsidiary offices, stations and posts.} Java, Sumatra, Melaka, Siam, and Japan. After the 1680s a major structural change took place in the VOC's inter-Asiatic trade when Europe became the major market for the Indian textiles and the Asian region came second in terms of the quantities of

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\footnote{In VOC sources often reference was made to "the eastern provinces" by which was meant all the main branches in Makassar, Timor, Ambon, Banda, Ternate and their subsidiary offices, stations and posts.}
textiles sold.\textsuperscript{24} The combination of two large textile markets required an expanding supply of metals to pay for the trade cloths, shifting the structure of the inter-Asiatic trade pattern. A large infusion of metals from the Netherlands changed the Company's character from a multilateral corporation to a carrying trader in the 18th century.

The success of the VOC in achieving dominance in the archipelago for a long time was due not solely to financial strength and superior force, but also to the use of diplomatic and psychological strategies in dealing with local rulers. The Dutch bought the commodities they wanted wherever they could find the lowest price for them. In 1622 the VOC in Asia had 83 vessels at its disposal for the inter-Asiatic trade. This number and the tonnage of the ships increased drastically.\textsuperscript{25} In the eighteenth century more than 60\% of the ships in the annual fleets participated in the inter-Asiatic trade before returning to Europe. The Company operated additionally numerous smaller vessels that sailed between the branch offices and each office owned still smaller craft for daily use.\textsuperscript{26} The Company's centralized government in Batavia, where all communication and goods flowed, enjoyed a "bird's-eye" view of prices for the trade commodities in all major ports in Asia. No other trading group possessed this advantage.

\textit{Spices and Textiles: Eastern Indonesia}

Ambon was selected as a specific case study for this thesis. The first conquest took place in Ambon when Commander Van der Haghen occupied Fort Victoria in 1605. The Dutch renewed an earlier contract with the people of this developing clove island for the delivery of the cloves to them with the exclusion of other foreign traders. Makian, a small island west of Halmahera,

\textsuperscript{24} See Chapter 4 and 5; Els Jacobs, Letter of May 3, 1989


\textsuperscript{26} E.M. Jacobs, "Van Nood, Deugd en Handelspolitiek": 7
had been the only producer of cloves earlier. The Dutch also closed contracts with local chiefs and rulers in Banda in 1602 and Ternate in 1607. Dutch monopolistic policies restricted the cultivation of cloves to the province of Ambon once that was put under the Company’s dominance in 1655. The Dutch conquered Banda in the early 1620s and gave the nutmeg gardens to Dutch settlers, the perkeniers.

The production of cloves more than doubled in the course of the 17th century. It was brought back to earlier proportions early in the 18th century, but increased again in the course of the 18th century, never to reach the height of the period from 1688 to 1712 again.27 Whereas cloves were the major article exported by the VOC from Ambon, its largest import consisted of Indian cloth. Knaap informs us that the Company could not maintain the high prices it demanded for the Indian textiles and repeatedly reduced them a little. The profit that was made from the sale of Indian cloths between 1689 and 1691 varied between 60 - 90% depending on the type of cloth. Most popular were the textiles from Surat of which were sold: 2,600 short small bafta at £2.67 per piece and 2,400 chintz at £2.71; from Coromandel: 2,300 guinees at £12.93, 2,000 brown-blue salempore at £7.84, and 1,000 bleached salempore at £7.28 per piece. 50% or more of the total sales were sold in the Company store in Kota Ambon.28

The amount of locally produced cloths imported from Buton, Salayer, or Java is not known, but the Company considered that they competed with its own cloth sales. The competition was especially felt after 1625 when trade with Makassar increased which lasted until 1642. At the end of the 17th century the competition of imported local cloth was such that it harmed the Company’s sales. However, it was decided that the import could not be stopped because the Company was not able to provide the people in Ambon with cloth as cheap as that from Buton. During the second half of the 17th

27 See Chapter 8; G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: Table 16, 235

28 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 224-5
century more than 200 bales of Indian cloths were imported annually in Ambon, that is close to 25,000 pieces. The production of nutmeg and mace had reached its highest peak in around 1620 and declined after that. The battle against the illegal cultivation and trade of cloves and nutmeg outside the designated places in Ambon and Banda lasted throughout the Company's existence. The many hongi (fleets of korakoras, local war vessels and men supplied by villages under Dutch control) expeditions in Maluku had as purpose to extirpate spice trees outside the areas designated by the VOC for spice production.

Although the Dutch had discovered that spices were bartered for textiles, they insisted on substituting cash for the traditional medium of cloth. Undoubtedly there were occasions when textiles were distributed by them for the collection of spices in the earlier years of the Company, but in general and as a system under Company rule, the people who harvested and delivered the cloves and nutmeg to the Company were paid with cash, initially with reals-of-eight and later with Dutch currency, mostly silver rixdollars, some gold ducats and other smaller five- and ten-cent coins (payementen). The Dutch only paid with textiles if they were short of coinage or needed to sell the textiles, especially after an abundant harvest. When supplies of money and textiles ran out, the Company gave notes of credit which were paid up after a supply ship from Batavia arrived.

It was the intention of the Company to pay the people in Maluku with money for the spices so that they could buy the Company's textiles and

29 Ibid: 220-1
30 Anthony Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 2: 14, fig. 3
31 See sections "Little did they know" and "Dutch Discovery" in Chapter 1
32 Three Letters from Coen to Ambon and Banda, 3 Nov, 1615 in H.T. Colenbrander ed. Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden, vol 2: 20, 22, 50; G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 225-7, 254. Knaap presents an excellent explanation of the monetization of the economy and calculates that the net income from the cloves for the province of Ambon, to which the production had been restricted, was between 1656 and 1696 an annual average of f 180,000. at 55 rixdollars per bahar of 550 Dutch pounds.
rice. The Company wanted to make the largest possible profits on the sales of these products, while buying the spices wholesale as cheap as possible. The Company also paid its personnel in textiles and specie. In Ambon 977 personnel were stationed in 1685, by 1781 there were 1,611. For the whole of Maluku which also included two other branch offices in Ternate and Banda comprising approximately 2,000 to 3,000 Company servants, their salaries were paid half in cash and half in textiles. Living allowance was paid in cash during the first few decades of the VOC period, but this was unsatisfactory and the Company created communal eating areas under their supervision.

The people in the provinces of Banda, Ambon and Ternate did not grow sufficient food. They had to import sago, rice, vegetables, other goods, and slaves to supplement the local labor pool. The Javanese, Makassarese and small traders from the islands between Halmahera and New Guinea supplied these things in large quantities to meet the needs of the Ambonese and Bandanese people. The suppliers of sago from Ceram, Aru and Kei islands also customarily bartered for cloths in Banda and Ambon. Therefore, the spice producers needed more cloths than just for their own use to supply other textile consumers.

In order to meet the demand for food crops the Company had encouraged local Chinese and burgers (ex-VOC employees) to grow food crops when they found themselves short. However, there often was a deficiency and the Dutch had to rely on the harbors of the Javanese state of Mataram, or when these were closed on Siam, Pegu, Arakan, Bengal, and other places in Asia. With the increasing monopolization of Maluku the VOC needed to supply cloths and rice. The Company could not always obtain

33 H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden, vol 1: 7-8 For example, the VOC bought rice in Japara in 1614 at 15 reals-of-eight per last. If they had to buy the rice wholesale in the Maluku from traders from Java or Makassar they had to pay 40 to 50 reals-of-eight. The sales price of one last of rice in the Maluku amounted between 100 and 120 reals-of-eight

34 VOC 3595 (1781): 304-5; F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschryvinge, vol 2, part 1: 134;
enough rice and food supplies which is why it had to tolerate a minimum of local trade.\textsuperscript{35} It sent annually cloth, rice and provisions from Batavia to the Maluku in order to keep traders from outside the Maluku region as much as possible at a distance and prevent those based in Maluku from having an excuse to trade to Makassar or Java for rice which from the Company's point of view increased the chance for "smuggling".\textsuperscript{36} Maluku resident traders, however, tried to either smuggle spices out of the Dutch-controlled areas, or to buy cloths from non-Dutch traders, usually Bugis, Javanese and Malays. They avoided buying from the Company. People preferred to sell one \textit{kati} of cloves for 1/4 real-of-eight to the Makassarese than receive 2 reals-of-eight from the Company. Dislike for the Company was widespread.\textsuperscript{37}

The Company subsequently employed a strategy to cut out these middlemen in the spice trade who travelled from places in Java, Sulawesi and Melaka to the spice islands. Initially the Company had used these middlemen to buy exchange goods to buy spices, but as soon as the Dutch ships came in sight prices rose. The Dutch had soon realized that it was cheaper to obtain the cloth in India and rice in ports where it was cheapest than to buy it locally in Indonesia.

The Company was a large, capitalized institution whose comparative advantage lay in large scale transactions. It naturally met with much competition and opposition in its attempt to establish a spice monopoly. In 1614 the Englishman Jordain attempted to buy cloves, but the Dutch were able to avert the sale on the strength of the contract. They fined the people who wanted to sell to the Englishman 500 rixdollars. In the same year a junk from China arrived in Ternate. After all the goods were sold it left with 35,000 reals-of-eight in cash.\textsuperscript{38} Money injected into the Maluku economy by the Company was being drained by foreign traders. The cloth was not

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{35} M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, \textit{Asian Trade}: 195
    \item \textsuperscript{36} W. Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 1 (1617): 77
    \item \textsuperscript{37} H.T. Colenbrander ed., \textit{Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden}, vol 1 (1616): 218
    \item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid: 82
\end{itemize}
selling fast enough and in 1617 the VOC complained that the cloth sales were declining because of the large numbers of cloths the Portuguese brought to Java and Makassar from where it was carried by Coromandel and Indonesian middlemen traders to the people in the Spice Islands.\(^{39}\) The prices of these middlemen were lower than the selling prices of the Company.

A logical means to increase the sales of the cloths was to impose a monopoly in Indian cloths as well as a spice monopoly on the people in the Maluku region. The instructions from the VOC directorate in 1617 allowed all local traders to do business in rice, sago, oil, salt, animals and "also in cloth in the Maluku region on the condition that these cloths were bought from the Company at a reasonable price and from no one else.\(^ {40}\) Local traders could barter the cloths for spices, but under no circumstance were the traders allowed to transport the spices outside the islands from whence they originated or to sell the spices to foreigners other than the VOC. The consequences of breaking the prohibition were loss of life and goods.\(^ {41}\) With two monopoly products in place the Company could dictate the prices: buy the spices cheap, and sell the Indian cloths dear. It goes without saying that suppressing the free trade of the Maluku people created tensions. The people resented the means the Dutch used and tried to undermine the spice and textile monopoly whenever they could.\(^ {42}\)

**Pepper and Textiles: Western Indonesia**

There were two other spices of importance: pepper and cinnamon.

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\(^{39}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 1 (1617): 77

\(^{40}\) P. Myer, Verzameling van Instructien, Ordonnancien en Reglementen voor de Regering van Nederlandsch Indie: 41 art.63

\(^{41}\) J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 1 (1617): 47

\(^{42}\) W. Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 1 (1618): 87-90 For example, it was noted in 1617-8 that fewer and fewer cloves were for sale. The list of ten points of grievances the people in the Maluku had against the Dutch way of dealing and trading with them was reported by council member Laurence Reael.
The cinnamon was found in Ceylon, where the Portuguese were settled. The Dutch dislodged them and monopolized the trade in cinnamon from 1656 onwards. In 1670 the Dutch also imposed monopolistic controls on Ceylon’s export of areca nuts and the import of textiles from the ports in Madurai and Travancore and the southern Coromandel coasts. The textile import had been quite substantial. All the monopolistic measures seemed to have affected the local economy in Ceylon so adversely that even peasants and peddlars, people who handled only small amounts of money, could not find the coins to make their transactions. The price of textiles rose too. The Muslim traders on the southern Indian coast, where the Dutch also had imposed strict trade controls, circumvented them. They landed with the contraband cloth (mostly coarse types) in the quieter bays of Ceylon and returned with the areca nuts. The south Indian merchant castes (Chetties) and Chulias also joined the contraband trade. By the 18th century the economy in the northern part of Ceylon started to turn around. The Chetties and Malabar Muslims settled in ghettos in Colombo because they controlled the retail trade. Jaffna prospered too, as did a few pockets here and there in the southern part of Ceylon. To what extent that involved the cloth trade is not apparent. The Dutch in Ceylon did not trade via Batavia. The directorate in the Netherlands had dealt with Ceylon directly since 1660. It seemed counter productive to send the cinnamon from Ceylon and the pepper from the Malabar coast, which too was channelled through Colombo, on the return fleet via Batavia, because the longer transportation time would only harm the quality of the products. This argument was put forward by Governor van Goens who made Colombo the rival city of Batavia in the structure of the Company.

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45 F.S. Gaastra (1982), De Geschiedenis van de VOC: 101
In addition to the Malabar coast, pepper was cultivated in Sumatra, west Java, Borneo and the Malay peninsula.

Patani, on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, was the collection point for export to China of pepper from Ligor, Jambi, Indragiri, Kampar, Pahang, Kedah and Johor.\footnote{H. Terpstra, De Factorij der Oostindische Compagnie te Patani: 152} Large quantities of pepper were initially obtained there by the VOC. In 1602 the ships' cargoes amounted to 5,300 \textit{bahar} or 2,014,000 pounds at 30 reals-of-eight per \textit{bahar}. It appears that at least an average of 1,000 \textit{bahar} was shipped out annually until 1622.\footnote{Ibid: 8, 11, 155-8. One bahar in Patani was 380 pounds.} The Dutch paid mostly with silver added by European wares that included Dutch \textit{laken} at a value of f4,454 in 1602, and a year later at f2,123.\footnote{Ibid: 15-6} Patani imported \textit{sarassa} (chintz) from Coromandel, \textit{cassa mera} (red muslin) from Bengal and multi-colored \textit{cindai} (chintz) from Surat, of which the yellow ones were most popular. Embroidered silk textiles from China were available in Patani that were in demand in Maluku, but not appreciated in the Netherlands. In 1610 the Dutch employed 18 Chinese who made stitched \textit{armosin} colored blankets and pillows for the Dutch, but that branch of trade never developed and the Patani office was closed in 1622.

The Company did not conduct much trade in Borneo. In 1600 there were two major kingdoms, Brunei and Banjermasin, and some minor ones. Initially the Company traded with Banjermasin Indian cloths for pepper, and occasionally money payments were made.\footnote{L.C.D. van Dijk, Neerland's vroegste Betrekkingen met Borneo, Den Solo-Archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochin-China: 9, 10-1, 19, 29, 43.} It had a monopoly contract for the pepper, but never for the Indian cloth. Some cloth was traded for gold in Sambas. In Kotawaringa and Sukadana cloth and \textit{picis} had been traded for rice, axes, knives and diamonds. When the VOC representatives and staff were massacred in Banjermasin and Sukadana in 1638, the trade relationship
ceased and the pepper trade was left to the Chinese. After 1660 the VOC returned, but the trade never amounted to much.

A trade monopoly in textiles and spices could not be imposed on the western Indonesian regions as it had been in Maluku. It would have been too costly and at the expense of the inter-ASIatic trade for which the naval fleet was needed. The western Indonesian cities and towns bartered for textiles but were also accustomed to trade with currencies, more than in eastern Indonesia. It was to the advantage of the Dutch to use both barter and currency. If the buying price for pepper was high or if there was scarcity of cloths and the selling price for textiles was high, with profits of 100% to 200% it was in the interest of the Company to barter textiles for pepper.

In Batavia the Dutch could control the trade using Dutch coins. For example, in 1630 traders from Sumatra's west coast, Palembang and Banjarmasin brought close to 600,000 pounds (3,960 pikul) of pepper to Batavia which the Company bought from them with Dutch rixdollars at 7.5 rixd. per pikul. These Dutch rixdollars were not used in Sumatra and Banjarmasin, so the traders needed to spend them in Batavia by investing them in Indian cloth, which was exactly what the Dutch had planned. They sold the textiles to the pepper merchants at 100% profit. In 1630 the import duty was 5% on the pepper and the export duty 5% for the textiles, making a total profit of 17,820 rixd. or f44,550. In 1651 the Company bought 84,536 pikul pepper of which 40,864 pikul in Batavia and 43,672 pikul via offices in Sumatra, Malabar, Malaka, and Makassar. Most of the pepper was purchased with Indian textiles. Noteworthy is the fact that the profit on the sales of textiles in Batavia was 15% to 20% higher than in the outlying offices.

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50 Ibid: 108, 122
52 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 5 (1631): 183-4
53 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 2 (1651): 466. The pepper of this year was divided into 56,371 pikul on the return fleet, 17,078 pikul to Taiwan, and the remainder to the inter-ASIatic trade.
During the 17th century the Company secured deliveries of pepper wherever possible through contracts and treaties with independent local rulers, which were only effective when the VOC could enforce them. For example, in 1684, only after a major war, an agreement was signed with the Sultan of Banten, who had become a vassal of the Company, whereby all the pepper from Banten's domain, Lampung and Silebar (on Sumatra's southwest coast) would be delivered only to the Company and likewise the delivery of white and chintz cloth was made a prerogative of the VOC.54

In Palembang the VOC closed a contract with the Pangeran in 1641 for the delivery of pepper. The pepper was loaded aboard ship and the payment promptly made in either cash or cloth for a set price.

The VOC concluded a contract with Jambi as well, structured along the same lines as that with Palembang in 1643. However, there existed discrepancies in the prices paid for the pepper in Jambi and Palembang which caused jealousies and attempts to smuggle from one place to the other.55 A new contract with Jambi in 1681 stated that pepper should be delivered only to the Company and not to other traders. The price for the pepper was settled at 4 rixd. per pikul if the payment was with Mexican reals-of-eight and 4 1/2 rixd. if it was to be made with textiles.

Two years later, after Banten fell and the competition between and VOC with foreign traders was much reduced in the Java Sea, the Company dominated the trade in pepper, Indian cloth and opium. It could thus control the prices in the Java Sea. The Company's authority was immediately reflected in lower prices for pepper in Jambi. In 1683 the VOC paid only 3 rixd. in cash or 3 1/2 rixd. with textiles, respectively, for one pikul of pepper. In addition the Company stipulated that the payment for the pepper had to be accepted for two-thirds in textiles.56 No Indian textiles were allowed to

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54 J.K.J. de Jonge, de Opkomst, vol 7 (1659): 401 "Rules and articles drawn up, agreed upon and signed on the date underneath between Johannes Camphuys, Gouverneur Generaal, ... and Paducca Siri Sultan Abdul Cahar Abu Nasar . . ."


56 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 310
be imported, except by the VOC. Those caught breaking the new rules would lose their possessions, which were to be divided between the Company and the local ruler.

The Company traded to the western coast of Sumatra a much larger proportion of Indian textiles than silver currency; some Chinese silks, raw silk and gold thread were also included in the shipments. The latter items were also traded in Jambi and Palembang by the Chinese. The Dutch could not trade freely on the west coast of Sumatra until after the 1660s when they had concluded a peace treaty with the Queen of Aceh. The Dutch used a price list of textiles in payment of each bahar or 3 pikuls of pepper.\textsuperscript{57} It was agreed in the treaty that the authorities in Aceh be compensated with one piece of cloth for every bale of textiles that the Company sold on the West Coast, and that the people who fetched water for the Dutch would receive three small cloths. The Queen of Aceh, seven title holders, and twenty mantris were to be annually awarded one silk patolu and one bafta from Broach, western India, in addition to a stipulated payment in money for the pepper.

A few years after the treaty, some Sumatran trading towns, Inderapura, Painan, Padang, Tiku, Barus, and the rulers of the Sepuluh Buah Bandar, broke their alliances with Aceh and sought the protection of the Dutch. This gave the Dutch the monopoly rights in these places on pepper and cloths; no import or export duties were expected. The Dutch negotiated a compensation for the loss of the produce of these towns with the Acehnese

\textsuperscript{57} J.E. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol 1 (1660): 528-32; F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschryvinge, vol 2, part 1: 290 The first price list had been established in 1649. One bahar (3 pikul or 360 pounds) pepper cost eight to nine rixd. thus, the textile equivalent must represent the same value which could be either: 3 pieces (ps) bleached guinees, or 6 ps broad black ordinary bafta, 8 ps narrow of the same, 16 ps half ones of the same, 8 ps blue or white betille of 32 asta (14.72 meter), 6 ps committers, 36 ps cannekins, 20 ps narronconders, 9 blankets, 18 dongris, 20 chiavonis, 17 tape sarassa, 7 bleached ordinary or blue salempore, 12 red karikams, 20 kangans, 28 blue boulangs, 17 niquanias, 12 red chelas, 13 white parcalle, 12 Surat broad chintz, 20 tapi cindai (C), 36 asmanis, 5 bleached muri with gold kepala, 2 fine black narrow bafta from Broach (S), 3 red of the same, or 3 ells crimson red laken. Also cotton thread, salt, iron, steel, and a few other trade goods were bartered for one bahar pepper or for gold. The prices on the list for 1649 were a little higher than for 1660.
elites. The agreement also included gifts (salimut) of cotton and silk textiles for the local headmen.\textsuperscript{58} The new arrangement accelerated Dutch interest in the gold from Minangkabau. After 1665 the precious metal became the main reason for Dutch presence on the West Coast.\textsuperscript{59} The gold and pepper of west Sumatra continued to be bartered for textiles throughout the VOC period.

From the interior of Sumatra, the Minangkabau brought their gold, pepper, and other forest products to people they met down the mountains on the west or the east coast of Sumatra. In 1674 Melaka Malay Muslims went inland to trade with the Minangkabau through the Inderagiri River.\textsuperscript{60} Also the Chinese from Jambi and Palembang went inland to barter imported and locally woven cloth for pepper with the Minangkabau.\textsuperscript{61}

Choice textiles often went to the coastal people in Java, Sumatra or larger towns in the archipelago, who were also the first buyers of the Indian cloths when they arrived, and gradually, but in lesser amounts, the trade goods including the Indian textiles were dispersed to subsequent buyers inland or further away from dominant groups. Regardless of the quality and

\textsuperscript{58} The panglima and four title holders in Padang received each one silk cindai and a bafta, (the panglima and two orangkayas a black broad bafta from Broach, the judges an ordinary bafta) and the four mantris one of either: the black broad bafta or the silk cindai. The ranking in awarding cloth was always very clear. The Dutch did not know the fine details of these appropriations, but were always assisted by an attendant of the royal household in choosing the gifts or in the decisions on the appropriate awards, as in the cases here for Aceh and Padang’s trade agreements. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijving, vol 2, part 1: 291; J.E. Heeres ed., Corpus Diplomaticum, vol 2: 166-7, 447 a similar agreement closed with Parian in 1671; again the social hierarchy is apparent in the awards of cloths: fine bafta from Broach and silk cindai. Other differences apparent in this agreement are the silk patolu awarded to Aceh, but silk cindai to the West Coast rulers. The length of the cloth is also an identification of rank. They varied here from 7, 5, to 4 asta (1 asta = approx. 0.46 meter)

\textsuperscript{59} H. Kroeskamp, De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1689): 43


types of textile, the Indian textiles reached all areas in the archipelago, from coastal town to the remotest valley, lake side, or mountain top in central Sulawesi or Borneo and on isolated islands, wherever people lived and exchanged goods. The Dutch, and before them also the Portuguese and Javanese traders, sold the better quality Indian cloths to the Javanese and royal families in littoral states. Cloths of lesser quality trickled down to the lower class people and to regions further away in the hinterland or to the lesser Maluku islands.\(^{62}\)

The Javanese were very particular in the buying of tapi cindai, sarassa, and kain gulung; they wanted the textile well woven, with designs that they appreciated, and skillfully hand drawn, in fast dyes. If their demands were not satisfied they preferred to use something else altogether. The people who could afford it did not mind spending their money on a good cloth. The lesser varieties, such as coarse tapis, were sold to the poor.\(^{63}\) It was in the interest of the Company to cater to everyone and control the quality. Experience had taught it that only a profit of 80% could be made on an inferior-quality type of cloth, while the same type of cloth in a better quality, sometimes secured through another merchant, could yield 400% profit.\(^{64}\) Understanding this, the Company tried to obtain the best quality textiles for its fine spices and pepper trade in the Maluku, Java and Sumatra when they began the trade.

By the end of the first decade the VOC leadership perceived that profitability for the Company and the stockholders in the Netherlands depended on full participation in the inter-Asiatic trade. This meant responding to the demand of the spice producers for imported textiles from India, and to the demand of the cloth producers for precious metals supplied from Europe which were later supplemented from sources in Japan and


\(^{63}\) H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden, vol 2 (1617): 293-4

\(^{64}\) Ibid, vol 1 (1614): 64, vol 3 (1622): 210
Persia. Realizing the critical linkage between spices, species and textiles, the Dutch consequently focused their naval, financial, and diplomatic strategies on securing the sources of textiles in Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal, the subject of the next chapter.
When the Dutch came to participate in the pre-existing trade pattern, they based themselves in contrast to the Portuguese, not in India close to the sources for textiles and pepper, but in Indonesia, closer to the more valuable fine spices, the new growth area of pepper, and the big markets of China and Japan. Because of the linkage between Indonesian spices and Indian textiles, they eventually were forced to secure the supply of textiles in India by establishing factories in Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal.

Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Coromandel

Large communities of Chinese, Gujarati, Coromandel Muslims, Arabs, Malays and other islanders were found in Aceh in 1600. The Chinese imported a multitude of trade wares among which were raw silk, silk textiles, and gold thread. Silk textiles were very prestigious items suitable for royals, notables and other selected personages. The esteem with which silk textiles were generally regarded may be seen at the traditional presentation made by the Gujarati traders who came in audience to the Sultan of Aceh and customarily offered seven pieces of silk kain cindai. Afterwards the Sultan allowed them to trade the more common cottons like asmanis, bafta, beiramee, cannakins, corroots, dongris, doty, cotton thread, coarse chintz, quilts, and several other types of textiles in his town. The Klings, who came from Coromandel, brought different types of textiles from those of Gujarat, namely, blue salempore, fine chintz, striped cottons and many more; the Bengalis brought alegia, malmal and cambaya cloth to Aceh.

1 A multi-colored silk cloth, perhaps similar to the silk patola, but distinct from it. A.K. Dasgupta "Aceh in Indonesian Trade and Politics, 1600-1641" PhD dissertation, Cornell University: 114
The Dutch had found Aceh to be a significant harbor in 1600 and were quick to contract with the Sultan for pepper.\textsuperscript{2} The Dutch were back in 1605 with a small vessel, named \textit{Delft}, the same ship that continued to the Coromandel coast and whose officers laid the foundation for a remarkable trade in Indian textiles.

The \textit{Delft} made successful contacts in Masulipatnam. The chief merchant left a few of his men behind there, while he returned to Banten with 122 bales of cloth. The \textit{Delft} came back the following year with an other chief merchant and a textile expert, Dirk van Leeuwen who was contracted for one year. They visited many textile production places and opened a factory in Paleacat, just north of Madras. A residence was opened temporarily in Petapuli, also known as Nizāmpatnam, where cloths of a particular red (\textit{chay}) color, much liked in Indonesia, were procured.\textsuperscript{3} The Dutch were given permission from the Governor of Petapuli to purchase certain types of chintz made to their specification.\textsuperscript{4}

Textile expert van Leeuwen was asked to stay a little longer to instruct his successor in the intricacies of textiles and to pass on the knowledge of how to purchase them. A second expert, Marcelis, who spoke the Tamil language, was regularly sent to travel inland to collect information about the wages of the weavers, dyers, bleachers and washers. He learned the prices of finished products, and also of the raw materials that were used in the production of the cloths. Marcelis was to compare those prices and judge

\textsuperscript{2} F.W. Stapel ed., \textit{Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge}, vol 2, part 1: 260

\textsuperscript{3} The miraculous red color referred to is produced with a dye from the chay-root, of the madder family. It was found on the island Tambrewe in the river of Petapuli. The district governor held it as a monopoly. He did not always want to give permission to sell the dye because he had it used for dyeing the cloth of his soldiers and sold it to the King in Persia who had the same use for it. M.E. van Opstall ed., \textit{De Reis van de Vloot van Pieter Willemz Verhoeff naar Azie 1607-1612}, vol 1: 73; J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 3: 282. "Discours door Lodewyck Isacss ....wegen den standt van de custe van Coromandel - 5 Nov. 1608;" Appendix B, "The Painting of Chintz" explains the use of this special dye.

their fairness when he gave his orders. He next proceeded with setting up workplaces with weavers and painters for the Company in south Coromandel and taught the artisans, with the use of samples, to make even better painted chintz than in Petapuli at much lower cost.5

The procedures that Marcelis and van Leeuwen instituted could not be maintained when the quantity of the textiles that had to be ordered increased significantly; soon local brokers were brought in.

In north Coromandel the Dutch seemed to have contracted mainly with Muslim brokers, probably of the same group that purchased Indonesian spices from the Dutch.6 In 1608 the first batch of the popular chintz of a special red color, sarassa, was shipped by the Dutch to Indonesia, some to Aceh, others to Banten. The production increased every year according to the orders that came in from Batavia. Samples of the cloth to be produced were included.7 A plain cloth of smooth and fine thread was ideal for making chintz. Often parcalle or muri was used. The lengthy process of dyeing cloth in eleven steps to make chintz has been described by Gittinger in Master Dyers to the World with illustrations based on a French manuscript from 1734. In summary the process included 1) repeated soaking in a myrabolan solution and drawing the patterns with iron and alum mordants, 2) boiling the cloth in a chay root solution which combines with iron and alum to produce respectively black and red, 3) bleaching in a dung bath to remove the myrabolan and mordants, 4) and 5) applying wax to the areas to remain untouched by the indigo dye, 6) blue dyeing with indigo and later the removing of the wax in hot water, 7) re-application of alum mordant in the

5 Ibid: 90, 141; VOC 1055 "Instructie" (1610): 2

6 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 107, 135; J.J. Brennig, "The Textile Trade of the Seventeenth Century", PhD dissertation: 126 The Muslims traded and used spices in food preparation if they could afford it, and for medicinal purposes.

7 Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 21-2, 29, 30, 36-42, 46, 48-51, 53-6, etc. There are thousands of examples of these specifications. A study of these orders in the letters from Banten, after 1619 from Batavia, to the offices in India could reveal much more about the textiles themselves than will be reflected in this study. It would take much time to do a detailed analysis of them, but contribute greatly to the history of the textiles themselves.
motif areas, 8) the addition of extra mordants and dyes to vary colors, 9) boiling the cloth once more in a chay root solution to develop the red, blue, purple and yellow, 10) further bleaching and washing, 11) the application of yellow dye over blue to make green. The yellow being fugitive, would leave the leaves more blue than green. A very similar description was already known from a Dutch Commissioner in the 1680s (see the translation in Appendix C) predating this popular French one by almost 50 years. The last two paragraphs of the translation show the economic potential and value that specialized knowledge of textile manufacture could have when a way was discovered how to apply the chintz process on silk cloth. The report also includes a description of the way indigo was made in Coromandel. In 1610 one ship brought to Banten 292 bales of cloths of which 151 contained the *sarassa*, from the workplace in Tirupapaliyur, west of Negapatnam, 39 bales with Gujarat textiles, 72 bales of indigo and 24 bales of cotton thread.

In 1617 contracts were executed between the Company and the Indian brokers for more than 900 bales, almost 180,000 pieces of cloths, at a total amount of £222,300.— entirely for the Indonesian market:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paleacat</strong></td>
<td>50 bales <em>gulong</em> of 5 meters; 170 bales <em>gulong</em> of 4 meters; 6 bales <em>arissiodes</em>; 5 bales red malay <em>pattas</em>; 10 bales <em>tapi sarassa</em>, 4 bales <em>sarassa ley de Cochin</em>, 2 bales <em>sarassa telepocan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masulipatnam</strong></td>
<td>200 bales <em>tapi</em>, 50 bales <em>tapi cindai</em>, 4 bales shirts and trousers, 7 bales <em>betille</em>, 10 bales <em>plbloulang</em>, 4 bales red <em>parcalles</em>, 15 bales white <em>parcalles</em>, 15 bales <em>salesmpore</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tirupapaliyur</strong></td>
<td>15 bales <em>chelas</em>, 15 bales <em>taffachelas</em>, 300 bales <em>balaches</em>, 25 bales <em>gulong</em>, 10 bales <em>madafons</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the next six years between 180,000 and 200,000 pieces of textiles

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8 M. Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World*: 24-5

9 The latter two were destined for the Netherlands. H. Terpstra, "De Vestiging aan de Kust van Koromandel" PhD dissertation: 143-4

10 Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623*: 36-38
were imported.\textsuperscript{11} The numerical data will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Because of unsettled political situations in and around the kingdom of Golconda, the trading companies "had to wage a continuous struggle against the illegitimate demands and restrictive measures of the local authorities or buy their favors through expensive presents."\textsuperscript{12} Through a series of \textit{cowls} (contracts) given to the Dutch by the kings of Golconda and Karnatica, the VOC became a privileged semi-autonomous corporation. The \textit{cowls} allowed them to privately own several places granted to them, lease villages with workers very cheaply, receive part of the import and export duties of the traders in the Company's domains, transport textiles from distant places 250 miles inland in Golconda to Masulipatnam tax free and other smaller local tax exemptions.\textsuperscript{13} The opportunity to explore distant markets helped expand the varieties of textiles, which were an attraction to buyers in the archipelago.\textsuperscript{14}

The Dutch were mostly granted free import and export of goods in places under the kings of Karnatica and Golconda.\textsuperscript{15} In some places they paid duty, but less than the tax charged in general to Indian traders of 2-3\,\% in the seaports along the coast.\textsuperscript{16} Textiles were taxed inland, at the town gate, sometimes by weight, but also per piece or per \textit{pacheri}, that is per two cloths. For example, for white cloth and \textit{parcalla} a tax payment of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid: 265-7, 290-1
  \item \textsuperscript{12} T. Raychaudhuri, \textit{Jan Company in Coromandel}: 8
  \item \textsuperscript{13} F.W. Stapel, ed. \textit{Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge}, vol 2, part 2: 225-46
  \item \textsuperscript{14} VOC 1055, "Acoort gemaeckt bij den Capiteyn Arent Martsen ... ende den dooarlughtighe hooochgeboren Coninck genaempt Vincay Pata Raya Alou ... April A’ 1610": 2-3
  \item \textsuperscript{15} F.W. Stapel ed., \textit{Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge}, vol 2, part 2: 225-46; W.H. Moreland, \textit{Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century}: 52 states that the Dutch paid 2\,\% import duty in goods, and 2\,\% export duty in cash.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} S. Arasaratnam, \textit{Merchants Companies and Commerce}: 324
\end{itemize}
respectively 1 and 2 cash per *pacheri* was required.\(^{17}\) There were a myriad of other small taxes for goods being transported from the coastal town inland or from the cloth producing villages to the port towns. The Indian merchants who paid those taxes incorporated the charges in their negotiations and dealings with the European Companies making the *cowls* look a farce.\(^{18}\)

The establishment of factories on the southern Coromandel coast was comparatively easier under the Hindu administration of the wealthy empire of Vijayanagar even though it was crumbling into semi-autonomous feudalities. The Dutch were able to enter into contracts greatly to their advantage with local authorities in Paleacat in 1610. The latter and the king were interested in developing foreign trade relations, which would bring them additional income as well as a regular supply of curiosities from east and west.\(^{19}\)

When in 1613 the building of Fort Geldria in Paleacat was completed, it was declared the official headquarters of the Company on the Coromandel coast. It continued in the status of "government" and appropriately was headed by a Governor. In 1690 the headquarters on the coast were moved much further south to Negapatnam. The Company had gained relative power and control through its dominance at sea, as demonstrated, for example, in 1628 when the naval ships blockaded Masulipatnam because of the commercial manipulations by the governor.\(^{20}\) During the civil wars in the Karnatic, Fort Geldria in Paleacat sometimes offered security and employment for fleeing weavers and textile workers.

Between 1640 and 1660 the activities of the VOC on the Coromandel coast expanded; new factories were established in Bimilipatnam, north of

\(^{17}\) Ibid: 326

\(^{18}\) Ibid: 328

\(^{19}\) Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company*: 10-27

\(^{20}\) W.Ph.Coolhaas ed., *Generale Missiven*, vol 2 (1651): 477 The unfair commercial manipulations as the Dutch perceived it consisted in the Governor of Masulipatnam monopolizing the production of textiles in high demand and selling them to the trading companies for high prices—practices the Dutch also employed.
Masulipatnam; further inland; and in the far south: Tanjore, Madura, Karikal, and Coilpatnam.

While operating from Ceylon and southern India the Company found an alternative production center for textiles in Madura.\(^{21}\) Here the textiles were cheaper, but limited in the varieties that could be produced. An advantage was that the area was outside the centers of textile procurement for other Europeans.

In the years before 1600 the Portuguese in Melaka annually received ships loaded with cloths from Coromandel.\(^{22}\) These textiles found their way in part to the Maluku region for the barter trade in spices, a small quantity was shipped to the Portuguese in Macao, and another portion to western Indonesia for the pepper. The Portuguese in Melaka merely followed trade patterns set earlier by the Chinese, Malays and Javanese. The Indian Muslims who used to maintain the supply link between Melaka and Coromandel lost most of their trade as a result of Portuguese competition.\(^{23}\) They shifted their trade to Aceh, Pahang, Kedah, Patani and Banten which collectively were much more important than Melaka.

After the Dutch conquest of Melaka from the Portuguese in 1641 combined with the Company's attempts at monopolizing the cloth trade to the archipelago, many Gujarati, Bengalis, and Coromandel traders intensified their trade to Persia and the Red Sea.\(^{24}\) All the merchants who sailed from the Indian coasts to the east invariably traded textiles and were perceived as competitors by the VOC. The Dutch felt threatened by the Indians, who

\(^{21}\) Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 79-80. Chank shells were used for beetling the cloth

\(^{22}\) T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel: 6

\(^{23}\) J.J. Brennig, "The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel", PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison: 13. Brennig claims that the Klings used to export two million yards of textile from Paleacat, but were displaced by the Portuguese

\(^{24}\) Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660", PhD dissertation, University of Leiden: chapter 2, 51-78
could sell their textiles at a much lower price because of lower overheads. The Dutch tried to control the export by issuing passes to Indians who wanted to trade in Southeast Asia. It was for their own protection, so the Dutch claimed, because conditions at sea were uncertain. The Indian Muslim and Hindu traders largely ignored the Dutch requirements and frequently obtained passes from the English, Danes, and Portuguese. They also joined partnerships with Armenian traders who were spreading their diaspora eastwards and westwards in the second half of the 17th century. The Armenians freighted and traded goods to Manila, Syriam, Mergui, and Ayutthaya. They joined with the Portuguese in these ventures and also freighted goods for the English and the French to ports in the archipelago.

As Dutch trading practices evolved, they identified three types of control: 1) trade which the company enjoyed as an outcome of its own conquest, exercising its own jurisdiction, as e.g. in Ceylon, Negapatanam, Batavia, and Maluku; 2) trade by virtue of exclusive contracts, giving the Company monopolistic rights on the local production such as Cochin and Cannanore on the Malabar coast, ports on Sumatra's west coast, Banten, Palembang, etc. and 3) trade by virtue of treaties, by which the Company did not occupy any special position at all and found itself only one among many, as in Siam, Tonkin, Gujarat, and Bengal.

The Muslim trade in Aceh was declining after 1668 as a consequence of the treaty concluded between the VOC and the Queen, the VOC's prizing the pepper-producing west coast of Sumatra, and tin-producing Perak, away from Aceh. The Dutch forced the Indians out of the trade by seizing

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27 George D. Winius and M. P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 10-11

28 This treaty was concluded after Jacob Keyser and Balthasar Bort were sent to Aceh. According to the contract only the people from Aceh and the Company could trade on the Sumatran west coast. All other foreign traders were excluded: those from
Makassar (1667-9); they refused them passes to Melaka from 1676 onwards, and subsequently closed Banten to the Indian traders as well as other foreign traders in 1682, thus keeping the competition out of both the spice-exporting areas and the cloth-consuming coasts around the Java Sea. The Coromandel traders were forced to refocus their attention westward and intensify their search along the coasts of Bengal Gulf, from Arakan and Pegu to Kedah, stopping in the Southeast Asian harbors on the "upper coasts" of the Malay peninsula.\(^2\) The same scramble for alternative markets was followed by competing Europeans like the English, Danes, French, and Portuguese.\(^3\)

The overall picture of the Dutch East India Company's involvement on the Coromandel Coast shows that priority was given to driving up the production of textiles, to obtaining them as cheaply as possible, and to monopolizing the Indonesian markets for the sale of these textiles. The information we have analyzed confirms that, as Arasaratnam suggests, the forceful intrusion of the Dutch into the trade and the harmful effects of their aggressive policies were "... a major factor" in weakening the Indian merchants. The same observations were confirmed by Winius and Vink who characterized the period between 1600 and 1680 for India as a "monopolistic phase."\(^3\)

The main exports of Coromandel had traditionally consisted of textiles, woven on the handloom in many hundreds of villages and towns. An

\(^2\) S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast 1650-1740: 118-34; Ibid, "The Coromandel-Southeast Asia Trade 1650-1740" in JAH, vol 18 (1984), No 2: 118-33


\(^3\) S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 355; George D. Winius and Marcus P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: Part one, 7-40
average weaver household produced 1500 meters of cloth per year. Their own consumption was about 7.50 meters per person. It appears that weavers were, in general, categorized as fine cloth and coarse cloth weavers in Golconda. Weaver households specialized in a certain type of cloth; some identified themselves as *muri* weavers, others as *kain gulong* weavers. In general weavers were able to weave several types of cloth, but either chose the one that was most convenient or profitable to them, like a farmer choosing the crop he grows, or responding to the demand for a certain type. A weaver's labor was compensated with a steady income that did not increase much over time. If a weaver wanted to earn a higher income he could produce more pieces by weaving looser, using less yarn at the cost of quality. Sometimes a weaver was subcontracted by another weaver, who bought the finished pieces that met a certain standard. When production expanded additional weavers were attracted from the agricultural sector.\(^{32}\) These weaving villages could be found at a distance up to 400 kilometers from the coast.\(^{33}\) Many were located close to the major rivers and their tributaries because they needed plenty of fresh, flowing water for washing off the wax from the dyed cloths. Caustic sand was utilized for bleaching cloth.\(^{34}\) The textiles were transported from the village by bullock or small boat to the market towns. The agents and brokers of the Company were responsible for collection and supervision of the cloth production until it reached the warehouse.\(^{35}\)

In 1634 the Dutch Governor of Paleacat travelled himself to Masulipatnam to sell spices and to order textiles according to samples of specified length, width and quality that Batavia had ordered. That season the


\(^{33}\) Ibid: 142, table 6; S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 48-59 including a map on page 50 . There were many weavers further inland, but the sources do not reflect that they participated in production for export.

\(^{34}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1668): 659, 691

\(^{35}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 7 (1719): 451
cotton supplies had been very low. There was little available and what was procurable was expensive. Business had therefore slowed down, preventing the Governor from selling the spices; moreover, he found the weavers unwilling to weave according to the demands of the Company because they said that it was easier to weave according to their own specifications. If the Governor insisted on the stipulated size and quality he would have to pay an exorbitant price.\textsuperscript{36} Significantly, over 100 hundred years later the same complaint was being made.\textsuperscript{37}

Because the quantities of textiles which the Company traded greatly increased between the 1620s and 1650, problems with procurement increased too.\textsuperscript{38} In 1659 Governor Pit of VOC headquarters invited a small group of Indian merchants to form an association for the procurement of one type of cloth, the \textit{betille ternate} or Ternate cloth. As members in this association the merchants did not need to compete against each other as they had done in the past, because they were assured that as a group they were given the control over supplying the VOC with \textit{betille ternatan} cloth. The experiment turned out a success; the quality of the cloth improved and the specifications were better met. Another group was formed with the same purpose and assigned to secure the \textit{muri} cloth.\textsuperscript{39} From this initial formation of associations the joint-stock companies in Coromandel evolved.\textsuperscript{40} This way of procuring cloths was beneficial to all parties concerned and was still continued in the 18th century, although the associations became fewer and

\textsuperscript{36} Dagh-Register, Batavia, vol 2 (August, 1634): 362

\textsuperscript{37} Inferior quality \textit{Guinees} cloth was being bought up without discrimination by the Persians, Muslims, and Hindus. The weavers were not willing to make the better quality and specified size for the Company, because it took longer and gave them comparatively small profits. VOC 2944 (1759): 2165

\textsuperscript{38} See Chapter Four "The Import of Textiles" section for figures.

\textsuperscript{39} J.J. Brennig, "The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Coromandel": 90-2

\textsuperscript{40} J.J. Brennig, "Chief Merchants and European Enclaves of 17th Century Coromandel" in \textit{MAS}, vol 11 (1977), No 3: 321-3
less productive.  

The larger part of the cloths the VOC procured consisted of everyday types of material, "cloth, that can be used by everyone" (goet, daer ydereen mede gedient is) and a few of the very best quality or expensive types. Rarely were the Indian textiles made into clothing. The Company bought the pieces as they came from the loom, with very little finishing.

Several types of cloths consisted of multiple tapi size parts still connected with a filler of woven or unworked warp threads which had to be cut. For example, 4 fotas connected to make up one piece of marados or eight dongris to make one guinees. The rumals and other squares of cloth frequently came in about 10 connected pieces. One section in Chapter 7 discusses the delineation of an Indian piece of cloth. The following list shows the types of Indian textiles from Coromandel that were sold for a short or long time during the VOC period in Indonesia. Details on the cloths and the lengths of time they were traded by the Company can be found in Textile

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41 The process of a joint-stock company started after the VOC in Coromandel received the order for that season's textiles from Batavia; subsequently the price, quantities, time of deliveries, etc. were negotiated between the top VOC officials and the shareholders, legalized by the signing of written contracts. After the order was fulfilled and the season was over, the association was dissolved and accounts settled. The process was extensively described and one sample contract translated in S. Arasaratnam, "Indian Merchants and Their Trading Methods (circa 1700)" in IESHR, vol 3 (1966), no 1: 85-95. The word the Dutch used to refer to the set-up of these "companies" had many resemblances to the "reederij" (the outfitting of a ship for one voyage) in pre-VOC times in the Netherlands. The legal agreements and flow of procedures for a "company" or "reederij", the outfitting of a ship in the 16th century in the Netherlands in which several contractors participated, is very similar to these associations described by W.M.F. Mansvelt, "Rechtsvorm en Geldelijk Beheer bij de Oost-Indische Compagnie", PhD dissertation University of Amsterdam, (1922): 18-36.


43 VOC 11207 (1685): 35

44 Production centers in Gujarat received woven unfinished cloths, gessies, from markets in Awadh, situated east of Agra in Hindustan after 1632, which they would prepare further. Guzzies or Gessies, a simple type of cloth, were torn to size and dyed, bleached, printed, etc. in order to make up cannekins, ardias, bafta, asmanis and chintz. Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660" PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, (1982): 177
Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Surat

Aceh was also the jumping off port for Dutch exploration in Surat. Two Dutchmen boarded a Gujarati ship therein 1602, but were murdered by the Portuguese one year after arrival in Surat.\(^{46}\) It was difficult for Europeans to penetrate the markets in Surat and Cambay, because the Portuguese had settled in those places and were backed up by military and naval ships from Goa. Another attempt was made in 1605, but the Dutch factor committed suicide after two years of harassment and having his trade goods taken by Mughal authorities on the instigation of the Portuguese.\(^ {47}\)

The main trade goods the Gujarati imported from Aceh had always been pepper, Malukan spices, and raw silk from China and Aceh. Those skeins of silk supplied five silk-weaving and eleven cotton-weaving towns in Gujarat. In India a notable portion of the raw silk was woven in with cotton as mixed

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\(^{45}\) The list does not claim to be 100% inclusive for Indonesia. Many other textiles, not on the list, were also procured in Coromandel serving other markets such as Persia, Siam, Japan or Europe.

\(^{46}\) Hans. W. van Santen, "De verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660": 8

\(^{47}\) Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 14
Silk made the textile stronger and increased the value considerably. Mixed silk was also the attire of Muslim men. Surat and Ahmedabad were the only two towns that produced both silk and cotton textiles. Other places like Patan, Cambay, and Bulsar specialized in silk only. The cotton-weaving centers were supported by numerous villages.

One of the textiles that is thought to have left the largest imprint on Southeast Asian textile designs is the silk patolu, the wedding sari of Gujarat, produced in Cambay and Patan. The shortest description of its unusual technique of a double ikat is quoted from A.B. Gupte in *Indian Art at Delhi*:

> It is woven with warps and wefts which have been separately tied and dyed by the *Bandhana* or knot-dyeing process. The dyer takes a small bundle of the warp after it has been dyed in the lightest colour, and draws in pencil across it some lines at measured distances, according to the design to be produced. His wife then ties the silk, along the spaces marked, tightly round with cotton thread, through which the dye will not penetrate. The yarn is then dyed with the next darker colour found upon the warp, and the process repeated until the darkest colour is reached. The weft is then treated in the same way, being so tied and dyed that, in the loom, when it crosses the warp, each of its colours may exactly come in contact with the same colour in the warp. The little bundles of warp have next to be arranged in the loom by the weaver, who then takes the little bundles of weft one at a time, using each in its own place through the design.

There existed distinct patolu patterns in Cambay and Patan. In Cambay a diaper (repeated figures, as diamonds or lozenges) pattern in white lines that form meshes, flattened in the warp with three flowers on dark-green stems in a maroon field is characteristic. The sprays lie on their side in

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48 W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*: 172

49 George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*: 255. A cloth like *Doria* for example, consisted of three parts cotton and two parts silk twisted warp threads, the weft was all cotton, but the silk-cotton weft gave a striped effect to the textile. Hossain Hameeda, *The Company Weavers of Bengal*: 41

50 V.A. Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the Nineteenth Century*: 52, 74. The twelve cotton-weaving centers in the 17th century were: Ahmedabad, Dholka, Mehmedabad, Nadiad, Cambay, Baroda, Dabhoi, Broach, Surat, Nadsari, Gandevi, and Bulsar.

51 George Watt, ed. *Indian Art at Delhi*: 257, catalogue to an exhibit in Delhi in 1903
the length of the cloth. The borders are broader at the end than along the sides. The patterns in the ends are vertical. In the side border-strips the patterns are drawn out lengthwise.

The Patan patolu has no diaper, but the field is filled with repetitions of elephants, flowering shrubs, human figures, birds, all of which are placed with the feet inward towards the center of the cloth. The color of the field is dark blue/green with patterns in red, white, yellow. The patolu sari for Surat has usually a green border and a dark red field.

In 1615, ten years after the Dutch had sent the last ill-fated merchant to Gujarat, they resumed attempts to establish themselves in Surat. This time there were some good reasons to do so. In the first place the English had come to trade in Surat in 1612, weakening the Portuguese influence with the local traders. In the second place, the VOC closed its base in Aceh in 1616 and needed to go to the source of the cloths the Gujarati traded in Aceh.

In Surat the VOC was one trader among many. The Company received a firman, a right to trade, in 1618 from the Mughal prince and by the 1620s had established factories in Broach, Baroda, Ahmadabad, and Agra which were supervised from Surat. At different times VOC agents also lived in other places such as Cambay and Sind.

The Dutch tried to do what they had done everywhere, to penetrate existing trade networks; in this case from Surat to Persia and Arabia, and secondly, the spice link from Surat to the archipelago. The Gujarati had brought cloth to Java, Melaka and Sumatra for at least two centuries and like the Arabs and Persians returned with spices. Indonesians had come to rely on a supply of certain types of Gujarati cloths; these were particularly favored in Sumatra.52

Since the 1570s Surat was the major harbor for the Mughal government and although a few authorities sent ships, overall there existed only

occasional involvement in commerce. The Mughals welcomed competition between the different trading groups, pitting one against another, so that there would be a balance and no foreign trading group would exert superiority over another. In general the Mughal government kept its distance from maritime commerce or, in Ashin Das Gupta's words, kept a "continual aloofness" to it.

As a central staple place for goods that were shipped from Batavia to Persia and Arabia, Surat was just as important to the VOC, as it was for the collection and export of cloths from the hinterland and Agra. Surat's centralized location as harbor and administrative center was ideal for it to become a VOC sub-base for trade in the western Indian Ocean, as Batavia was for the whole operation in Asia.

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53 M.N. Pearson, Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: 178 pp. The relationship between the Gujarati and the Mughal government comes to light when Pearson looks at the question of why the Gujarati merchants and rulers behaved the way they did in the face of the Portuguese challenge. He proposed that the Gujarati were a land-based people who adopted maritime trade in pursuit of expanding their trading network. This direction was accentuated during the period of Portuguese contact. The Gujarati were an autonomous group with a minimal backing from the Moghul government.

54 Ashin das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c.1700 - 1750: 90. There was an incident in 1647 when the VOC did not want to give passes to the Indian merchants for trade to Aceh and even banned traffic to that port. The local governor of Surat connived with the merchants in Surat to prevent the Dutch from loading their ships. The Dutch factory also was attacked and plundered. In this case the two opposing parties (Dutch vs local merchants backed by the Moghul Governor of Surat) sought the mediation of the Moghul court. The Company was trying to keep a monopoly on the trade of tin by controlling and directing the trade routes of the Indian traders through a system of passes. The Dutch failed utterly and enormous quantities of textiles were exchanged for tin in ports in Aceh, Perak, even in Kedah and Bangeri although the Company had exclusive contracts on the tin there, and later Johore.

Through a naval blockade of Surat's harbor and a strategic plan to pirate richly laden Gujarati trade vessels for a while in order to show superior maritime power, the Dutch wanted to negotiate concessions. They were successful in the sense that they received a firman confirming the stipulation that the Gujarati merchants needed to obtain a pass to trade eastward in the Malay archipelago; however, the firman was largely ignored. Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 20-4. The Gujarati merchants continued to buy tin in Aceh and bring cloths to the archipelago until Makassar and Banten were cut from the inter-Asiatic trade network and only lesser harbors on the periphery of the Dutch monopolized sphere were accessible to them.

55 George D. Winius and M.P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 61
Surat functioned also as a gathering place for small traders of the city’s hinterland, who took the sea route to western Asia if the land route was obstructed or too expensive. Wealthy Muslims who were making a pilgrimage to Mecca stopped over in Surat. In order to have a secure passage these commuters made use of English and Dutch ships as a means of transport, out of fear of the Portuguese enemies who made the waters in the Persian Gulf unsafe. When the Dutch tried to open up a trade in Indian textiles they naturally met with opposition from merchants in Ahmedabad trading to Persia. The Company nevertheless succeeded in seizing a modest share that amounted in the 1640s to about 10% (60 to 80 thousand pieces of cloths) of what the Indians brought to Mocha (Red Sea). The VOC also opened an office in Bandar Abbas (Gamron) in Persia. The textile trade increased in the second half of the 17th century. In 1656 the VOC order from Persia amounted to 160,000 pieces of cloths from Surat, 49,000 pieces of cloths from Coromandel, and 30 rolls of Dutch laken from Batavia. The VOC traded spices to western Asia too, but in limited quantities so that it would not endanger the sales in Europe.

The Dutch commerce from Surat and Malabar with Arabia and Persia was driven by the need for currency: in Cairo alone there arrived yearly 200 to 300 thousand reals-of-eight and 16 to 20 thousand Venetian ducats which were exchanged for Malabar pepper, Indonesian spices, Indian indigo and

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56 In 1634 the difference in cost between the overland route and the sea route was 7% of the buying price of the goods in favor of the land route. This could change in uncertain times. There seemed a tendency for traders to increase the use of the sea route during the rest of the 17th century. Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 64

57 Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 56-7. The profits the company made on the cloth trade to Persia were always below expectations. In 1638 30% for cloth from Agra and 17% for cloth from Ahmedabad; in 1642, 40%; in 1651 only 4%, and in 1659 8%. These might have increased later in the 17th century.

58 Ibid: 68

cottons, and goods from China.\textsuperscript{60} To support the ambitious plan of subsidizing the return cargoes to Europe with profits from Asia, Coen in the 1620s suggested that the varieties of coins and precious metals that entered Persia and Arabia from the west should be secured. The Company succeeded in acquiring silver from Mocha and Bandar Abbas amounting to an average of 300 and 500 thousand guilders per year between 1640 and 1660 and gold from Bandar Abbas between 1688 and the 1720s at a value of maximum one million guilders per year.\textsuperscript{61} The metal supply from western Asia was not as significant as the metal exports from Japan, but when Japan closed off the export of silver in 1668 and lowered the content of the gold in the \textit{kubang} at the end of the century, Persia's silver and gold exports respectively were timely and profitable.

The Dutch started a factory on the Malabar coast in 1647 in order to buy pepper and also cardamon for export to Persia, and areca for export to Surat. The Company offered opium, cotton, tin, and spices in exchange.\textsuperscript{62} After Cochin changed hands from the Portuguese to the Company in 1663, the Dutch signed contracts with rulers and nobles for the exclusive rights to the pepper. However, the contract system failed because the Dutch could not prevent pepper from being "smuggled" as they saw it, over land to other outlets. Only part of the pepper reached the Company warehouses. The pepper did not belong to those with whom the contracts were concluded, but to the merchants who bought it from the people who cultivated the pepper. Naturally they tried to sell to the highest bidder.\textsuperscript{63} The failing pepper monopoly had made Malabar a financial burden to the Company since the middle of the 1680s. Maritime commerce slowed down for all trading parties along the Malabar coast after troubles arose in the Persian Gulf. Closing the

\textsuperscript{60} H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz Coen Levensbeschrijving: 95
\textsuperscript{61} F. S. Gaastra, De Geschiedenis van de VOC: 126
\textsuperscript{62} J. Van Lohuizen, The Dutch East India Company and Mysore: 11
\textsuperscript{63} Ashin Das Gupta, Malabar in Asian Trade: 14
office in Cochin was an option, but to the Dutch it was equated with surrendering the pepper to the competition. The entry of the EIC (English East India Company) further complicated matters for the VOC. The EIC had been the reason for the VOC presence and high expenditures, but the latter had been to no avail. The EIC moved into some of the Dutch possessions on the coast in 1695.

In order to cover the annual losses of this VOC branch office, the Commander for the Malabar coast, Gollenesse, put forward a plan in 1736 explaining why the VOC should monopolize the cloth trade that was carried on along the coast by a number of small traders. Dutch passes could control these traders who sailed from southern Travencore with 50,000 to 60,000 pieces of cloth. The customs records at Cochin showed that this trade had increased considerably lately and been a source of revenue. The attempt entangled the Dutch in hostilities with Travencore in 1741 in which the VOC lost out.

The Company, which was used to wholesale dealing, was not flexible enough to change its style and status. No employees were willing to live in the remote production areas to deal with the intermediary traders to buy more efficiently. When sellers of the cloths needed certain currencies because of their dealings with other trading groups (possibly to buy supplies), the Dutch could not always provide the right coinage because they lacked access to local traders with the correct information. Any hope for Dutch profits on the Malabar coast vanished when the Mysore kingdom exerted a trade monopoly north of Cochin. Travencore also was able to break away from the pass system of the Dutch and improve harbor facilities. Dutch unwillingness to acculturate to local trading practices proved their undoing. Das Gupta has accurately observed that the Dutch "could be in Asian trade but not of it." In 1759 the plan by Commander Gollenesse of a cloth sales monopoly on the Malabar coast was aborted.64

64 Ibid: 82-3
The trade link of the Surat merchants with Persia had practically ceased in 1715 because of natural disasters and political upheavals in Persia. The Armenians could no longer obtain enough cargo to fill up a ship. Traders from India likewise did not want to risk their scarce resources. The VOC ceased its relations with Persia in the late 1760s.

After the English were driven out of the eastern Indonesian archipelago and the Malukan spice trade, they shifted their concentration to trade opportunities in India. At the outset they had hoped to sell English textiles in Asia, but that turned into the opposite; the English discovered a market for the Asian cloths in Europe. The Dutch, on their part, had been concentrating on capturing the China trade with its silks, porcelain, and other exotic goods in order to send those on the return fleets. However, in the early 1620s the Council in Batavia was notified about the success the English had selling Indian cottons from Surat in London, it ordered more cottons from India for the Netherlands. Soon the VOC caught up and surpassed the English in the sales of Indian cloths in the European markets.

The Dutch contracted for textiles with a group of weavers in Gujarat. The agreement usually stipulated the terms for delivery, limitations of the warranty, particulars concerning the textiles, and the price. Contracts did sometimes change due to varying circumstances. The percentage of advance payment fluctuated from case to case between 10% and 65%. If a contract was broken there was a penalty in the early period of the VOC, but it seems that when the demand increased because of the opening up of the European markets.

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65 K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740: 138
66 Almost 10,000 pieces of a variety of Chinese silks were requested in 1617. Between 1618 and 1621, 11,370 pieces were sent and in the 1630s an order was given for £100,000 of Chinese silk cloths. The invoice value for the Chinese silk textiles in 1697 amounted to £283,570, but that must have been one of the last sales because the Company ceased to include them in the textile imports around that time, because the profit on them decreased as the Bengal silks became fashionable. O. K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740: 133-49
67 H.W. van Santen, De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat and Hindustan: 188; Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat: 38
markets, the weavers became powerful enough to break contracts with impunity.

During the period of the VOC in Surat, two phases of decline affected the production of textiles profoundly. The first decline was of a temporary nature in 1630 when there was a prolonged period of drought followed by floods. Lacking water for twelve months, the harvests were destroyed; people and animals died in the streets. Prices rose 1200% to 1500%. In 1631 floods killed everything in the fields and millions of people were reported to have died; many also migrated. As a consequence Gujarat was short of weavers. The specialized weavers had migrated to an area east of Agra. An enterprising VOC employee went out there and succeeded in transforming a local cloth production area around Awadh into a textile supply region for the export market. The weavers changed the setting of their looms to accommodate the sizes of fabrics that the VOC traded in Southeast Asia and in Europe. This was an exceptional case. The demand for cloth was usually higher than the supply which gave the weavers the power to refuse the resetting of their looms. They could sell the type of cloths they had been weaving at any rate. However, in the case of Awadh, the local weavers were more isolated, had not been exposed to producing textiles for the overseas market, and were willing to cooperate, possibly encouraged by the presence of the Gujarat weavers that had fled there. Although the new groups of villages around Awadh had joined together to supply the market for export as a temporary relief for the shortages in Gujarat during the 1630s, the VOC continued to secure some types of textiles that they wove, for a long time afterwards.

A second period of decline was due to the loss of political stability through invasions of the Maratha. There were upheavals, disturbances and deterioration of public order causing dysfunctional commercial production

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68 F.W. Stapel, ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, vol 2, part 3: 19

69 H.W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 179-81
throughout the 1720s in Gujarat. The Mughal empire disintegrated by 1750, plunging the economy of India to its lowest ebb.\textsuperscript{70}

When there were interruptions in the production of textiles due to unforeseen circumstances such as droughts, war, famine, floods, etc. the Europeans often had problems buying sufficient supplies. They would try to motivate weavers in other production areas not affected by the impasse, to weave, bleach, decorate and finish the needed cloths. If the production involved resetting the loom width or preparing new lengths for the warp threads the Companies found the weavers usually unwilling to cooperate.\textsuperscript{71}

The Company regularly spread the production of a type of cloth over different places or groups of villages in one region and also across regions according to their needs. Take for example, a cotton chelas. The production of chelas predated the VOC. Chelas was woven in all three production regions: Coromandel, perhaps copied in Surat, and produced in Bengal for export to Europe. The chelas from Coromandel was basically for the Indonesian market and rarely was a chelas from Bengal sold in Indonesia. This is illustrated in Appendix B.

The timelines in Appendix B for Indian textiles imported in Indonesia by the VOC from 1602 to 1780 reflect in three sections the three major Indian production areas: Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal. A fourth section was added to reflect the timeline and places of destination of the non-Indian cloths that were traded by the VOC in Indonesia. The first column NAMES lists the types of textiles in alphabetical order. The varieties of a type are listed underneath the name of the type. The timeline is pictured by years.

\textsuperscript{70} Dharma Kumar ed., The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol 2: 2, 3, 25. Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat: 68, 99, 104

\textsuperscript{71} The concept of standardization of cloth sizes were advanced by the VOC. For example, during the 1630s when cloth was scarce in Gujarat, the Company transferred many gessies, pieces of plain woven cloth from Awadh (east of Agra, to the weaving centers in Gujarat. The Company requested the owners of the weaving centers to tear the gessies to size, bleach, dye, or paint them to make them look like the original types of cloth that Gujarat usually supplies. Thus, the former gessies were sold as cannekins, baftas, asmanis and small chintz, all types of cloth regularly delivered to the Company. Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 177
Each year represents clusters of two years before and after the listed date from which data was gathered. The line behind the textile type indicates the length of time the textile is known to have been traded in Indonesia. The last column called DESTINATIONS lists in abbreviated form the branch offices where the types were sold. The key is found on the page preceding Appendix B.

Locating the chelas under the textiles listed in the section for Coromandel it can be noted that they were traded to Indonesia throughout the VOC period. The varieties of the type chelas are listed underneath as chelas ordinary, - fine with thin stripes, - segoype-chequered, - red mutewani-saya (for women), and chelas pakawenne. The timeline indicates the duration of the type being traded, not of the varieties. Many varieties did not last as long as the type is known to exist. The column DESTINATIONS indicates that chelas from Coromandel were traded to Banda, Batavia, Java North Coast, Ternate and the west coast of Sumatra. Turning to the next section Surat, it shows that chelas were produced there for the Indonesian market only in the early part of the 17th century and distributed by the VOC to Ambon, Banten, and Batavia. Research in the history of the chelas could show if the production of the cloth was originally only in Coromandel, and promoted in Surat under influence of the Company or perhaps the reverse: the production of chelas ceased in Surat and transferred to Coromandel where it lasted. Among the textiles imported to Indonesia from Bengal no chelas are listed because they were primarily produced for the European market. More examples can be observed by comparing the timeline of types of textiles in different regions in Appendix B, see bafta, boulong, chintz, fotos, parcalle, rumals, sailcloth, etc. The

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72 The VOC archives could answer such type of questions, but it would take much research time to write a history of each textile type they traded, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

73 The information about the length of time a textile was traded is gathered from the listings of the textiles in orders, invoices, bills of lading, and the accounts in the Negotie Boeken of Batavia. The accounts showed the transfer of textiles to destinations and when they were sold in Batavia. Although almost all types would have been recorded in Appendix B, not all varieties might be listed, because the production of textiles was very changeable like fashions nowadays.
guinees, the longest piece of woven cloth and the ones traded most frequently, spanned all three production regions. Guinees from all regions were sold in Indonesia.

From Surat the following textiles were exported by the VOC for sale in Indonesia between 1600 and 1780:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textile Type</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Sold in Indonesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcatif</td>
<td>Chavonis</td>
<td>Pingam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alegia</td>
<td>Chelas</td>
<td>Patolu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armosin</td>
<td>Chiauter</td>
<td>Rumal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asmanis</td>
<td>Chintz</td>
<td>Sailcloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlasses</td>
<td>Cindal</td>
<td>Salempore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafta</td>
<td>Corroots</td>
<td>Sawagesie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedcover</td>
<td>Coutenis</td>
<td>Semiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beliramee</td>
<td>Dongris</td>
<td>Soosie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket</td>
<td>Doty</td>
<td>Taffachelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butidar</td>
<td>Dragam</td>
<td>Tapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambay(ti)</td>
<td>Flagcloth</td>
<td>Tercandia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannekins</td>
<td>Fotas</td>
<td>Tokasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Topseyls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turias</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Securing the Textiles at their Sources: Bengal**

Bengal was the third region in India, after Coromandel and Surat, where the VOC established trading operations in order to obtain textiles and Indian goods. At about the same time that the VOC sent its second scouting party to Surat, a trade mission was also sent to Bengal, in 1607. Three years later an official representation on behalf of the directorate from the Netherlands was made by the merchant-captain Willem Jansz. from Amsterdam.  

The Dutch had not aspired to trade in Bengal after these first visits, partly because of the awareness that they were entering another Portuguese sphere of influence, partly because the region was perceived to be politically unstable. The more fundamental reason, however, was that the Dutch did not have the capital and precious metal necessary for exchange against Bengal goods. This metal scarcity changed after 1623 when the Dutch

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74 P.A. Leupe, "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): 300-306
succeeded in acquiring silver from Persia through their factory at Bandar Abbas, and subsequently in the 1630s when they found additional sources of metal in Japan.\textsuperscript{75}

In 1629 the Company obtained its first official \textit{firman} (order written by a ruler) allowing the Dutch to trade in Bengal. Three trading permits followed successively: the first in 1632 from the Mughal \textit{subahdar} or governor of Bengal; a second a year later from his successor, and a third one from Shah Jahan, the Mughal emperor himself.\textsuperscript{76} The encouragement given to the Dutch to trade in Bengal and elsewhere in India was doubtless part of the policy of the Mughal ruling authorities, discussed under Surat, to welcome other European trading companies (Dutch as well as English, French, and Danish) in order to reduce the dominance of the Portuguese, who were beginning to irritate the various rulers because of their high-handed levying of tolls on Mughal vessels.\textsuperscript{77}

Bengal's geographic position in relation to Surat and India's hinterland was part of the reason for Dutch interest in it. Textiles, raw silk, opium, and saltpeter, the principal items of trade for the Company from India's heartland, found two alternative coastal outlets, westward to Surat or eastward to Bengal. The Ganges River debouches into the Bay of Bengal, its mouth forming the major delta region where first Hugli and later Calcutta were founded as principal trading places. The river facilitated the movement of goods and people between Agra, the Mughal capital, and Bengal.\textsuperscript{78} While the VOC could procure hinterland goods through Surat, it was often easier and cheaper to obtain them through Bengal, especially from the principal Dutch bases in Coromandel. Moreover, Bengal was itself a productive region that offered many incentives to the VOC.

\textsuperscript{75} G.D. Winius and M.P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 21

\textsuperscript{76} F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 1

\textsuperscript{77} Winius and Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 20-3

\textsuperscript{78} Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720: 26-7
The importance of Bengal to the Dutch trade in Asia grew quickly once the VOC was established in Hugli in 1655. Until then such trading stations in Bengal as Kazimbazar, Balasore and Pipli were administered from Coromandel; after that year the Bengal operation was upgraded from a directie, headed by a director, to a gouvernement with a governor. The Company subsequently opened up factories in several locations; it leased for an annual rent payment of £3,500 some weaving villages like Chinsura, Baranagar, and Mirzapur. Batavia anticipated that the VOC office in Bengal "will be one of the most notable establishments in all the Indies."

The export and import duties for Bengal were 2% on silver or gold bullion or coins, 4% on salt, 2% on textiles, 2% on the import of food items and 3% on export, and a scale for the other commodities. The Company imported predominantly Asian goods to Bengal until 1677: silver until 1668 and after that gold and copper from Japan; pepper and spices from Indonesia; tin, lead and spelter from the Malayan peninsula; sandalwood from Timor; and cinnamon, elephant tusks, shank shell, and areca nuts from Ceylon. Although the Company had a surplus of spices in the Batavia warehouses, only a very small quantity was exported and sold in Bengal. They were sold

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79 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 124-30
80 Ibid: 40
81 G.D. Winius and M.P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 22
82 F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 3-4
83 Between 1677 and 1690 there was no import of precious metal from Japan to Bengal. The metal import consisted almost entirely of European silver bullion and coins. Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 132. From 1688 to 1700, the last twelve years of the 17th century, the Indian cottons had become very fashionable in Europe and export from Bengal tripled during these years compared to export in the twelve years prior to 1688. See table 7.1, p. 193 in Prakash. With the increase of the textile export to Europe the import of metals no longer came only from the inter-Asiatic trade, but also from Europe. All the silver that arrived in Batavia from Europe between 1680 and 1682 was shipped to Bengal. The decline of the Japanese supplies of precious metal to India and especially to Bengal set in after 1685 when the trade of the VOC in Japan became a limited trade and the raw silk was being appraised i.e. the pancado system of buying applied by the Japanese. However, there was an increase in the import of bar copper from Japan to Bengal, notably after 1680, see table 5.2, p 134, in Prakash.
as a luxury item for rich Muslims only. The Indonesian spices were beyond
the reach of the masses because of the price control imposed by the
Company, as happened elsewhere in Asia.84

It was most important for the Company to obtain more supplies of raw
silk for its trade to Japan. At the end of the 16th century Japan itself
imported 125,000 pounds of raw silk, but that amount had tripled by the time
the bakufu (Japanese government) banned foreign trade for Japanese
merchants in 1633 and closed Japan off in 1639.85 The Dutch brought the
first samples of raw silk (338 pounds) from Bengal to Japan in 1640, which
marked the beginning of a lucrative trade. Profits on the silk in Japan were
between 100 and 200 percent for many years.86 In 1604 the ituwappo (in
Portuguese pancado, setting the price for bulk buying) had been established
for the Portuguese trade whereby the leading merchants from Edo, Kyoto,
Sakai, Osaka, and Nagasaki were formed into an association that guaranteed
the purchase of raw silk. The shogunate had the first choice of the imported
raw silk. The remainder was distributed by the ituwappo, which also set the
price. When the Portuguese were expelled from Japan in the 1630s the
ituwappo had not been applied to the Dutch, Korean and Chinese traders that
were allowed to continue commercial relations. The export of raw silk from
Bengal to Japan grew from 20 - 30,000 in the 1640s to over 100,000 pounds in
the 1650s, and reached sometimes over 200,000 pounds in the next two
decennia. In 1678 the VOC experienced a set back when the pancado was
instituted again, that is, the raw silk was being appraised. In 1685 the bakufu
set a quota of imported raw silk at 100,000 taels or almost £350,000.87 This

84 Ibid: 158-9

85 Seiichi Iwao, "Japanese Foreign Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries" in AA, vol
30 (1976): 4, 8, 13

86 Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel: 178

87 F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 535. The £350,000
was one third part of a total limit on the imports to Japan of £1,050,000 for the Dutch.
The Koreans were given the same trade limit as the Dutch, but the import limitation for
the Chinese was double that of the Dutch.
affected the metal export from Japan to India and especially Bengal. However, there was an increase in the import of bar copper from Japan to Bengal, notably after 1680. The delivery of Bengal raw silk diminished to a little more than it was in the 1640s, 30-40,000 pounds annually. Between 1724 and 1728 the Bengal raw silk disappeared from the list of imports to Japan.

In addition to Bengal silk, raw silk was also purchased from the Chinese first in Taiwan, later in Tonkin. The Tonkin silk was highly valued in Japan, more than the Bengal silk, and always gave the highest returns, but in the mid-1670s the Japanese lowered the price they wanted to pay for the Tonkin silk, making it less worthwhile for the Dutch to deal in it.

The raw silk from Bengal was important to the Dutch, not only as export to Japan, but especially for export to the Netherlands, which increased from 53,000 pounds in 1674 to an average of 83,000 pounds per year in 1675-80, -170,000 pounds in 1681-1700, -and 200,000 pounds until 1716. There is no evidence that Bengal raw silk was ever sold by the VOC in Indonesia. Opium was the export article for Indonesia par-excellence. Because of its compactness and high value it was also "smuggled" by others in quantities equal to or surpassing those carried by the Company. Textiles from Bengal do not figure prominently as an export to Batavia in the 17th century, but they came to form the largest import of textiles from 1704 to 1735,

88 Om Prakash, The Dutch East Indian Company: 134, table 5.2
89 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 126, Table 5.1
90 VOC 11841 (1722-23) still includes the import of 45, 410 pounds of raw silk. VOC 11843 (1729-30) and following years have no more import of raw silk listed
92 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 198-9
93 Ibid: 58, 154. By "smuggle" is meant the illegal export by private persons, for the greater part company employees, to Indonesia where the Company held a monopoly on the sale of opium.
however a relatively small proportion was for the Indonesian market. The largest share of the Bengal textiles were transferred to the return ships for Europe. They also made up the largest number of textiles imported to Japan after 1703 until 1760. The details of the quantities of pieces of textiles and value exported from Bengal will be discussed in Chapter 8.

In composing the list of import goods to Bengal, Batavia did not consider the percentage of profits that each trade item could deliver. The Company was willing to forego maximum profits in Bengal in order to sell as much as possible and receive the benefits of the sales of Bangladesh’s export products. Any commodity in demand in Bengal on which the Company would not sustain a major loss was imported, although a minimum sale price was usually dictated. Sometimes no profit was made on the large quantities of bar copper that were imported from Japan, but the total of the aggregate amount of sales gave the Dutch more purchasing power to buy the goods that sold at considerable profits in Europe.

During the last quarter of the 17th century a reversal of the relative role of inter-Asiatic trade compared to trade with Europe occurred. Prakash explains that the reversal "was the combined outcome of a declining role of intra-Asian trade in the overall pattern of the Company’s trading activities, and the emergence of textiles and raw silk as major items of export to Europe". The proportions of total exports from Bengal to 1) Asia and 2) Europe during the period 1675-1700 was changed from approximately 80:20 to 20:80.

In Bengal the Dutch also attempted to standardize the sizes and

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94 Ibid: 53


96 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720: 53

97 Ibid: 72-3. Table 3.5 (p. 76-7) gives actual figures which show in the year 1674-5 Bengal export to Europe to be £255,490 or 19.45% of the total export; the export to Japan and Batavia amounted to £769,326 or 58.56% in the same year.

For the year 1700-1 Bengal export to Europe is £3,255,662 or 78.32% and to Japan and Batavia £706,130 or 16.98% of the total exports.
qualities of the textiles and greatly increased the production of raw silk and textiles in the region with their demand. They introduced new textile items from Bengal to the consumers in other markets, and likewise they provided new types of textiles for the weavers to reproduce.98

The incredibly large production that was required from the weavers consequently had an effect on the organization of the textile weaving centers and caused localized social changes to take place. Caste barriers sometimes broke down and it happened that artisans became middlemen or even large dealers in the textiles. In some cases castes moved seasonally in order to assist other villages at cotton harvest times. Cotton supplies often fell short of the demand from the weavers. Some weavers contracted directly with the spinners, others bought cotton from peddlars.

The textiles that Bengal exported for the Indonesian market were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adati</th>
<th>Cassa</th>
<th>Geras</th>
<th>Rumals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcatif</td>
<td>Chavonis</td>
<td>Gingam</td>
<td>Sailcloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alegia</td>
<td>Chelas</td>
<td>Guinees</td>
<td>Salempore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armosin</td>
<td>Chintz</td>
<td>Gunny</td>
<td>Sanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlasses</td>
<td>Commerband</td>
<td>Hamman</td>
<td>Satin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betille</td>
<td>Coutenis</td>
<td>Longi</td>
<td>Silkcloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beiraram</td>
<td>Dongris</td>
<td>Malmal</td>
<td>Sologesie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket</td>
<td>Doria</td>
<td>Milmil</td>
<td>Soosie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulang</td>
<td>Doty</td>
<td>Niquanias</td>
<td>Tansjeeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camelot</td>
<td>Fotas</td>
<td>Palampore</td>
<td>Therindais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paralle</td>
<td>Waxcloth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Production History of Guinees

The Dutch introduced two innovations—the Chinese *kangan* and the *guinees*—for overseas production in Broach and Coromandel (Pondicheri) in

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98 T.Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company*: 145. There had never been any uniformity in weight or measure, and the cloths were also found in any length. W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*: 52
Three years earlier the directorate in the Netherlands had sent two samples of cloths that were being traded on the Guinea coast of Africa, requesting that some samples be copied. The Portuguese had started the export of guinees to Africa, but not in such large numbers as the VOC was to undertake. Together with the sample cloths (monsters or "demonstration" pieces) the directorate had enclosed specifications concerning dimensions and quality. Coen had passed these samples on to Wemmer van Berchem, the director in Coromandel, who transmitted an order to Surat.

The first quantities were being produced by a few weavers in Pondicheri who promised to make a delivery within two weeks. Weavers in Tirupapaliyur wove 3,000 pieces of the best guinees in 1617. They then cost f6.00 per piece. The directorate in the Netherlands was very satisfied with the delivery and the next year ordered double the number of pieces, which they wanted repeated every year thereafter. The specifications disclosed that a desirable length of the guinees for Europe would be no less than 50 ells (34 meters) and as long as possible, up to 70 ells (50 meters). Half the pieces should be bleached, the other half coarse unbleached white. At the same time Coen ordered about 3,000 pieces of white bleached guinees for Java too. Three years later another 4,000 pieces were ordered for the Indonesians. This time they were procured at Masulipatnam and Paleacat because the factory in Tirupapaliyur had closed down due to ongoing wars, while Pondicheri's guinees were not up to standard.

In July, 1619 Hans de Haze, textile expert and Director of the Coromandel coast, left a memorandum on the eve of his departure from the coast saying that the "long cloths" could be obtained now in larger quantities and therefore were available for 20 cents per piece cheaper than the year before. If there was enough money, he wanted the merchants to buy 300 to 400 bales for the Netherlands and 100 to 150 bales for Indonesia. Guinees sold well in Maluku and also in Java. It seems that the Dutch persuaded the Indonesians to buy this type of cloth. There are no records indicating guinees

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was sold in Indonesia before the Dutch introduced it or that such a long cloth was known earlier under another name. Two years later it was found that *guinees* could be bought cheaper still in Narsapur near Tegenapatnam and was ordered there, so an order was placed.

In the meantime 588 bales of *guinees* arrived from Surat in Batavia in 1621. The "long cloth" had become a "best seller" in Java. The local people and the employees of the company, whose salaries were partly paid with this textile, liked them.100 The next order to the factories in India was for 20,000 pieces of *guinees*, all white-bleached and 50 ells long. In each place, Ternate and Ambon, about 1,000 pieces of *guinees* could be sold annually. Two years later, in 1623, 400 bales or 8,000 bleached white pieces and 1,000 unbleached *guinees* were needed for Indonesia. When the next shipment from India did not include *guinees* the Director-General was furious and mandated that the orders for this cloth always had to be met in full.

In 1622 the invoice to the Netherlands showed 481 bales of *guinees* and a few bales of fine *muri*. From Surat broad white *bafta* was requested for the Netherlands because the English had successfully introduced it there; samples of *salempore* were also enclosed in the shipment, but only 15% of an order for 20,000 pieces of *parcalles* from Surat was met. Coen, the Director-General, encouraged the increase of production in Chinese *kangans* in Broach. The *kangans* were cottons the Chinese imported to Southeast Asia. He believed that they might follow the path of the *guinees* in popularity and if production could be boosted, the price would fall which had been the case with the *guinees*. As it turned out the *kangans* never became as popular as the *guinees* in Indonesia. It is possible that the Chinese traders were able to keep the market for this line to themselves and the *kangans* of the Company were only supplementary.

The *guinees* from Surat had become cheaper and of better quality than those from Coromandel in 1622. That year *taffachelas, karikam, cannwkins, beiramee,* and *tercandia* were also ordered from Surat including *bafta* for

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Indonesia. The factor in Broach reported in December of 1623 that after a great deal of bargaining he could have a large quantity of guinees made for f5 per piece, one guilder less than in Coromandel. He waited for further instructions.

Throughout the VOC period it appears that all of the Surat's production of guinees was sent to the Netherlands. Surat became known mainly for its colored and dyed cloths, not for bleached white guinees or plain cloths. The production of guinees in Surat never reached the proportions that it did in Coromandel and Bengal. Coromandel became the only supplier of guinees for the Indonesian market until Bengal greatly increased the production of bleached guinees in the second decade of the 18th century, after which Bengal also supplied Indonesia with large quantities. The first recorded arrival in Batavia of guinees from Bengal in Batavia dated from 1652-2,100 pieces; from Coromandel in the same year there arrived-31,300 pieces; from Surat none. Guinees were still woven in Surat in the first quarter of the 18th century, but no record could be found of guinees thereafter.

It seems that the Company also called the guinees by a corruption of the placename, Capperia, where they were woven, corroot. The quantities that arrived in Batavia for the few years examined for corroot can be seen in Table 3 below.

The accounts for subsequent years do not record guinees, nor corroot, any longer. It appears that the Company had stopped trading them some time between 1734 and 1756. Comparing the Bengal and Coromandel production of guinees for the VOC in the 18th century with that of Surat showed the following pattern:

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101 VOC 10396 See Appendix C: Timeline. The timeline of guinees in Coromandel lasted throughout the VOC period. When pressure on production increased following the large demand in Europe, Bengal assisted and started to produce the guinees too in the 1650s. Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: a total of 42 references throughout the book. Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal: 60 states misleadingly that production in Bengal was only begun at the end of the 17th century and "continued to be very small". H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden vol 1 (1614): 59

102 Dagh-register, Batavia, vol 5 (1641): 315
TABLE 3
Quantities in pieces of guinees cloth exported from Coromandel, Surat, and Bengal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bengal</th>
<th>Coromandel</th>
<th>Surat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pieces</td>
<td>Pieces</td>
<td>Pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>27,100</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723-25</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>48,700</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>30,500</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756-59</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>52,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>13,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13,500(^{103})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the guinees pieces of cloth were for export to the Netherlands. For example, the number of pieces of guinees and their value that passed through the warehouse in Batavia in 1703 and 1733 totalled:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>169,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98,990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value in guilders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,758,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,038,812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pieces sold in Indonesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22,660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1703 there were 5 million square meters of guinees in stock, transferred or sold in Batavia. The large number of 169,665 pieces in 1703 is based on the stock the Company held for transfer of the Guinees to the Netherlands supplemented by the guinees that had arrived from Bengal, Surat and Coromandel that year. Most bales of guinees contained twenty pieces; only the bales with a very fine variety held 40 pieces. Hence, for many years approximately 5,000 bales of only guinees were stored for some time in the warehouses in Batavia. At the peak of production approximately 4,000

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\(^{103}\) Accounts for guinees and corroot in VOC 10810; 10811; 10817; 10818; 10824
households in India were kept busy just weaving guinees for the VOC alone,\textsuperscript{104} apart from other Asian and European traders who also exported guinees. The sales of guinees in Indonesia ranged from 10- to 28,000 pieces annually after 1620. An overview of the quantity of pieces of guinees sold in the branch offices in Indonesia and differentiated by Bengal and Coromandel production, shows for the following years:

\begin{table}
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
Year & Coromandel & Bengal & Year & Coromandel & Bengal \\
1617-20 & 3,500 & 0 & 1723 & 20,621 & 3,480 \\
1621 & 10,000 & 0 & 1733 & 12,703 & 9,957 \\
1622 & 20,000 & 0 & 1757 & 24,410 & 0 \\
1623 & 28,000 & 0 & 1758 & 24,082 & 2,734 \\
1653 & 10,650 & 0 & 1770 & 10,347 & 80 \\
1703-4 & 12,140 & 40 & 1780 & 12,183 & 0 \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
\end{table}

The dynamics of the Company are apparent from the example above, which was not exceptional, but rather the norm. The price of a textile was an important factor for ordering textiles in a particular locality; sometimes the quality was more important than the price. Practically every year new types of textiles were introduced somewhere; new samples were sent; patterns were altered; colors added, subdued, or made brighter; cloth was woven tighter or looser; finer or coarser thread was used; gold or silver thread added, etc. Every shipment from India to Batavia included bales of "sample" (monster) cloths. These were then promoted and tested in suitable markets. If the

\textsuperscript{104} This number is based on the reported 1500 meters that an average weaving household produced in Golconda, the plain weaving area from where much of the guinees for Indonesia originated.
cloths sold well, more were ordered for the next year.

Closing the Circle: Precious Metals

Precious metals played a critical role in energizing and expanding Dutch participation in both the inter-ASIatic and the Euro-Asia trade. As mentioned earlier, Coen demanded from the directorate in the Netherlands a generous infusion of silver and gold from the Netherlands "to prime the pump" of the VOC trade in Asia. As it turned out, the Netherlands continued to export metals to Asia to capitalize the importation of Asian spices, coffee, tea, textiles, etc. for sale in European markets throughout the VOC period. The initial intent of buying spices and Asian goods meant paying for them in European silver and gold currencies available at that time in sufficient quantities. Dutch fleets also carried some European goods in the hope of selling them in Asia, but this was a secondary consideration, as evidenced by the proportion between currency and merchandise carried. In the cargo bound for Asia in 1615, only 6 percent was merchandise, the rest was precious metals.

A report on another shipment described the cargo as consisting of reals, unsorted coins of various valuations, packed in thirty chests, each chest containing four bags weighing 100 marks; the chests were doubled-locked, covered with canvas, and carefully stowed in the cabins of the ship's officers.105 Even after the Dutch found Asian sources of precious metals the Asia-bound cargo from Europe continued to have a high proportion of silver and gold compared to European products. After the inter-ASIatic metals trade had begun to contribute to the purchasing power of the Company in the middle of the 17th century, the influx of precious metals from the Netherlands still constituted 55% of the total value of the cargo that arrived

105 F.S. Gaastra, "The Exports of precious metal from Europe to Asia by the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1795" in J.F. Richards, Precious Metals: 447
in Batavia in the 1650s.\textsuperscript{106}

Several rationalizations have been offered to explain both the continual

\textit{Ingot and Coins from Shipwrecked East Indiamen}

flow of precious metals and the high proportion of metals to goods. Firstly, European products had no appeal for the Asians and were too expensive. This situation changed after 1800 as European industrialization produced items \textit{en masse}, including weapons and, ironically, attractive textiles (the "bontjes", brightly colored cloths for the tropics) that were affordable among people in what became the colonies. Secondly, the silver metals were in great demand in two large economies in Asia: in China, where a paper money system had collapsed, silver provided a stable substitute, and in India, where the Mughal empire was monetizing and expanding, silver and gold were always acceptable. Thirdly, silver could, fortunately for the Dutch, be bought

\textsuperscript{106} Om Prakash, \textit{The Dutch East India Company}: 11
in the open market in Europe, thanks to the flow of American silver. The liaison of the Directorate of the VOC with the Bank of Exchange in Amsterdam allowed the Company to have relatively easy access to the necessary bullion and currency.

Dutch preoccupation with precious metals led to a complex of banks of exchange (wisselbanken), mints, and various forms of coinage in which the precious metals could be exported. The largest bank of exchange for Europe was the wisselbank in Amsterdam, under the direction of the mayor of Amsterdam.\textsuperscript{107} Of the eighteen bewindhebbers of the VOC in 1671, five had once, or more than once, been mayor of Amsterdam while others had served as commissaries with the Bank.\textsuperscript{108}

The Netherlands minted its own silver and gold coins, which meant that mint directors, known as Generaalmeestsers, were key players in supplying the VOC with its annual export of currency to Asia. There were also mints located in Asia, controlled either by the VOC or by local rulers, where silver or gold bars were transformed into currency forms comparable to those in local use, such as the Bengal silver rupee or the south Indian gold pagoda.\textsuperscript{109} It has been established that Asians often showed preference for particular silver reals with a familiar appearance and value, such as the Spanish, Sevillian, Mexican, or Peruvian reals.\textsuperscript{110} The VOC directors in Holland, consequently, also bought foreign currency from the metals market in order to satisfy the demand of the Asian people. In the 1620s, at a time when reals had become scarce and more difficult to buy because of the Dutch-Spanish war, the Dutch had created the negotiepenningen (Dutch coins minted mainly

\textsuperscript{107} F.S. Gaastra, "The Emergence of a World Economy 1500-1914" in Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, band 33, no 1: 109

\textsuperscript{108} F.S. Gaastra, Bewind en Beleid bij de VOC 1672-1702: 33. Raymond Goldsmith, Premodern financial systems: 209-20. In Amsterdam in 1700 four households out of every hundred were shareholders in the Company.

\textsuperscript{109} Both the present Indian rupee and Indonesian rupiah derive from Hindustani rupya, meaning silver.

\textsuperscript{110} Mexican reals-of-eight were preferred in 17th and 18th century Sumatra for the pepper. W.Ph Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 7 (1714): 76
for export), which came in several denominations such as the silver small coins like schellingen (value of about three stuivers, approximately £0.15) and the single stuiver of £0.05 (valued at £0.0525 after 1656 in Batavia) and double stuivers of £0.10, popularly known as payement. Not only did the Dutch continue to export precious metals to Asia, but they enforced a practical policy that money should be kept circulating in Asia. VOC employees and officers were not allowed to bring money back to Europe; they were allowed to transfer their accounts in paper, the assignaties which could be cashed on their return. This policy removed part of the risk that impeded the large shipments of coins and precious metals over long distances.

As was seen in the description of trade in spices and textiles, the Dutch used precious metals creatively in conjunction with textiles as a medium of exchange. They used coins instead of cloth and vice versa, in the purchases of spices or in the payment of salaries of employees, depending upon to the dictates of profitability. The Dutch used spices, textiles and metals both as commodities and as mediums of exchange. The export of precious metals from Europe to Asia, therefore, must be seen as meeting a demand for a marketable commodity and a demand for liquidity; both were essential for energizing the flow of the inter-Asiatic and the Asia-Europe trade.

There was a changing proportion in the export of gold or silver, including the addition of copper, according to the demands of the various trading regions in India and Indonesia. In general, silver went to the Southeast Asian archipelago, Ceylon and Bengal, and gold to the Coromandel coast, because of its relatively higher price against silver in India than in Southeast Asia.112

Sometimes a different pattern occurred. For example, Coromandel was normally a gold consuming area, but in the 1670s the gold export to Coromandel slumped because of a rise in the price of silver, prompting the

111 F.S. Gaastra, "De Export of precious metal from Europe to Asia" in J.F. Richards ed. Precious Metals: 452

112 Ibid: 455
Dutch to export more silver and copper to that region to reap more profit.

A recurring problem for the Governor of Fort Geldria was the shortage of cash.\textsuperscript{113} In Coromandel the currency was in gold \textit{pagoda} (used for transactions in textiles), \textit{fanums} (used for payment of the weavers' wages) and small-value copper coins. Silver was a "dead security"; it could usually not profitably be exchanged or traded.\textsuperscript{114} The import market was subject to sharp fluctuations in bullion and specie, although generally gold sold for a profit.\textsuperscript{115} In the early years of the Company the \textit{pagoda} was f4.00 in Masulipatnam, but f4.20 in Paleacat.\textsuperscript{116} When "light" money\textsuperscript{117} was introduced, which did not occur at the same time in all the VOC branch offices, the \textit{pagoda} rated f4.80\textsuperscript{118} and increased to f6.00 in 1705.\textsuperscript{119} Management in Batavia partly solved the problem of the cash shortage in India by importing large quantities of precious metals from Japan, where it was the cheapest. For the larger part (to 1680s) of the 17th century Japan was the biggest supplier of precious metals, exceeding annually one million

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{113} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven: vol 2 (1639): 42; T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Company: 49-50}
  \item \textsuperscript{114} F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, \textit{Beschrijvinge: vol 2, part 2: 109, 120}
  \item \textsuperscript{115} T. Raychaudhuri, \textit{Jan Company: 184}
  \item \textsuperscript{116} Om Prakash, \textit{The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 36-9}
  \item \textsuperscript{117} J.P. de Korte, \textit{De Jaarlijkse Financiëlle Verantwoording in de VOC: 32. Light money came into existence when the directorate in the Netherlands ordered in 1622 that Dutch coins should be brought into circulation because the reals-of-eight were often difficult to come by. The silver real-of-eight had a standard value expressed in \textit{stuivers}, another small silver coin. In 1622 that was 48 \textit{stuivers} (1 \textit{stuiver} equalled 1/20 part of one guilder regardless of the rate for \textit{stuivers} to one \textit{rixdollar}). Trade in the archipelago showed that the value of the real-of-eight and also the Dutch silver \textit{rixdollar}, was not equivalent to 48 \textit{stuivers}, but closer to 60 \textit{stuivers} (25% increase), caused by the demand for silver in Bengal and Surat, and in China, to which silver was carried by Chinese traders in Southeast Asia.
  \item \textsuperscript{118} What the directorate forgot to consider was that the \textit{stuiver} also increased in value at the same rate, so that the profits in the books were artificial. Since the exchange rate was very sensitive to the normal rules of demand and supply, it invariably changed from one year to the next in the ports where the Dutch traded.
  \item \textsuperscript{119} Realia, vol 1 (1664): 431
  \item \textsuperscript{123} F.W. Stapel, ed. Pieter van Dam, \textit{Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 123}
\end{itemize}
guilders from the 1620s. When in 1632 the Company was waiting for the gold from Japan it anticipated losing 700 to 800 thousand guilders in business on the Coromandel coast where the gold was needed for the purchase of textiles. Supplementing the import of precious metals from the Netherlands and Asia were Dutch textiles, Chinese silk, and dyes. In 1643, for example, thousands of pounds of raw silk from Taiwan were shipped to Coromandel.

Of course, the Company attempted to increase the sale of their monopoly products: cinnamon, nutmeg, clove, and mace, because they could control their prices. Spices were sold at a price adjusted to the sales price in Europe so that it would not be worthwhile for other European traders to buy them in Coromandel, ship them to Europe, and compete with the VOC in the home market. There were other import products for which the Dutch tried to control the price, like tin, areca nuts, and copper. Successes were booked in the latter commodity until 1730, after which the sales consistently dropped. I think there was possibly a relationship between the inflation of copper prices in China, which reached crucial high levels between 1730 and 1770, and the consistent drop in the amount of import of this commodity in India. Whereas the company sold 400,000 to 500,000 pounds of copper


121 W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed. Generale Missiven, vol 1 (1632): 364, fn 2

122 T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Company: 86-7 mentions Chay root from Ceylon.

123 Dagh-Register, Batavia (1643): 259

124 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Company and Commerce: 183

125 S. Naquin and E.S. Rawski, Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century: 104. After 1700 prices of copper in the trade to China had increased due to a shortage in supply relative to increasing demand. In China sales in grains were conducted in copper, taxes paid in silver. The Company found the copper-silver exchange no longer profitable and this I think was probably one of the major reasons why it had to increase the import of precious metals from the Netherlands. While the Company had exported from the Netherlands to Asia 125 million guilders from 1602 to 1700, it imported 449
in the 17th century, this dropped to below 200,000 after 1730. Approximately two thirds of Coromandel's total exports were paid for with precious metal. The Dutch actively attempted to reduce the trade imbalance, but Coromandel was known for the lowest demands of imported goods.

Surat and Gujarat were mainly silver-importing areas, but because of their proximity to Persia and a rise in the profits on cloves and copper around the 1650s, they were generally able to meet their needs from Persian sources and even exported silver and (Persian) gold to other Dutch-operated trade centers in Asia.\textsuperscript{126} The considerable profits on import goods modified the structure of trade for the Company in Surat, resulting in a favorable balance of trade. This was a unique situation compared to branches of the VOC in other Indian offices where bullion was practically the only acceptable exchange commodity.\textsuperscript{127} In addition to copper and clove the Company imported in Surat nutmeg, pepper, cinnamon, mace, lead, tin, elephant tusks, sandalwood, camphor, wax, raw silk from China, and European textiles. It exported primarily textiles, but initially also large quantities of indigo, and additionally cotton thread, silver, sealing wax, gallnut, gum, mustard seed, linseed oil, and soap.

In Bengal there was a high-demand for silver because of the high level of exportation that had to be financed. Bengal's exports included not only textiles destined for Indonesia and Japan, but much more so the goods (textiles and saltpeter) bound for Europe. At the end of the 17th century Bengal commodities accounted for 36\% of the total returns to Holland, rising to 39\% between 1710 and 1720. All this traffic out of Bengal was paid for in substantial amounts of silver.

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{126} Gaastra, Ibid: 452-5
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{127} Hans W. van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan: 35
\end{quote}
Bengal figured prominently in a major shift in the silk trade with Japan. When the silk trade of the VOC to Japan was diminishing in the 1670s, less gold and copper became available. Simultaneously the Company started to shift its emphasis in the composition of the return cargo to Europe from predominantly high-value spices to primarily textile products: textiles, silk, and cotton. This shift in commodity composition from spices to textiles increased the volume of metals entering Bengal, making Europe assume the role of supplier instead of Japan. The balance of trade always stayed in favor of Bengal; however, this picture may not apply when the VOC trade with Southeast Asia is viewed as a whole. One would need to study the sales prices of spices and Southeast Asian products in Bengal, against the Bengal textiles that were sold in Southeast Asia; this has not been undertaken yet.

In Table 5 is contrasted the import of metal to Bengal and the export of metal from the Netherlands to Asia to pay for the return goods. The second and third columns are based on Table 3.2 of Prakash (p.66). The first column indicates the decade for which the annual average is given in column 2 and 3. The second column gives the average percentage of metal import to Bengal for the decade indicated. The third column the actual amount in guilders. Thus in the 1660s the overwhelming part of metal import as opposed to the total import in Bengal is 90% metal and only 10% goods. The average metal import of 90% is equivalent to f 1,288,000. The total metal import in Asia from Europe is shown in column 4. It is possible to be a smaller average import than the import of metal reflected for Bengal because Bengal imported additional metal from Japan when it was available. During subsequent decades the metal imports from Europe increase. The share that Bengal receives is always lower because Japan banned the export of silver in 1668.128

128 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 132
TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BENGYAL Metal Import</th>
<th>THE NETHERLANDS Metal Export from Europe to Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1660s</td>
<td>90% 1,288,000</td>
<td>f 1,190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670s</td>
<td>75% 968,000</td>
<td>1,098,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680s</td>
<td>75% 1,178,000</td>
<td>1,972,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690s</td>
<td>84% 2,006,000</td>
<td>2,900,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700s</td>
<td>92% 2,435,000</td>
<td>3,927,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710s</td>
<td>93% 2,870,000</td>
<td>3,882,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the critical years when the raw silk import to Japan was diminishing and vice versa the metal exports from Japan decreased in value, the composition of the cargoes to Bengal changed to a lower percentage of metals or "treasure". There was no recovery from the situation in Japan. The subsequent increases in the proportions of metal imports reflect the increase in the precious metal import from Europe which is shown alongside the amounts Bengal imported. Thus, when the large portion of metals provided by Japan in the inter-Asiatic trade dropped, the Company in the Netherlands injected its precious metal instead; the VOC had become a carrying-trade company. The infusion of profits for the Company from the inter-Asiatic trade diminished in the course of the 18th century, at least that appears to be so from the sales of Indian textiles in Indonesia.

Beyond the function as a commodity or a source of liquidity precious metals functioned as a measure of profitability. The VOC had to measure whether it was gaining or losing, and the key measure available to them in

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Europe was ultimately the value from the sales of goods reduced by the costs for the *equipage* (total outlay of fitting out the ships to the Indies), converted into Dutch guilders, which were expressed in silver value of the banco guilder. In Batavia a similar value system was followed in which the goods arriving from Europe in addition to those from the outer offices reduced by the costs for the maintenance of the corporation in Asia were the basis for considering the gain or loss expressed also in guilders.

This is not the final episode. Although the bottom line in the three-way equation of spices, species, and textiles was, for the Dutch with their Europe-centered mental set of metals, in the mind of the Indonesians there was a residual and irreducible value in cloth which cannot be equated with money. This is because cloth has a fundamental connection with the socio-cultural fabric of Asian village life and court ceremonies. Cloth enters into the symbolic universe of social exchange between men and women, between groups, between rulers and subjects. Even more than precious metals changing hands in bazaars, cloth touched the body and soul of people. For the Indonesians, cloth was currency and more than currency, whether metal or fabric.
CHAPTER 6

PROCESS OF THE TEXTILE TRADE

A trade of millions of textiles every year demanded a system that could deal with the ordering and storing of large quantities. It should be noted that the textile shipments discussed here included substantial volumes of cloth produced and traded in Asia in addition to those for Europe. In India the finished textiles were delivered to warehouses where they had to undergo inspection, registration, and packing. Most bales of textiles were shipped straight to Batavia, but some found their way to the Netherlands directly. Occasionally a shipment might be ordered to go straight to another destination.

In Batavia the unloading was done efficiently. Large warehouses had been built to store the many thousands of bales of cloths. The textiles to be loaded onto the return ships were kept separate from those destined for Japan, Siam, or the archipelago. Books were kept to register the arrival, stock, sale or transfer of the bales of textiles to the branch offices of the Company in Indonesia. The largest sales took place in Batavia, where the textiles were handled in Company stores and at auctions.

The process of packing, shipping, receiving, bookkeeping, and transferring was subject to strict rules and regulations—too many to discuss in one chapter for all the offices during the time of the Company's existence. The main details of what was involved will be presented.

Textile Orders and Specifications

All orders for textiles flowed into Batavia, the center of the Company operation. The orders belonged to three categories: 1) the vaderlandse eis (order from the Netherlands) which included the textiles that were to be sent on the return fleets, 2) the annual order from Japan, and 3) the cumulative order from Batavia and all the branch offices in Asia. Each category order
order from Batavia and all the branch offices in Asia. Each category order was tripartite, with separate requirements from each of the procurement areas: Coromandel, Surat and Bengal.

The European Order and Specifications

Every year the Directors of the VOC sent letters of correspondence known as the Resolutions of Heren XVII with the fleet that supplied Batavia with the goods from Europe. The Resolutions always started with the quantities of the different spices needed for next year's sales followed by an extensive list of textiles.

An example of an order in the Resolutions of Heren XVII dated March 4, 1718 will serve to illustrate the form of these instructions. The order in question consists of a list approximately sixteen folios long and arranged as presented, starting with Chinese silk textiles totalling 11,000 pieces for the next year:

Chinese pelings
800 or 1000 pieces: half plain, half with flowers; 16 el long; price no more than f 11

Chinese pangsi
1000 pieces: 20 or 21 cobido long; half plain, half very flowery; price as above

Chinese damask
1300 pieces: with armosins background; costing no more than f 20
1000 pieces: colored with satin background; shot with 2 or 3 bright colors; every chest must contain 8 or 10 of one color with flowers; price no more than f 30
1000 pieces: white with satin background; big flowers are popular; f 30 or less

1 The Resolutions are discussed in more detail in the Archival Bibliography

2 K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740: 149 claims that the Chinese silks were dropped from the orders in the 1690s when the silks from Bengal became the fashionable goods in Europe. However, the order under discussion, from March 4, 1718 and many others of a later date request the Chinese silks which the Company keeps importing during the VOC period in fluctuating quantities.

3 Quoted prices refer to one piece of textile.
Chinese gillams

400 pieces: 12 el long; costing no more than f 5
400 pieces: 16 - -; - - - f 7
400 pieces: 24 - -; - - - f 12

There was no need for Tonkin hockins nor for Chinese silk because the French had brought that to Europe, causing an over supply.

Tonkin pelings

3000 pieces: plain
2000 pieces: interwoven with elaborate flowers and vines; no more than f 7

Indigo Java

As much as possible in the form of tall [indigo] cakes. Too little had been sent while this variety was the most popular and gave the largest profits.

The textile order for Bengal which followed in a corresponding fashion was voluminous. First 256,000 pounds of three types of raw silk were requested. Each type had multiple grades of quality, some as many as six. A different quantity was wanted of each. Similarly 55,000 pounds of different types, qualities, and quantities of silk and cotton thread were needed. In addition to those goods by weight, 58 types of textiles of many different varieties and lengths were listed with plenty of specifications as to color, pattern, price, quality, lustre, weight, packaging, sewing, width, texture, and cleanliness. Some samples and patterns were attached. The total number of ordered textiles amounted to a maximum of 267,000 pieces or a minimum of 224,000. Among the fifty-eight textile types listed, ten carried the remark that they did not need reordering. In such cases a reason was given.

The textile order for Coromandel started with a complaint that needed to be investigated by the directorate in 1717. They had been told that the price of the Coromandel textiles had increased due to a bad cotton harvest, competition and a smaller supply than demand. However, they found those excuses hard to believe and wanted more evidence.
The order did not include a request for goods by weight, but for 21 types of textiles which should total between 160,000 to 169,000 pieces. Compared to Bengal the Surat order indicated very few specifications.

The textile order addressed to Ceylon concerned 7 types of textiles totalling 109 to 114,000 pieces produced in Madurai in addition to 16,000 pounds of cotton thread and an unlimited quantity of indigo. From Malabar 20,000 pounds of cotton thread were needed and from Surat 40,000 pounds in different grades.

The Surat order asked for the famous Indigo Biana, 100,000 to 150,000 pounds, and Indigo Sarkhej 30,000 pounds. The small textile order was for 91,500 to 96,500 pieces of 14 different types. The directors challenged VOC merchants in Persia to acquire raw silk in whatever quantity the court made available and 60,000 pounds of Kirman wool because the English had brought it to Europe a year earlier.

In total one quarter of a million pounds raw silk, 40,000 pounds silk thread; 91,000 pounds cotton thread, all the available indigo, and between 595,400 and 657,000 pieces of textiles were requested in the European order for 1719. However, much of the time the orders were only partially fulfilled. Arasaratnam, speaking of the Coromandel trade, states that the coast "could not supply the total orders made for Europe, the shortfall being in the region of between a third and a quarter of what was invoiced in Europe". Prakash suggested that the export for Bengal fell far short of the orders. Possible reasons he brought forward were the competition between the European companies and the shortage of cash often suffered by the Company in Bengal. The increasing demand led to lower product standards and higher prices,

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4 K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade: 144 shows for 1697 a similar proportion of geographical analysis of piece-goods.

5 VOC 7365: Resolutions Heren XVII: fiche 201 (There are no folio numbers on the manuscript pages of the fiches)

6 This was three times more than in 1654 when the Dutch bought raw silk in Bengal for the first time, F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 2: 206

7 S. Arasaratnam, Commerce on the Coromandel Coast: 135
which meant that the Dutch officers in India were not buying as much as requested. In the case of Surat, the order for 1719 was surprisingly below the level of actual imports a few years earlier. Between 1699 and 1702 an average of 139,846 pieces of textiles had been imported from Surat.

The *vaderlandse eis* for 1724 had a sample book of Chinese textiles enclosed. The reason for that was that during the previous four years a political debate had taken place concerning the participation in Asian trade by the Company of Ostende under the Spanish flag in Manila and Macao. The VOC was alarmed about the textiles that the Company of Ostende had brought back from China which had been received well and given very high returns in Europe. The Directorate wanted its Batavian merchants to buy these same textiles, either from the Chinese who had just resumed trading in Batavia, or from the Company of Ostende itself. It suggested that Batavia could make the Ostende traders a deal by buying the Chinese textiles from them, reasoning that it would save them high transport costs to Europe. The idea behind the proposal was not so much for the VOC to make additional profit from selling the textiles in Europe, but to prevent the Company of Ostende from doing so.

Unfortunately, no sample books of orders from Batavia for the Asian market have been preserved in the archives in The Hague. There are only two sets preserved of a shipment of Indian textiles in 1787 to the coast of Guinea for the Dutch West India Company which contain samples of textiles that were also common in the trade to Indonesia (see the three illustrations of

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8 O. Prakash, Bengal 1630 - 1720: 187. However, the record shows a better order-export ratio, at least for this year. In 1718 the shipment of textiles to the Netherlands from Bengal had been 251,113 pieces which is close enough to the order for 266,700 pieces in 1719. Shipments of similar size had been made in 1698, 1700, and 1709 and ever since 1714 they had reached over the 200,000 mark. The figures were derived from a table of "Bengal Textiles Exported to Holland, 1665-1718" in O. Prakash, Bengal 1630-1720: 194-5. As a source Prakash used the invoices for the exported goods.

9 F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 3: 204-10

10 VOC 7365 Resolutions Heren XVII: February 22, 1723
The other collection consisted of mostly tiny samples of cloth dispersed in orders with specifications for the Japanese market in the 1780s and 90s. In it are found, with among others, armosin with gold flowers, striped grein, and chintz from Bengal, 15 samples of Chinese silks, blue and red Dutch laken, and golden cloth.

The Japanese Order and Specification

The Japanese order was set off from the other Asian orders because of the large quantities involved, the timing of the transfer, and the specifications to Japanese taste. I have studied twelve sample years of textile orders between 1636 and 1781 for Coromandel, Bengal and Dutch textiles to Japan. The average annual shipment of these orders contained 17,175 pieces of textiles valued at £505,014 which made up 49% of the total value of the cargo to Japan. The averages would have been considerably higher if only the 17th century was taken into account. The textile trade to Japan was

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11 WIC 179, Monsterboek Nos 1-3, 7-10, 17-19 which are resp.
no 1 Inland chintz white ground (Inlandsche Chitsen witte grond)
no 2 " " purple " ( " " persse " )
no 3 " " red " ( " " roode " )
no 7 Red corroot (Roode Corroost)
no 8 Blue " (Blaauwe " )
no 9 English red miscellaneous rumals (Engelsche Roode misc Roemaals)
no 10 English Blue miscellaneous rumals ( " Blauwe " )
no 17 Chelas (Gellassen)
no 18 Niquanias (Nicaneese)
no 19 French Gingam from Pondicheri (France Gingans van Pondecherij)

12 VOC 54; 1408; 1409; 1410; 1412; 1413; 1414; 1418; 1422; 4553 all from the 1780s orders that were called "Japanese Eisen" and composed by the College of Interpreters from the collection of orders given by Japanese authorities.

diminishing in the 18th century. During the Tokugawa period, at least three million pieces of textiles, according to VOC textile accounts, valued at more than thirty million guilders buying price were shipped from Europe and India.\textsuperscript{14} That figure would be double if imports of private trade were taken into account too.

Japan’s isolationist sakoku policy from the 1630s to the middle of the 19th century limited the VOC trade to the island Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki. The mercantile relationship that developed was mutually desirable and beneficial, but not publicly acknowledged by either party. The Japan-Jarakata oranda relationship (between Japan and the Dutch in Batavia) was tense during the first half of the 17th century as a result of cultural misunderstandings on both sides. For the Dutch high financial gains were at stake, obliging them to participate in ceremonial display and gift giving which needed much patience. Some stormy times were bridged when one side tested the other’s strength. By the middle of the 17th century the authorities in Batavia and Japan appear to have established their respective positions.\textsuperscript{15} The uniqueness of the Company as the only European presence in Japan warranted sometimes unprecedented actions on the part of the Dutch.\textsuperscript{16} Orders for Japan were taken seriously and sometimes given priority over other orders if Japan’s precious metals were needed urgently.

Net profits from the sales of textile products, sugar, spices, hides (deer, cow, buffalo), rayskin, and sandalwood, etc. amounted to an average 70% of

\textsuperscript{14} Ruurdje Laarhoven, "Raw Silk and Textile Trade to Japan during Kaempfer’s Time and Beyond": Table II. Paper Presented at the ASAA Bicentennial Conference, February 11-15, 1988, The Australian National University, Canberra.

\textsuperscript{15} Reinier H. Hesselink, "The Prisoners from Nambu: The Breskens Affair in Historical and Historiographical Perspective," a PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Hawaii, December 1992, 497 pages for an insightful treatise on the play between the Company factors in Deshima and all they stood for on the one hand, and the Japanese actors in the form of the Nagasaki interpreters who accompanied the Dutch delegation to Edo on the other hand.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid: 389 The reference is to the annual visit to Edo and the audiences with the shogun. In particular the "bogus ambassador" incident in 1649 fits well into the ceremonial display required to set a point straight.
the import buying price or f651,520 a year during the last half of the 17th century.\(^\text{17}\) The Japan office started to show losses in the VOC account books after 1745.\(^\text{18}\) Until then Japanese payments, primarily in gold, copper or silver proved a lucrative exchange and vital to the growth and maintenance of the Company's inter-Asiatic trade for more than 100 years.\(^\text{19}\)

Most of the European woollens that were imported to Asia by the VOC were destined for Japan.\(^\text{20}\) The Nagasaki regents, interpreters and quartermasters submitted private orders to the Dutch that were added to the orders for the shogun and the Nagasaki large merchants. Popular were the crimson says, perpetuanas, laken, and lakenrassen. In 1760 not enough of them were brought to Japan and the order for red, black and blue woollen manufactures was doubled the next year.\(^\text{21}\) Although the import of raw silk had ceased in the 1740s, the silk textiles continued to sell, especially the alegia and armosins; also cotton guinees from Bengal and striped taffachelas from the Coromandel coast. Very few textiles from Surat entered Japan. The right color of a textile was, as in Indonesia, important to the Japanese. In the 1660s the red color of the crimson says was a little too dark and consequently did not sell very well.

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\(^{17}\) F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 383-551. The figures for profit margins were deduced from van Dam's listing year by year adjusted for errors detected by the editor, Dr. F.W. Stapel.

\(^{18}\) G.C. Klerk de Reus, Administrativen, Rechtlichen und Finanzielen Entwicklung: Beilage IX

\(^{19}\) Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal: 128-30. Prakash points out that 84% of the silver import was of Japanese origin. When silver export from Japan was again banned in 1668, (It had also been banned between 1636 and 1645) the gold kuban replaced the silver and profits of up to 37%, were made in India while copper, another substitute for silver, earned a profit at times of up to 150%. The trade relationship in Japan brought profits twice: first the profit made on the sale of the imported textiles and silk/cotton pound goods, and secondly, the profit made with the sale of the exported precious metal. An analogous situation is found in the Maluku spice exchange, where considerable profits from the sales of textiles traded for the spices were followed by the profitable sale of the spices.

\(^{20}\) Ibid: 408, 432-3

\(^{21}\) Realia, vol 2: 46
Occasionally the shogun would issue a policy to stop the conspicuous consumption of textiles. Although sales slightly decreased, there were no dramatic drops, because the Chinese traders of Nagasaki would buy up the bulk of the import-textiles.  

The Asian Order and Specification

Not many specifications concerning the Asian order are known, fewer than for the Vaderlandsche eis. In the example above of the Dutch order, the name of the type of textile was listed first, followed by the quantity, expanded upon with many remarks about the size, color, quality, packing, price, etc. This structure did not occur in the orders from Batavia for Indonesia and other Asian branch offices. It simply showed the number of bales or pieces of the textile, the name, and the price per bale or per piece. An illustration of an order to Surat from Batavia for Asia shows:

Specification and request of the bales of different textiles and other wares, which for the year 1686 have been ordered for Batavia and India, as follows:

- 50 bales black broad baftas of 80 pieces each, at £350 @ bale £17.500:-
- 30 " narrow ditto of 120 pieces at £350 @ bale £10.500:-
- 1 " white narrow ditto with gold kepala for Sumatra’s West Coast £2.500:-
- 30 " black cannekins of 400 pieces each bale for as above at £400 @ bale £12.000:-

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22 F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 436, 441, 525, 525, 528, 537

23 Ibid, vol 2, part 2: 71-3, bijlage V gives a good example for details in the Dutch order from 1682

24 Ibid, vol 2, part 2: 79, 220-1

25 Ibid, vol 2, part 3: 104-5; On pages 204-23 is a list of imports for Batavia from Surat for only three consecutive years: 1699-1702. During these three years the average value of the textiles per year was £362,540.15.4, for an average 128,275 pieces of textiles. That is £2.83 per piece, a little higher price than the average I estimated to be £2.50 in Chapter 5, section: What is a bale?.
10 " tapi-cindai large, of 250 pieces
    at f400 @ bale f4,000:-

1000 pieces silk *patola* of 5 asterisks, on green backgrounds f6,000:-

100 " gold, silver and silk *balaches*, such as
    40 pieces with gold stripes
        at f72 @ piece f2,880
    20 " with silver stripes
        at f60 @ piece f1,200
    40 " silk *dito*
        at f7 1/2 @ piece f300

Eight more non-textile trade goods were listed. Often the same textiles were ordered year after year, but the quantity or price might differ. If there had been no complaints about a former delivery, no elaborate remarks were made and the order was forwarded as in the example above.

A VOC policy stipulated that if a textile usually on the order list was to be omitted, or the production stopped or reduced, the merchants in India had to be given a reason. For example, in 1762 the Batavia government ordered that chintz consignments for Japan had to be stopped because they sold at a loss. Sometimes orders differed much from one year to the next. Some textiles were not reordered and new types mentioned. Quantities could occasionally greatly vary too.

In the Surat order above, the textiles made up 55% of the value of the total order, f103,945. It should be remembered that other orders went that same year to Bengal (Hugli) and Coromandel (Paleacat). The structure of these orders was usually as simple as the one above for Surat or for all Asian orders to India. Not all orders were fulfilled, but some types of textiles

26 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 2: 112
27 *Realia*, vol 3: 228
29 Ibid: vol 2, part 2: 220-22 which includes in 1686 the tripartite order to Coromandel for the Netherlands, Batavia and Japan, summarized as:

7,236 bales varied textiles for Patria f 2,035,038
4,621 dittos ditto for Batavia 1,199,175
1,130 dittos varied textiles for Japan 346,190

The sum of which amounted to f 3,580,403

The size of these orders for Coromandel had been like this for some years and
would be substituted for others if the requested quantity could not be reached.\textsuperscript{30} An explanation of the changes was usually given in accompanying letters. As in the case of the European order the order for Indonesia was also not always fulfilled. A dramatic shortage, for instance, occurred in 1633, when only 150 bales of textiles were received instead of the 700 ordered.\textsuperscript{31} Occasionally the Company was short of cash to pay for the Indonesian textiles, resulting in missed opportunities and losses.\textsuperscript{32}

The samples cited above did not include any textiles for distribution to offices other than those in Indonesia and Japan. However, the orders for Indian and Dutch textiles from the Persia, Siam, Tonkin and other, sometimes short-lived, VOC branch offices, and after 1674 also Ceylon, were incorporated with the larger order from Batavia.\textsuperscript{33} The final order from Batavia was based on the stock left in the Batavia warehouse that supplied all the outlying offices and filled the requests that had come in from the branch offices. The Persian order, for example, showed some varieties that were not used in Indonesia or Japan such as the \textit{deriabados}, \textit{jalaessy}, \textit{septhanga}, and \textit{lechouris}. In 1656 the Persian office requested via Batavia, in addition to a

\begin{quote}
continued for a few more years until flooding, pestilence, starvation, and wars wiped out many weaving villages and those remaining evacuated and moved. The Coromandel textile orders never again achieved those heights again for the VOC.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid, vol 2, part 2: 131-2

\textsuperscript{31} Dagh-Register, Batavia, vol 2 (1633): 169. There are numerous accounts of what the order had been and how much the merchants had been able to procure—sometimes more, sometimes less—and often the right amount. See for example, Dagh-Register, Batavia, vol 7 (1644): 314.

\textsuperscript{32} Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel: 132-137; Om Prakash, Dutch Factories in India: 185-6; F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 2: 108-9

\textsuperscript{33} Dagh-Register, Batavia, vol 4 (1637): 88-9, shows an order of March 14 for 899 bales of 48 different types that are to be distributed to places in Indonesia and outside the archipelago. Delivery is expected in August.

Dagh-Register Batavia, vol 8 (1644): 254-5. One month later the Governor-General received letters from the old and the young king of Tonkin, with requests for a total of 66 pieces of \textit{lakens}: 30 fine red, 20 black, 10 carmosine red, 3 green, and 3 sky blue, 30 figured satins with large flowers of all kinds of colors, 20 pieces of clothing with large flowers, 50 \textit{sarassen} with large flowers and 100 pieces fine white \textit{kangans}. 
few Dutch textiles, 11 varieties of Surat textiles totalling 160,000 pieces and from Coromandel 49,000 pieces, mainly bleached textiles. The VOC office in Siam could sell no more than approximately 15,000 pieces of cloth annually. Except for a short period between 1680 and 1689 when no textiles were traded in Ayutthaya, the Coromandel and Surat textiles made up, as in Japan, approximately 50% of the import value. A specific textile for the Siamese market was socketocken.

It was very important that the orders arrived at Batavia in time to be communicated to the respective production centers in India before the sailing season ended, so that the textiles could be ordered, prepared and shipped to Batavia for further transfer to the respective destinations. Frequently a provisional order was sent early in the sailing season, followed by a confirmed formal order later on. For example, provisional orders from the Netherlands were changed or confirmed on arrival in Batavia no later than April or May. They were then speedily sent off to India. Between September and November the fulfilled orders were sent to Batavia for the return fleet that left for the Netherlands in November, or December 15 at the latest. The textiles would reach Europe early the next year in time for the spring auctions.

In early 1621 the Dutch in Masulipatnam waited anxiously for the Bengal merchants to arrive, with whom they had contracted for a large order of cloths the year before at the time they successfully traded with them. The Dutch were on tenterhooks for the delivery of gingans urgently needed for shipment to Batavia with Ternate, Ambon and Banda the final destinations. If they did not come soon the sailing season would have passed.


35 George Vinal Smith, Dutch in Thailand: 92


37 F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 500

38 Om Prakash, Dutch Factories in India, 148
Unfortunately, three Portuguese fusts attacked the 12 small Bengali vessels.\textsuperscript{39} Some were captured and others run aground and no textile delivery took place in time. Getting the textiles to a given place at a given moment, was often a challenge and large profits were sometimes missed through the lack of sufficient textiles. As the Company expanded and regular large shipments arrived in Batavia, the Company built up a large stock to safeguard itself against missed opportunities.

In Aceh the next year (1622) the Company merchant missed a chance to make lucrative profits when the English had profitably sold 150 bales and were left with nothing. He wished that he had been stocked with a good variety of Gujarati cloth. He thought he would have made large profits.\textsuperscript{40} Sometimes the Company's textiles were stocked in the wrong place. A large quantity of Kangans was needed in Jambi to buy pepper, but these were in stock in Ternate.\textsuperscript{41} When there was a large harvest of cloves or nutmegs a shortage regularly occurred in the textiles that were in high demand, such as white and blue guinees, salempores, and parcalles, black broad muris, brown-blue and small baftas, niquaniases, and karikams.\textsuperscript{42}

Missed opportunities were comparatively few. They occurred more often during the Company's infancy. As the textile trade expanded the Company took great care to build up large stocks to make its deliveries fit the markets.

\textit{Preparing the Textiles for Shipment}

In preparation for the contracts, the VOC merchants in India negotiated with the brokers all the elements that made up the quality of a cloth, the

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid: 160-1

\textsuperscript{40} H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz.Coen, Bescheiden, vol 7 (1622): 934

\textsuperscript{41} H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden, vol 2: 465

\textsuperscript{42} VOC 3208 (1768): 450
price for a certain quantity and the date for delivery.\textsuperscript{43} The results of these negotiations were presented in the regular council meetings in the fort or lodge, where decisions concerning the contracts were made and consequently laid down in formal resolutions. Merchants and bookkeepers paid a £3,000 bond to the Company as security for the position they held. If the buyers made mistakes in their presentation of the contract or in quality control through inspections, they were held responsible and the neglect charged against their account, at least for the amount that the production value differed from the overcharge on the invoice. The merchants could not deny the accusations held against them because they had to sign their initials on the invoice and the packing slip after they had finished their inspection.\textsuperscript{44}

When the merchants did not check well they could be deceived. It happened that pieces of delivered textiles would be folded in such a way that they appeared on the surface to be identical to the sample, but when the textile was unfolded it revealed sections in the weaving that were only half the density. In order to avoid lengthy debates about the quality, the contracts recorded the cal (thread count of the warp) and the exact length and width.\textsuperscript{45} The broker or his representative was present when the delivery was made and stayed to observe the textiles being checked by Company-delegated staff who were supervised by the merchant in charge of that order. The thread had to be the same thickness throughout the woven piece. If the closeness of the weaving was not of the desired cal, or weaving mistakes and miscoloring were noticed, the textile would be declassified accordingly and the price adjusted in consultations between the VOC merchant and the broker who was present. Sometimes the textile delivery was rejected altogether.

The weight of a textile if known was also used as a measure of checking the quality of the cloths. Since many orders were repeated seasonally, the details

\textsuperscript{43} Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib eds., Cambridge Economic History of India, vol 1: 405

\textsuperscript{44} Realia, vol 1: 169, 332, 334, 407; vol 2: 277

\textsuperscript{45} Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal: 41, Table on p. 53. An explanation of cal is given in Chapter 7, in the section "A Piece of Indian Cloth."
used in checking helped standardize the textile production.

VOC personnel and their Indian assistants working in dispatch sorted the many textiles that arrived in the packing room. Workers counted and stacked the textiles for packing. There were at least eight supervising inspectors on the Coromandel coast, who all had to be contracted VOC personnel. If a supervisor found a discrepancy he was to make a correction in the books and the bookkeeper assigned the error to the broker responsible.46 It seems that the Dutch accepted substandard cloth more readily than the English, because they could dispose of it in Asia if the quality was not good enough for the European market. After the checking and adjusting of accounts, the textile orders were wrapped and baled or laid in chests. A final packing slip or afpak briefje was attached to the textiles that were ready for shipment. A typical slip read as follows:

No. 276
For Batavia
Containing 80 pieces (pees) ordinary cassas
long 38, 39 and 40; width 2 1/8 - 2 1/4; ?*
Hoogli, d. 17 July, 1747

Measured, counted, packed, and sealed

Signed by A.D. Arnaud
M. Isink
D. Verbeek

* two abbreviations that are unclear
[In the margin added in Batavia]
Traded through the honored Mr. Director Jan Huyghen and Council
On whose behalf signed: M. Bastiaanse J.L.47


47 VOC 2716 (1748): 289-91 This packing slip and bale were received in Kota Ambon which lodged a complaint to Batavia about its contents of some bad betilles. Kota Ambon rebuked Batavia for signing the slip (in the margin) without proper inspection, because the bale had not been opened and the neck of the bale had an unbroken seal. An extenuating circumstance was that the correct weight of 248 pounds
The VOC merchant who had contracted that delivery, or his deputy, and the warehouse supervisor had to be present at all times while the bales were being weighed, numbered and their contents described before packing. The same procedure was also used with other trade products. For example, Java cotton thread, which came in four to five grades, was supplied with a packing slip. It occurred regularly that when the bale had reached its final destination and was opened, the content on the packing slip did not reflect what was found inside.48

Early in the 17th century it was already a problem to keep the different types of textiles separated in the packaging. For example, Malay style sarassa were mixed with sarassa intended for Java, which were different in size. Each valuable textile seems to have been separately wrapped in paper. The form of the package after it was wrapped has been compared to a house brick. On the back of the wrapping, as on the spine of a book, a golden seal could sometimes be found which apparently guaranteed the quality of the textile, at least in the case of bafta and cannekin.49 The specialization of the textile production, therefore, was to an extent reflected in the packaging, too. The Company also wanted a textile from one locality to be packed separately from the same type of textile that came from another town or village. Each type of textile had to be baled individually and each brand of one type was marked separately. For example, a new variety of tapi-sarassa in 1686 was marked with a letter "Q" on the bale.50

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49 J.P. Rouffaer, Indische Batikkunst, Bijlage III: XI

In 17th century Coromandel, and Dacca (Bengal), the Company bought up ox and cow skins for baling the cotton textiles (Illustration in Chapter 7). Very coarse cotton or linen was used as inner wrapping for the ordinary mass-produced textiles. Later, with better regulations in place concerning the transport of textiles, gunny bags from Bengal seem to have replaced many types of wrapping and became popular with the Company for baling the textiles, too. Valentijn tells us that the cloth in which textiles had been wrapped was kept for the army captain in Kota Ambon. In the garrison they cleaned the guns with it, and if it was not needed there, the Governor would designate other uses for it. The guinees was regularly wrapped in dongris and textiles from Europe arrived in Batavia in a coarse linen called toletten. On the toletten was written the name of the type of cloth that it contained. When the linen wrapping was discarded the name was lost, so in the course of time it became customary to hang a name-tag from the bolt of textile. Sometimes the packers were careless sewing up the bundles in rough gunny wrapping and pierced the very costly textiles with their large bent needles.

In the 18th century and probably earlier the VOC offices in India offered facilities for agents to send packages of textiles on the seasonal ships to people in Batavia. The packages were subject to strict regulations on size, not larger than 1.42 x 0.56 x 0.56 meters. The service was also available in Batavia, where private individuals could send packages at a charge via the

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51 VOC 11207: 30; Om Prakash, Dutch Factories, 1617-1623: 38 ftn 5; Commelin, Begin ende Voortgangh, vol 3, no 12, Voyage Steven van der Hagen: 16 where it is claimed that receivers at the warehouse in Pegu kept the skins and knew how to prepare them so that they could eat them. The same is reported from Masulipatnam and Paleacat in 1631, when there was a great famine, W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 1 (1631): 296

52 F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 358


54 Dagh-register, Batavia, vol 4 (1637): 122
castle before 1746 and via a postal service at the anchor wharf after that time.55

Precious textiles such as expensive chintz, raw silk and silk textiles were usually packed in cases or chests. The slippery texture of some silk textiles made it necessary to clamp them between planks of wood, for which calitur, a pleasant-smelling, red variety of sandalwood was preferred.56 Dutch woollen textiles that arrived in Batavia were also packed this way, with ropes around them and set into the chests.57 Chinese and other carpenters in Java made these chests from Chinese wood. Early in the period the insides of the chests were covered with lead, which preserved the textiles well during long voyaging. A letter from the English factor Peacock in Japan in 1613 reported a mishap: the English cloth had been eaten by worms because the chest had not been dry enough and the cloth not sufficiently covered; he requested that leaded chests be used in the future as the Dutch did.58 However, the VOC itself eventually found a better method than heavy lead chests. In 1745 an order was sent to the office in Canton requiring the wrapping of silk cloths first in oiled paper, then successively in a cloth bag and a wooden chest, the way the French did it.59 Prior to 1745 the Chinese pelings that came from Tonkin in the 17th century had been wrapped in sailcloth.60 Sometimes there was a shortage of supply of oiled paper for wrapping the precious silks.61 The oiled paper gave the textiles a pleasant fragrance due to brushing of the paper with absinthe oil essence of the wormwood or

55 Realia, vol 1: 336; vol 2: 115

56 Calitur was named after the city Calitore on the Coromandel coast. It was commonly used for inlay or to make a red dye.

57 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 637

58 Pratt, History of Japan: 94, 117; Meilink-Roelofz, Asian Trade: 195 also remarks that the Dutch packed their goods better than the English did.

59 Realia, vol 1: 270

60 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1692): 624

Artemisia absinthium, native to Europe, or with lavender oil essence, known as spike oil and produced in the Netherlands and England from the Lavandula spica.\(^{62}\)

A chest in which the raw silk from China came to Batavia weighed approximately 104 pounds. When raw silk was being packed, oiled paper or dongris were used to cover the inside of the chest so that the silk would not be damaged by the roughness of the wood. The chests had to be of very dry wood, otherwise the wood would shrink further and seams would open up that could expose the valuable contents to the elements. The joints and seams in well-made dry wooden chests were filled with resin or tar. On one occasion charcoal was used instead and became wet, which not only opened the seam, but also caused coal to smudge the luxurious armosins inside. The Batavian authorities complained that it would have been better if there had been no filler at all.\(^{63}\)

In the middle of the 18th century the cost of packing materials for a bale of ordinary textiles was set at ten guilders, but more was allowed to be spent for the finer pieces. All bales had to be weighed immediately after the packing was done and the total written on the packing slip. If a ship carrying textiles was on a voyage for an extended period of time, the silk and cotton pieces had to be regularly aired.\(^{64}\) Batavia sent repeated reminders that the textiles were to be loaded aboard ship in dry weather and that they should be packed only after they had been thoroughly dried. A fine of 150% of the cost price was set for the merchants in the Indian offices who disobeyed.\(^{65}\)

\(^{62}\) F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1: 559, 638 claims that spike oil-brushed paper preserved textiles better than absinthe.


Shipping the Textiles

According to van Dam, the Company prided itself on knowing how to stow its ships efficiently.66 There was a constant effort to organize the procedures pertaining to loading ships. The instructions for Governor-General Both in 1610 ordered "that the skippers draw up a complete bill of lading of everything they take aboard and give a precise declaration of the quantity and the quality of the trade goods."67 In 1617 the directorate demanded once again that the ships be fully laden and well stowed. Compact stowage of cargoes on board ship could make a difference of 150 bales. Sometimes a sailing was held up because of the poor way in which the cargo was placed aboard or a ship did not leave as scheduled because it did not have enough cargo. The reverse is true too. Hundreds of bales of textiles were left in Bengal in 1721 because there was no cargo space for them, and in Surat textiles were left behind because the continual rain prevented loading them aboard ship. It happened regularly that textiles became stained when

66 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 524. The company had ordered research on how to stow ships efficiently, amplified in a publication called "Middelen om uyt te vinden de ware ladingh der schepen na haere groote" of which copies were sent to Batavia in 1689 with orders to use it as a guide. Figuring out the most efficient method of stowing on the basis of calculations appeared too cumbersome and time consuming. The publication was little used.

67 P. Mijer, Verzameling Instructien: 11, 36. VOC 1684 (1705) no 15: 2247v-2248v The bills of lading are the stuagie lijste in the VOC archives. A sample list of the fluyt Oestgeest, starts with 105 chests of Japanese bar iron and some preserved ginger and nutmeg which were stowed in the water-hole. The list continues with the large hold. From the bulkhead to the mainmast were 20 chests of Japanese iron bars, 1400 bags of saltpeter. In one layer spread across the whole hold to the tailboard, 271 crates of powdered sugar were placed. From bulkhead to tailboard were stowed 16 layers of textiles; each layer listed the quantity of bales separately, and every type of textile was specified, up to a total of 170 bales. Beginning high at the bulkhead, another 17 layers were listed with 188 bales of textiles, and again for each layer the number of bales of each textile type is specified. Likewise under the after hatchway against the bulkhead a last stowage is listed for 121 bales. Seventeen chests with silk and indigo were stored in a room at starboard and 13 more textile bales in a room at port-side.
they were loaded in the rain, hence the strict regulations about loading.\textsuperscript{68}

The recommended place for cloth was one on top of the other in the large hold between the bulkhead and tailboard above the ballast goods. The textiles should definitely not be stored on the bottom nor on top in the hold, but somewhere in the middle away from anything that could make them wet, smell, or spoil.\textsuperscript{69} Coen, in a report in 1621, wondered what could be done about improving the way cargo was loaded so it would not be ruined. It had just happened that butter and \textit{arak} in the ship \textit{Enckhuysen} from Coromandel had been placed above an assortment of the finest textiles and spoiled all of them as well as the rice. A year earlier textiles had been transported lying in sweating rice so that practically all of them had caked together (agglutinated) and others were sweltering on arrival in Ternate.\textsuperscript{70} Other pests were the caddis worms that settled, it was believed, in the paste of the cottons. Silks were eaten by white ants and woollen scarlets by moths. In general there were complaints about insect destruction in the textiles at regular intervals.\textsuperscript{71} When textiles were packed together with wood that was still wet or pearls that had not been cleaned, or on ships that leaked, they were likely to show some form of damage. One policy prohibited textiles from being transported from Coromandel and Bengal on ships with only one deck.\textsuperscript{72}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[68] VOC 2760 (1750): 34, 187-8 \textit{Muris} received in Ambon were covered with dirty spots and given to the surgeon to use as bandages. In response to a complaint lodged in Batavia about this, the Ambon government was notified that they had been loaded in Coromandel in the rain. W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 1 (1633): 371; vol 7 (1721): 564; vol 8 (1728): 157; H.T. Colenbrander, \textit{Jan Pietersz. Coen Bescheiden}, vol 4 (1618): 393-4;

\item[69] F.W. Stapel ed., \textit{Pieter van Dam Beschrijvinge}, vol 1, part 1: 529; part 2: 133-4


\end{footnotes}
part of textiles. Presumably it was feared that leakage from the deck would spoil the precious cloth.

While the cargo was loaded aboard under the supervision of the captain, water fiscal or other judiciary administrator and a council committee member, it was being checked off the invoices and listed on the bills of lading which were then given to the captain. After the stowing was finished, the captain went to collect letters, maps and instructions for the voyage; the ship’s doctor received a medicine chest containing from 70 to 100 drugs; the boatswain his equipment; the bookkeeper his papers and petty cash which consisted of coinage and textiles; and other ship’s officers the tools of their profession. Every item on the ship was accounted for on someone’s list and all those concerned signed their respective receipts. On the day the ship was ready to leave the captain was obliged to sign in the presence of the fiscal a prepared final statement in which he confirmed that he had found everything in order and provided for without having further requirements.

When cloth was needed for the crew’s wages during a voyage, a bale could be opened only with the permission of the highest ranking merchant or bookkeeper aboard. The latter also kept accounts for each textile and noted the quantities and prices for which they were sold in the harbors that were visited. Most Company ships carried clear instructions telling which route to sail. It could happen that the captain of a ship leaving the Indian coasts late in the season was requested to sail along the west coast of Sumatra to pick up pepper while another captain was to pass by Melaka to take textiles there.

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73 Realia, vol 1 (1764): 333. In a shipment to Batavia from Coromandel on April 23, 1740, 30 bales of textiles were, nevertheless, shipped together with three elephants, namely, the male Tickeran, 3.66 meter high, costing f 1,668.45; the female Dornagddie, 3.82 meter, f 1,506.— and the female baby, Soobawie, 1.44 meter at f 270.—. The charge for transport was f 1,236.42 in VOC 11853 (1740): 570

74 VOC 1684 (1705): nos 15-26, fol 2247v-2259v

75 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 123-4
Processing the Textiles in Batavia

To prevent illegal trade, the Dutch ordered that in Batavia all vessels had to pass through the river's gate and the toll house. No goods were allowed to come ashore between the Tangerang and Krawang rivers in any other way. The gate opened at 5:00 am and closed at 7:00 pm, which later changed to 6:30 pm. At the first calling from the gate-master the captain had to moor his ship and was visited by a designated person. When a shipment with textile goods arrived all the bales and chests were weighed under the supervision of the "counter of trade goods" who signed his approval in the margin of the packing slip. The weight on the packing slip naturally had to agree with what the bale weighed at its destination. After 1742 this weighing took place at the Rotterdam Gate, which had been renovated for this purpose.

When the ship was being unloaded the cargo was checked against the invoices by one of the senior merchants and at least one administrator who was a fiscal, member of the committee from the Council of Justice. Smuggled goods could not pass unnoticed because the gate-master was the one responsible for assigning small vessels and workers to unload the bales and take them to the warehouse. If smuggled goods were found, the workers were ordered to confiscate them. One half of the illegal goods captured went to the gate-master, and one quarter each to the checking authorities and the Company. There is reason to suspect that an understanding might be reached between the gate-master, workers and smugglers. However, contraband goods were being unloaded before arrival in Batavia, away from the shore at sea. Of course, this was forbidden too, under penalty of

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76 There was a policy, Plakaatboek, vol 3 (1697): 421, of dividing the booty captured from smugglers among three parties: fiscal, gate-master and workers. There would be a greater advantage to all parties concerned in accepting bribes for neglecting to search and find illegal goods. A refusal to pay bribe money usually resulted in goods being taken away. This was the custom in many places in the archipelago.

77 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1676): 165
confiscation of the goods and a fine at the discretion of the judge.\textsuperscript{78} The illegal unloading off-shore was probably the motive that led to a new policy, issued in 1767, which stipulated that the fiscal had to inspect the ship on arrival and no longer only after it had been unloaded. The policy added that checking the ship for the illegal import of goods after it had been unloaded had not helped control the illegal import of textiles.\textsuperscript{79} Two parties, each consisting of one senior merchant and one fiscal, took on the task of supervising the incoming and outgoing textiles respectively. Since ships were not allowed to stay overnight inside the gate there was always a rush to unload them. If ships needed to stay, they were to moor near the Anchor Wharf.\textsuperscript{80}

When the assigned senior merchant discovered a discrepancy on examination of the invoices between the types of textiles that were ordered and those that had arrived, he had to report it immediately to the Director-General. The persons who had signed the invoices and bill of lading were to be questioned and held responsible.\textsuperscript{81}

\textit{The Warehouse}

In 1616, after some frustrating efforts at negotiations to build a warehouse in Banten, the Dutch built a square brick tower-house in Batavia instead. Besides being eight meters high, the second floor was surrounded by a gallery on all sides, a strategic advantage in case of an attack.\textsuperscript{82} The

\textsuperscript{78} J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 3 (1699): 470


\textsuperscript{80} Realia, vol 1 (1729): 174

\textsuperscript{81} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 152; J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 7 (1764): 756-7, 760-1

building functioned as a watchtower, living quarters and warehouse in which the Company’s trade goods, especially the textiles, would be safe. Subsequently, some fireproof warehouses modelled after the Chinese ones in Batavia were built in Ternate, Banda, and Ambon.

The warehouse in Ambon was erected in 1627 from hewn stone and coral near Castle Nassau, with dimensions of 9 x 25 meters. The wall was 85 centimeters thick downstairs and 57 centimeters upstairs. The building also included the living quarters for the merchants and other officers. Food items were kept downstairs and textiles dry and airy upstairs. Textiles were placed on shelves in the warehouses, type by type, variety by variety; chests and bales with the same number of pieces were kept together to give a tidy appearance.83

New warehouses were also built in 1631 in Batavia Castle between Safier and de Parel salients, facing the sea. Many more storage places still needed to be established outside the castle, because no storage could be found for 285 lasts of pepper and 150,000 pounds of best-quality cloves. Temporary accommodation was eventually found for these in respectively, the Women’s Court and the Town Hall. For cargo that had newly arrived from Surat some new wooden buildings were quickly erected, but because of flammable roofs none of those storage places was safe.84 Finally in 1652 a large new brick warehouse, the Westzijdse Pakhuis, was built inside Batavia’s city wall between Punt Zeeburch and Punt Cuylenburch. Part of the fireproof complex contained the kleedenpakhuys for the textiles that eventually had to be transferred; it also included the Company’s own administration next to the ships’ wharf.85 The textile warehouse in Batavia originally had one administrator or warehouse

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84 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 5 (1631): 179-80

manager who employed slaves and free laborers as carriers, sorters, and counters. An assistant administrator who took over one third of the responsibilities of the manager, was appointed additionally during the 18th century.

As soon as textiles arrived in the warehouse they were written into an inventory book which was also used to update the negotie boeken. In turn, when textiles were moved out of the warehouse to the Company’s retail shops or shipped for transfer, they had to be written off the inventory. To make sure that the transfer from inventory lists to the negotie boeken was accurate, the invoices were used to check the accounting books. Every month, or at least every two months, the inventory records had to be checked against the actual count of textiles in the warehouse. In order to inspect the negotie boeken, keep the inventory in agreement with them, and check the cash received from sales, the bookkeeper, cashier, senior merchants and administrators all had to cooperate, especially when something seemed amiss. The inventory list, with a final detailed count of all the types and varieties of textiles that were still in stock, was presented to the Director-General. He needed the information for his commercial report to the Council meeting and for setting the next year’s order quotas.

During the first half of the 17th century the Company’s management worked at systematizing quality control of the textiles in response to the buyers. Sales of textiles were made only to wholesale dealers, most of whom were Chinese and some burgers. Leonard Blussé remarked that the Company “did not want to open the warehouses for a mere trifle.” The wholesale dealers frequently returned to the Company with complaints about textiles that were damaged, for example textiles with stains on them, and demanded a hefty discount for such goods. But even with a discount the buyers did not like the extra trouble that selling such textiles caused. Therefore, in 1666, it was decided that all the cloth bales had to be opened,

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87 Leonard Blussé, "Testament to a Towkay" in All of One Company: 34
spread out, and inspected by the purchaser prior to billing. No more
discount could be claimed after the sale was closed.\textsuperscript{88}

From the middle of the 17th century auctions were held as a way of
selling textiles, including damaged and outdated ones. When some bales
arrived wet or stained, they were to be sold by auction immediately.
However, if a large quantity of more than five bales or chests was involved,
the matter had to be reported to the Council.

Ships from foreign nations arriving in Batavia were visited by the
syahbandar or water fiscal before they were allowed to pass the gate. Almost
immediately beyond the gate on the right stood the toll-house where they
paid taxes for the imported trade goods. All cargo had to pass through the
warehouse where it was inspected by a committee for illegal imports before it
could be forwarded to the owner. All outgoing foreign vessels were
inspected too and taxed an amount according to the goods they exported.

The Company’s own textiles that were being transferred from the
Westzijdse Pakhuis to a VOC buitenkantoor, or branch office elsewhere in
Southeast Asia, also had to pass through the river’s gate. The gate-master
would cut a cross in the gunny or stamp the linen of the wrapping so that the
receivers at their destinations could immediately distinguish such bales from
unmarked non-Company textiles that should be taxed or confiscated,
depending on the contents. At the gate, the passes of outgoing vessels not
belonging to the Company were also checked for irregularities.\textsuperscript{89}

When a shipment of ordered textiles arrived at a branch office, the
warehouse manager and a fiscal or other Justice Committee member were
obliged to open randomly one or two bales of each type of textiles, report on
its condition and issue a receipt for delivery to the captain of the vessel.
Each ship was supplied with two calibrated scales from Batavia, one to be
used on the ship while the cargo was hauled on deck from the hold and the

\textsuperscript{88} Realia, vol 3 (1764): 320, 368; F.W.Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol
1, part 2: 220, 226

\textsuperscript{89} J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 5 (1646): 386; vol 7 (1756): 199
other to be used when the same goods were received at the warehouse. Before 1732 textiles and cloves had gone astray between the ship and the warehouse and the difference between the ship's balance and the on-site balance had been blamed. It was hoped that using identical scales would prevent the theft of goods in this short distance in transfer.

If for some reason the newly imported textiles were found to be unacceptable, this had to be noted on the packing slip and the textiles with the slip returned to the captain immediately. All these measures had developed to prevent tinkering with cargo in transport. There are many recorded incidents that indicate that these precautions were essential. Some of the punishments for theft were whipping, demotion, confiscation, chaining for a number of years, and payment of fines.

The Dutch had no control over the opening and closing of the warehouses in Japan. They had suffered some losses in the early 1660s because the warehouses had been dilapidated for some time and full of leaks. In 1666 one large fireproof building was erected at great expense. After the trading season was over the warehouse was closed and sealed until next season's ships arrived. In one instance the Japanese discovered some textiles in the warehouse after the Dutch ships had sailed away. They confiscated and burnt them.

90 Realia, vol 2, (1723, 1732, 1733, 1743): 128


92 The fireproof warehouse was completed in 1668. W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1667): 542. It cost fl11,900. The lease rent for the island Deshima was fl9,250. Repairs and new carpentry work were also charged to the Dutch. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinghe, vol 2, part 1: 431 ft5 5, 436, 440 and ft2 2, 500, 531
Private Trade

It frequently happened that vessels which were transferring textiles from Batavia to a branch office picked up private cargo along the way and arrived overloaded at their destination. Suspicion of such cases prompted Batavia to give strict orders to the branch offices to check the Plimsoll mark on the vessels. The Governor of Ambon, for example, was advised in a letter in 1733 of the measurements taken in Batavia from the waterline to the fore and aft of the ship which had to be checked on arrival at Castle Victoria in Kota Ambon. It was against regulations to take on additional cargo along the way. The letter in response to this order stated that nothing unusual had been detected. The Governor did not confirm the measurements, which made it an evasive answer. It was usual for vessels with the destination Ambon, to pass by one of the harbors along Java’s northeast coast and take passengers and extra cargo of rice and provisions, some raw cotton, or textiles aboard. When the Governor reported "nothing unusual", one suspects that the "usual" stopovers were made. Two years earlier the directorate, in correspondence to Batavia, had questioned the Council suspiciously about the necessity of sending two ships to Ambon if the cargo of bales of cloth and cash, according to the records, was only valued at 171,500 guilders. That transport should only need one ship.

The likelihood is that a substantial private trade was conducted by local residents within the Indonesian archipelago, and that this increased after the first shock wave of the monopolistic policies over the fine spices subsided.

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93 In Banda in 1629, a ship arrived from Batavia with extra cargo aboard. The goods were confiscated of the three persons involved. H.T. Colenbrander, Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden, vol 7 (1629): 1596

94 VOC 2283 (1733) set 2: 7

95 VOC 1733, (1731) set 1: 33-4; A similar incident had occurred in correspondence pertaining to Japan in 1675 when the copper had been left behind because the ships were fully loaded, but according to the Directors in the Netherlands there should have been plenty of room for it. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 452
Those who had connections with the Company used the Company's ships as their carriers, while the non-Company traders, many of whom were Chinese, had access to markets beyond their own territories through the international, Malay-speaking, trading networks that operated their own vessels. The volume of Indian cloth sales by the Asians and Europeans can only be guessed. In 1731, for example, the Council in Batavia complained about the English country traders who sailed along the coasts of Java selling out of their ships which was estimated to cost the Company £500,000 in sales annually lost because the English sold for lower prices. This thesis did not analyze the private trade, but the multitude of edicts concerning illegal trade amply confirm that it was rampant and included large volumes of textiles.

In 1670 a Dutch lower employee died on Deshima which caused some scandal when it was discovered that he had been involved in private trade on behalf of Governor-General Maetsuycker's wife and others. The Batavia elites had requested him to buy golden *kubans* to trade for precious stones in India because the exchange rate of gold was so advantageous in Coromandel. When the incident became known in Batavia, it sparked an investigation of two vessels that were on the point of leaving the harbor for Japan. The two fiscals assigned to compare the bill of lading against the cargo found 85 bales and two chests of textiles which had not been accounted for. The captains were held responsible and ordered to pay a fine of an amount equivalent to

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96 J. van Goor ed., *Generale Missiven*, vol 9 (1731): 253; The English traded in Sumbawa and had an understanding with rulers on Bali's southern coasts, *VOC 3329* (1768): 291; Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge*, vol 2, part 1: 24, part 2: 19-20 speaks with disdain about the private trade from Bengal to the archipelago during the 17th century. He estimates half the trade to be conducted on behalf of the Company and half for the benefit of the employees. In 1727 two vessels with contraband goods were confiscated in Pariaman; J. van Goor, ed. *Generale Missiven*, vol 8 (1727): 113. The decrease of the profits for the Company in 1692 was attributed to the large volume of smuggled cloth, W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed. *Generale Missiven*, vol 5 (1692): 525; A year earlier a vessel from Johore with illegal trade cloths was caught blaming this kind of "smuggling" for the decrease of the Company's textile sales. Ibid, vol 5 (1691): 396; In 1673 there were complaints about the smuggling in the Gulf of Boni, Ibid, vol 3 (1673): 844

several months of wages, and the bales were confiscated. 98

**Outlets for Textiles in Batavia**

In 1619 a *pasar* (market) was located west of the *kali* (the Great River), but as soon as Castle Batavia was built, a market was held in front of it. However, by 1627 another market, referred to as the *Nieuwe Markt* (new market) was located in the square before the Town Hall. The convenience of a Town Hall and a large market place so close together seems to have attracted people at all times of day and night, some of whom were not ashamed to relieve themselves in front of the *bicara* (discussion) room. A *burger* (Dutch civilian) surveillance group kept watch and cleaned up the place.

There were many specialized *pasars* such as the Chinese market with stalls selling goods from China and a *kleeden pasar* (textile market) northwest of the *Nieuwe Markt*. Two blocks further towards the castle along the *kali* Indian Muslims conducted a *pasar* where textiles, silver work and exotica from India could be bought. Fish markets, and markets selling rice and vegetables were also in the vicinity. A *sitsen* market was opened in 1690 that specialized in selling chintz. In the meantime, the *kleeden pasar* had been discontinued in 1677 because it was believed that too many Indian textiles were entering Batavia illegally and being sold in the *kleeden pasar*. 99 All the markets were located between Castle Batavia and the Town Hall, inside Batavia’s city walls. 100 For reasons of peace and order it was ruled in 1729 that business was to be conducted between the hours of 5:00 am and 8:00 pm;

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98 Chijs, J.A. van der Dagh-Register, Batavia, 1670-1): 415, 441

99 Marie-Sybille De Vienne, "La part des Chinois dans les fermes fiscales de Batavia au XVIIème siècle" in Archipel 22: 119

100 The Captain of the Chinese leased the collections of the *kleeden pasar*. At his request the *pasar* was rebuilt in 1658 and the Company donated the building materials. *Realia*, vol 1 (1658): 277; *Plakaatboek*, vol 2 (1648): 124; F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol 1: 360
nothing was to be sold at other times. If one was caught selling at night, a first warning was given with a fine of 25 rixdollars. The fine was doubled for a second trespass.  

Every pasar was farmed out to the highest bidder. The auction for that was an annual event during the 17th century on the last day of December; bidding was by drumbeat. By 1734 the bidding was done bi-annually and for some categories of tax-farming (the farming out of tax collections) the contract was for an even longer time. The bid for the kleeden pasar in 1654 was 100 rixdollars a month. One year later the bid had increased ten percent. The captain of the Chinese ran the kleeden pasar. Money was usually collected from the vendors in the pasar once a week. They were charged one double-stuiver or f0.10 per day in 1658, which meant that at least 80 vendors had to sell in the pasar every day to have the lessee come out even.  

Besides the pasars, the Dutch also started to farm out to middlemen, often the Chinese, the revenue collection of shopkeepers in 1658. Before that time the owners of shops had been paying the same amount monthly as the pasar vendors paid to the Batavian Office of the Receiver. They were given a receipt for the two-rixdollar payment which functioned as a license to operate their shop or warung, a store in front of their residence. It had to be obtained before the sixth day of each month. The reported income from shops and vegetable stalls, in rixdollars per month for the Batavian government, increased steadily:

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101 Realia, vol 1 (1729): 170

102 Dagh-Register Batavia, (1641): 352. When in Ambon some Chinese tax farmers died in one year, lease rents were reduced because there would not have been bidders otherwise. W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 9, (1735): 672. When one of the Chinese pasar captains died, his wife, a Balinese woman, continued to take charge for several years. Mijer and Hoëvel "Chronologische Geschiedenis" in TNI, vol 3, no 2: 20-23


104 Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1658): 299-301; Realia, vol 1 (1658): 277
### Table 6

Income in the City of Batavia from Farm of Shopholders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rixd. per month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rixd. per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1684</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>3080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685</td>
<td>2030</td>
<td>1710</td>
<td>3190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>3260</td>
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<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>2480</td>
<td>1714</td>
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<td>1690</td>
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<td>1694</td>
<td>2260</td>
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<td>1697</td>
<td>2320</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>4300</td>
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<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>2715</td>
<td>1729</td>
<td>5170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>3080</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>5150(^{105})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The progressively higher collections were related to the increasing population, business and number of shops. Decline in trade, inflated prices, and high mortality were given as reasons for a decline in the money raised from tax farming in the 1730s.\(^{106}\) In January, 1743 the Chinese were forced to pay 3 rixdollars per month for their stalls or shops. Artisans or crafts people such as saddle-makers, tailors, smiths, etc. or those selling prepared food items, were exempted from payment, but everyone else who sold something, however small, was subject to the tax. Until 1687 all the tax farms fell into seven categories. On the last day of that year the auction raised 9,614 rixdollars (1 rixd. = £3.00 in Batavia in 1687). The total for the next year was £346,104. In 1688 Governor-General Camphuis instituted five more categories and ways to raise taxes and Governor-General Imhoff added four

\(^{105}\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1684): 677, 775; vol 5: 282, 374, 665, 815; vol 6: 148, 524, 586, 656, 731; vol 7: 63, 335, 532; vol 8: 109, 232; vol 9 (1730): 89. The part contributed by the kleeden pasar alone is small from 6-15%. See the listing of the monthly taxes collected in the kleeden pasar from 1644 to 1677 which was over one hundred rixd. in 1644, 1648 and 1653, but decrease to 80 rixd. in 1670 and 65 in 1677, the last year recorded in the Dagh-register Batavia according to Marie-Sybille De Vienne, "La part des Chinois" in Archipel 22: 118

\(^{106}\) The collection of the shop and vegetable tax had decreased to 4,540 rixdollars per month in 1736. Ibid, vol 9 (1734): 565, (1736): 700
more categories of tax farming in 1743. During the increase of the 1680s a Chinese chronicler wrote: "in this manner taxes [to be paid] multiply every day and the profits [made] in business decrease. The Chinese and the number of indigenous people also swell daily, and the Company becomes rich while the people become poor."\textsuperscript{107}

In the 1640s many \textit{pasar} vendors and shopkeepers apparently experienced difficulties paying their fees. This was partly caused by the stringent competition from the peddlers and street vendors, who carried pieces of textiles and clothing-for-sale around town. The vendors felt shortchanged and complained. Thus, in August, 1648 a proclamation was issued that forbade the peddling of cloths, clothing, gold or silver lace, rolled up materials or any other kind of textile item. Only a licensed owner was allowed to sell textiles inside a residence. Non compliance with the order resulted in confiscation of the textiles or clothing, even if the seller was wearing them, and a fine of 20 rixdollars.\textsuperscript{108}

Outside Batavia's wall, west of the Great River and beyond the toll-gate, were a few dilapidated wooden shops, where textiles were also sold. The Dutch believed that "escaped slaves, scum and rabble" were hiding and hanging around there making the area unsafe.\textsuperscript{109} Thus, in 1728 the land was cleared and 39 plots sold for 83,339 rixdollars. This is only one example among many that illustrate massive clean-up efforts the government of Batavia undertook in the early part of the 18th century. It cleared the edges of beaches, river banks, streets, bridges and roads of unwanted vendors and demolished the unseemly small stands, booths and stalls in which they conducted their business, even though this had been the way the indigenous population had been selling for centuries. The selling of textiles in the hinterlands and beyond the immediate surroundings of Batavia continued by

\textsuperscript{107} Mijer and Hoëvel, "Chronologische Geschiedenis van Batavia door een Chinees" in TNI, vol 3, no 2: 55

\textsuperscript{108} Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1648): 125, 299-300; repeated in Realia, vol 1 (1743): 280

\textsuperscript{109} Realia, vol 1 (1723): 119
means of barter, peddling, itinerant trading and village markets.

The Company Shops

The Batavian traders and shopkeepers were obliged to go through the castle gates to the central corridor (between G and N on the map) where the kleine winkel or small-shop, the kleeden winkel, and storage were located and the auctions held. Raw silk and some bales of textiles for transit were stored above the watergate (O on the map) fronting the sea.\textsuperscript{110} The textiles stored inside the castle consisted of the types sold for local consumption. One could buy the

\textsuperscript{110} F. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1: 148, 182; Realia, vol 1 (1662): 113
smallest item by the piece or ell in the Company’s small-shop. The grote winkel, where the Company’s personnel was paid, was located in the south corner of M. If one entered the castle from the city through gate E, it was to the right in the courtyard G. The price list hung on the wall and was updated after every auction.111 Between the Company as a wholesaler and the small pasar trader and shopkeeper were medium-sized traders who bought textiles not by the piece, but by the bale from the small-shop.112 The Governor-General and Council members sometimes took excessive liberties sending their servants to the shop or warehouse to take supplies. During a period of four years in the 1680s they had used up goods valued at f159,565 for which they were reprimanded.113 There was a regulation that allowed people in the higher echelon of the Company to buy goods at cost price plus 30 % for Asian imports and 50 % for European goods.114

The accounting in the kleeden winkel had to be done by a competent person appointed by the top senior-merchant.115 The administrator of the small-shop needed to keep a shop-journal in which the incoming and outgoing goods of the shop were noted. The books were balanced every two weeks and compared with the bookkeeping in the negotie books of Batavia Castle, located at M on the map. The frequency of these checks and balances was different for the outer offices and proportional to the volume of business

111 VOC 2907 (1758): 40
112 Plakaatboek, vol 3 (1678): 13
113 It had been 25% less ten years earlier. F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3, part 2: 459-64
114 Realia, vol 1 (1706): 231; vol 3 (1747): 279
115 F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 62-3, 155. In the hierarchical personnel structure of the company the shopkeeper could be promoted after a satisfactory term of service to sub-merchant and take off from there to higher positions. One such example was Cornelis Chastelijn, “an able young man, sharp and quick with the pen,” who cleared a backlog in the cloth shop’s bookkeeping of more than two years very quickly and was promoted first to shopkeeper and one year later to sub-merchant in 1685. He eventually became upper-merchant and advisory council member. W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1683-5): 592, 750, 777; another case is Stephanus Versluys, Ibid, vol 7 (1719): 451
that was conducted. The shopkeeper could not obtain goods from the warehouse without a warrant. He also kept a separate account for all the textiles and other wares extended to each government department: the shipbuilding wharf, the boatswains’ provisions, the artillery, the medicinal shop, the supply rooms for grains, provisions, weaponry, metals, the slaves’ quarters, etc. A separate cash receipt book existed for the textiles sold for cash to merchants and traders.

In 1696 the shopkeeper of the grote winkel was relieved from also distributing cash payments when this became the task of the cashier’s department. All the small items such as sewing cotton, needles, buttons, paper, dye, paint, soap, butter, wines, beers, and starch were listed in two price categories: a low price that included a 50% profit margin for high Company officials and a high price of 75% above the buying price for the citizenry. Attempts at theft and burglary occurred regularly, even though the shopkeeper lived on the premises. In 1713 a 50 rixdollar reward for information that would lead to capturing the criminals was unsuccessfully offered.

Some shopkeepers were careless and sizeable shortages could show up when their books were examined and compared with the negotie journaal by the Bookkeeper General, or the Upper-merchant. Such a shopkeeper was immediately disqualified and obliged to pay back the shortage and, if necessary, sell his assets to raise the money. He was also demoted to a position of soldier’s rank or altogether dismissed. In one case the shortage was discovered after the shopkeeper’s death. The Upper-merchant who had not supervised him strictly enough was held responsible and forced to pay

116 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 182-4; Plakaatboek, vol 3 (1696): 412-20. This did pertain to textiles, as noted earlier.

117 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 7 (1713): 3; (1716): 257. Nine sailors in Padang, west Sumatra, stole 32 pieces of textiles in 1730. They tried to escape to the English with them, but were pursued by locals. Two sailors escaped, the others either drowned or were hanged. Ibid, vol 9 (1732): 306
back the amount.\textsuperscript{118}

The \textit{kleeden winkel} for the public in Ambon was outside "just opposite the castle and singularly in a large square". It was well built of bricks and the shopkeeper and supervisor, who also lived on the premises, opened for business daily except Sundays. The isolated location of the brick building guarded it from fire hazards and was very convenient to the textile vendors in the \textit{pasar} along the water west of the castle.\textsuperscript{119}

\textit{Auctions}

Auctions might be held in the street in the open with a tarpaulin stretched out above the stalls, under a shelter, or in the \textit{kleeden winkel} itself. In 1651 the Company began to hold auctions in Batavia on a weekly basis. The frequency of auctions depended upon their success. They were announced orally in different languages, in the same way as edicts were issued in Dutch, Malay, Portuguese and Chinese.\textsuperscript{120} In the early part of the 18th century these public announcements were supported by written notices with the details and prices given in printed form.\textsuperscript{121} The Dutch prohibited private citizens from organizing auctions, but those who needed to sell things could do so through the judiciary department's auctioneers. In 1730 the Company had given warnings to the auctioneers that they should not conduct


\textsuperscript{119} VOC, 2283 : 232-3; F. Valentijn, \textit{Oud en Nieuw}, vol 2: 147; H.J. de Graaf, \textit{Ambon}: 139. De Graaf gives an additional reason for the location of the shop outside the castle, namely, that the authorities did not want every Tom, Dick and Harry to have a reason for entering the castle at will.

\textsuperscript{120} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 7 (1733): 460

\textsuperscript{121} The Company owned a printing establishment in Batavia from at least 1668. It was leased until 1719 when it was divided into a private and a Company establishment. F. de Haan, \textit{Oud Batavia}, vol 2: 283-4; W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 3 (1672): 811
any business for the public while the Company held their own auctions.

The private auctions competed with the textile auctions of the Company. The citizens ordered the Indian textiles from a liaison who sent the packages by ship with the freight paid. The Council called in the shipping department to check this out and put restrictions on the number and sizes of the packages. Even though the costs of freight were covered and the import duties paid, the cumulative effect of this "postal service" that the VOC ships conducted for the private citizens was harmful to the sales of the Company. The citizens nevertheless continued to "sell." When the auctions were restricted they resorted to a lottery system.\textsuperscript{122}

The VOC auctions often served to sell outmoded and damaged textiles and dead stock and to raise money. Auctions regulated the sales.\textsuperscript{123} A special auction was held before the return fleet left, so that repatriates could buy fine, very special Indian cloth, as much as they were allowed, to take back in their chests. In Europe the fine cloths gave good profits, but when the prices of textiles were increasing and restrictions on the amount of luggage enforced, it became less lucrative. Interest in the pre-departure auctions lessened in the early 1730s and stopped altogether in 1735.\textsuperscript{124}

In early 1690 the Chinese and others protested to the Company about the bad quality of textiles in some auctioned bales. A sample of the textile, attached to the bale on the outside, had misled them to believe that the content was like the sample in quality, but upon opening the bale, the material was found to be much inferior.\textsuperscript{125}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{122}] F. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 2: 288, 290, 371-2; W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1730): 199
\item[\textsuperscript{123}] VOC, 2716: 239. In 1748 in Ambon it was decided to put 33 pieces of \textit{taffachelas}, spoilt from long storage, up for auction. In 1720-1, \textit{topitis} or cloths for making a headdress, in this case with a square design in the weaving, had been sent to Ceylon but could not be sold, and 40 pieces were returned to Batavia, where they were auctioned. However, no buyer stepped forward, so they had to be written off. J. van Goor ed., Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1729): 50, (1730): 173
\item[\textsuperscript{124}] J. van Goor ed., Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1733): 519, (1736): 778, 801
\item[\textsuperscript{125}] F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 637
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Payments for what was bid at an auction were not always received immediately. Some shrewd Chinese traders would collect the textiles on credit, turn them over quickly and then pay. In outlying branches this seemed the norm. Others never came to collect them, although six weeks were allowed. If not collected, the textiles would be re-auctioned. Ambon's local chiefs from towns like Saparua, Nusalaut and Oma would not even attempt to buy at an auction, because the Company would not give them credit. Thus, there seem to have existed double standards with regard to giving credit. Those who gave the appearance of credit worthiness could benefit from the trust, but people suspected of having little credit were definitely excluded. The Ambonese relied on the Chinese to give them credit and supply their needs for cloth.

**Returns**

After every auction a *rendement*, or accounting, of the results was made up. In seven columns it listed the date, the quantity and particulars about the textile, the buying price, the selling price, the profit or the loss, and the percentage of the latter two for each item that was sold. The first page of a *rendement*, for auctions held on specific days between April 1 and May 14, 1703 is shown on the next page. At the end of each section on a particular textile a remark explained the reason for putting it up for auction. A few exact translations might accentuate this point. The first example appears at the bottom of the illustration on the next page, and is transcribed in the

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126 Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*, 110-132


128 VOC 11205: fol 1-36. This *rendement* from Batavia in 1703 concerned the sale of imported goods, mostly textiles from the Netherlands which were predominantly bought by the Chinese in Batavia, who sold them again in China. The Dutch community and Indonesians associated with the Company also purchased some of these textiles. It was a rare occasion to find such a document among the *Overgekomen Brieven*, but with more research time possibly other *rendements* might have been found.
Rendement van alle De Patriaate Manufactuury
en andere koopmandsbaggen
in de Nederl. Baggeryn de
casteele Pazaara van't staar te
Publycke verdien verloopen, afgeroos,

Lakenen Smute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jaartal</th>
<th>Aantal</th>
<th>Onderdelen</th>
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<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1764</td>
<td></td>
<td>3000</td>
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<td>2900</td>
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<td>1766</td>
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<td>2800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td></td>
<td>2700</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

"Alle dese lakenen zijn (uitge- 
gesondert de 5 stucken uit d'kas 
mo 39 701 per Brandenburg-
Amsterdam aangebracht ongemen-
dik en swaar van stoffe, geweest 
waardoor deel van weynig 
vertier en niet bepaard zijn 
in dese heele landen, ja ook 
in China [en], weshalven 
die in't aannemende van 
soc lagen stoffe als moegelijk 
ofte wil geheel in naargelaten 
in deszelf plaetse dappen de 
dames dienen gesondon te worden 
conform t' geen in 't voorgang 
rendement, inde derwegen aange-
merken in".
Samples from subsequent pages are:

**black laken**

All of these lakens (except the 5 pieces from chest no. 39, 1701 brought in the Brandenburgh from Amsterdam) were of unusual thick and heavy material, which is why they were not wanted and traded in these hot countries, yes, [not] in China either. Therefore, they should be of as light a fabric as possible in the future, or left out altogether and instead thereof drapes de dames be sent in compliance with what was remarked about them in last year’s *rendement*¹²⁹

**scarlet-red laken**

It appears that the market for this type, although earlier very much in demand, also among the Chinese, is beginning to decline, probably because of the English who bring these in large quantities to China too and, thus, cause the prices to decrease

**drapes de dames**

In contrast, this type has, because of the reasonable buying prices and the light weight of the materials, delivered such a fair profit that quite a number can be traded, which is why the shopkeeper, to the benefit of the community here, has given several pieces for purchase to them and so [they] have bought the whole lot

**pearl color, ashgrey, celadon laken**

These three varieties are not in demand because of their light color which smudges too easily and also because of the thickness and coarseness of the material...

**colored barrakan**

is a type that is in demand as long as good quality and reasonable buying price are taken into consideration

In order to attract customers at the auction, the shopkeeper would throw a bait, here the *drapes de dames*, into the collection. Taking all the remarks in

¹²⁹ *VOC* 11205 (1703): 1 It should be noted that the exceptional five pieces of black *laken* mentioned in the remark, and which had arrived on the ship *Brandenburgh*, were also auctioned on April 26 and made the largest profit of f 359:10:8 or 28⁶⁄₇ percent; see under that date.
the *rendement* into account, primarily the color was a determining factor why European imported textiles were not sold earlier in the shop. They sold in the auction primarily because of the cheaper price.\(^\text{130}\) Other factors affecting sales negatively were the heaviness or coarseness of the fabric. In the case of scarlet *laken* the price was considered too high; the Chinese who voyaged between Batavia and China discovered that the English sold this European cloth cheaper in Canton, which had opened up to foreign traders in 1684. Therefore, the Batavian Chinese no longer needed the higher priced Dutch imports which caused this line of trade gradually to diminish.\(^\text{131}\)

The last line of the *rendement* showed in one glance the net profit for each textile (see illustration above): all columns were added up; the third column (buying price, *inkoop*) was deducted from the fourth column (selling price, *uytkoop*); and the sixth column (loss, *schade*) from the fifth column (profit, *advance*); thus showing the same amount under the fourth and fifth columns. The net result for all textiles in this auction, held on specific days between April 1 and May 14, 1703, showed a profit of £9,720: 1: 8 or 5 1/8 percent. The net results were summarized by listing the last line of each type of textile. The first line on the illustration (next page) summarizes the result of the sales of the black *laken* discussed and shown above—"50 pieces black *laken* cost and have sold for (*kosten en hebben gevendeert)*," followed by the

\(^{130}\) VOC 11205: 4-9, 13, 16, 18-24 Many detailed remarks throughout this *rendement* testify to color being the factor in the unsalability of the cloth.

|     | Latenens Noorste | Latenens Slastronde | Oor de Hone | Oor de Dames | Latenens Blauwse | Latenens Ader gort geel | Latenens Groote | Latenens Ligruitse | Latenens Parel Coulour | Latenens Carnazeen delicate | Latenens Carnazeen violacee | Latenens Rugier violacee | Latenens violacee | Latenens geomeleerde | Latenens auftroupe | Latenens Celadon | Latenens Orangie | Latenens Swarte | Latenens Slastronde | Latenens Von Blauwe | Latenens Down | Latenens gomeleerde | Latenens Slastronde | Latenens Blauwse | Latenens De Kruyster | Latenens Slastronde |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 47  | 26241,134        | 2093,143           | 299         | 4092,112     | 702,123          | 2092,134            | 902,143         | 1181,112          | 9461,112            | 134                   | 299                | 4092,112          | 702,123         | 2092,134        | 902,143         | 1181,112        | 498              | 248              | 9461,112        | 9704,134         | 1181,112        | 498              | 248              |

Transparens: 1181,112
columns' sums. The next line shows the loss (door elkander is hier op verlooren) £1293:11:00 or seven percent. The summary entry for this type of textile says simply: "50 pieces black taken | 18387:18:08 | 17094:07:08 | ———— | 1293:11:00 | 7% | r" 132

The same system of recording was followed for all the rendementen that were examined. When textiles had been lying on the shelves unsold, as was the case with some five-year-old faded Persian velvets in the Ambon shop, the shopkeeper offered them in a public sale. This took place in front of Burger Anthony Michielsz 's house on August 19, 1734. Captain Streyhagen bought 1 1/2 ells blue velvet, Master Counet 7 ells of the same and Mr Muller 1 1/2 ells of green velvet. The sale still averaged a 20% profit for the Company. 133 A bale of fourteen-year-old, unopened, chavonis did not sell. It was decided to send it back to Batavia together with some unsalable murmis that were too narrow and short. Batavia circulated regulations that textiles that could not fetch the fixed price, or stayed unsold, had to be returned to Batavia to prevent spoilage. 134

It was not uncommon to send textiles back from a branch office to Batavia, especially if a branch office had a large stock and did not anticipate that an auction would yield a reasonable profit. In another branch of the

132 VOC 11205: 30. In the last column showing the percentage are found the letters "r" or "s", referring to the percentage. They stand for, respectively, ruym (= ) more than) and schaers (= ( less than). The bookkeepers did not have the advantage of calculators and wrote part of one percent in fractions. These fractions consisted usually of halves, quarters, and eighths, but the actual percentage fraction could have been a little more or less. This was, therefore, indicated by the "r" and "s". (see illustration)

133 VOC 2312 (1734): 373-4

134 VOC 2283 (1731): 15; 2312 (1734): 373-4;
Company it might sell better. In 1637 Ambon returned eleven bales of Coromandel cloths and five pieces of gold *pattas* at a value of f 6,505:16:-; Batavia ordered Malaka to send textiles worth f 109,199:14:10 to Indaragiri,\textsuperscript{135} while *fotassen* that could not be sold in Ambon were ordered transferred to Ternate. In 1750 Ambon experienced difficulties again in selling 1,932 pieces of ordinary broad painted chintz from Surat, 177 pieces of chintz on *muri* with a red background, 20 pieces of fine chintz bed-covers, and 60 pieces of painted chintz from Coromandel. Even at a profit margin of 30% they would not sell and were returned to Batavia.\textsuperscript{136}

This chapter has illustrated some of the facets of the textile trade. It is by no means an exhaustive account. Various additional regulations and details of the trade were in force in specific branch offices. Nevertheless, one is struck by the organization and attention paid to every detail, and the consequences that were in place for trespasses of the law. In order to keep such a big Company running the application of the law and the judiciary department had to function actively and effectively by putting culprits to justice. Policing commerce and citizens was a major occupation for which the hierarchy in the set-up of the Company had a functional role. There was always another boss above each boss. The check on accuracy in record keeping will be amplified in the next chapter when the *negotie journalen* are discussed.

\textsuperscript{135} Dagh-register Batavia vol 4 (1637): 171, 204; W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1675): 64

\textsuperscript{136} VOC 2760 (1750): 54.
CHAPTER 7

RECORDS OF THE INDIAN CLOTHS IMPORTS

Introduction

In this chapter the details concerning the textiles immediately are examined which were not part of the movement and process of the trade discussed in the last chapter. For example, how the textiles were recorded in bookkeeping books. How did the Company account for the cloth? The manner in which it administered the textile trade in the Negotie Grootboeken (ledgers) and Journalen (journals) will be explained. The path of a few types of textiles from the production areas via Batavia to their destination in Ambon has been traced in the bookkeeping.

A multitude of pieces of Indian cloth are discussed in this study, but what does a piece of Indian cloth entail? What do the VOC stamps, still seen on antique Indian textiles, mean? What is the standard measure the Company uses to measure cloth? What are the dimensions of the trade cloths? An average width and length will be arrived at. Thousands of bales of cloth are traded each year. Is it possible to give a definition of what constitutes a bale of cloth? The resulting answers to these questions were necessary to serve as a device to deal with the complexities of the textiles themselves and incompleteness of quantitative data in the VOC sources which did mention bales and pieces.

The Cloth Measure

The Dutch introduced a measuring-stick, the ell, in 1626 in Batavia

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1 The ell measure was not always in general use. The hasta, a Sanskrit term measuring the distance from the top of the middle finger to the elbow, often synonymous to the cubit of 18 to 22 inches (45 to 56 cm), was also used in writing the measurement of a cloth. VOC 11207: 25; R.J. Wilkenson, Malay-English Dictionary, vol 1: 401. This was not to be confused with the covado, a Portuguese term sometimes used
and its trading towns for the purpose of standardizing the measurement of various commodities and to reduce fraud. The "Amsterdam" ell of 0.68781 meters was the oldest Dutch measurement against which the standard measure in Batavia had been calibrated. The ell-stick consisted of 16 notches that were divided into one half, one quarter, and one eighth, as it was done in the Netherlands. A Dutch merchant, Willem Lodewijckz, describes the covado as a measurement at the end of the 16th century used by the Portuguese in Melaka. To him the covado was equivalent to twee ende een half vierendeel (two-and-a-half quarter). The Dutch used this expression regularly by which they understood two plus half of one quarter, which is one eighth, thus 2 1/8 feet. One Dutch (Rhineland) foot was 31.4 cm making this sometimes puzzling figure 66.725 cm, close enough to one ell or one covado.

Everyone using an ell-stick was obliged to take it twice a year to the Town Hall's magistrate in Batavia and have it calibrated against the standard measure that was then kept there. Two or three hours in a specified week in January/February and July/August were set aside for that purpose. No fee was charged until 1635 when a payment of six stuivers was introduced. A new ell-stick or an old one needing calibrating at a time outside the specified week cost double the price. Borrowing an ell-stick from someone else and using an "unburned" stick was not allowed in VOC townships. The calibration master burned a letter of the Dutch alphabet into the wood on the stick as proof that it had been taken to the Town Hall at the appropriate time. When the calibration master ran out of letters, he began anew with the letter "A", adding a line through the top of it. When the alphabet came around for the third time, a number was added after the letter so that in August 1681, he

by VOC merchants—they meant an ell. Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1657): 170, ftn 1; Om Prakash, Bengal: 65, ftn 34 which also refers to P. van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol II, 2: 451

2 Plakaatboek, vol 8 (1765): 18

3 Plakaatboek, vol 7 (1764): 790

was up to "L2". Surprise inspections on site of weights and measures were held throughout the year. If someone was caught using an ell-stick that had not been taken to the Town Hall, or to the master of the wharf in branch offices, a fine of 25 rixdollars was charged for the first offence, 50 for the second. If it happened a third time, one was out of business for one to three years. The practice of calibrating weights and measures two times per year lasted throughout the VOC period in all offices of the Company.\(^5\)

In order to obtain uniformity in the measurements of the Indian textiles throughout this study the measurements such as the ell, *covado*, *cobido* and *hasta* were converted to the present Dutch standard of a meter.

**The VOC Cloth Stamp**

During my fieldwork in museums I noticed that a number of antique textiles from Indonesia exhibited the VOC stamp. I attempted, therefore to discover the historical significance of them. It appeared that there were two categories of stamps used during the VOC period.

The first category lasted for approximately twenty years only and was applied throughout Dutch townships in the archipelago. After Governor-General Imhoff returned from the Netherlands in 1743, where he had been advocating limited free trade for Indonesia, many types of Indian textiles were given to the private sector to trade while white, red, blue and unfinished coarse cloths remained the prerogative of the Company.\(^6\) Although the Company's protected cloths were usually referred to by color, they included the *guinees, geras, salem pore, cassa, haman, sanas, bafta, dongris* and any other types belonging to this category from Bengal and Coromandel.

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\(^6\) *Realia*, vol 2 (1746): 155
qualified as 12 caal or 2,880 warp threads and less. The silk and cotton textiles from Surat were also reserved for the Company.\(^7\) The new regulations gave rise to much confusion as to which textiles were and were not included. In order to prevent the smuggling of the Company-protected textiles and distinguish them from the non-Company textiles, it was ordered on November 8, 1746 that each Company cloth be marked at one end with a brass stamp (cap). Sometimes clients bought cloth from the Company without a VOC stamp on it. It was their responsibility to get it marked before exporting it. If they did not do so their merchandise would be suspect and confiscated.

In 1746, the "stamping" was done by the fiscal (public pros ecutor) in the presence of a committee member of the judiciary at a specified time and place, but after 1756 by two VOC representatives who were sworn into office with an oath before the senior merchants in Batavia's headquarters.\(^8\) The stamp, like the mark on the ell-stick, was changed from year to year. The letter representing the VOC office where stamping took place and the date had to be part of it. When textiles were transported to another area under Dutch jurisdiction, they had to be stamped a second time on arrival. The shopkeepers of the branch office of the VOC in that region were usually in charge of it, but they could not keep the implements (notebook, stamp, stamp-ink and seal) in their stores. The senior merchants of the head office gave the equipment to them when they needed it.\(^9\) The notebook served for keeping a record of the types and quantities of textiles stamped. There was no charge for the stamping, but if one were caught without it on Company-protected textiles, the textiles were confiscated and a fine of four times the value of the cloths had to be paid.

The opening up of the trade in Indian textiles in 1743 did not apply to cloth sold on the Sumatran West Coast under the VOC. There, private and

\(^7\) J.A. van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek, vol 7 (1759): 358

\(^8\) Realla, vol 2 (1756): 156

\(^9\) VOC 2760 (1750): 255
free traders were prohibited from importing any type of foreign or local textile. VOC personnel in the Padang branch office were requested to stamp not only the Company protected red, white, blue and unfinished cloths, but also every other piece so that illegal trading could be easily detected.\textsuperscript{10}

In 1766, twenty years after the stamping of textiles had been introduced, orders were issued to stop it and the implements returned to headquarters in Batavia. Stamping proved to have been ineffective in controlling the smuggling of Company cloth for several reasons. First, the fiscals in charge of checking the traffic of cloth for duty payments complained that not being textile experts they were unable to differentiate Company protected cloths from non-Company cloths. Second, the illegal use of perfectly forged stamps became widespread. The policy had become a fiasco.\textsuperscript{11}

The second category of stamping took place in the procurement offices in India. Cloths that had been woven for the Company but were unfinished (referred to as \textit{ruw} cloth in the documents) needed washing, bleaching and firming up with \textit{kanji} or rice-water.\textsuperscript{12} Before the cloths were taken to the washers and bleachers, they were measured and identified as textiles that belonged to the Company by stamping them with the VOC signature and the initial of the authority-in-charge. After the process was finished, two Company inspectors examined the job at the washery and stamped the finished cloth again. The date of manufacture was not required as it was

\textsuperscript{10} Realia, vol 1: (1763) 196, 434, (1746) 293; vol 2: (1747) 57, (1746) 155, (1764) 277; vol 3: (1746) 27, (1763) 29; Plakaatboek, vol 5 (1746): 417-8, 508, 614. The stamps discussed above are not related to the stamps found on some trade textiles in museums and illustrated in publications: T. Yoshioka & S. Yoshimoto, \textit{Sarasa of the World}: 47; R. Maxwell, \textit{Textiles of Southeast Asia}: 355

\textsuperscript{11} J.A. van der Chijs ed. \textit{Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek}, vol 8 (1766): 186; VOC 3208 (1766): 36

during the 20 years of compulsory stamping during Governor-General van Imhoff’s time in Indonesia. The identification of the Company’s cloth at the production sites started from at least the mid-17th century and was still practiced in 1767. The English Company appears to have had a similar practice of stamping the Indian textiles which included an initial that stood for the region it originated from.13

A Piece of Indian Cloth

Because the Company records constantly referred to trading cloth in terms of bales and pieces of Indian cloths, it will be meaningful to this study to find out what these terms entailed. The term a piece of cloth and a bale have never been defined. Why were the Indian trade cloths being traded in quantities of pieces? In the Netherlands the textile merchants commonly sold cloth by the ell in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Dutch order in 1616 clearly requested 300,000 ells guinees, however, a few years later the orders began to be expressed in quantities of pieces.14

It was found that in India wholesale trading customary was conducted in quantities of pieces of cloths, not by the ell or some other measure. The Indians used bundles of twenty pieces in their trade, called a corge.15 Sometimes half a bundle might be added. Textile pieces seem to have been loosely stitched together with a thread—it is not exactly clear how—at one end, the "top-end" as Coen calls it, so that the pieces could be evenly wrapped in a bale and one piece of cloth did not stick out from another.16 When ordering

13 Baker, G.P. Calico Painting and Printing: 32

14 F.W.Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 41-2, Dutch primary archival or printed sources abbreviate the ell measure occasionally with the symbol "@", as in "Note 500 pieces of 2 @ wide, five hundred pieces."

15 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 98. The word corge was derived from the Telugu khorjam. The invoices in Appendix E clearly show the shipments of bales with quantities of textiles in multiples of twenty.

16 H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden, vol 2: 293
large quantities of cloths, the VOC in Batavia adopted the Asian way and always ordered cloth in quantities divisible by 20. The Company sold the Indian cloth by the piece, and occasionally, except for bafta, by the half-piece.

Prior to the Dutch, the Portuguese in Gujarat, Sind, and northern India knew the Hindi guz, a cloth measure used in the markets, as a covado. The length of one guz in the 16th century varied from 0.68 to 0.80 meters, though occasionally as much as 1.02. The guz might be related to the common plain weave, undyed, undecorated cotton cloth referred to as gussies (gessies), measuring up to 30 meters, sold everywhere in the local markets. The cloth measure for the Coromandel coast was the Sanskrit hasta or asta of 0.46 meter. Dutch personnel on the Coast in India sometimes slipped into the invoices or bills of lading the word hasta or cobido, but in the records of the VOC the ell was in general use.

A confusing practice in the trading of Indian cloth was the use of one name when talking about the "mother cloth" before it was cut into predetermined subsections and another thereafter. For example, a length of cloth called bafta, when cut up would produce "daughter cloths" called cannekins. Thus, it could be said that one bafta yielded three or four cannekins; or alternatively three or four cannekins make one bafta. The size of a cannekin was predetermined by division markers indicating where to cut it off from a whole bafta cloth. Similarly, one length of catche made four sarongs. In south India in 1690 one catche equalled two chelas or four muris.

A change of name accompanied not only the dividing but other processes as well such as dyeing, bleaching, and printing. Anything, in fact, that transformed the appearance (and value) of the "daughter cloth" in relation to the raw, "mother cloth." For example, in an emergency situation

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17 W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb: 338
18 Measures for cloth in ENI, vol 2: 686
19 VOC 11207 "Uytrekening van de Goude en Silvere Munts Waardye, Inhout der Maten en Swaarte der Gewigten, in de Respective Gewesten van Indiën;" Zeeland, Anno 1768 and 1769, Cattoene Lywaten Der t’Huis gekomen Officieren. Both manuscripts have multiple examples of the mother-daughter cloths varieties.
the gessies could be cut-and-torn to size, dyed, bleached, printed, i.e. transformed to make cannekins, ardisas, baftas, assumanis and chintz tapi. Transformation by cutting or value-adding treatment which resulted in different cloth-names does help make sense of such statements as: one piece of guinees consisted of 8 dongris and one piece of salem pore formed 4 dongris in Tegenapatnam. The salem pore was 5-7 ells longer than half a guinees, thus the dongris of the salem pore must have been an ell longer than those made from a guinees. From one piece of guinees 15 shirts or 48 pairs of stockings could be made. Weavers seem to have marked the cut-off points in a whole cloth with a stripe of colored thread or finishing edge. Sometimes the cut-up indicators appeared on the warp threads which were left unwoven at those points; or were woven in such a way as to make them stand out. In 1619 Coen ordered 60 corge (1,200 pieces) of negrocloths that were to be woven in tapi designs (60 c. Negroscleeden, tapissche wyse gewrocht). Another alternative was to indicate desired lengths or areas by designing repeated patterns on the mother cloth. Hence references are found to cloth varieties that indicate the length of the cloth, not by the ell or covado, but by the number of lengths of tapis that it contained. For example, a tapi daung costing £2.90 was three "cleeden" long. A very clear example of one piece of Indian cloth being subdivided into smaller subsections were the rumals. A square was generically called a rumal. They came striped, checkered, colored or as chintz. The square was again part of a larger piece of cloth which the Company identified also as rumal, but consisted of 8, 10, 12, ... 20 uncut rumal squares. The Company

20 Hans Walther van Santen, "De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan": 177, 181
21 VOC 11207 (1685): 35
22 VOC 11207 (1685): 46
23 Ibid: 37
bought pieces of *rumals*, and many other woven pieces, uncut, just the way the cloth came from the loom. The uncut *rumals* varied in size from about 5.00 to 14.00 meters long and 0.50 to 1.35 meters wide.

There were two cloths called *muri* and *parcalle* which were plain woven and sold that way, but they also were ideal for transformation into chintz *tapi* or chintz *rumal* or other chintz.²⁶ When the Company ordered chintz *tapis*, a length of 2.70-3.40 meters, the design was repeated on the *muri* or *parcalle* mother-cloth three or four times. Thus, one *parcalle* or one *muri* would make multiple chintz *tapi*. The same principle was applied in producing *rumals*. The only difference is that a *rumal*, by definition a square, could be repeated twelve times on a single *parcalle*, whereas a *tapi* would fit only 3 or 4 times.²⁷ After the *parcalle* was painted into 12 square cloth designs, it was no longer a *parcalle*, but transformed into a *rumal*, still uncut. The same principle of name-change applied to all cloth transformations.

At the end of the 17th century print blocks were often used for producing multiple chintz cloths.²⁸ Block printing was not a new technique in India. The historian Habib suggests it developed from an inked seal printer for textiles.²⁹

The Company had always judged the quality of a cloth by several criteria: the type of thread that was used, such as silk, cotton, hemp; the technical quality of the thread, that is if it was finely and evenly spun, or coarse; the skill of the weaving and decoration; the strength of the thread and


²⁷ Zeeland, Anno 1769 Cattoene Lywaten Der t'Huis gekomen Officieren: 10-11

²⁸ Irfan Habib, "Indian Textile Industry in the 17th century" in Essays in Honour of Professor S.C. Sarkar: 185

²⁹ T. Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol 1: 80. Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: 671-3 shows that woodcut printing was common in the Netherlands before the 17th century, though first on paper, the Dutch also applied it to cloth like the Indians apparently. European influence on the development of woodcut printing for chintz production, which had to be mass produced under pressure should not be excluded. The European demand for chintz was increasing since the late 1660s; pressure was exerted to make the chintz faster. More research is needed to establish the history of chintz printing in India with certainty.
therefore of the fabric, and the weight of the cloth.\textsuperscript{30} The weight, however, could be mislead by adding water on the silks, a trick the Chinese sometimes applied. In India cloth was given more substance by starching the threads before weaving while other cloths such as the \textit{sarassa} were starched after the weaving.\textsuperscript{31}

In order to systemize quality control the Dutch used at least by the second quarter of the 18th century the \texttt{caal}. The number of \texttt{caal} indicated the amount of thread used in the weaving of a cloth. The \textit{guinees} cloth type in Appendix A, p. 31 was graded in this way. A higher \texttt{caal} number indicated that more thread had been used for a tighter weave. It goes without saying that the price was also higher. \textit{Caal} is a European derivation "one call [col]" of what seems a local word meaning \textit{two punjams} of cloth. In Tamil \textit{punjam} and in Telinga \textit{punjamu} literally means collection or group. In Telinga that is 60 warp threads, in Tamil it is 120 threads.\textsuperscript{32} These threads came skeined, ready for warping. A cloth is denominated 10, 12, 14, etc. up to 40 \textit{punjams} depending on the number of skeins or collections of 60 [or 120] warp threads used to warp the loom. Thus, a cloth of 12 \textit{punjams} is called six call or \texttt{caal}.\textsuperscript{33} In a table on cloth production in Bengal, the textile historian, Hossain, indicated the quality of each cloth by the number of its warp threads, that is its \texttt{caal}.\textsuperscript{34}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{30} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 2: 64
\textsuperscript{31} G.L. Adhya, Early Indian Economics: 70
\textsuperscript{32} J.J. Brennig, "Textile Producers and production in late seventeenth century Coromandel" in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India: 76
\textsuperscript{33} Verhandeling der Munten, Maaten en Gewichten, (1786): 473; Hobson-Jobson: 708
\textsuperscript{34} Hameeda Hossain, The Company Weavers of Bengal: 53
\end{flushright}
Students of textile history have observed that many pieces of "calicoes" or cotton chintz, which were shorter pieces of cloth than the plainer bafta, salempare, guinees, betille, parcalle, dongris, niquanias, and other non-chintz textiles, made up the larger part of the export to Southeast Asia. It is true that many chintz textiles were shipped to Batavia and that they were usually shorter in size than the cloth that went to Europe, but they did not make up the majority of pieces of cloth and definitely not the largest proportion in terms of yardage. The specified chintz for Southeast Asia constituted a smaller part than the plain, checkered, striped, and colored muslins, that were imported. In Tables 6 and 7 below I have indicated with "(c)" behind the textile type that they are chintz or could have been a chintz as in the case of rumal. Of the 64 textiles listed, 13 were chintz and the majority of these chintz fell in the shortest type of textile of less than 5 meters.

Amongst scholars who have concerned themselves with the Indian trade textiles, only the economic historian, Moreland, gave any thought to their average dimensions. To some extent Brennig did a similar analysis for the textiles produced in northern Coromandel. Moreland, however, summarized his findings for Southeast Asia with the following observation:

As to the export to Sumatra, Java, and beyond, the number of varieties of cloth is far too great for any accurate average to be deduced from the few records available; some of the common cloths were of the length given for calicoes, very few were longer, and a large number were much shorter, ranging from lengths of 8 yards down to what we should call handkerchiefs. Probably the average of an ordinary cargo for the southward was much less than 15 yards, but how much less cannot be calculated with precision.

Cloth sizes varied in lengths from a blanket of 0.60 meter to a guinees which sometimes reached the length of 47.00 meters. The widths also varied

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36 Ibid: 339
from, for example, a dragam of 0.35 meter to a palampore of 2.80 meters.37

Some of the Indian textiles were produced with the intended function and size of the cloth clearly delineated. Kain gulong, patta, poleng, tapi, atlas, and salalu came in fixed sizes. All these cloths except the atlas were meant for clothing of the body. The long and narrow atlas with measurements of 5.50-8.25 x 0.35-0.50 meters, was used, among other things, to make pennants in Indonesia. Textile measurements are conventionally written as warp-length times weft-width. K.N. Chaudhuri gave as an average for a piece of Indian cloth traded by the English Company—not to the Asian market—1.14 x 13.71 meters (1 1/4 x 15 yards).38 To bring some order into the chaos of what is known about the measurements of Indian cloth, two tables have been constructed. Tables 6 and 7 on the following pages list the textile types of which a length and width were known.39 More details on the measurements are found in Appendix A.

37 The cloth sizes imported from Europe seemed to vary less. The Dutch woollens averaged 35 meters in length, but the width could be narrow or broad, respectively 0.50-0.80 to 1.50 meters. The Chinese cloth sizes appear to have been comparable to the average Indian cloth sizes of about 12 to 15 meters. William S. Beck, The Draper’s Dictionary. Max Heiden, Handwörterbuch der Textilkunde aller Zeiten und Völker.

38 K.N. Chaudhuri, The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760: 472

39 Appendix A was used as the basis for the tables. The data was gathered from a multitude of sources. The major ones are listed in the glossary for Appendix A.
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**TABLE 7**

Indian Textile Types Grouped in Width Units of Half a Meter

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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bafta</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balaches</td>
<td>x,</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedcover(c)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boulang</td>
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<td>Poleng</td>
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<td>Rumal(c)</td>
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<td>Turias</td>
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</table>
The comparison of cloth lengths in Table 6 resulted in a mode, meaning the frequency with which an interval occurred, of 6-10 meters. The average length of an Indian textile from the same sample is 11.50 meters.\(^{40}\) Naturally, an average measure is relative to the number of the textiles that were most frequently traded. The relativity of the measure follows the same explanation that will be given in the next section on the parameters of one bale of cloth, more fully treated in Appendix E.

The mode of the width of a textile in Table 7 is from 0.51 to 1.00 meter. It appears that although the chintz were the shortest textiles generally, they were not necessarily also the narrowest textiles and fall within a wide range of width measures. I marked the textile types in the second column with a constant width of approximately one meter with an asterisk thus "x*" for easy identification. The average width of Indian textiles in Asian trade is approximately 0.93 meter.

These lists of measurements were collected to make it possible to measure a cloth content of a bale in terms of square meters of fabric. It would be a time consuming task to do this accurately, but not impossible for specific varieties with a more or less constant length and width measure.

**What is a Bale (Pack) of Textiles?**

Frequently the VOC sources report numbers of bales, with no further details. For example, "60 bales have to be bought for the Sumatra Westcoast"; a factor representing a Manila trader in Siam received much needed cash from the Company by "pawnning forty-five bales"; personnel in Surat experienced frustration about delivery of "78 bales of textiles and clothing" by

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\(^{40}\) The 11.50 meter average length was calculated by multiplying the number of occurrences in each column by the medium length for the column. The sum of all columns was divided by the total number of occurrences. The same method applies to establishing an average width. Independent from this table Moreland came to a similar measure. He stated that a cargo from Surat of "100,000 pieces would represent from 1 1/4 to 1 1/2 million yards, which also would represent an average for one cloth, respectively 11.50 to 13.80 meters. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb: 339
cafila (caravan).\textsuperscript{41} The documents repeatedly provoke the historian to ask what constitutes a bale of textiles. Is there a way to define a bale to approximate the quantity of cloth it contains or assign a value to it in cases where bales are reported to have been lost, sent, received, and pawned?

A facing brick from a shop selling chintz in 18th century Amsterdam. It shows merchants in India trading bales of guinees and salempore, plain cottons used for printing in the Netherlands.

Bales were identified as having particular dimensions, weight, content and value. Around 1700 the Company itself defined a bale as consisting of piece goods that "were usually packaged according to their length and width; every bale contained as many pieces as made the bale manageable to handle, without having any observed regulation about it."\textsuperscript{42} A contemporary publication by the chamber of commerce in Zeeland listed many types of textiles from the different production centers with information about the number of pieces that one bale contained including the length and width of

\textsuperscript{41} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3, (1671): 763; (1657): 109; vol 4, (1681): 463

\textsuperscript{42} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 2: 93
each cloth. No weight or price was listed. Information about the dimensions of a piece and the number of cloths packed in a bale seemed more important. Almost a century later a bale was again defined in a similar way:

"Pak In one bale of textile is counted:
On the Coromandel Coast
  50 pees (pieces) Sailcloth or
  200 pees Parcalle or
  100 pees Gingang, etc. . ." the list continued.

Weight, price and physical dimensions of a bale were still not listed. A bale was defined by the number of textile pieces it contained. The quantity varied from 20 to approximately 200.

The lengths and thickness of the cloths influenced the number of pieces that could be packed in a bale. For example, only 20 pieces of ordinary coarse guinees of more or less 35 meters would be packed in one bale. If the guinees was of fine quality, the bale contained 40 pieces. The salem pore, bafta, and betille measured approximately 20 meters and were of a thinner cotton. They were packed in bales of 80 or 100 pieces; dongris, gingam, muri, parcalle, taffachelas, sestines, about 10 meters long, came in quantities of 100 to 160 pieces per bale depending on thickness. Much shorter cloths were the patola, rumals, many chintzes, and all varieties of tapi from 2.15-6.00 meters long which could be packed 160 to 600 pieces per bale. One would assume that finding an average number of pieces from the figures for the many types of textiles, would establish a basis useful for estimating quantities per bale wherever they occur in the reports. Part of the assumption is predicated on the fact that there was little change in the

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43 VOC 11207 (1691): 24-74

44 VKBG, (1786), vol 4, section 8: "Verhandeling der Munten, Maaten en Gewichten, van Neerlandsch India": 397-514 in the margin at the beginning of the section.
computation and methods of packing bales throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Admittedly, there are problems with using such a substitution method, because of the uneven distribution of cloth types in shipments. Some cargo lists consisted predominantly of bales with small pieces, others with many large cloths. Nevertheless, extrapolation from bale-units can be used for arriving at approximations. Because the explanation of the methodology for arriving at the bale measure and its application is rather long and complicated it was separated from this text and relegated to Appendix E.

A decrease in the Company's shipments of chintz tapi influenced the number of pieces of textiles to be found in a bale. The tapis were small cloths. The decrease in the volume of the small tapi occurred between 1705 and 1722. After 1735 a chintz tapi was rarely traded by the Company. What accounts for this decline and eventual disappearance from the records? Was it the rise of import-substitution batik? This will be further explored in Chapter 10. The disappearance of the short chintz tapi and sarassa after 1735 and the limitation in trade of plain red, blue, and white cloths by the Company in the 1740s which will be explained in following chapters influenced the average number of pieces per bale and consequently the yardage of woven cloth that was imported into Indonesia. I decided to divide the period for averaging a bale size to one before 1735 and one after 1735. The change occurred gradually, but from bookkeeping records it became clear that a permanent change had occurred between 1723 and 1735.

The results of the calculations in Appendix E show that before 1735 approximately 140 pieces of cloths per bale could be counted at an average value of $300 per bale, while after 1735, 105 pieces of cloth would be more accurate at a value of $525 per bale. An average price for a piece of cloth was respectively $2.50 and $5.50. A bale definition should also take into account average weight and dimensions. In a sample of 209 bales, the average weight was found to be 240 pounds and the average dimensions: height, 0.53 meter; length, 1.22 meter; and width 0.75 meter. The calculations and explanations for these results are shown in Appendix E which includes examples of a few
dozen lists of textiles to illustrate the difficulty in establishing averages.

The Bookkeeping of the Cloth Trade

The VOC's highest level of bookkeeping consisted of the Generale Boeken which reflected every financial transaction of the entire VOC trade in Asia. They were based on the Negotie Boeken (trade books) that were received in Batavia at the Generaal Comptoir from every branch office. Subsidiary offices supplied information concerning commercial transactions to the branch office where the trade journals and accounts were consolidated. The Negotie boeken consisted of two sets: the Negotie Journaal (trade journal) and the Negotie Grootboek (ledger). In the Negotie Journaal of the Company all financial transactions were entered on a daily basis without references to accounts, debits or credits. The latter was applied in the Negotie Grootboek where an account was kept for each trade item, expense, debtor or creditor, and the financial transactions that transpired were debited or credited.

Batavia maintained its own set of trade books, the Batavia Negotie JournaLEN (trade journals) and Batavia Negotie Grootboeken (trade ledgers). These two sets were extensively used for this and the following chapters on which most figures concerning stocks, imports and sales of textiles are based. The Batavia trade journal contained every cargo list, including shipments of textiles, that arrived or departed from the port Batavia. Because Batavia was the hub from which all branch offices were supplied, the cloths that arrived from the production areas in India can be traced to the end destinations in the branch offices via Batavia. A sample of tracing the records of shipments from India to its final destination in Ambon has been demonstrated in Appendix F. In the twelve ledgers examined no incongruities were found. Shipments with bales of textiles arriving in Batavia could always be traced to their end destinations. The ledgers reflected the buying and selling for the Company only, not for its employees. Although the Company might have been the biggest trader in Indian textiles during the larger part of the VOC period in Indonesia, the aggregate of the employees' share in the textile trade
was considerable; also the sales of textiles and other trade goods by Asian and European free traders to the people in the archipelago must definitely not be underestimated.

Arbitrarily opening a leger on any page, invariably the left page of a ledger showed the debit side and the right page the credit side of an account. Each account was headed by its name. For samples, see Appendix F.

The debit side began with the inventory at the beginning of the financial year on September 1. Underneath were dated entries with the names of ships carrying cargo of the account's textile variety. The quantity of textiles were always expressed in pieces and the value in guilders.

The credit side, on the right page, reflected the sales and trans-shipments. It closed with the balance of the number and value of the textiles that were left at the end of the financial year on August 31. All shipments and sales were chronologically entered. Appendix F also demonstrates, for example, how the two sets of books interrelated, and details concerning the Company's bookkeeping have been added.

The accounts in the ledger were, until the 1766, grouped by the place of origin of production; thus, records of textiles from Coromandel, Bengal, Surat, the Netherlands, China, and Persia were kept separately. For the sake of clarity, this manner of recording was preserved in the analysis, except that the textiles from non-Indian origin were added together and labelled "other" because they formed a distinct minority and were of less importance to the Indonesians. After 1766 the accounts were re-grouped according to textiles destined for Europe separating them from textiles for Asia.

The averages pursued in this chapter of the length and width of a cloth, the number of pieces in a bale, the price of a bale and the price of a textile will be helpful for calculations concerning shipments of textiles or amounts of cloth. They were applied in parts of chapters that follow.
CHAPTER 8

TEXTILE TRADE DECLINE

Introduction

To calculate the quantities of Indian cloth in the archipelago the definitions arrived at in the last chapter will serve as a device for dealing with the incompleteness of data in the earlier sources which mention bales and pieces, but for which no bookkeeping materials were preserved. There are some problems in finding accurate figures in sufficiently long sequences pertaining to the textiles that were traded. Fortunately, one 17th century and almost thirty years of 18th century negotie grootboeken (ledgers) and negotie journaLEN (journals) from Batavia enable a researcher to collect figures on the Company's trade that are useful to indicate trends. On the basis of figures deduced from the Batavia Daghregisters, it is possible to extrapolate additional figures to fill the gaps in the 17th century data. One of the aims of this chapter is to illustrate and demonstrate the increase and decrease of the VOC textile trade, first as a whole and separately for the archipelago. The question of "explanation" for the decline should be considered as a separate issue from the demonstrated fact that there was a rise and a fall.

The total of the quantities of textiles that were exported from India by the VOC are still unknown. A large portion was brought to Europe via Ceylon on the return fleets. The other part was taken via Batavia on the return fleet to the Netherlands. The focus of this study is the quantities traded to the archipelago. In this chapter the import from all three production areas has been tabulated.

Interesting questions follow from the results. Why did the textile trade in the island world decline? Did the whole textile trade of the Company decline? Claims have been made that the textiles became more expensive. Was that a reason for the decline? Could the Indonesian people not afford to buy the textiles? In order to find answers to these questions, a study of the
prices was undertaken. However, what do prices mean if it is not known what types of textile have been considered. Thus it was necessary to group the several hundred of textiles into manageable units which I called clusters. An explanation of the clusters will follow.

In order to assess how the Company textile sales were affected on a microlevel, a case study was undertaken for which Ambon province was selected. The commercial community in Ambon has been described and a trend of the projected textile sales examined. It was found that the Ambonese market for textiles changed. As the sales of the Company declined the sales of local cloth increased. The Company's trade was intruded upon and challenged by large fleets of well armed local vessels in the second half of the 18th century which traded along coastlines not in the power of the Company to control.

Textile Imports to Indonesia: Overall Decline

The evidence indicates that the overall picture of the VOC textile trade shows increasing imports to Europe from 1670 till 1730 after which a decline began. A different pattern for the import to Batavia indicates fairly high imports during the first half of the 17th century (30% more than for Europe between 1650-1670), after which a steady decline sets in. The textile trade started in 1605 as an enterprise to finance the purchases of spices and pepper directed to the Asian market, but during the last quarter of the 17th century the European market took over. By the turn of the 18th century, the European trade far overshadowed the import for Asia.

Table 8 on the next page shows the import of textiles at Batavia for certain selected years. The first column, indicating the year, is followed by

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1 K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740: 143, Table 26

2 VOC Negotie Grootboek, 10396 (1652-3), 10810 (1703-4), 10811 (1704-5), 10817 (1723-4), 10818 (1724-5), 10823 (1733-4), 10824 (1734-5), 10835 (1756-7) in this book only the debit side was eligible, 10836 (1757-8), 10837 (1758-9), 10675 (1770-1), 10679 (1780-1). For the years 1624, 1625, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1641, 1644, 1647, 1657 the Batavia Dagregisters were used to arrive at the totals of imports for Coromandel and Surat. Bengal
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<th>Bengal Quantity in 1000s</th>
<th>Bengal Value in 1000s</th>
<th>Surat Quantity in 1000s</th>
<th>Surat Value in 1000s</th>
<th>Other Quantity in 1000s</th>
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three sets of two columns for the imports from the Indian production areas: Coromandel, Bengal and Surat. The first column in each of the three sets gives the quantity in units of 1,000 pieces of textiles, the second column the value of the imported textiles in units of 1,000 guilders. The fourth set of two columns concerns the import from other regions of production such as Persia, China and the Netherlands. It is apparent that the textiles labelled "other" were a minor category compared to the Indian textiles. The last two columns give the total of all textiles imported into Batavia for the given years in terms of quantity and value. All values represent the buying prices in Batavia, the way they were entered in the books on arrival.³

The VOC textile trade in the three production areas in India have one phenomenon in common, namely fluctuations of buying patterns ending in a definite decline after 1760. Until about 1670 the archipelago leads as the major consumer of the imported Indian textiles compared to other markets to which the VOC exported the Indian textiles. After 1670 a reverse occurs when the market in Europe expanded. A majority of textiles leave on the return ships to Europe and a smaller share is carried by the Company ships for inter-Asiatic trade, the island world, Japan, Siam, Melaka, and a few other places.

During the 17th century Coromandel was the main supplier of textiles to the Company. For most years between 1646 and 1687, 400-800,000 textiles

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³ F.S. Gaastra, "De Voc in Azië 1680-1795" in Algemene Geschiedenis, vol 9: 450
were annually shipped from there to Batavia. An average of more than 4,000 bales (140 pieces per bale), approximately 600,000 pieces of cloths were exported annually between 1670 and 1740. Not all textiles which Arasaratnam reported as export from Coromandel for this period were shipped to Batavia, a part–exact proportions are not known–left immediately to Europe or other destinations such as Melaka.

Total imports from Bengal, Coromandel, and Surat of more than one million pieces of textiles during the 1680s were enormous quantities and exceptional in that the Company was trying to capture the buying market for itself, but decided to stop it in 1687. It fought a losing battle; the competition was too large and it suffered losses from being overstocked. Moreover, chintz patterns or designs of tapi for Java were changing, thus the Company wanted to sell its stock before it became totally outmoded.

Figures for Coromandel in Table 8 are combined for cloths from northern and southern Coromandel, including the Madura region. The Company procured textiles wherever the market prices were best. There were agents in most of the leading weaving towns. When famine and drought, political upheaval and rising prices were disturbing the buying process in northern Coromandel, the Company increased its investments in Madura in the south, but returned to the north as soon as the market turned for the better. Arasaratnam informs us that the highest record occurred in 1738 when 6,718 bales were exported from north Coromandel and the lowest in 1717 with only 1,313 bales. The Madura district in Southern Coromandel had the capacity to match northern Coromandel in delivery of textiles to the Company for export. It was shown for the period from 1700-04 when more

4 T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Compa...ny in Coromandel: 141-3. Raychaudhuri lists the value in guilders of exports to Batavia for those years which fluctuates between one and two millions. An estimate of the number of pieces imported is based on the average price of £2.50 per textile, established in the section What is a bale?

5 Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel; 142-3

6 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1686): 56-7

7 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 177-9
than 4,500 bales were exported from each region, north and south Coromandel.

The exports from Coromandel by the Dutch East India Company diminished in the second half of the 18th century. The VOC was losing ground against the English Company which introduced a series of changes to bring the production of the Indian weavers under its control. At the same time an increasing number of European and Asian free traders exercised an uncontrollable competition to the Company. The French became more aggressive and opened a factory near the VOC factory in Karikal, south India. The Dutch had thought themselves safe in southern Coromandel where textiles were cheap and closer to their own power base in Ceylon than to other European competitors. The Company lost influence in the second half of the 18th century as the major European trader in the region through its defensive policies, passive stance and the financial constraints to which it was bound due to interference and control by the States-General, the highest governing body in the Netherlands. Aggression could cause complications in Europe. The Company's trade deteriorated "so far as to employ its French and English rivals as purchasing agents for the cloth it needed". The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-4) had depleted the Company's financial resources in 1783 when it had to give 14 million guilders for assistance to the government in the Netherlands.

Surat was an important supplier of specific textiles such as bafta, cannekins, kamkani, karikam, and patolu. Also in this production area a decline set in after 1759. Table 8, page 279, shows that no textiles were sent to

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8 S. Arasaratnam, "Weaver, Merchants and Company: The Handloom Industry in South-eastern India 1750-1790" in S. Subrahmanyam, Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India: 190-214

9 G. Winius and M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 111

10 Ibid: 117

11 Ibid: 88
Batavia from 1703 to 1705. The Dutch blockaded Surat's harbor during that time as a reprisal for the stock of spices and fines that were demanded from the Dutch for their negligence in protecting Surat's most prominent merchant. When the Great Mughal Aurangzeb died in 1707, the Marathas disrupted the countryside in northern India which affected the production of textiles and trade in Surat. By the 1730s Surat itself became unruly. The Dutch were still able to secure the textiles under difficult circumstances due to faithful brokers. However, when the English, during the confusion among indigenous power holders, succeeded in conquering the Mughal sultan's Surat castle in 1759, the Dutch lost their independence as merchants and became subordinate to the English. Three lukewarm attempts at regaining their prestige were unsuccessful due to the same passive stance that was mentioned earlier. The aloofness was commanded from Batavia in response to orders from the directorate in the Netherlands. The Dutch avoided becoming embroiled in any wars in Europe and by extension in Asia. 12 The English took over the textile trade from the Dutch first for a period during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War and ultimately in 1795 when the VOC textile trade was handed over to private and free traders.

Bengal textiles had been imported via Coromandel until the 1650s, but their number was few. Table 8 therefore does not reflect any textile import from Bengal until in the middle of the 17th century. Also in Bengal the decline of the textile trade set in after 1759 when the Dutch became dependent on the English Company. Even after the VOC was permanently established in Bengal most of the textiles purchased were for the European market and less than 10,000 textiles annually for the Indonesian market. The total quantities began to increase during the 1680s, reaching between 100 and 200,000 pieces annually in the 1690s. 13 During the first half of the 18th

12 Ibid: 92-8

13 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720: 138-9 Table 5.3; 146-7 Table 6.1; 194-5 Table 7.2. Prakash used invoices of exported goods from Bengal, but his figures amount to different quantities than those recorded as
century most of the cloths the Company needed were supplied by Bengal. Already during the last decades of the 17th century the part of the textiles in the return goods had increased from 15% to 55% of the total export to the Netherlands. Bengal's textiles played a very important part in this increase.14

Procuring cloth in Bengal became very difficult after 1760. In 1757 the Dutch were approached for assistance in a battle and had to choose between an unpopular local ruler or an English-Bengali party who were at odds with each other. The VOC governor in Bengal kept a neutral stance, for the same reasons as the VOC had refused to go to war in Coromandel and Surat. The subsequent confrontation between the Indian and English army and that of the local unpopular ruler in the battle of Plassey in 1757, ended in favor of the combined Indian-English side. As a result of the victory the English were granted special privileges. A meek attempt on the part of Batavia to avenge itself on the English in Bengal turned out to be a disaster.15 The worst condition in the subsequent peace treaty in 1759 was the directive given to the Bengali weavers that they first had to fulfill the orders for the English before they could accept the orders of the VOC. Whereas usually 12 or 13 VOC ships had left Bengal in the sailing season in the first half of the century, the Company now experienced difficulty sending two ships to Europe and one to Batavia. The export of textiles from Bengal diminished drastically after this episode, which can be seen in Table 8 where figures dropped from an import of several hundred thousand textiles to less than 100,000 during the troublesome years and only respectively 8,000 and 7,000 in arriving in Batavia according to the Negotie boeken. For example for the years 1703-4 and 1704-5, the totals of the three tables by Prakash for export to the Netherlands, Japan and the Indonesian archipelago add up to respectively 154,085 and 234,795 pieces of cloth. In Batavia was recorded respectively 120,000 and 784,000 pieces as import.

14 F.S. Gaastra, "De VOC in Azië tot 1680" in Algemene Geschiedenis, vol 7: 214

1770 and 1780. 16

Two columns called "Other" consisted mainly of textiles imported from the Netherlands. Among the trade goods that the Netherlands exported to Batavia for the Asian market, *laken* was the most important item. 17 In total 37 types of woollen, worsted, and silk items were shipped for sales in Batavia, Persia, Surat and Japan. The value of the textiles from Haarlem and Leiden that were sent in the 18th century averaged £234,000 guilders annually. Increasing trade with China contributed to the largest import of *polemits* (*polemieten*), especially in the 1780s. *Polemits*, a simple woollen, usually black cloth, a grade lower in quality than the *laken*, was used for wintercoats. 18

The Chinese junks brought cargoes of textiles from China to the Indonesian archipel which have not been itemized in the VOC bookkeeping. One list of Chinese tradegoods from 1694 shows that 22% of the value of the cargo were textiles. I calculated from a listing by Blussé an average cargo value and number of junks that came annually to the archipel during the 18th century. Taking 22% of the value of the cargo showed an annual import of textiles to be roughly £32,000. 19

The proportion of the total imports in Batavia which were destined for the Indonesian market is illustrated in Table 9 on the next page. Table 9 is based on the same source material as Table 8, but in order to know what part of the total import of textiles was for the Indonesian market, the figures were taken from the credit side of the *Negotie Grootboek* which showed the

16 G. Winius and M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior: 124-31

17 F.S. Gaastra, "De Geschiedenis van de VOC" in Algemene Geschiedenis, vol 9: 462

18 J.R. Bruijn et al., Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries: 182-3. The figures in the table of values of textiles bought by the Chamber of Amsterdam was doubled, because Amsterdam contributed 1/2 a share in fitting out the Batavia supply ships.

19 Leonard Blussé, Strange Company: 126, 146
Table 9: Textiles imported to Batavia in quantity (thousand pieces) and value (thousand guilders) for Indonesia only, 1624-1780

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<th>Coromandel Value in 1000s</th>
<th>Bengal Quantity in 1000s</th>
<th>Bengal Value in 1000s</th>
<th>Surat Quantity in 1000s</th>
<th>Surat Value in 1000s</th>
<th>Other Quantity in 1000s</th>
<th>Other Value in 1000s</th>
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shipments of the textiles to the branch offices and the sales in Batavia. By adding up all the shipments and sales it could be established what part of the import was used in Indonesia. The debit side only registered the arrival and stock of the textiles but did not separate bales for Europe from those for Indonesia until after 1766.

Table 9 includes the same figures as Table 8 for the years from 1624 to 1641 because the Batavia Dagh-registers from which they were collected did not select the incoming bales by destination which meant that a small portion of the import would have been exported to Europe. The imports from India in the Batavia Dagh-registers were sometimes given as the number of bales and also as the value of the cargo, thus, the averages given in the section "What is a bale" in Chapter 7 were applied to arrive at the number of pieces and values listed. Table 9 shows that the largest proportion of imported textiles came from Coromandel, followed by those from Surat and Bengal. Whereas Bengal was the main supplier of textiles for the total import to Batavia, its role of providing the Asian market with textiles was comparatively small. Only in 1734-5 when 79,000 were sold in Indonesia, was its share of the import larger than from Coromandel or Surat. Coromandel was famous for its chintz, but the Company sold more patterned and plain textiles from Coromandel in Indonesia than chintz. The textiles from "Other" areas could practically be neglected. In Indonesia very little woollen textile from Holland was sold. Reading down the columns of quantities it can be noticed that the textile sales in Indonesia decreased over time.

One of the reasons which has been advanced elsewhere for the decrease in the textile sales of the Company in Indonesia has been the levelling off of the Company’s spice trade under the monopoly and the decline in rewards to the Indonesians from it. In addition it has often been stated by the VOC officials themselves and researchers following their

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21 E.C. Godee Molsbergen, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, vol 4: 43
reports, that the people in the archipelago became poorer and that textile prices in Coromandel were rising.\textsuperscript{22} The connection between the decline of the textile trade and price behavior is discussed in the next section, while other issues relating to this decline are examined in the subsequent chapters.

The important point to establish here is that a decline in the import for the archipelago set in possibly as early as the 1640s or early 50s when the imports were respectively 400,000 and 315,000 pieces. The import was larger in 1686 with 485,000 pieces, but that was exceptional and an aberration. There are three reasons to explain the 1686 higher import. First, the Company tried for a few years in the 1680s to monopolize the Coromandel textile trade and bought up as many textiles as possible in order to prevent competing traders from buying them. Second, it desperately attempted to sell the large stock that had been built up, especially the chintz as was observed above and the rice harvest in Java had been good that year.\textsuperscript{23} Third, the Company had captured Banten and ordered all foreign traders expelled. The Company initially picked up the sales that the foreign traders had previously made there, but when Banten had adjusted to the new arrangements under Company control, the sales there diminished again as it had done in the case of Makassar after 1669. The buyers of the textiles looked for markets where the textiles were cheaper or reverted to making their own cloth. As Reid pointed out, "local cloth production in the Archipelago soared."\textsuperscript{24}

The establishment of declining sales of Indian textiles in the archipelago is more clearly illustrated in the line-graph on the next page. It shows averages for two successive years between 1623-5, 1635-7, 1685-7, 1703-5, 1723-5, 1733-5, 1757-9, the other years are treated singly, because no

\textsuperscript{22} A Reid, \textit{Age of Commerce}, vol 2: 14, 21, 299-302

\textsuperscript{23} W.Ph. Coolhaas, \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 4 (1684): 745

\textsuperscript{24} A. Reid, \textit{Age of Commerce}, vol 2: 30
records were available to join them in pairs.\textsuperscript{25} The sources other than the negotie boeken do not give details concerning the production areas, the types, quantities, or value of each textile that was imported. Hence, I selected twelve years of the negotie boeken for a detailed analysis, which constitute 38\% of the sample of the negotie grootboeken that have been preserved and are legible. The year 1652-3 was the only year preserved for the 17th century.\textsuperscript{26} The figures for the 17th century except for 1652-3, were taken from the sources listed under footnote 2 at the beginning of this section. I took clusters of two years (three-year-clusters were not available) roughly 15 years apart during the 18th century until 1759 after which the textile trade diminished to such an extent that it was not necessary to take two year clusters to show the decline during the second half of the 18th century for which the years 1770-1 and 1780-1 were selected.

The line-graph shows large sales in Indonesia during the first half of the 17th century of approximately 300,000 pieces annually. After mid-century the sales of Indian textiles in the archipelago declined. Some historians think that as textiles became more expensive, the local people started increasingly to weave and decorate their own cloth.\textsuperscript{27} This question of import substitution is examined in the last section of this chapter and chapter 10. The increase in sales of Indian textiles stands out during the years 1757-9 in this graph. Two possible explanations are the sales of the large stock from the warehouses in Batavia and the branch offices which were ordered by Governor-General Mossel and additionally that "after 1757 the main warfare

\textsuperscript{25} The graph is based on Table 6. Where possible, the years were clustered in pairs. The data for the 17th century is taken from the Batavia Dagh-registers except for the years 1685, in W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1685): 816, and 1653 which is like the data for the years in the 18th century based on the Batavia Negotie Boeken.

\textsuperscript{26} Appendix F, "Bookkeeping for Textiles" states the reason why only one book had been preserved from that century.

\textsuperscript{27} T. Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel: 162; A. Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 2: 301
was over" in Java. During peacetime in Java more textiles were sold unless the harvests of rice had failed. The pattern of the total import of textiles from India did not show a real increase. Therefore, the causes for an increase during the last few years in the 1750s must be attributed to happenings internal to Indonesia.

This section on the import of textiles by the Company in Batavia looked first at the total import illustrated in Table 8 and subsequently at the import for just the Indonesian market in Table 9. Although the import and sales in Indonesia were more clearly illustrated in the line-graph and Tables, neither of them set apart the proportions of imports for the archipelago from those for Europe. Table 10 below shows the percentage of Indonesian import in terms of number of pieces and value of the total import. Only those years that indicated a destination for the import were included. The figures indicate percentages of total VOC imports to Batavia which were destined for the Archipelago.

**TABLE 10**

Percentage of Total VOC Import Destined for the Indonesian Archipelago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>import % pieces</th>
<th>import % value</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>import % pieces</th>
<th>import % value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-53</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1733-34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686-87</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1734-35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703-04</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1757-58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704-05</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1758-59</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723-24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1770-71</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724-25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1780-81</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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29 VOC 2945 (1759): 2181; Reallia, vol 2 (1757): 156. Under January 18 a statement was made that "a large quantity of the Company's cloths sold for cash in Batavia."
The overview above shows that the importance of the Indian textiles for Indonesia in the context of the entire Company's textile trade in Batavia is not overwhelmingly high after 1650. As the Indian textile trade of the Company increased for the European market, it decreased for the Southeast Asian market. For most years after 1650 more textiles left Batavia for other destinations such as the Netherlands, Japan, and to a lesser extent Siam and Persia. Only half or less of the quantity and value of the textiles were distributed in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the figures in Table 9 showed that for the greater part of the VOC period several hundred thousand textiles were bought by the people in the archipelago or used for other purposes.

The largest quantity of pieces of cloth were sold in the first half of the 17th century. Those peaks in the VOC textile trade were never regained.

Decline of the VOC textile trade has been seen in context of a general lowering economic prosperity in the archipelago. The figures here might be taken to confirm that proposition. Close analysis of the Dutch records, however, suggests that the drop in the import trade figures, illustrated above was, in fact, part of a more complex picture. To pursue this subject it is necessary to investigate the buying power in the Indonesian market by studying prices

Prices of Textiles: Macroview

Conclusions on prices of textiles or any other commodity of the VOC cannot be considered in isolation from developments affecting first the economy of Asia, and secondly, the world economy. During the 16th century the process of arbitrage, a shifting of metals to find an equilibrium in the exchanges of silver and gold between China and the rest of the world, had put price indexes on the rise. The essence of global changes in prices

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30 A. Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 2: 301; S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies, and Commerce: 152-3

during the 16th and 17th century lay, as proposed by Dennis O. Flynn, in the "modernization" of China when it shifted from paper money to a silver based economy and the government tribute system changed to a tax collecting agency triggered off by mercantilist control of Chinese private trading communities along the coasts and rivers. Flynn's observation that "the relocation of products from low-value to high-value areas roughly equalized its [silver] price everywhere" applies not only to the equalizing effect of the flow of metals between Europe and Asia and America and Asia, but also to the prices of textiles in China and India.

In both areas the prices of textiles were related to the influx of metals. In Coromandel prices appear to have begun to rise as early as the 1660s as a consequence of increased demand on the production of textiles for expanding markets in Asia and Europe and possibly the size of the import of metals. At the same time the Company was forced to lower prices of textiles in the archipelago because of the increased competition from both European and Asian traders. The Company had been in a position to command the prices of textiles in regions of the archipelago under their control. It attempted to work out the competition that sold the textiles at a lower price to keep their own prices high and derive increasing profits. However, the competition stopped the Company from increasing the prices at the rate it had done in the first half of the 17th century. Although the Company was successful in minimizing the influx of textiles by foreign traders it could not make the large profits it had at the beginning of the century because the buying prices of textiles increased. By the turn of the 18th century prices of textiles would never return to former levels. Throughout the first half of

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32 Ibid: 8


34 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1660): 88-9, (1662): 95

35 K. N. Chaudhuri in The trading World of Asia as referred to in S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 338-9
the 18th century prices of rice, cotton and wages increased which also affected the price of the textiles. In Bengal the price of silk increased along with wages and food prices. This in turn caused textile prices to rise. In order to expend the same amount the Dutch wanted lower quality cloths. They had also settled for inferior quality textiles in Masulipatnam in the 1680s when the price of textiles increased due to higher cotton prices and large orders from the English. The VOC had difficulty procuring silk pieces because the weavers did not want to work for less money and walked away. The Company was a big buyer, but notorious for paying lower prices than the free traders. As long as there were buyers of the higher priced quality cloths, the weavers could afford to supply the Companies at lower rates. They made more profit weaving high quality silk textiles. As the price revolution took place, they were less prepared to take on contracts for coarse textiles on which their profits were low or even negative. What can be seen is that the Dutch preferred to lower the quality of the cloth for the Indonesians rather than paying the higher prices for the textiles. The Company’s strategy of buying the quality textiles for Europe where good profits were made on quality Indian textiles and conserving the lesser quality textiles for the archipelago was still continued in the middle and second half of the 18th century. The decline of the Company’s textile trade is partly attributable to selling the inferior qualities to the people in the archipelago.

The same strategy was applied in the buying of textiles in China for the European market. In China the price index doubled between 1702 and

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36 Ibid: 338-41

37 W.Ph. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1680): 393; Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company: 144


39 VOC 3208 (1768): 452; Realia, vol 1 (1762): 332

40 Realia, vol 1 (1762): 332 The order to Coromandel was not to accept low grade textiles for Europe, but to accept them for "Indië."
1799. The VOC reacted by controlling the production of textiles to accommodate the inflation. It ordered its Cantonese merchants “to make the [silk] damasks lighter to lower the price” in 1764. Senior merchant Cruysse and silk expert Delavigne who returned to Batavia from China had proposed already in 1735 that the Company should abandon its system of heavy and light money. The decrease in the purchasing power of silver was being felt. The Company did evaluate the guilder by 20% on August 1, 1743 on instigation of Governor-General van Imhoff. The books were adjusted for 80% of the light money, but the goods that arrived from the Netherlands were still converted into light money in subsequent years. The revaluation brought much confusion because of the multitude of coinages that were going in the archipelago. The bookkeeping of the Company was further unaffected, because it continued in light money. However, on September 1, 1768 light money was abolished and all the amounts in the books rectified by deducting 16.35%. The intrinsic value of the Dutch ducaton against 66 stuivers was maintained from that moment onwards. In my analysis of prices I have not taken either evaluation into account. The figures have been taken as they appeared in the books.

The quantity of Total imports to Batavia fluctuated year by year, but the trend increased in both value and volume until the mid-1720s after which a decrease set in, shown in a summary of Table 8 and 9 (see Fig. 1 next page). The upward trend coincides with the importance of Indian textiles in the European markets after 1664. Until the end of the 17th century most ships left from Batavia for the return journey to Europe with an increasing


42 Realia, vol 1 (1764): 273

43 W.Ph. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1735): 720

44 J.P. de Korte, De Jaarlijkse Financiële Verantwoording in de VOC: 39

45 J.R. Bruijn et al., Dutch-Asiatic Shipping, vol 1: 134-9
FIG. 1: Total Value and Volume of Textile Import

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Indonesia Import</th>
<th>Indonesia Import</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. pieces</td>
<td>No. pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703-5</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723-5</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733-5</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757-9</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Volume of textile import

Total Value of textile Import
quantity of textiles destined for the Netherlands. When ships began to return directly from Ceylon, Coromandel and Bengal with the Indian cloth in order to reach Europe quickly to satisfy the demand for the latest fashions, total imports decreased in Batavia. The height of the export of textiles from Batavia to the Netherlands in the 1720s corresponds with the largest number of VOC ships that ever left Batavia in any decade, namely, 260 ships between 1720 and 1730. There is no record of the bales that went straight from India to the Netherlands or other destinations in the Batavia Negotie Boeken. All trade that did not pass through Batavia is reflected in the Generale boeken, but they were not a concern for this study.

In comparing the two graphs in Fig. 1: Total Value and Volume of Textile Import on the next page for which the data is based on the Negotie boeken only, the first columns in the tables and upper lines in the graphs show a steep rise till 1723, but thereafter a steady decline to 1780.

Between 1652-3 and 1703-5 the total textile import increased steeply from 461,00 pieces to 772,000 pieces or 67% while the value did not increase at the same rate. However, the value of the textiles doubled between 1703-5 and 1723-5 from £2,469,500 to £4,979,000, while the volume of the import increased comparatively little from 771,500 pieces to 872,500 textiles. The reason is that the price of textiles increased considerably in the first quarter of the 18th century as a result of rising prices in Coromandel and periodic increasing prices in the Surat hinterland because of disturbances there after the death of the Mughal Sultan in 1707. The textiles continued to increase in price. Taking the Total Import of pieces and the Total Import of the value in £1,000 in Fig.1, the average price of a textile in 1652-3 was £3.74 decreasing to £3.19 in 1703-5, but practically doubling to £5.70 in 1723-5, still increasing to

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46 The increase in tonnages of home bound ships from the production areas is clearly indicated in J.R. Bruin et al., Dutch-Asiatic shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries: 176, Table 36. For the increased importance of Indian textiles see F.S. Gaastra, "De VOC in Azië to 1680" in Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, vol 7: 211

47 F.S. Gaastra, De Geschiedenis van de VOC: 105, Table 9 "Aantallen VOC-schepen van en naar Azië, 1602-1795."
f6.20 in 1733-5, dropping to f5.80 in 1757-9, but increasing again to f6.07 in 1770 and f6.52 in 1780-1. Prices of textiles before 1652 had been much lower than f3.74.

In comparing the value and the volume of the textiles for the Indonesian market (second columns, Tables in Fig. 1), two instances stand out. In 1723-5 and again in 1780, the volume of imported textiles drop while the values rise (second column in the tables and bottom lines in the graphs). The increase of prices in 1723-5 had also started much earlier. Calculating from Fig. 1, Indonesia Import No. Pieces and Indonesia Import of the value in fl,000, the average price of a textile in 1652-3 was f3.75, increasing to f4.66 in 1703-5, still rising to f6.01 in 1723-5, but dropping to f5.16 in 1733-5, increasing again to f5.69 in 1757-9, decreasing to f4.73 in 1770-1 and increasing steeply to f6.52 in 1780-1.

The price patterns for the Total textile import and the Indonesian textile import differ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Import</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indonesian Import</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase</td>
<td>1703-5</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase</td>
<td>1723-5</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>1733-5</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>1757-9</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase</td>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase</td>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for this difference is difficult to explain at this stage. A comparison between the types of textiles that were traded to Europe and the textiles sold in Indonesia would have to be made which was not part of this study. The graphs also show the proportional comparison in the import of the Total and Indonesian textiles. In 1652-3 the Indonesian textiles make up 68% of the total, but the lowest proportion is around the 1723-5 when the Total import is large, but Indonesia’s share is only about one quarter of this
total which explains the widest gap between the upper and lower graphs. The gap closes when the proportions come closer together again by the second half of the 18th century.

The price analysis in general was also applied to a number of individual textiles to look for patterns and relate them to the larger picture presented above.

Three invoices for 1619, 1620 and 1623 showed respectively an average price of £1.58, £1.83, and £2.01 per piece of cloth, confirming that textiles were much cheaper before 1652-3, the year of the first Batavia negotie boek. The cheapest textiles the Company imported during the period from 1619-23 were the ordinary gussies that were used as a doty in India which cost £0.05 per doty piece. The cheapest pieces of textiles in the lists were kamkani (£0.51), popeli (0.31), asmanis (0.46), chintz (0.98), cannekins (0.47), negrocloth (0.46), tapi cindai from Cambay (0.63). The textiles that cost between £1.00 and £2.00 were: tapi grande, gulong grande, tapi kecil, patta malayu, beiramee, sailcloth, karikam, chelas, chintz, taffachelas platadio, bafta (ordinary black, white and blue), kangan, beiramee, chelas, balaches, tercandia, betille, blankets and sarassa malayu. The most expensive textiles were fine white, black and blue bafta (£2.35-3.75), taffachelas (£7.18), silk patolu (£5.20 and £7.34), silk platado (£3.67) and cherry bafta (£9.06). As the Company controlled a larger share of the market in Indonesia the prices of the Indian textiles increased because it could command the selling price.

Although the prices for textiles almost doubled between 1620 and 1650, the quantity of textiles that were imported did not drop. The VOC was expanding its market for textiles in the archipelago, most likely taking a share that formerly had been serviced by other Asian traders although the competition between the latter and the VOC in ports such as Aceh, Makassar, and Banten was stiff. The plentiful supplies of Indian textiles presented by the VOC and competing traders to the Indonesian people possibly increased

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48 Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 120, 124-5, 290-1
the demand. Higher pepper and spice production paid for the textile import regardless of the price of the textiles in the first half of the century.\textsuperscript{49} Between 1650 and 1700 the price increased only about 25%, but the import decreased 30%. Reversals in price between 1723 and 1733 and again between 1757 and 1770 when prices dropped during both those periods, did not increase the sales of textiles. Therefore it might be concluded that the prices of the Indian textiles was not the prime factor for the decline of the textile trade in Indonesia.

The prices of the three invoices discussed above do not appear to have included the expenses the Company incurred in importing these textiles to Batavia. From the bookkeeping of the Company it is not possible to learn about the costing of the textiles or of any other tradegoods. However, instructions of 1617 stated that the buying price should be stipulated in the costs. It is not clear at which moment the expenses incurred in the packaging and shipment were incorporated. Perhaps before they were entered into the inventory books in Batavia. Stapel who interpreted a pricelist of around 1610 which showed three columns with increasing prices for nine textiles, thinks that the first column represented the cost price in India, the second the Company's computation of its cost after storage and transport to the archipelago, and the third column the sale price.\textsuperscript{50} If Stapel is correct the costing was not consistent and varied from 25% to 100% per textile which seems very high and the variability unlikely for a group of textiles that came in the same shipment from the same production area. There is no doubt that before the minimum profit was set to be made on a textile an amount above the buying price in India was added to cover costs. In 1696 the shopkeeper was told to add a cost compensation of 6%: 4% for the Indian offices and 2%

\textsuperscript{49} A. Reid, Age of Commerce, vol 2: 14 fig. 3, 21 fig.5 both figures support the increase of pepper till 1670 and spice production till 1620

\textsuperscript{50} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 19
for Batavia which seemed much more reasonable.51

In 1644 the senior and junior merchants and assistants were required to adhere to the prices of the Coromandel and Surat textiles that were set by the Director-General in conjunction with the Governor-General and Council, but they had to consider the quality, fineness, width, length, etc. of the cloths in order to raise or lower the price.52 Almost the same instructions were issued again in 1696 to the shopkeeper of the large shop who paid the salaries to the employees of the Company. He had an old price list that showed a constant percentage of profit for each textile thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Percent Profit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guinees</td>
<td>ordinary bleached (C)</td>
<td>52 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinees</td>
<td>brown/blue (C)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salempore</td>
<td>bleached</td>
<td>73 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parcalle</td>
<td>ordinary bleached</td>
<td>6253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shopkeeper was told to take note of the regulated price that was attached to the bale of textile that he received from the warehouse and do his calculations accordingly. It was thought that the unchanging percentage of profit that usually applied according to the list above did not do justice to the quality of the cloth, because

almost all types of cloths vary in their quality and cost price, although they are called by the same name. When they are sold according to the price list, they are treated as if they all appear to be the same.54

Thus, the price of textiles must have varied from bale to bale depending on the quality and price that was paid for that particular variety.

52 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 151
53 J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 3 (1696): 413
54 J.A. van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek, vol 3: 415
Clusters

Before an analysis of prices for individual textiles can occur the clustering of textiles requires clarification. In order to deal with more than 200 textile types (excluding the varieties) in the VOC trade it was necessary to categorize them. Historians who have dealt with Indian trade cloths have either neglected grouping them or have simply divided them into silks and cottons. A closer examination of the trade textiles shows, however, that quite a number of textile types were mixed fibres, cotton and silk. In some cases one type of textile was presented as both, all cotton or all silk. There existed a sharper contrast between textiles differentiated as being muslins, plain, chintz, and checked and striped textiles. Some textiles like the Gujarat silk *patola*, did not belong to any of the above, but were obviously luxury textiles if the price was taken into consideration. It was decided therefore, that, in view of the textile traditions still current in Indonesia today, it might be more useful to classify the Indian trade textiles into categories that stressed attributes that seemed most characteristic of a specific textile. A muslin could be striped, checked, printed, or plain, but other textiles that were striped, checked, printed or plain, were not muslin. The thinness and fineness of muslin, of which *betille* is the most frequently traded type, was the major characteristic in this category.

Other frequently traded textiles such as *bafta*, *muri*, and *parcalle* were predominantly plain textiles. Sometimes they might have a few golden or colored threads as a *kepala*, or a stripe along the selvedge, or a small decorative print (not chintz) on them but that was not characteristic of the cloth. The predominance of plain color in the cloth, rather than its lightly decorated part, was decisive in classifying it as plain. The bleached *guinees*, *parcalle*, *salempore*, which were very popular, are other examples taken to be plain cloths.

Many *guinees*, *niquanias*, *gingam*, *chelas* (see Plate 1, 4) were striped textiles, or also came as a checked variety, in the likeness of *geras* and some *rumals* (Plate 3). Hence, these were classified as a type different to muslin or plain
textiles because of the predominant attribute being a stripe or check. The stripe or check in a blue, red, black or brown in the textile characterized that textile in the documents more than it being a cotton or silk. In the same way chintz seemed a category on their own, mainly because of their decorating technique using the wax resist method even if they were sometimes simple, rather crude and cheap as in Plate 2. The textiles with fine embroidery, or decorated woven silks, or with much gold thread, being very expensive, were classified as luxury cloth. That is not to say that there were no luxury cloths among the chintz and muslin, but the appearance was given priority over the classification of a textile by its price. I realize that this is an arbitrary decision and that a classification by price or simply in silk, cotton, or other fibre, would give different results in an analysis. I was most interested in knowing which types of cloths were predominant, and if there were patterns in clusters going to certain regions.

To make other types of analyses possible, I have entered all the textiles from the ledgers into a spreadsheet (Excel 4.0) in Appendix G while an average of their prices in the ledgers is listed in Appendix A. Hence, these textiles can still be rearranged according to other questions asked from the primary sources.

Prices of Textiles: Microview

After looking at the large picture of price behaviors, a microview of the unfolding conduct of prices for individual textiles will be presented. Prices of eight textiles for each of the five clusters (Appendix H) were studied, selected from Appendix A and plotted graphically. Prices are the buying prices set by the administration in Batavia. The bookkeeping tells us very little about the selling prices. Most textiles were credited for their buying price because they were not sold out of the warehouse, but transferred to the shop, to a branch office where the shopkeepers would set the selling price, or an auction where the bidders did so. For each of the five clusters of textiles—chintz, muslin, plain, luxury, and checked and striped—the results are arranged alphabetically
by cluster in Appendix H.

Most textiles show an increase in price if the first year of the textile price is compared with the last price. This is most noticeable for the prices of luxury, muslin and plain cloths; it is not as striking for the chintz, checked and striped cloths. However, among each cluster are types of textiles that do not show an increase, or if they did, the prices diminished again such as the sarassa malayu for the 17th century, the palmpore, Bengal chintz, niquanias, patta, guinees blue, gingam drongam, gingam penasse, hamman, cotton patolu, white and black-blue bafta, and every variety of betille.

Among the chintz the cheapest textiles which did not vary much in price are the sarassa and tapi cindai between fl.20 and fl.2.37. Medium priced chintz like the committer, sarassa gobar, and Bengal chintz varied slightly more from fl.3.29 to fl.6.00, while the luxury chintz blankets, bedcovers and Coromandel chintz varied from fl.5.04 to fl.20.39.

The prices of the checked and striped cloths do not vary as greatly as the chintz. The most expensive are the guinees, but the length of the cloth of minimally 35 meters make up for the high price. The niquanias was the cheapest stripe. The pattas, fotas, and gingams were a medium price while the chelas was the level of the guinees, but it being a shorter textile, thus, more luxurious.

In analyzing the luxury textiles a striking pattern occurs where practically all textiles increased considerably in price except the butidar. Possibly a lesser amount of embroidery accounts for the cheaper price at the end of the 18th century which dropped from several hundred guilders to fl.189. The silk patolu became rarer in the 18th century as its price increased from fl.7.00 in the 17th century to about fl.16.00 in the 18th century. The cheap imitation cotton patolu substituted for the loss of silk patola at a price of between fl.1.50 to fl.2.00. The earliest mention of the cotton patolu in the ledgers was in the beginning of the 18th century. Clearly, the luxury cloths were distinguished from the other textiles by their price.

The Bengal cassa, soosie, therindais and sologesie were the most expensive muslins varying from about fl.8.00 to fl.20. Bengal was noted for its muslins
and almost all types came from that production area. The *adati* was a medium range muslin. The most popular *betille* show less variation in price than might have been expected from £4.00 to about £8.50.

The plain textiles were the most current and profitable textiles for the Company which is why they were protected after 1759 when most of the textiles were given over to the free and private traders. It immediately shows in the price of the *bafta* that the additional gold thread used in the weaving made the textile jump in price. Whereas the white and blue plain *bafta* are in the price range of £4.00 to £6.00, the gold *kepala bafta* varies from £10.60 to £15.00 per piece. Among the plain textiles the *geras* was one of the cheaper varieties fluctuating between £3.00 and £5.50 in the 18th century. The *muri* and *parcalle*, presumably used for batik in Java sometimes, had a medium range price of £4.00 to £6.00 per piece, similarly to the *salempore* which were further decorated by the Indonesian women.55

Arasaratnam has observed for the Coromandel textiles between 1650 and 1740 that "it is far more problematic to determine the price trends in textiles during this period, given the difficulty in matching the qualities of the product that went under the same brand names."56 However, in the general analysis of the prices of the Indian textiles a rise in prices for these textiles was demonstrated across the board. An analysis of forty individual types and varieties of textiles shows that the luxury textiles increased noticeably more than the other clusters. There was no discernable overall pattern, for which two explanations can be given. First, the way the textiles were priced. It was ruled that the quality of a textile had to be a major consideration for the merchants and shopkeepers in prizing a textile for sale. Because the Company was aware of the increasing buying prices in India (and China) it compromised quality for price. However, it did not have to apply that strategy to the luxury textiles which showed the highest increases. The

55 KITLV: H717 a, b Th. Pigeaud, "Javaanse Beschavingsgeschiedenis": 311-6

56 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Company, and Commerce: 138
buyers of the luxury cloths could afford the price anyway.

The grouping of textiles by their main characteristics which has been presented above is an innovation. This type of classification might offer associations with textiles that are still being produced by Indonesian women today. The method could also be used to the type of textiles that prevailed in certain areas in Indonesia. This is something that could not be done if the textiles were not classified or were simply grouped by their fibres, sizes, colors, dimensions, or other attributes.

Examination of the pricing and price behavior of textiles serves to illuminate fluctuating patterns. The difference in these patterns probably lies in the way the textiles are priced. In the case of Indonesia the pricing was based on the quality of the cloth and the buying price in India. Dutch sources reveal that the textiles suffered in quality at the gain of lower prices. This has never been adequately demonstrated in previous studies of the trade. More significantly we find that high prices are not the only factor for the decline in textiles in Indonesia. Although average prices for Indonesia show an increasing trend, the decline set in after prices had doubled in the first half of the 17th century, not at the same time that the prices were doubling during those first 50 years. The next interval of 50 years showed prices to continue to increase. However the decline in quantity of import was not proportional to the increase of the price; the decline was proportionally higher. Later intervals in the reverse confirmed the dissociation of price and quantity sold, that is, when prices dropped, the sales did not increase.

*Cloth for Cloves*

The focus here is on the textile trade of Ambon, consisting of cloth imported by the Company and the local cloth in the archipelago. It was observed earlier that the total volume of the VOC textile trade in the archipelago declined. How does one explain this decline at the micro level of Ambon? Was the decline caused partly by diminished demand at the local level? What effect did the decline have on the local economy. Was local
cloth substitution a function of decline? Who were the traders involved in strengthening internal trade when the external trade in Company textiles diminished? What was the price history of Company textiles during the decline, and how did prices of Indian cloth compare with local cloth prices? Did rival traders challenge the Company as provider of the Indian cloth? These questions will all be addressed in the following four sections.

Ambon was chosen as a case study of the textile trade in the 18th century not because of the size of its market for cloth—Ternate had a larger distribution—but because this was the area where the VOC had the most secure control. Ambon was also chosen because primary source material and published sources for the 17th century were available in Australia.57

**Trade and Traders of Ambon**

In the 15th century the Ambonese had played an intermediary role between the clove and nutmeg production centers by providing a base, provisions, and junks for foreign traders such as Malays, Javanese, Indian Muslims, Arabs, Persians and Chinese.58 They brought cloth from India which was in great demand.59 Ancient barkcloth and plaiting in the region showed *patolu* motifs and the *patola* cloths seem to have had special significance during the time that these foreign traders frequented Maluku.60 Some of the coastal people were Islamized at this time. Under the influence

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57 G.J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen* presents an extensive social history of the Ambonese from 1656 to 1696 which was of great assistance to this chapter.

58 Ch.F. van Fraassen, “Drie plaatsnamen uit oost-Indonesië in de Nagarakertagama: Galiyao, Muaar en Wwanin en de vroege handelsgeschiedenis van de Ambonse eilanden” in *BKI*, vol 132, no 2/3: 293-305


60 F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw*, vol 2: 165, 220, 222; J.A. Chijs ed. *Dagh-register*, vol 5: 295. A snake is known as *ular patola*, a particular gourd or vine fruit as *sayur patola*. An individual could carry the name Patole and Hoamoal had a place called Batu-patola. Warleaders and priests wore a *patolu* sash during ceremonies and debt payment is known to have been in *patola*.
of Islam the dress code of the Ambonese began to change and was modified again when 650 Portuguese settled among them in the 16th century. The coastal inhabitants used Indian cloths for their costume and buried cloths as treasure in large quantities in handwoven baskets, chests of palm and pandanus leaves and in earthenware vessels in hinterland mountains and nearby forests.

The VOC cloth trade in Ambon stems from the time that Admiral Steven van der Hagen occupied Fort Victoria after defeating the Portuguese in 1605. The intermediary role the Ambonese had played in the local trade network before the Dutch arrived was suppressed by the middle of the 17th century. It was totally crippled in 1683 when a new regulation forbade Ambonese to leave their province as crew on the vessels of other traders who had been granted permission to trade by the Dutch. When Ambonese wanted to leave their residence for a journey, they had to inform the raja pati or orangkaya of their negeri. Under these restrictions the local Ambonese showed very little initiative in undertaking trading ventures, and the Dutch Governor in 1748 observed that the people had become impoverished because of it. Already in 1696 a VOC official had written that the Ambonese were too poor to undertake any trade. The same was again observed in a letter in 1768. Whatever small trade they undertook was restricted to the province of Ambon.

Ambon's provincial commerce was funnelled through the VOC stronghold, Castle Victoria, in Kota Ambon. It functioned as a small distribution center for Company cloth forwarded from Batavia, as the Ternate office did for northern Maluku in the VOC period. Kota Ambon was the only place where passes were given to free traders voyaging to subaltern

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61 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 115
63 VOC 3208 (1768): 532
64 VOC 2716 (1748): 333; 3208 (1768): 458
offices in the province, to other branch offices, and to Java.

The movement of Indian cloth from Batavia to Ambon and its surrounding markets, and the counter movement of cloves from Ambon to Batavia, is part of what I refer to as external trade. It is important to understand the historical policies which underlay this trade. In November 1650 the Dutch reissued a prohibition for all trade with Ambon by Chinese, Malay, and Javanese merchants; conditional permits were issued only to Europeans, burgers and the Chinese residing in Kota Ambon. I use the term external trade for the full trade circuit controlled by the VOC, in which free traders under strict surveillance by the VOC also participated. This trade linked Kota Ambon to other trading places lying outside Ambon province. Any trading within the provincial boundaries of Ambon, conducted by private traders, I refer to as internal trade. Company trade was confined to the external circuit, while free traders operated in both external and internal markets.

The most active traders were the Chinese, numerous enough to form an influential community in Ambon. There were also burgers, many of them of Dutch-Indonesian or Portuguese-Indonesian ancestry, who were also active players in this trade. The VOC policy of maximizing their profits through monopoly, i.e. the control of the production of spices and the control of the textile trade, could not be carried out in a vacuum. The policy had to adjust to the trading activities of the multi-ethnic free traders and to the needs of the population, all of whom had a stake in the exchange of goods and services—cloth for cloves—in the provincial economy.

The first Chinese, who were Christians, settled in Ambon in 1625 under the protection of the Dutch. Foreign residents permitted to settle permanently in Kota Ambon, like the Chinese, were exempted from trading

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65 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 44 map shows the boundaries of the province to include the districts of Ambon, Lease, western Islands, and southwest Ceram.

66 F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 436
restrictions. Their request for passes from the Dutch were not refused. It appears that there was a symbiotic relationship between the Chinese and burgers and VOC officials in Ambon especially in times when Batavia renewed regulations prohibiting private trade by VOC's employees. Javanese, Malays and other non-Ambonese residents from Dutch townships in the archipelago were not allowed to trade to Ambon or Banda. The Dutch were suspicious of spices being smuggled out.

The Dutch had welcomed burgers and Chinese for the technological know-how they contributed to the community in Kota Ambon. Smithing, shipbuilding, ropemaking, sawmilling, for example, were done by the burgers; fishing, agriculture, tax collecting, making rooftiles, selling pork and arak by the Chinese. Burgers and Chinese both traded over long and short distances, carrying cloth among their cargo. The Chinese and burgers, a few Muslims, and an occasional Ambonese played a major role in the economic sector of the Ambon government throughout the two centuries of VOC rule. There was friction sometimes between the Chinese and the other traders because the Chinese were allowed to sail to places prohibited for free burgers or mestizos. The Chinese often enjoyed a privileged position vis a vis competing traders because of the extraordinary services they provided in the eyes of those in power. For example, no one could provide the province with much needed rice as well as the Chinese. The Chinese were also the largest clients buying textiles from the VOC in Kota Ambon. They bought up all the cloth that was paid in wages to the soldiers and VOC employees. As in Java and Sumatra the Chinese were the main cloth distributors on the local level. They brought the cloth to the outer island markets. That was of great benefit to the ordinary Ambonese because the Chinese merchants were willing to finance their purchases. When the people were paid after the clove

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68 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 166, 177-8, 188, 218-27

69 G.J. Knaap, Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw, (1662): 212
harvest they paid back their debt to the Chinese. In some villages the local headman or orangkaya resold cloth to the alfuras, the pagans in the hinterland, and farmers at 50% profit. They wanted to prevent the people from going to the VOC shops, so that they could take the profits themselves. The headmen took a risk that some alfuras would not pay them. In such cases they enslaved the persons concerned including wife and children.

Company officials often entrusted their money to Chinese nakhodas to trade on their behalf in places the Dutch could not go themselves. They also lent substantial sums of money to the Chinese at interest rates of 30 to 50%. There is no evidence that Ambon's Chinese traded without passes or that they conducted trade outside the legal system established by the Dutch. They were afraid of the consequences if they were caught.

In the first three decades of the 18th century the Company introduced indigo, pepper, rice, opium, cocoa, and coffee cultivation in Ambon. It was hoped that the sales of cloths would increase when the people were paid for these products, but the population did not take to the cultivation of new products and eventually the projects were given up.

Decline of the Company Textile Trade in Ambon

The decline of the Company textile trade in Ambon is apparent from Appendix G, which shows that the 12,080 pieces of cloth from Coromandel imported in 1652-53 had fallen to 5,100 in 1703-05 (ave.) and 7,765 in 1723-25

70 VOC 3208 (1768): 457, 680
71 G.J. Knaap ed., Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon: 14, 21
72 L. Blussé, Strange Company: 83; G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 219
73 VOC 3208 (1768): 579
(ave.); from Surat the import had fallen from 6,550 pieces of cloth in 1652-53 to 3,255 in 1703-05 (ave.) and 1,460 in 1703-05 (ave). Further detail is available for the 18th century for which 18 order lists were studied, covering a period of 50 years from 1735 to 1784. Every year in June Ambon sent to Batavia a "provisional order" followed by a "formal order" in September. There was usually very little difference between the provisional and the formal order. Before sending them to Batavia they were first discussed and approved in the council.

There were six scenarios that could occur when an order had to be made up. It was possible to order (1) the same amount, (2) less, or (3) more of the same textile than was ordered one year earlier, (4) drop a type or variety, (5) re-order a formerly dropped item or (6) choose to order a new item. An analysis of the data for Ambon shows all occurred in the above order of frequency. The most important textiles to the Ambonese always came from Coromandel. The types of textiles that were ordered did not change much over time. There were basically seventeen types, but some came in three, four or five varieties. The table on the next page shows salempore, guinees, parcalle, and dongris to be the most popular types judging by the quantities that were ordered. A total of 260 pairs of cotton stockings were also ordered in the eighteen years under discussion. These stockings and the textiles in the table below were consistently on the list during the whole VOC period.

75 A provisional order or a formal order was used for the following eighteen years: 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1758, 1759, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1782, 1783, 1784 from the Ambon material in the Overgekomen Brieven of the VOC.

76 VOC, 2464 (1739): resp. folios 626 and 981 or VOC, 3595 (1782): 37-8; 127-8

77 F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 362. The council consisted of the provincial Governor, the upper-merchant, the army captain, the supervising chiefs of Saparua and Hitu coast if present in Kota Ambon, the fiscal, and the paymaster. A secretary was also present, who was Ambon's specialist, and gave information when needed.

78 220 stockings were bought for men and forty pairs for women. They were probably worn to church on Sunday by Kota Ambon's elite.
COROMANDEL TEXTILE ORDER:
ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF BALES
FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS BETWEEN 1735 AND 1784

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bafta</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Gingam</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betille</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Guinees</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanket filled with cotton</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>Hamman</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulang</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Muri</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelas</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Percalle</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chintz</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Salempore</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongris</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>Sailcloth</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vlaggedoek</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Coromandel textiles listed for Ambon in the 17th century were no longer available in the 18th century: balatius, madops, poleng gobars, and sarassas.

The VOC also promoted the import of Bengal textiles in Ambon. There were 14 types known to have been ordered and sold in Ambon, of which geras was by far the most popular as can be seen in the table:

BENGAL TEXTILE ORDER: ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF BALES
FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS BETWEEN 1735 and 1784

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adatie</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Hamman</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armosin double pieces</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>Malmal</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongris</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Rumal</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fotas</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Sailcloth</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geras</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>Sanas</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gingam</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79 VOC numbers and folios 2312, 552-63; 2343, 739-43; 2379, 836-7; 2408, 306-7; 2464, 626-8; 981-2; 2499, 696-7; 2907, 128-30; 2931, 42; 3180, 257-8; 3208, 184; 3329, 99, 206-7; 3595, 37-8, 127-8. To approximate the quantity of textile pieces, number of bales was multiplied by 105 in accordance with Appendix E.
Three thousand bundles of gunny were also ordered in the time of the sample. Cassa, chavonis, blankets, gunnies, and those listed above except the gingam and malmal had also been part of 17th century shipments. The armosin were always ordered in Ambon a few pieces at a time and never by the bale. It should be noted that none of the Bengal textiles were in as great demand as the Coromandel salempore, guinees, and parcalle.

The quantities of Surat textiles shown for the 18th century were not impressive, which shows in the following table.

SURAT TEXTILE ORDER: ANNUAL AVERAGE NUMBER OF BALES FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS BETWEEN 1735 and 1784

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Annual Average Number of Bales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bafta</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blankets</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chintz</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginam</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangan</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannekin</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karikam</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niquanias</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palampore</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vlaggedoek</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the trade in Surat-type textiles have been in smaller numbers than those from Coromandel. This was demonstrated in Table 1, Chapter 1, Tables 9 and 10 above, and again in Appendix G under the section Textile Sales in Ambon where the totals for textiles from Coromandel are always larger than for Surat. 81 Bafta, niquanias,

80 250 Armosins came from Bengal in bales of 100 pieces, thus 2.5 bales.

81 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagel en Christenen: 224, 253 examined the trade books for Ambon for two years from 1689-91 which showed that Gujerat textiles were the most popular. That was a temporary situation when supplies in Coromandel declined drastically between 1688-91 due to "the conflict with the Mughal empire over piracy on the seas, for which the emperor prohibited all European trade in his dominion. This was compounded by the destabilizing effects of the expansion of Mughal power southward, especially around Masulipatnam and the Godavari delta" Arasaratnam
and *karikam* were consistently the most popular. In the 17th century silk *patola* had been on order too, but were no longer shipped in the 18th century. *Fotas* were not on the list above, but were ordered from Surat in the last quarter of the 18th century, after procurement from Bengal became unreliable. When *parcalle* were unattainable in Coromandel Ambon received some from Surat. Except for *gingam, kangan,* and *cannekin,* all the textiles in the list above were used throughout the VOC period.

There were no orders in the 18th century for Chinese textiles in Ambon, nor for silk thread. However, there was a steady request for Javanese cotton thread which in the years sampled ranged from minimally 5,000 to at least 10,000 pounds annually.\(^{82}\)

The tables above give us an idea of the proportions in which the different Indian production centers could supply Ambon,\(^{83}\) the types of

\(^{82}\) G.J. Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen:* 193, pointed out the combination of using Java thread with local *gemutu* fibre in Ambon’s weaving during the latter part of the 17th century. The sources that were examined for the eighteenth century, only mentioned that the thread was used for tying fishing nets.

\(^{83}\) In these eighteen years a total of 2,564 bales were ordered, not received. Half or less of what was ordered might actually have been sent. Sources for eleven years of a population count averaged about 68,000 adults over 15 years of age. If we do a rough estimate on how much textile that might be per person it allows for a little over one meter per person per year. (Workings: 2,564 : 18 = 142.436 bales per year; 142.436 : 68,000 = 0.002 bale per person. One bale, we will see later in this chapter, can roughly be estimated at 105 pieces of textiles, so that is 105 x 0.002 = 0.2 piece of textile. An average length of a textile is approximately 11.50 meters, thus 0.2 x 11.50 = 2.3 meters, but only half or less of the order was fulfilled which leaves a little more than 1 meter of textile for each person over 15 years of age.) The population figures are always taken of persons over 15 years of age and located in VOC 2343, (1734, 1735): 734-5 pop. 73,632 and 72,144; VOC 2464 (1738, 1739): no fol number pop. 70,750 and 79,749; VOC 2499 (1741): 378-9 pop. 70,679; VOC 3180 (1747): 457 pop. 74,630; VOC 2907 (1757): 115 pop. 74,165; VOC 3030 (1766): 228 pop. 60,224; VOC 3208 (1766): 378-9 pop. 55,232; VOC 3329 (1771): 147 pop. 57,544; VOC 3439 (1774): 140 pop. 60,419. The several drops in population count are as a consequence of a serious epidemic in the late 1730s, a serious earthquake in 1739, and epidemics in the following cases.

The average length of a textile for the Southeast Asian market was approximately 11.50 meters, see Chapter 7. W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb:* 338-9; J. J. Brennig, *The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel:* 47
textiles that Ambonese inhabitants desired, the popularity of certain types and clearly points to Coromandel as the crucial supply region. Ambon, as a VOC distribution point in central Moluccas, reflects a similar pattern in the types of cloths as Banda and Ternate.

Between 1666 and 1680 approximately 200 bales arrived each year. Between 1735 and 1784 the demand for textiles diminished. Table 11 on the next page clearly indicates a decline in the ordering of textiles. The orders were never fulfilled for 100% and often only half the quantity was supplied. In the 1770s only 70 bales were ordered on average, 86% less than in the 1730s. The table demonstrates a declining trend of imported textiles. The population in Ambon had decreased between the 1730s and 80s, but the textile orders declined faster. Orders for Bengal and Surat textiles, except for long broad black bafta, stopped by the middle of the 1770s.

Varieties can be seen to consist of fine, bleached, ordinary and/or coarse, and brown-blue textiles. No fine varieties lasted throughout the time under discussion. The last bleached muri, and guinees of fine quality were ordered in 1769. None of the other fine textiles were available after the 1750s. However, all the brown-blue, or coarse, bleached ordinary guinees, salempore, parcalle, bafta, and muri lasted until the end of the period. They were the common varieties continually in demand among the Ambonese, including the ordinary bleached dongris and broad black long bafta. In 1759 the last order for European textiles was made. Every year two to three pounds of Dutch gold and silver thread had been ordered, but in 1759 that ceased too.

Considering that an estimated seventy-five varieties of textiles had been shipped to Ambon during the VOC period, the Company sharply reduced the choice it had to offer to its customers. Between 1740 and 1759 alone, thirty-two varieties ceased to be re-ordered. 1759 showed a monumental drop in the quantity of textiles that were ordered for Ambon, and trade never recuperated. By the 1780s only twelve varieties had survived.

84 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 220-2
85 G.J. Knaap, Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon: 456
### TABLE 11
NUMBER OF BALES OF TEXTILES ORDERED
FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS BETWEEN 1735 and 1784

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Coromandel</th>
<th>Bengal</th>
<th>Surat</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>219.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>100.3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>153.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>100.06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>119.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,949.36</td>
<td>380.5</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>2,563.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reasons for the decline lay outside the province of Ambon, but some observations may be made about factors that show evidence of change in the economic sphere of the Ambonese. Ambon was an office with a deficit
balance. One of the options Batavia prodded the governors to pursue to minimize this financial shortfall was to increase the sales of textiles. A standard reply of the Ambon Governors to Batavia was that it was impossible to force the sales of textiles, because it was correlated to the success of the clove harvests.\(^{86}\)

The clove production between 1653 and 1727 has shown to be an annual average of 637,500 pounds.\(^{87}\) The average clove production for six years between 1743 and 1748 was 668,405 pounds and for twenty years between 1760 and 1780, it had been 831,841 pounds.\(^{88}\) Thus, the pattern in the 18th century showed clove production on the increase, but textile sales decreasing which rules out any direct correlation between sales of VOC trade textiles and the size of the harvests of the cloves.

One year after 1759 stood out in the table above. In 1772 the order was for 119 bales of textiles. An explanation seems to suggest a slight correlation between textile sales and the clove harvest, because the clove production a year earlier was the highest in the company's history, namely 2,268,126 pounds. Considering though that this harvest was more than three times the production of 1739 (702,718 pounds) when the textile order for the subsequent year had been 174 bales, this again strengthens the theory that textile orders and sales were sharply declining independent of the clove production in Ambon province. It is doubtful that the prices would have affected the sales, because on the average they do not appear to have changed much from former years (see price table on page 321).

The VOC paid for the cloves in the second half of the 17th century £3.00 per 10 pounds.\(^{89}\) In 1753 Governor-General Mossel stipulated the price to be

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\(^{86}\) VOC 2760: 238, 244; VOC 3208: 450-2

\(^{87}\) G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagel en Christenen: 235

\(^{88}\) VOC 2716: 335; VOC 3595: 200-1

\(^{89}\) G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 253
Although the Ambonese were paid lower prices for the cloves the total income for the province was the same because of the increase in production. The population appears to have increased very little in the 18th century compared to the 17th century. In 1692 the adult population of Ambon province was 57,602, in 1729 it was the highest on record for the VOC period at 80,000, but in the 1730s this decreased to 70,000; in 1765 60,000; in 1766 55,000, in 1774 60,000 again. Thus between the end of the 17th century and the third quarter of the 18th century there was little difference in the number of people that would have shared the income the province derived from the clove production. However, the energy expenditure was larger for the Ambonese.

Governor-General Mossel in 1753 expressed a similar opinion about the well being of the Ambonese as Valentijn had done 60 years earlier. Valentijn said he had never seen a beggar and attributed it to the abundance found in the forests. Anyone was allowed to enjoy these forest foods, as well as the wood, without charge. A poor person could cut as much as 3 bunches of firewood and sell them for 2 stuivers, which was sufficient to live on for one day. In the 1750s VOC officials concurred that the payment for the cloves was small and might be considered a service (the document states heere dienst), but that did not matter because the Ambonese could easily make a living outside this [the payment for cloves] on the fertile lands and waters teeming with fish, so that the payment for cloves is only pocket money (speel-penning) that is spent again on a choice piece of cloth or other trinket in addition to some rice because the Ambonese became weary of eating sago and had no time to prepare it.

This description points to the subsistence level upon which the majority

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91 See note 82 for details after 1734
92 F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 183
of Ambonese lived. This was also the finding of the historian, Knaap, for the second half of the 17th century.94

**Price History of the VOC Trade Cloths**

The quantity of textiles sold in Ambon comprised from 4 to 8% of the total sales for the archipelago. Considering that the islands provided the whole world with cloves, the size of the office in terms of sales of textiles is not imposing. To appreciate the prices that the Ambonese paid for the most popular textiles which were selected because of the high frequency with which they occurred in the orders above, a table was constructed (see next page). These were the selling prices deduced from the returns (rendements) after the auction.95

The prices of these cloths that were continually being auctioned increased approximately 10 to 20%. The prices were highest in the years 1759 and 1767 which was the same pattern when the prices for the overall Indonesian textile sales were analyzed. It might seem that the sharp drop in orders in 1759 was related to these high prices, but that is not the case. The drop in orders was definitely related to the re-organization of the textile trade and policies issued by Governor-General Mossel in 1759.96 When the prices of the first year 1734 in the table are compared with the prices of the last year in 1781 the difference is not remarkable.

To put these prices for a piece of Indian cloth in perspective with the cost of living, a few prices of other commodities are presented. In 1766 one pound of rice cost f0.02; salt f0.007; tobacco f0.04; one candle f0.87; one earthenware martevan f11.38; one bamboo container with coconut oil f0.50; one modern gun (snaphaan) f8.20; one bullet for the gun f0.015; one silver cap

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94 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 260

95 VOC 2312 (1734): 306-7; 2760 (1750): 229-32; 2962 (1759): 105; 3208 (1767): 172; 3329 (1771): 325, 426, 444, 504 [average of all four auctions held that year]; 3595 (1781): 295

96 VOC 2945 (1759): 2169-ff
Calculating that an adult consumes somewhat less than a pound of rice a day, the cost of the most popular cloth, the *guinees* (35 meters length) was therefore equivalent to a year's supply of rice and salt for a whole family.

**TABLE 12.**

Prices for the most Popular Textiles in Ambon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textile Name</th>
<th>1734</th>
<th>1750</th>
<th>1759</th>
<th>1767</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1781</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Karikam</em></td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bafta</em></td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>8.45</td>
<td>9.12</td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>7.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wh.w.bl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Guinees</em></td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>15.30</td>
<td>19.55</td>
<td>27.70</td>
<td>18.21</td>
<td>16.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or.bl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(br.bl.)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>20.80</td>
<td>39.09</td>
<td>19.82</td>
<td>20.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salempore</em></td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>8.28</td>
<td>7.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or.bl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(br.bl)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>10.56</td>
<td>19.10</td>
<td>9.91</td>
<td>11.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Parcalle</em></td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or.bl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(br.bl)</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>4.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Muri</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or.bl)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>7.37</td>
<td>7.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gingam pinas</em></td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>10.30</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>discontinued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dongris</em></td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Geras</em></td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>9.37</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>13.63</td>
<td>8.90</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wh-white, w-wide, bl-blue, or-ordinary, br-brown, --- price not available

If the price of an Indian cloth is compared to prices of a local piece of cloth, the local cloths are a little cheaper, but did not have the prestige as an imported Indian cloth for the local people. However, it is difficult to compare the qualities from documents. One blue cloth from Salayer, south of

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97 VOC 3180 (1766): sept. 20, no pagination
Makassar, cost £1.50 and a white one £0.71 in 1758. The difference in price was due to the extra labor that was involved in dyeing the cloth blue with indigo. The price of a blue Salayer cloth the size of a sarong was only one fifth that of the Indian blue bafta. It should be remembered that the bafta was four or five times the size of a local cloth thus making the cloths almost comparable in price. At the end of the 18th century a cloth from Sumanap (Madura near Java) cost between £1.00-£2.00 per sarong while a kain bérang (a square red handkerchief) in Bengali style, cost £0.50. A kain kasumbar, also a red square cloth, was the same price, £0.50. The cloths were also bartered for respectively 20 and 12 pounds of tobacco, that is one bamboo container of tobacco was 4 to 5 pound.

Ambon weavers could produce their own cloth. Poorer people who could not afford the relatively expensive Company cloth obtained local cloth through unofficial channels. The politics and economics of trade in local cloth will be taken up in the final section where the issue of free traders is discussed.

Some Ambonese women wove and dressed in the uti uti (see Chapter 2). Uti utis were also sold in very small quantities, usually under 5 pieces costing from £1.50 to £3.00. The province of Ambon did not produce cloth for export like Java, Makassar and surrounding areas, because the people lacked the ingredients for it. In some areas no spinning or weaving was even known. Hence, cloth had usually been an imported commodity. Dyes like kasumba and indigo as well as cotton thread were imported annually. Locally woven cloths which reached Ambon from other islands in the archipelago in quantities of thousands in the second half of the 18th century were:

98 VOC 2907 (1758): 41

99 No other indication of the author's name than E. "Iets over Ceram en de Alfoeren" BKI, vol 5: 87

100 F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 372-4; G.J. Knaap, Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon: (1621): 31-2; (1635): 138

101 VOC 2931 (1759): 115; G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagelen en Christenen: 191, 193, 222
1) from Java: Javanese celas, Javanese striped cloth, batik, Javanese small cloths, Pekalongan cloth, Semarang cloth, Banten cloth and ontji
2) from Makassar: Makassar celas, Makassar pants, Makassar small cloths blue and white, women skirts, cele pangkajene, handkerchiefs
3) Salayer blue and white small cloths, Batu Batu-, Buton -, Mandarese-, Buginese -, and Toagese cloth.\textsuperscript{102}

The local cloth production had become so overwhelming by the middle of the 18th century that the Company in Batavia did not hesitate to order the branch office in Makassar to provide Ambon with blue Salayer cloth for the poor.\textsuperscript{103} In Ambon province blue was generally worn by the coastal people and red by those living inland.

Naturally, the VOC was concerned about these local cloths, seeing them as competitors to their monopoly in Indian cloth. But the Company officials dared not stop the production and trade of the cloth for fear of the local population rebelling against them. Even if the Company wanted to disallow their production, the cost of maintaining a police system to enforce repressive laws would have been prohibitive. Moreover, local cloth was not seen as a total competitor to imported Indian cloth, since the local cloth's affordability biased it towards the poorer classes which were not the clients of the Company in Ambon. In general, local orangkayas, rajas, patihs and other elites as well as the populations of the coastal towns preferred imported textiles, while the poorer villagers and mountain peoples went for the lower quality Company cloth and less expensive local cloth.

\textit{The Role of Free and Local Traders in the Ambon Textile Trade}

Free trade was regulated through VOC policy. It related to two major concerns. The first concern was striking a balance between a rigid monopoly


\textsuperscript{103} VOC 2907 (1757): 40
that tolerated no competition from local cloth production and an uncontrolled textile market; and trade which carried the risk of undercutting the demand for company cloth which was relatively higher priced than Indonesian cloth. The second concern was with the prevention of smuggling of contraband textiles. The cloth policy issue over monopoly was company-wide and applied to all cloth-producing areas outside Ambon.

The cloth monopoly has parallels with Dutch policy on controlled production and export of spices. To maintain the monopoly, the company had to rely on policing the coasts of the spice producing islands as well as the waters in eastern Indonesia frequented by smugglers. This was the rationale for the annual hongi expedition, a costly institution in both socio-political and financial terms. It involved the annual extirpation of "illegal" planting and growing of clove trees in islands designated for cloves.

To apply the same strictness to the production and sale of Indonesian cloth was impossible. It would have caused untold suffering to both producers and consumers in the archipelago. The Company took a middle course of keeping registers of incoming and outgoing vessels of free traders. These registers lend themselves to reconstructing a picture of how the provincial shipping of cloth compared with that of the Company.

In Kota Ambon the registers listed chronologically the dates of arrival and departure of vessels; the name and ethnicity of the owner; the age of the vessels; their carrying capacity in last; their place of origin and destinations; and a list of the cargo aboard. Not all the registers were preserved, but some could be located.

With regards to the ethnic background of the owners of the vessels the pattern in 1766 was typical: 18 vessels belonged to the Chinese, 17 to burgers, 5 to Muslims, and 4 to local Ambonese. The next year 13 Chinese, 10 burgers, 3 Muslims, and 3 local Ambonese arrived and departed from Kota Ambon. The average age of a vessel was approximately 2.5 years. The

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104 Realia, vol 1 (1741): 202
105 VOC 3208 (1766): 382-92
average size of a few dozen small orembay and tjampang was 2-4 last and a few more than a dozen vessels between 20 and 60 last (1 last = 3,000 pounds).

I have separated the cloths into locally produced cloth and imported Indian trade cloths. The purpose was to find out if the local traders were buying large quantities of Indian cloth which would indicate that the demand was still strong or if there was a tendency to prefer the local cloth because it was cheaper and the quality satisfactory. The quantity of cloth involved in eight lists varied from approximately 1,500 to 50,000 pieces of cloth. The total quantity was taken to be 100%; and local or Indian cloth a part percentage.

The overview below presents the findings in percentage thus:

**TABLE 13**
Local versus Indian Cloth Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>IMPORT</th>
<th></th>
<th>EXPORT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local Cloth</td>
<td>Indian Cloth</td>
<td>Local Cloth</td>
<td>Indian Cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761-5</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766-7</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771-2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774-5</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportions of local cloth to Indian cloth traded by the free traders is increasingly in favor of the local varieties. Whereas Indian cloth had made up the majority of the cloths traded in the first half of the 18th century, in the second half of the century the local cloth takes the upper hand. The free traders appear to fill in the vacuum created by the decline in the volume of imported cloth by the VOC. If the need for cloth was growing or decreasing is not possible to ascertain. The Governor of Ambon attributed the

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decreasing sales of Company cloth to the unreasonable price and poor quality.\footnote{VOC 3208 (1768): 452}

It seems to indicate that the local cloth was of reasonable quality. Import substitution was successful in capturing the local market for cloth. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 indicated the need for cloth and the presence in the archipelago of the knowledge and technology needed to produce cloth. Raw materials were locally available. The moving force behind the import substitution were the Dutch themselves. Through monopolistic policies they had infuriated the local trading communities. The increase of taxes further spurred the weavers on to produce more cloths and for the traders to "smuggle" them. The Dutch were reluctant to increase expenditures to maintain the monopoly system. Faster and better armed local vessels and lesser Dutch aggression opened up for the local production an opportunity to flourish. There was no central authority in Indonesia, but the ruling families seem to have encouraged the import substitution; weaving, decorating cloth and selling were localized activities, cottage industries that need no factories or government subsidies. It was a self-sufficient productive system that only needed to be freed from Dutch repression to become operative in the local island market place. Like a coiled spring or restrained animal, the production of cloth came to life, as the social pressure to buy imported textile from India was decreasing. Locally produced cloth in imitation of Indian cloth became acceptable substitutes. The pressure on the Company to sell the Indian imports also decreased as the VOC trade changed its character to a carrying trade and other products like coffee and tea became more important. This created the opening, the decrease in competitive pressure, which was all that was needed for the island textile production and trade to bounce off. Thus, the local cloth could take up the slack left by the decline of the Indian import.

The second concern was with the contraband smuggling of cloth. The
cloth trade to the eastern provinces was a monopoly of the VOC, but the Company killed its own trade by introducing higher import duties. In 1620 the import and export duty on the Indian cloth had been 5%. A few years later the directorate in the Netherlands ordered to raise the import tax to 10%; the export tax remained 5% for foreign and free traders. Complaints about the illegal imports from India never ceased. For the larger part of the 17th century these tax rates were maintained.

For the Indonesian traders the import had been 6% and export 4% for local cloth, but in 1691 this was raised to respectively 10% and 5%. In 1754 the import of all locally produced cloth rose to 15%. The same duties applied to all branch offices. Indonesian woven cloth had become very desirable and its importance in the inter-island trade was growing. The measures show the distance that existed between the Company and the local population. It was not in the interest of the Indonesians to have such an aggressive mercantile policy imposed upon them. The Company seemed to act out of fear; it hoped to curtail the competition of the locally made textiles which were sold for lower prices than those of the VOC. Raising such a high tax would necessarily have increased the selling prices which antagonized members of the trading communities. In Europe, similar measures had been applied in different countries during this period provoking animosity and retaliation. Being managed from the Netherlands the Company possibly acted in an ill informed manner. It hoped that with a higher retail price of the local cloths, the consumer would still prefer the Company's selection which the people had been used to buy for such a long time, even for a little

108 Realia, vol 2 (1744, 1753, 1768): 156-7


111 J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 6 (1754): 706-7, 798-9; Realia, vol 1 (1766): 33

112 Elisabeth Mikosch, "The Manufacture and Trade of Luxury Textiles in the Age of Mercantilism" in Textiles in Trade: 62
higher price.

The policy did not achieve the anticipated results. It increased the smuggling of cloths to such an extent that it could not be controlled, however much the Company policed the shores. The new rulings applied to Batavia, Banten, Ceribon, Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Makassar and Timor with regard to cloth produced in or near any of those places including Bali.\textsuperscript{113} There is no mention of Sumatran places in this edict although the bringing of any textiles of whatever type from Melaka to the east coast of Sumatra was strictly prohibited.

The VOC was unable to suppress this rampant smuggling and tried to keep all local traders out of Maluku. The other measure mentioned earlier to fight insurgent traders in Ambon was the annual hongi. The Company, however, did not have the right vessels to outsail the fast local craft which caused one frustrated fleet Commander to remark:

These large [Company] vessels are nothing more than ballast. I wished I had 30 orembays instead.\textsuperscript{114}

The VOC vessels were too sluggish and big and the local vessels with many rowers outraced them all the time. VOC officials were well aware of their losing battle against the "smuggling" by local traders. In 1748 the Governor of Ambon wrote to Batavia that the VOC supplied only one quarter of the cloth that the province consumed. He was reluctant to fight the illegal traders in Ceram. There were too many of them. They brought mainly cloth, and rice which they traded for spices, tripang, massoy, junks, etc.\textsuperscript{115} The cloth was dispersed to other outlying areas. The Governor estimated that for every Sulawesi trader that was caught at least ten went safely through the

\textsuperscript{113} Realia, vol 1:98; vol 2: 62,169, 274; vol 3: 29 All proclamations were sent in in November and December 1763

\textsuperscript{114} VOC 3186 (1767): 74

\textsuperscript{115} VOC 3186 (1767): 50
Dutch surveying fleet.\textsuperscript{116}

In 1767 a deserting slave of the Buginese, Bappa Samma, sought the protection of the Dutch in Ambon. He informed them that he had been captured in 1763 with eight other men while fishing off the shore of his home in Tegal, central Java. They were taken by the Bugis to Bengkulu where the English were stationed. The Bugis traded there rice, oil and cloth. After one year Bappa Samma left on a Bugis vessel that sailed with 50 other Makassarese, Mandarese, and Bugis in a fleet. They sailed along the south coast of Java to Balambangan, Bali, south of Sumbawa to Buton and Calidupa while taking on provisions in those places. The rulers in Sumbawa gave protection to these Sulawesi fleets in their harbors and organized hide outs. The Sulawesi people smuggled in slaves and opium.\textsuperscript{117} From Calidupa they sailed straight to Ceram where the 50 vessels dispersed to different villages (negeris).

After two years in Tobo on Ceram’s south coast, Bappa Samma was able to reach the Dutch. He gave many details about the places, prices and products the Bugis traded. They sailed to Johore and Aceh from Bengkulu and exchanged gold from Aceh with the English for Indian cloth. They traded local cloth on their voyage back to Ceram. These local traders brought spices around the archipelago.\textsuperscript{118} They left the eastern archipelago in May and returned from Bengkulu in October and November.\textsuperscript{119}

The value of the goods they traded amounted to a few hundred guilders or several thousands.\textsuperscript{120} Sometimes they stayed over for a season in Ceram where they pulled up their vessels at least one mile inland onto supports so high that the Dutch wondered how they did it. When the Dutch

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{116} VOC 2716 (1748): 58-9

\textsuperscript{117} VOC2716 (1749): 148

\textsuperscript{118} J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 6 (1754): 671 in Banjermasin.

\textsuperscript{119} VOC 3208 (1767): 215-23

\textsuperscript{120} VOC 3208 (1768): 487-94
found them they burnt the Bugis vessels.

The Ceramese were afraid of the Sulawesi traders because they were heavily armed with swivel cannons and knew how to use them.121 Quite understandably, the antipathy towards the Dutch was very strong among the Bugis traders. They told the Ambonese that "they came to cut the Dutch down to size (wij komen de Hollanders de maat te nemen)."122

A trading network from Ceram to Bali and Banjermasin was also known to VOC officials in 1741 as a very large fleet of local craft, so numerous, fast, and well armed that the VOC vessels felt intimidated and quickly looked for safe harbors.123

The Dutch and the local population in Ambon also feared the Ceramese because they sailed in fast craft and sometimes used a gun. They sailed by night and at dawn would send a slave, often captured from a far away place, swimming to the shore to contact the local population and demand delivery of cloves. The Ceramese undertook these voyages very early in the harvesting season before the Dutch patrol boats appeared.124 The Dutch tried unsuccessfully to bribe the Ceramese with cloth. Every season the Ceramese sailed to the clove islands "with vessels full and sweet of cloth."125 The Ceramese sometimes put out cloth to the Ambonese and returned later to collect the cloves.

Not only were traders from outside Ambon province and the Ceramese engaged in smuggling in what was thought to be tightly Dutch controlled territory. Local Ambonese also challenged the Dutch. They used the hongi expeditions as an opportunity to trade. In their korakoras they hid cloth torn to lengths (voams gewijs) of 1.70 meters and made arrangements with other

121 VOC 3186 (1767): 83, 3208 (1766): 54
122 VOC 3208 (1768): 56
123 VOC 2499 (1741): 48-9; 345-6
124 VOC 3329 (1771): 3, 59
125 VOC 3208 (1768): 494; 3186 (1767): 74
Ambonese to trade these cloths for cloves.\textsuperscript{126}

The sales of textiles in Ambon reflected the same decreasing trend as the patterns demonstrated above for the total textile trade and the Indonesian sales in general. The figures for Ambon in the eight registers for incoming and outgoing vessels indicate a definite pattern of local cloth replacing Company cloth in the trade. The quantity of cloths that free traders reported for taxes in Kota Ambon varied considerably from year to year. It is clear, however that more cloth was traded by free traders than by the Company. Local trade was reviving and challenging the Company's trade. The aloofness of the Company noted for the areas of production in Coromandel was also a characteristic of the Dutch in Ambon. Cooperation between VOC officials and local traders was common.

\textsuperscript{126} VOC 3208 (1768): 67
CHAPTER 9

DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTILES

The stock held by the Company guaranteed distribution of the Indian cloths year after year. The immense quantities of the stock influenced the prices of the textiles as will be shown in examples below. When stock was released in auctions or sales it also affected the prices of the textiles and the profits that the Company made on them. However, the issue of how much profit the Company made on the textiles remains obscure in the same way the Company’s profit on the exchange of metals or other products in Asia is unclear. The level of profits in the inter-Asiatic trade and exchange rates of metals influenced the prices of textiles, but to what extent and how is still a question open to debate.

Exploring for this chapter the question of distribution of the textiles my perusal of the use of textiles by the Company itself led to a pivotal discovery. The Company used enormous quantities, of roughly 100,000 pieces of textiles annually, to pay its own expenses in Asia. These textiles are reflected in the clusters which will be discussed for Batavia and the branch offices.

The Company’s Stock of Textiles

The quantity of textiles stored in the warehouses of the Company is an important subject for study in view of the implications it had in running the business. No sales or distributions could take place if there was no stock in the warehouse. When regional production in India stood periodically at a standstill, the Company could supply the markets from its stock and command the price, making larger profits than usual. In Chapter 8, Table 8 it was shown that there was no import from Surat between 1703 and 1705, but the entire Indonesian market was supplied with 118,000 pieces of Surat cloth from the warehouse in Batavia (Chapter 8, Table 9).
Earlier it was seen that a large warehouse complex was built and run as a modern bureaucracy. The stock was a resource fluctuating in value as prices of trade goods changed. Its size influenced the selling price. It appears that neither the Company itself nor historians working with Company records have considered some of the cumulative effects of this large stock of trade goods. In discussing the profits of the Company, that is the surplus over and above expenses, it is not always clear that the Company's large stocks are taken into account.\(^1\) If the Company sold during a given year part of its stock, the profit was greater than if the Company added the newly imported trade goods to its stock and did not sell them then, but much later. It is not possible to conclude a profit for any one year by deducting from the value of the import the sales and expenses of an office unless the value and sales of the stock have been taken into account.

During most years the Company stock of textiles in Batavia was two or three times the size of the annual sales in the archipelago. Each branch office also held a stock of textiles, but the proportions of sales and stock is not known there. Keeping half to one million pieces of cloth in stock made the Company the most powerful wholesale dealer in Asia.

Company officials aware of the profit making aspect of the stock in times of scarcity, also believed that a large stock would prevent competing traders from penetrating their markets. The Company would be more vulnerable if it was known that a shortage of desired textiles was common, as sometimes happened during the early years of the VOC.\(^2\)

Just as employees in any large Company stand to gain from inside information, so the upper echelon of the VOC benefited from opportunities afforded them to buy exceptional textiles when they had just arrived. A superior quality or a cheaper assortment than usual was often bought up quickly by insiders. The Batavia Council was not in favor of this practice because of the likelihood that lesser quality or dearer textiles would be lying

\(^1\) S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 180-1

\(^2\) W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1674): 905
for years on the shelves and eventually have to be sold in an auction for small profits. Accumulated dead stock in Batavia was in the 18th century always sent on the return fleets to the Netherlands.

The competition from rival foreign merchants in Southeast Asia during the 17th century had motivated the Company to build up these large stocks. As soon as the trading season began the Company would release large quantities of cloths for competitive prices. Utilizing this tactic the Company thought to minimize the profit for foreigners and discourage them from returning.

People near the Dutch in the eastern provinces (a collective name the VOC used for the provinces of Makassar, Timor/Solor, Ternate, Ambon and Banda) were very dependent on the Company to provide them with sufficient Indian cloth. The VOC officials regularly requested shipments of much needed supplies. For example in 1757 Ambon sent a request to Batavia urgently needing salemporte, muri, parcalle, guinees, betille, and dongris with red kepala. It was added "for the people’s clothing." The Company’s hold on the market and manipulation of prices in the eastern provinces was demonstrated in an average gross profit of 163% that year with dongris and parcalle being the most lucrative textiles.

In 1757, the directorate in the Netherlands were making inquiries about the profitability of the textile trade. Governor-General Mossel was spurred to investigate and improve the textile trade in Asia. Using the bookkeeping records he investigated every office. In his findings he accused the employees of the branch offices of thoughtlessly ordering textiles and having excessive quantities (restanten) stored in the warehouses everywhere that did not make any profit. He ordered them to sell superfluous stock,

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3 VOC 2716 (1747): 56-7

4 Batavia Negotie Grootboeken

5 VOC 2907 (1757): 26-7: Letter of Governor Idsinga, Sept. 24, 1757; 126-7: Letter from the outgoing Governor Cluysenaar and the incoming Governor Idsinga;

6 VOC 2944 (1759): 2169r-v
even if it was 10% below the minimum profit, or send it back to Batavia. This produced a sharp increase in sales in the archipelago in 1759.\textsuperscript{7} He issued a second edict in 1759\textsuperscript{8} ordering every office to include exactly the number of bales for each textile variety that had been sold during the last four years, how many had been received and sold the current year, the quantity of textiles in stock, and how many were needed for the next year.\textsuperscript{9}

As a consequence of Mossel's businesslike attitude the stock of the Company was kept under control as can be seen in Fig. 2 on the next page. The graph illustrating the number of pieces of textiles in stock in Batavia for the years the ledgers were examined, clearly shows the large stock in 1652 when the Company was at its height; the stock decreased as the textile trade was changing its character when many textiles were shipped straight to Europe from the production areas. After Mossel's edict in 1759 the stock was kept to a little over 1/3 of the volume from previous years. This is another indication that the VOC textile trade in Asia was declining.

Fig. 3 on page 336 illustrates the value of the stock. It confirms the observation made in Chapter 8 that the buying prices of the textiles were relatively low in the middle of the 17th century compared to prices in the beginning of the 18th century. Whereas the quantity of textile pieces in stock in 1703-5 years is 2/3 of the stock in 1652-3, the value of the stock in 1703-5 is about 60% higher than in 1652-3, thus, a significant increase in the buying price had occurred and this trend did not reverse.

\textsuperscript{7} VOC 2944 (1759): 2169-2231

\textsuperscript{8} J.A. van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek, vol 7 (1759): 352-3

\textsuperscript{9} Many examples can be found in the Overgekomen Brieven. For example, compare VOC 2312 (1734): 552-63; VOC 3180 (1766): 257-8; VOC 3595 (1782) part 2: 37-8. Examples of orders early in the 18th century are much simpler than in the 1730s and again more complex after 1757. The amount of stock that could be kept was closely watched and controlled after Mossel's edict issued on Sept. 9, 1757. Edicts were often repeated. The edicts of 1757 and 1759 are the same document.
**Fig. 3**

Textile Stock of the VOC in Batavia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Quantity 1000 pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703-5</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723-5</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733-5</td>
<td>649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756-9</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Quantity of Textiles in Stock**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value 1000 guilders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td>2255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703-5</td>
<td>3635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723-5</td>
<td>2941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733-5</td>
<td>2913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756-9</td>
<td>1461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td>1452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Value of Textiles in Stock**
The minimum profit for textiles was not the same in all offices, nor was it the same throughout the VOC period. In 1639 Governor-General van Diemen judged the textile trade unprofitable unless 60-70% profit was made over and above the buying price in India and expenses. However, it appears that much larger profits of at least from 100 to 200% were made in the first half of the 17th century. In the second half of the century the Company could not maintain these profits, given the higher prices they had to pay for the textiles in India. The Company was forced to accept lower profits, beginning in the 1660s. By the second decade in the 18th century profits of 20% were not unusual and by mid-century an edict was issued to make sure that a minimum profit was made on the Dutch woollen goods of 50%, on Coromandel textiles of 60%, Bengal 50%, and Surat 40%. During a few years in the 1750s targets had to be set even lower—respectively for Coromandel, Bengal and Surat, 50%, 40%, and 30%. Ternate and Padang were given lower minimums still of 40%, 25%, and 20%. It was rationalized that profits on gold from those two branches would compensate for the lower profits. In practice the VOC officials exceeded these minimum rates because in 1745 the Company gave an incentive over and above the salary of 5% from the annual gross sales. This was to be divided among the highest officers.

10 W.Ph. ed., Generale Missiven, vol 2 (1639): 33


12 G. Vinal Smith, The Dutch in Seventeenth Century Thailand: Chapter 3; J. van Goor, Kooplieden: 29; Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company: 125; S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies, and Commerce: 352

13 Realia, vol 3, (1744): 278; vol 2 (1759): 115
including the Governor. The higher the profit the bigger the allowance they enjoyed. With overall higher possible profits on the sale of textiles it was hoped to reduce the expenses of keeping branch offices. In general profits rarely exceeded 100% in the 18th century. Dutch records are not systematized in a way that total profits made on trade goods, including textiles, can be determined.

The Company is its Own Best Customer

It is self evident that the Company would consume cloth for its own use, but the quantities involved are surprising. Textiles were used for sailcloth of various qualities and sizes, depending on the type of sails and ships; on uniforms for mounted cavalry, guards, funeral rites, processions and other company related ceremonies that required pompous regalia. These expenses were sometimes questioned by Heren XVII, such as the f5,275.49 for the funeral of Governor-General van Diemen in 1645. Ironically, van Diemen himself had led a life of exceptional austerity. His account from the first five years in Batavia showed a total expense of f1,481.88. Apart from f12.60 as a donation to the building of a new church and f591.60 for a lottery held to raise money for improvement plans for Batavia, the whole remaining amount, f877.68 consisted of a long list of textiles. Presumably he paid his household help in textiles for his


16 VOC 2312 (1734): 396; 3329 (1771): 213


maintenance, and gifted other people with textiles.\textsuperscript{20} His account underscores an observation that employees were the Company's own best customer.

Textiles were also consumed by personnel in the line of duty in their residences. An inventory of an outgoing governor's residence for the next occupant showed 133 slaves, 42 firebuckets, 199 cows, 5 clocks, 32 chairs, 22 paintings, etc. It also included: 8 table cloths and 125 serviettes in the castle, 36 red \textit{laken} pillows and 2 matching tablecloths in the governor's residence, and 1 large red \textit{laken} tablecloth, 2 small blue ones: one with fringe, one without and 9 blue pillows in the garden house\textsuperscript{21} and flags, banners, and pennants for the armed forces.

During two hundred years the VOC paid more than one million pieces of cloth to its slave population.\textsuperscript{22} The Company distinguished three categories of slaves: the slaves it bought or bonded slaves; slaves the company hired from civilian owners permanently or temporarily for certain projects; and slave prisoners in chains, found guilty of a crime after their case had been tried. Sometimes these were slaves that were offered by their owners to be taught a lesson for misbehavior or escaped slaves that had been caught and were in transfer.

Provisions given to slaves were standardized. Only the first category of bonded slaves received cloth from the Company. In February and August a male slave was given one piece \textit{niquanios} a boy slave half a piece \textit{niquanias}, a baby a quarter piece, a female slave one quarter piece \textit{fotas} and 3.40 meter \textit{guinees lywaet}, a girl slave also one quarter \textit{fotas} and 1.70 meter \textit{guinees}. The

\textsuperscript{20} W.Ph. Coolhaas, "Gegevens Antonio van Diemen" in BKI, vol 103: 508

\textsuperscript{21} F.W. Stapel, "De Aankleeding van een Ambtswoning onder de Compagnie" in BKI, vol 101: 107-12

\textsuperscript{22} This is a conservative estimate based on F.S. Gaastra, \textit{De Geschiedenis van de VOC}: 96, Table 8, which shows that in 1687-8 the Company employed 2,860 slaves and 3,605 indigenous employees. The slave population would have doubled in the 18th century. Thus at two pieces of cloth per year for say 3,000 slaves for 190 years is over one million pieces.
textiles were the coarser varieties. Coromandel blue boulang for headdresses was distributed conditionally. An edict in 1641 forbade slaves to wear a headdress until they could speak Dutch. By the middle of the 18th century most of them did, or what passed for it, because a boulang was commonly worn.

Dressed in the textiles that were given, males must have worn blue and white striped sarongs like lurik, held by a belt in which guns or knives were tucked. In 1734 a new regulation ordered the sarong to be worn differently and guns forbidden. Female slaves wore a checked or striped sarong of a combination of colors: red, blue, and brown. A plain white shirt of guinees was worn while around their waist they tied a strong piece of fotas to hold it up. Fotas were colored, dyed in the thread, checked material. The slaves could not be distinguished from the ordinary indigenous people.

The slaves had not always been dressed in this way because in a letter in 1623 a VOC officer in Batavia asked his colleague in Masulipatnam to look for a cloth that could be woven cheaply for the slaves because to dress them in the old style was becoming very expensive. What the old style meant is not clear.

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24 Realia, vol 3: (1641) 206; F. de Haan, Oud-Batavia, vol 1: 467
26 Realia, vol 3: (1734) 208
28 F. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1: 467
29 Om Prakash, Dutch Factories, 1617-1623: 250
30 G.C. Klerk de Reus, Ueberblick: 129. He describes the male slaves to go around in a black tunic and the females in white and some color.
In 1700 more than twelve hundred company slaves were in Batavia housed with the department of public works or the ambachts kwartier and on the island Onrust. Each VOC office was allotted a certain number of slaves. Ambon’s government was allowed 75 slaves in 1758, but often needed and maintained many more. In the west Sumatran offices only 63 were allowed in 1777. There used to be many hundreds of slaves working in the goldmines. Every year Makassar had to send 50 slaves to Banda. Knaap, who gave a thorough accounting of the slave population at large for the second half of the 17th century in Ambon, showed that they made up 13% of the indigenous population. From the last quarter of the 17th century until about 1770, some 24-30,000 slaves lived in Batavia. The majority of Makassar’s population were also slaves. Many of these slaves were involved in textile production, either as weavers, spinners, painters, embroiderers, or seamstresses. To my knowledge, the company did not own slaves for that purpose in the Indonesian islands, but had hired many slave-workers in India for their textile production. The company gave the impression of being "benevolent" to its slave population. When by accident some slaves’ quarters burnt down in 1733, the slaves were given

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32 In the eighteenth century there were more than one hundred slaves in Ambon. In 1758 there were 122, in 1766, 145 slaves, which cost the company an average of £7.77 per person. VOC 2962: (1759) 116; VOC 3208: (1767) 583

33 Realia, vol 3: (1777) 211

34 Approximate figures on the number of slaves in service of the company and as part of the population at large could be collected for the Dutch occupied areas. They are regularly reported in the Overgekomen Brieven.

35 G.J. Knaap, Kruidnagel: 128-30; Also Valentijn’s figures gave the same result after computing it. F. Valentijn, Oud en Nieuw, vol 2: 366

36 Anthony Reid, ed, Slavery: 29

37 Ibid, 23; E. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1: 459-60;

38 G.C. Klerk de Reus, Ueberblick: 128-31
extra cloth on their payday at the end of that month.\textsuperscript{39}

Company institutions such as the leprosy colonies, the hospitals and the medicine shops consumed Indian cloths. The leprosy colony on Molana, south of Saperua island cost the Ambonese government in the 18th century at least \$300 annually.\textsuperscript{40} The Lazarus Home and four hospitals in Batavia and medical facilities in Ambon, Banda, Banten, Padang, Makassar employed VOC doctors (\textit{chirurgijns}) from Europe, and since 1686 also indigenous doctors. Doctors received three pieces of ordinary bleached \textit{guinees} for use as lint and swathing band each month.\textsuperscript{41} A ship’s doctor received the same necessary cloth. If a doctor needed more than he was supplied with, he was permitted to buy what he needed at a discount price. Regularly, the hospitals were provided with sailcloths to make pillows, the slips were sewn from \textit{niquanias}.\textsuperscript{42} When Batavia suffered from a high death rate in the 1730s, 1,350 new straw mattresses were made for which 675 pieces of sailcloths and 862 \textit{pikul} of kapok were supplied in addition to 480 Indian blankets.\textsuperscript{43} Sailors recovering in a hospital were given clothing like an undershirt, trousers and handkerchief for cost price from the company store.\textsuperscript{44} Being sick and feverish, they suffered more from the cold ashore than others, because they missed the protection of their bunkbeds aboard ship. As patients (\textit{impotenten}) running high fevers they could rent a Coromandel blanket for eight heavy \textit{stuivers} per month.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{39} VOC 2283: (1733) 86

\textsuperscript{40} VOC 2379: (1735) 254; 3595: (1781) 320

\textsuperscript{41} D. Schoute, \textit{Geneeskunde Oost-Indische Compagnie}: 145, 188; VOC 3180: (1766) 119; Realia, vol 1: (1773) 48. The apothecary shop was also given as much cloth as needed

\textsuperscript{42} VOC 2962: (1759) 103-4

\textsuperscript{43} E.C. Godee Molsbergen, \textit{Geschiedenis Nederlandsch Indië}: 305

\textsuperscript{44} Realia, vol 1: (1776) 491

\textsuperscript{45} VOC 2283: (1733) 147
A considerable expense for the company were also all the gifts that it was expected to reciprocate, maintain, or initiate in relationships and negotiations with local kings, rulers, dignitaries, and chiefs in order to receive favorable receptions and, subsequently, trade concessions. Between 1613 to 1790 more than nineteen million guilders were spent on gifts. A large proportion, possibly one million pieces of cloth, were consumed for this purpose alone.

Instructions of 1617 stipulated that the salaries of personnel were to be paid, half in cash and half in cloth (halff gelt, halff goed). The Company tried to cut down expenses by paying salaries as much as possible with cloth. Employees who did not want to sell the cloth themselves could do that through a broker, an apostado, first appointed by Pieter Both in Banten in 1614. He wanted the selling of cloth to stay under the control of the Company. This function was later taken over by the shopkeepers. In Batavia it was the groot-winkelier or shopkeeper of the large shop who paid the salaries and kept every Company employee’s account. The soldiers in Timor had been paid totally in textiles before 1687, a change was decreed to accord with regulations. The Timorese community regretted it because they needed the Indian textiles which were easily bartered. With the salaries half in cash they had to leave their place of residence to buy things elsewhere. Thus, cloth obtained through the Company’s personnel had created goodwill for employees and the Company alike. In neighboring Flores people also eagerly collected textiles that they could use in exchanges.

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46 J.P. de Korte, Financiële Verantwoording: Bijlage 11A
47 P. Mijer, Verzameling van Instructiën: 26, art. 75
48 H.T. Colenbrander, Coen, Levensbeschrijving: 238
49 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 1: (1614) 34
50 F. de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1: 187-91
51 J.A. van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek, vol 3: (1687) 197
for other goods when the need arose, especially in the case of weddings.  

Half of the European employees were military people. Without counting the Indonesians employed in military service, as sailors or locally hired labor. The impact of these employees regional economics in Maluku was considerable. Several times the Company changed its policy concerning the payment of salaries and paid the army and navy either entirely in textiles or cash. When prices of textiles went down because the market was overflowing with the textiles of these employees, the Company reverted to total payment in cash. It was reasoned that the residents could buy cloth from the Company with the cash and as the demand for cloth rose because of scarcity, prices would increase. In the end the Company would reverse its former decision and decide it would be cheaper to pay the soldiers again with textiles. These alternations are most visible in the strictly controlled offices of the eastern provinces.

The clothing of soldiers and sailors was their own responsibility. The Company gave them the opportunity to buy for cost price the uniforms of Dutch graauwdoek and undershirts that came from the Netherlands in early times, but were soon made locally or in India of bleached guinees. The Chinese cotton shirts were not popular because they were expensive and not

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52 Roy W. Hamilton, "Trading Systems in Indonesia: An example from Flores Island" in Textiles in Trade: 194

53 Indonesian employees were not paid with textiles or "halff goed", but with cash. Their numbers varied. In Java's north east coast were from 2,450 in 1684 to 747 military men employed in 1689. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 324, 304. Besides the salaries all employees, including the Indonesians received "rantsoenen" or "maandgelden" which can be compared to a standard of living allowance. It included minimally rice, vinegar, salt and a viand. The higher one's rank the more free extras one could expect, such as European beers and wine.

54 H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden, vol 3: (1621) 18; vol 7a (1616): 168, 175-6. W. Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 1, (1634): 471 Soldiers had been paid with textiles which supplied almost the entire demand in Maluku, so that the company sold only £3,000 worth in 1634. Dagh-Register, vol 4: (1637) 221; Plakaatboek, vol 2: (1677) 580; Ibid, vol 3: (1692) 297; Realia, vol 1: (1701) 450; Realia, vol 1 (1751): 30

strong enough. The ready-made clothing from the company store could be charged to their account.

The amount the employees were charged for their clothing appears to have been high. In 1758 thirty soldiers who were asked to work on the restoration of dilapidated fortifications in Ambon protested that their payment of three stuivers per day was not enough because their clothing disintegrated faster from the heavy work than they could earn to buy new ones. As a disciplinary measure they were given the cane.\textsuperscript{56} Another incident involving the Company's textiles happened in Malabar in 1741, where an estimated 300 to 400 soldiers deserted to join an Indian warlord. The soldiers were enraged about the 25% they lost in their pay because of the exchange rate, and secondly the bad quality of the textiles they were paid with.\textsuperscript{57} Under Governor-General van Imhoff a very liberal policy was issued to the manager of the large shop in Batavia, stipulating that salaries could be entirely in cash or textiles or any other product the company carried with the only restriction that there was no shortage of the item.\textsuperscript{58}

Amongst all these disbursements the largest and most important were the employees' salaries. The Company lawyer, Pieter van Dam, underlined the company's policy to pay salaries halff gelt, halff goed, pointing out that the part of the salary taken up in the East was debited on an employee's account for the amount in light money even though the payment was calculated in Dutch currency or heavy money. For example, a soldier had contracted for a salary of four rixdollars per month or ten guilders. One guilder was counted as 20 "stuivers" or five cents in the bookkeeping of the VOC, but one rixdollar was equal to 48 stuivers of heavy money during the greater part of the seventeenth century. If the soldier wanted to take up one eighth or 12\% of his monthly salary in cash and textiles during one of the pay-months he

\textsuperscript{56} VOC 2931: (1759) 57

\textsuperscript{57} George D. Winius and Marcus P.M. Vink, Merchant-Warrior: 104

\textsuperscript{58} J.A. van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek, vol 5: (1746) 406
would receive half cash, that is f0.60 in stuivers or six dubbeltjes (double stuivers or 10 cents) and 12 stuivers worth of cloth (his salary being four rixdollars of forty-eight stuivers, \(4 \times 48 = 192\) stuivers per month of which 12\% is 24 stuivers). His account would have been debited in light money—the currency calculation used in the islands among the Dutch—of one rixdollar in light money, that is 64 stuivers, four stuivers higher (charge) than the going rate of 60 stuivers. The employee ended up being charged f1.60 instead of f1.20. The Company considered it a service charge. His account was debited because from the company’s point of view, he was paying to the company what the company owed him. The company rightly owed him money. After his contract was over and he repatriated, the company would accredit him the balance of his account.

What the company actually did, was to let a person spend in Asia as if he were in the Netherlands, not taking any exchange rate into account until after the transaction. This unfairness was not left unprotested, but all efforts to have it corrected were in vain. It was not changed and the company pocketed the difference which was shown in the profit and loss statement in the books, albeit with dubious results.

No single employee of the company was paid immediately in full in the eastern offices after completion of his contract. His records first had to be verified and approved by the paymaster/bookkeeper in the Netherlands of

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59 As van Dam points out, the difference of an employee’s payment in Asia and the Netherlands was 25%. F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 3: 227. De Haan confirms that and also explains like van Dam the sorry situation for all the soldiers and sailors with small salaries and who were left with very little to exist on. Oud Batavia, vol 1: 211

60 It is the same principle that Mansvelt explained in the case of the personal account of the Participants. W.M.F. Mansvelt, Rechtsvorm: 75


62 W.M.F. Mansvelt, Rechtsvorm: 13
the Chamber under which he had sailed out. It could take two years before he received his final settlement if he was not repatriating. It was a way in which the company kept a hold on its servants.

The number of employees in service at any one time is impossible to account for exactly, but Gaastra indicated that the *generale monsterrol* (payroll) was instituted in 1680 and sent to the Netherlands which made a more accurate estimation possible. In the 18th century the Company counted roughly 20,000 employees excluding slaves, indigenous military, labor, and hires on a daily basis, employees in transit on the fleets and in inter-Asiatic voyages. For these last two categories Gaastra added figures of another 10,000 more or less, thus totalling 30,000 Company servants.

Since half the salaries were to be paid in textiles, the above figures underline the magnitude of the amount of textiles that would have been brought into circulation by employees of the Company. However, nothing is more striking than the figures and by implication the sales of textiles, published by de Korte in his Appendix 11A summarizing the costs of salaries in Asia from 1613 to 1790:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monthly payments, Indonesian personnel</td>
<td>f 24,362,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General salaries on land</td>
<td>217,524,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General salaries on the ships</td>
<td>21,612,442</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63 The paymaster's office gradually expanded and reached in 1700 in Batavia 56 persons at least. At the end of the financial year extra people were hired. F.W. Stapel ed., *Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge*, vol 3: 186-91. The paymaster's office integrated the payrolls with the VOC outlying offices. VOC 1622, (1700): 9 Ternate sent some payrolls, protected and sewn up inside gunny to Batavia. According to Mansvelt, the paymaster's office in Batavia was the office that cooperated closest with its counterpart in the Netherlands. W.M.F. Mansvelt, *Rechtsvorm*: 93, ftn 2

64 F.W. Stapel ed., *Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge*, vol 1, part 1: 708


66 J.P. de Korte, *Jaarlijkse Financiële Verantwoording in de VOC*: Bijlage 11A. G.C. Klerk de Reus, *Ueberblick: Beilage V*, see ftn c., also lists monthly payments from 1640 to 1798 paid in the Netherlands with a few gaps in the data. Since salaries paid in The Netherlands were not subject to the "half textile, half cash" rule it is of no concern for the effect it had on the textile consumption in Asia.
Would there be any doubt that the company was its own best customer in the sales of textiles? Is it possible to make an estimate of the number of pieces of textiles involved based on the figures presented here by de Korte? There is no reason to doubt that half of the salaries were indeed "sold" in textiles, in the sense that the company added from 50-75% profit on these textiles before charging the employee's account with them.\textsuperscript{67} Indonesian military men were often paid in cash, so we will disregard their payments. The sailors, soldiers and other crew were usually paid when they berthed.

The sum of the salaries for personnel on land and ship is £239,137,347. Twenty five percent needs to be deducted for the exchange rate and the four stuivers that the company charged as mentioned above. That leaves £179,353,010 for the combined salaries. Assuming that indeed half was paid in cash and half in textiles and the latter charged with a profit of 50-75% of the buying price, half or £89,676,505 should be reduced by 38.34% i.e. taking the median of the 50-75%. Reducing the half part of the salaries by 38.34% (equals £34,381,972), left £55,294,533 worth of textiles minimally sold to company personnel.

Utilizing the information worked out earlier for the price of a bale of textiles where a distinction was made over time before and after around 1730, the account of accumulated salary expenses can also be divided into Period A (1613-1730) and Period B (1730-1790) and worked out in actual amounts:\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{67} F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 1, part 1: 638; vol 2, part 2: 348; vol 3: 227 where van Dam lists percentages of profit that are much higher for the payment in "... kleden, which are cotton cloths, necessary for clothing and other things, and on which the Company makes a profit of 60, 70, 80, 90 per hundred, one type more, another less, and which has been the custom since olden times..." H.T. Colenbrander ed., Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden, vol 2: 432

\textsuperscript{68} J.P. de Korte, Jaarlijkse Verantwoording: Bijlage 11A was used to work out the proportions. The amounts in the third column under 1730 are in congruence with the detailed breakdown of Bijlage 10. Figures for salary expenses were also checked with Klerk de Reus, Ueberblick, Beilage Xic and found to be almost identical. Finding the difference between the total salaries of 1790 and 1730 (bijlage 11A in de Korte, fourth and eleventh columns) equals £64,029, 207 which is 26.775% or 27% rounded off of the total £239,137,347 in 1790.
The earlier discussion on "What is a bale?" offers two ways to estimate the quantity of textiles that the company paid its employees: by bale or by piece of cloth. The shortest method, would be to divide the total amount of salary payments by the average price of one piece of textile. The measurements are crude tools, but useful in the absence of other gauges. The results for the average of the long and the short method for period A were 17,491,500 pieces of cloth and for Period B, 2,850,100 pieces. Translated in terms of annual expenditure for the Company, it paid out roughly at least 150,000 pieces of textiles during Period A, and 48,000 pieces during Period B. In addition to these figures should be considered the textiles bi­annually given to the slaves, the outfitting of ships with sails and curtains, of residences and entourage, the supplies to the medical teams and hospitals, the textiles used in wrapping and packaging, the gifts of textiles, etc. A low estimate is an additional 10,000 pieces annually for the instances just listed. Thus in conclusion it may be stated that the Company consumed for its own use an average of roughly 100,000 textiles annually. Comparing this figure with the import figures of Table 6 in Chapter 8 it shows that the Company's use of the Indian cloth comprised almost half of the Indonesian consumption. The company could not have built-in a better and larger guaranteed customer in the operation than its own employees. In the eyes of the people in the archipelago the employees of the Company must have appeared wealthy with cloth.

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69 The first method applied to period A gives 40,363,009 ÷ 300 (the price of one bale) x 140 (the number of pieces per bale) = 18,837,000 pieces of textiles. The second method gives 40,365,009 ÷ 2.5, the price of one textile = 16,146,000 pieces.

The first method applied to period B gives (14,929,524 ÷ 525, the price of one bale) x 105, the number of pieces per bale = 2,985,905 pieces of textiles. The second method gives 14,929,524 ÷ 5.5, the price of one textile = 2,714,459 pieces.

70 Period A comprises 117 years. The total number of textile pieces 17,491,500 ÷ 117 = 149,500. Period B comprises 60 years. The total number of textile pieces 2,850,100 ÷ 60 = 47,500.
The Distribution of Textiles:

An examination of the distribution shows that each variety of cloth has its own trajectory—indicating when they appear and disappear in the records—plotted in Appendix B which is based on the records examined for the archipelago, not the records found for the Indian production centers. Many textiles imported from Surat in the 17th century dropped out of the trade in the 18th century: alegia, atlasses, asmanis, chelas, chavonis, couteinis, doty, dragam, madafons, kamkani, negroscloth, sailcloth, semiano, taffachelas, turias, and tercandia; two new types of cloth, tokasse and golgasse, emerged; in Coromandel the brown-blue banary-sucorton (details unknown) and in Bengal the therindais surfaced.

Textiles that are typical for certain production areas and consistently sold in the archipelago, are the cassa, adati, armosin, geras, hamman, malmal, and sanas from Bengal; bafta, beiramee, chintz, cindai, karikam, kangan, and patola from Surat; and from Coromandel boulang, betille, chelas, blankets, chintz, dongris, committer, gingam, guinees, muri, parcalle, salempare and tapi.

In Appendix G, the print-out of a spreadsheet, the quantities of each type of cloth the Company had sold in the archipelago for the years that were researched, is recorded. The first column lists the textiles by regions of production. The second column presents a code for each textile—c (chintz), g (striped and check), l (luxury), m (muslin) and p (plain)—which best fits the criteria of the cluster. The next twelve columns display the year and quantity of the variety sold in the branch offices and Batavia.71 Excel 4.0 multiple range selections in the add mode of the worksheet totalled the clusters for all production areas. With the help of bar graph selections and editing features I created the series of charts found at the end of this chapter.

71 The manuscript for the 1756-7 bookkeeping became illegible and had to be stopped reading. The data collected were the import and the distribution of the Dutch textiles after which it was impossible to go on.
Patolu

People in Batavia bought the valued *patola* which were expensive cloths, but not extraordinarily dear compared to other luxury cloths.72 *Patola* had certainly been imported several centuries prior to Dutch involvement in the Indian textile trade.73 The *patolu* design and motifs had become important status markers to the nobility and the elite people in the archipelago.

There are at least two competing opinions on imported *patola*. One is that *patola*, as defined by contemporary scholars, was made of silk of which the warp and the weft threads were tie-dyed (double *ikat*) before the weaving to form designs and patterns that were characteristic of this *patola* cloth. With this interpretation, the essence of the *patola* was derived from its fibre and design.74 These cloths were imported throughout the VOC period from Surat. In 1617 *patola* was considered a priority cloth.75 However, in early Indonesian textile trade the name *patola* was applied also to cloths that were neither silk nor double *ikat* designed cloth, but made of cotton with printed designs, that is, decorations applied on finished cloth, as in batik technique. Gittinger, who has amongst many interests, researched the origin of Indonesian textile designs, reports that at the beginning of the sixteenth century Indian ships bringing trade goods to the southeast Asian mainland and to the Indonesian islands brought an abundance of *printed* Cambay (and Pulicat) cloth, both cotton and silk, that were called *patola*. Cambay was then the preeminent seaport of Gujarat, and Pulicat on the Coromandel coast

72 Appendix H, Luxury

73 A. Bühler, "Patola Influences in Southeast Asia" in JITH, vol 4: 5

74 The most comprehensive definition of a *patola* has been given by Alfred Bühler and Eberhard Fischer, The *Patola* of Gujarat, vol 1: 1-13; Om Prakash, Dutch Factories: 21; Robyn Maxwell, Textiles of Southeast Asia: 25

75 Om Prakash, Dutch Factories: 22. It was stated in an order to Surat that priority should be given to buying "white and black coarse *bafta*, coarse *cannekins*, *patolas*, and *poulopedys* (used for making sailcloth)."
was famous for its mordant-painted and dyed cottons, not ikat.\textsuperscript{76}

In this second definition of \textit{patola}, its essence is neither silk or ikat; it was based on its mottled or speckled appearance, irrespective of material or technique of decoration. The "spotted or many-colored" appearance of a cloth was also the meaning for chintz and was referred to as \textit{cindai} or \textit{cinde}. The question of the difference between a \textit{cindai} and a \textit{patolu} I have documented in Appendix A, under the textile type \textit{cindai}.\textsuperscript{77} It is true that \textit{cindai} and \textit{patola} sometimes were used indiscriminately in the early Dutch trade; the \textit{patola} only later became exclusively associated with the Gujerati double ikat silks.

The sales figures of Batavia also seem to confirm the wider definition of \textit{patolu} that includes the chintz. It is striking, however, that a cloth like the \textit{patolu}, that has had so much influence on the design and patterning of Indonesian textile production, was traded in relatively small quantities. If the silk double ikat \textit{patola} from Gujarat had been such an important cloth it would have shown up in the sales figures. I therefore believe that the \textit{patolu} influence is derived from its designs, patterns, and colors that were typical of \textit{patola}, not from the material and technique and that the painted chintz cottons that came from Surat and the Coromandel coast, especially those from Pulicat, had a larger bearing on the Indonesian textile designs. It appears that the \textit{tapi cindai} of which 45,653 pieces were sold in 1652, was a "patolu" \textit{tapi}. In 1703 another 38,430 were sold in Batavia, but in 1723-5 only 540 during those two years. No more \textit{tapi cindai} are mentioned in the sources after that. Had they successfully been imitated by the Javanese batik makers? Could the \textit{tapi cindai} be related to the "sarongs with gaudy patterns" mentioned in 11th century sources (Chapter 1) and be a \textit{patolu} pattern which would help explain the significance of these designs and motifs in local cloth

\textsuperscript{76} M. Gittinger, \textit{Cindai: Pengembaraan Kain Pattola India}: 55

\textsuperscript{77} My conclusive statement on the \textit{patolu} and \textit{cindai} in Appendix A was reached independently from Gittinger's statement which I encountered later. Both research results seem to agree that the term \textit{patolu} referred to the design and multicolored aspect of the cloth, not to the technique or the material.
production? If the tapi cindai figures are compared with the sales of the silk and cotton patola, one is struck by the comparative small quantity of the latter. Looking under the Batavia-Surat sales, cotton patola reached its highest sales figures in 1757-9. The average sale for those years was 14,300 pieces, but much fewer before or after. The sales figures for the silk patola were even lower. The highest on record was in the early part of the 18th century when approximately 10,000 pieces at f7.50 per piece were sold. Looking at the sales figures for silk patola in Batavia over time they do not stand out as much as the tapi cindai and the tapi sarassa. Much more research is possible by examining the primary source materials.

**Batavia**

Batavia sold by far the largest selection and also largest variety of textiles. Most striking are the sales of twenty-eight varieties of Coromandel chintz on the first page of Appendix G. More chintz was sold in 1652 and 1703-5 than any other type of cloth, but the sales of chintz drastically declined to 28% of the level of former years in 1723-5 after which it tapered off to a few thousand annually and only 365 pieces in 1780. Sales in 1704 of about 50,000 chintz tapi demands attention. More than 60,000 tapis had been sold in 1652 of which 45,653 tapi cindai. In 1703 there still is a large sale of 38,430 tapi cindai and a same amount of gobars. A year later many more varieties of tapis appeared on the market doubtlessly due to changes in patterns and designs that the batik in Java had introduced in the latter part of the 17th century. The Dutch had these copied. This issue is further addressed in Chapter 10. The details of the change are not known because it would take much research to look for the specifics about such changes. After 1723-5 chintz almost disappeared from the sales in Batavia (see row Total (C) Batavia-Coromandel in Appendix G). A graphic representation of the sales of

78 Appendix E, List A, Table II.

79 Appendix E, List A, Table I; Appendix G, Textile Sales in Batavia.
chintz compared to that of non-chintz cloths in Batavia is found on page 355. The increase of chintz cloth seen at the end of the 1750s is not chintz from Coromandel, but from Surat. It would be necessary to look at the archives for Surat and Batavia to find out what this indicates, but those are not available here and no published study exists about the textile trade of the VOC during that period in Surat. The evidence is clear in this graph that the import and sale of textiles that were not chintz to Batavia, where most chintz was sold, is larger than chintz items. The graph is substantiated by the figures in Appendix G.

The quantities of chintz in 1652 amount to 79,336 pieces or 48% of the total sales, 64,851 plain, 17,369 muslin, 3,755 checked and striped, and 320 pieces luxury cloth from Coromandel. The sales of Bengal and Surat cloth comprise only 33% of the quantity of Coromandel cloth sold in 1652.

Considering the population of Batavia to have been less than 27,000 people in 1652,80 most of the almost 200,000 pieces of cloth that were sold that year were exported to surrounding areas or taken into the hinterland of Batavia. Evidence in the Batavia Dagh-registers show the textiles to be exported from Batavia to many coastal towns along the coast east of Batavia.81 Coromandel did not supply people with luxury cloth. In Batavia people bought luxury muslins that were imported from Bengal.

The Eastern Provinces

The VOC labelled the eastern provinces the region of Indonesia beyond Bali. The branch offices Makassar, Ternate, Banda, Ambon, and Timor were nodes in a distributive network of goods and communication. For example, a

80 M.C. Ricklefs, War, Culture and Economy in Java 1677-1726: 15. The population of Java as a whole was estimated to be no more than three million in around 1650, Ibid: 5.

81 J.A. Chijs ed., Batavia Dagh-register has at the end of each month a listing of the vessels that had arrived and left Batavia. It gave the contents of the cargo in value and quantity. Gabriel Rantoandro, "Commerce et Navigation dans les Mers de l’Insulinde d’après les Dagh-Register de Batavia (1624-1682)," Archipel 35: 61
regulation dated November 21, 1768 sent to all eastern branch offices stipulated that free traders from Banda were to be given passes for a journey between Banda and one other branch office without further detour. The VOC viewed the region as an economic unit where prices of textiles should be kept in equilibrium. In 1733 Makassar wanted to raise the prices of cloth but it was refused by the Council in Batavia to prevent traders from other eastern provinces to take advantage of it. Prices were not the same in the eastern provinces, measures were taken to protect each branch from unbalanced trade conditions.

Free traders sometimes took advantage of low prices of textiles in one branch office causing the sales in the trader's home branch to drop. Governors who saw their sales drop in an unbalanced price market corresponded to Batavia their grievances. Batavia immediately would send letters with new regulations to the other branch offices to protect the market for the disadvantaged province. There was no sense of a common market for textiles. The branches of the eastern provinces were departmentalized in the eyes of the Governor-General and Council in Batavia.

Governor Fockens (1764-67) in Ambon was an exception to this parochial thinking. The prices of Indian textiles in Ambon were very high during his governorship. According to a resolution of August, 1753, traders were not allowed to buy cloth more cheaply in Banda, Ternate and Makassar and take it to Ambon to sell. It would be confiscated, even if it was bought from the Company. Fockens totally disagreed with this point of view and opined that the traders should be allowed to buy the cloth wherever it was cheapest and make a profit. He defended his viewpoint by pointing out that the Company is the loser in two ways. First the Company misses the sales in the branch office where it is cheaper, and secondly it loses the income from the export and import duties of the textiles at both ends of the journey.

82 Realia, vol 2 (1768): 274
83 W.Ph. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 9 (1729): 20
84 Ibid: 468
Fockens was a promoter of a free trade system. By allowing the traders to buy cloth in a branch where cloth was cheaper and bring it to another province, the commerce of the Company would flourish and not decline, he argued. He also questioned the rights of the Company to force the Ambonese to buy cloth from the Company at high prices—cloth being a necessity for daily living; it was not being locked up in chests or closets according to him but worn on the body. Did the Company have the right to make such high profits from the local Ambonese and prohibit others to come to trade with them? He referred here to the 1753 resolution.85

When the sales of Indian textiles from all the branches in the eastern provinces are tallied for any one year, they add up to only 30 to 50% of the quantity of textiles sold in Batavia.

It was noted above that chintz was very significant to the Javanese. That was not the case for the eastern provinces.86 The graphs at the end of this chapter clearly indicate that plain cloths, possibly with a minimum of decoration, were preferred. There are two exceptions: Makassar in 1757-9 and Banda in 1770-1 show higher than usual sales of chintz. The reasons for such manifestations are not clear.

It can be observed that muslins were important textile types in Makassar and to a lesser degree in Ternate. In Banda and Ambon muslin is practically absent in the 18th century. It was, however, part of textile purchases in the 17th century. Whereas checked and striped cloths are practically absent in the sales to the Makassarese and Timorese, they are always in demand in Maluku. An explanation for these fluctuations in the clusters is not available in published sources, but it is tempting to relate the fluctuations in the clusters to fashions—not in the way of cut clothing, but a particular stripe, check or color change? Research of this type has never been

85 VOC 3208 (1768): 457-8
86 J.A. van der Chijs, Batavia Dagh-register, May 14, (1644): 304
Western Indonesia

The VOC itself did not delineate a territory called the western provinces as they did for the eastern provinces. For the convenience of discussing the textile clusters in Sumatra and Java these branch offices were grouped together. It is realized that this arrangement does not do justice to the idiosyncratic nature of the cluster variations in these regions. There is no uniform pattern, but striking is the high quantities of chintz sold in Palembang in 1723-5. From Coromandel came 1,620 pieces tapi diverse new type which indicates a change in dress, but it is not clear what is referred to and 900 tapi telpecan which have gold decoration. A year earlier 2,040 tapi sabagay and 400 committers from Coromandel were imported. During the same years 2,280 pieces of chintz from Surat were sold (see figures in Appendix G, Textile Sales in Palembang), the average of two years 1723-5 totalling almost 4,000 pieces of chintz (second column of graph, page at the end of this chapter). Sales in Surat silk patola were very high in the early part of the 18th century. For four years between 1703 and 1725 alone 3,520 pieces were sold. In Batavia for the same years it amounted to 18,481 pieces. No other period witnessed the distribution of so many Surat silk patola.

Compared to the eastern provinces Palembang bought very little plain cloth. Besides chintz it seemed to have been attracted to striped or checked cloth. Small sales were recorded for Jambi in the 18th century, but in the middle of the 17th century the people had a selection from 28 varieties and 33,000 pieces of cloth were sold.

Some of the graphs at the end of this chapter do not reflect the sale of textiles for every year researched, which means there was enough cloth in

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87 Chances of finding satisfactory answers soon in the VOC archives are not very high. To explain the fluctuations in quantities thorough research needs to be done in the archives of each branch office. There are no published historical sources that could answer questions pertaining to socio-economic conditions in the 18th century—a dark age in Indonesia’s history in many ways.
stock and no shipment was necessary. In Palembang the Company stopped selling cloth because the profits were too small. The preference of the people on the west coast of Sumatra was plain cloths, not chintz. For example, in 1758-9, 51,070 pieces bafta with a gold kepala were sold. The average sales for the years 1757-9 was close to 90,000 pieces consisting mostly of plain and checked and striped wear, some muslin and luxury cloth. This is in great contrast to Banten which sold predominantly chintz during the same years. On the Java north coast the textile sales were relatively small. The highest sales were in 1757-9 of close to 20,000 pieces. It may be assumed that special cloth was bought in Batavia and taken to the coastal towns from where it was distributed inland. Moreover, east Java had increased its own production and was exporting cloth to other islands in the archipelago, thus there was no longer much need for Company cloth.

**Distribution to Japan**

Every year throughout the VOC period Indian cloths were exported from Batavia to Japan. The varieties of textiles can viewed in Table 13 on page 360. Notable is the absence of textiles from Surat. Because the Company carried very few textiles from Surat to Japan they were listed in the last column under OTHER. The most popular cloths from India came from Bengal. The VOC imported Japanese silver and copper to Bengal and returned raw silk and textiles. Tens of thousands of pieces of cloth from the Bengal factories were shipped via Batavia each year. For the quantities involved for 33 years that shipments were recorded in the *Batavia Negotie Journaal*, see page 361 after Table 13.

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88 Realia, vol 3 (1743) 15

89 Barbara Watson Andaya, "The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang" in Indonesia, no 48: 33

90 VOC Batavia Negotie Grootboek: 10396 (1653); VOC Batavia Negotie Journaal: 11832 (1700), 11833 (1702), 11834 (1703), 11835 (1704), 11836 (1705), 11837 (1707), 11838 (1714), 11839 (1721), 11840 (1722), 11841 (1723) 11842 (1730), 11844 (1732), 11846 (1733), 11847
### NETHERLANDS

Types of Textiles

- Baayen
- Berakanen
- Bombaslinen
- Bouratten
- Carsayen
- Croonrassen
- Felpen
- Grijnen
- Heersayen
- Hollandse Satijnen
- Imperialen
- Laken
- Lakenrassen
- Mhoiren
- Perpetuanen
- Sayen
- Sergies

N.B. No Dutch Textiles shipments in 1702 and 1703.

### COROMANDEL

Types of Textiles

- Bleached Baftas
- Blue Baftas
- Bethilles
- Bethilles Allegias
- Chelass
- Chivonijis (bleached)
- Chitzen (printed)
- Chitzen (gilded)
- Committers
- Dongrijs
- Gingam
- Gingam D'Herries
- Gingam Taffachelas
- Gingam Penasse
- Gingam Sestines
- Gingam Taffachelas
- Guinees Lijwaet: (ordinary bleached)
- Guinees Lijwaet: (brown-blue)
- Guinees Lijwaet: (fine bleached)
- Hammans
- Muster Textiles
- Parcallen: (fine bleached)
- Parcallen: (brown-blue)
- Parcallen: (fine bleached)
- Parcallen: (ordinary bleached)
- Restassen
- Salem Pouris: (bleached)
- Salempouris: (fine bleached)
- Sail Cloth

### BENGAL

Types of Textiles

- Alkatijven
- Allegias
- Armozijnen
- Charradarijs
- Dongrijs
- Gingam
- Gingam Plain
- Gingam Striped
- Gingam Penasse
- Gingam Serasse
- Gingam Checkered
- Guinees Lijwaet
- Gunies
- Hammans
- Muster Textiles
- Pina Cors

### OTHER

Types of Textiles

- Chitzen (S)
- Damast (Ch)
- Dekens (S)
- Charradarijs
- Dongrijs
- Garassen
- Gingam D'Herries
- Gingam Striped
- Gingam Penasse
- Gingam Serasse
- Gingam Checkered
- Guinees Lijwaet
- Gunies
- Hammans
- Muster Textiles
- Pina Cors

N.B. No Dutch Textiles shipments in 1702 and 1703.

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**Number of years and types of textiles imported to Japan**

*by the VOC in 1653 and between 1700-1781 (32 years sampled)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Textiles</th>
<th>NETHERLANDS</th>
<th>COROMANDEL</th>
<th>BENGAL</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Baayen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1. Alkatijven</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Berakanen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2. Allegias</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bombaslinen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3. Armozijnen</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bouratten</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4. Chitzen</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Carsayen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5. Charradarijs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Croonrassen</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6. Dongrijs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Felpen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7. Garassen</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Grijnen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8. Gingam D'Herries</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Laken</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12. Gingam Penasse</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Perpetuanen</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15. Guinees Lijwaet</td>
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<td>17. Ras de Marocco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17. Hammans</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>20. Stametten</td>
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<td>20. Restassen</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(S) = Surat</td>
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<td>(Ch) = Chinese</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>NETHERLANDS</td>
<td>COROMANDEL</td>
<td>BENGAL</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Amount in guilders</td>
<td>No. of Textile pieces</td>
<td>Amount in guilders</td>
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<td>14,580</td>
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<td>31,720</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>2,400</td>
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<td>37,895</td>
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<td>278</td>
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<td>3,328</td>
<td>36,901</td>
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<td>45,599</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,520</td>
<td>29,967</td>
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<tr>
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<td>57,628</td>
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<td>351</td>
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<td>3,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>1781</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>30,212</td>
<td>2,610</td>
<td>31,903</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** | 9,532 | 1,137,981 | 164,175 | 174,122 | 383,933 | 3,322,496 | 27,526 | 274,295 | 585,166 | 6,108,894
The Dutch textiles which are listed in the first column of Table 13 were a very important commodity for the Company in its trade to Japan. To no other branch were so many ells of woollen cloth distributed. Behind the textiles that are listed a number indicates the shipments (out of the 33 years under analysis) that contained that particular variety. Thus it is easy to see that *laken, lakenrassen, croonrassen, perpetuanen, grijnen,* and *felpen* were the main types of cloth imported by Japan from the Netherlands via Batavia. In Coromandel the usual types for Southeast Asia are also important to Japan: *gingam, guinees, parcalle,* and *salempore.* Large numbers of *armosins, alegia, gingam, geras, salempore* and chintz, gunny, and silk cloths were also imported from Bengal.

Engelbert Kaempfer, who wrote *The History of Japan* and gave many details about the handicraft of the Japanese, did not record with the same fine precision his observations about textiles and their production in Japan. He gave glimpses of the importance of textiles to Japanese society and sparingly described how some classes of people were dressed.91

Silk was traditionally very important to the Japanese. Silkworms had been introduced from China very early, but the Dutch also shipped 33 cases of silkworms from Patani to Hirado in 1612.92 However the raw silk that the Company imported was of better quality than what Japan produced itself.93 In the Shoso-in, an 8th century repository, many examples of weft and warp silk brocades, silk gauzes, embroidered silks, stencil-dyed silks and painted silks are still found.94

Besides the silk and cloth import to Japan the Company also carried

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Javanese cotton thread. In 29 years out of the 33 years that were researched 138,000 pounds were imported at a value of £35,000. This is an average buying price of £0.25. To put this quantity in perspective the demand from the Netherlands for Javanese cotton in 1721 was 130,000 pounds.\footnote{Resolution Heren XVII (1719): 12, Sept.12}

It was observed that textile prices increased in Indonesia. The same is true for the Coromandel textiles for Japan. An average price from the shipment in 1653 was £5.68, but in the early years of the 18th century the average price of a Coromandel cloth to Japan is between £8.00 and £9.00. In mid-century the price increased to £10.00. The textiles from Bengal show a similar pattern: prices increase, but sales decrease which is demonstrated in the columns under Coromandel and Bengal.

The distribution of trade textiles by the VOC took place mainly through its own personnel. There was no larger built in customer than the Company's own employees. Ultimately these cloths were consumed by the people in the archipelago. The major impact of the large stock the Company kept was that it helped to keep the price for Indian textiles high. The Company could command those prices in the branch offices where the people were relying on the Company's provisions.

The graphs showing the clusters with the different varieties of cloth that were distributed indicated the wide disparity in taste of cloth. Whereas the chintz was very popular in the areas around the Java Sea, comparatively few chintz tapi were distributed to Maluku. Places more remote from Java seem to have had a preference for plainer cloth.
Textile Sales in Batavia by Clusters, 1652-1780

- Chintz
- Checked & Stripes
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

Pieces

Years

1652-3
1703-5
1723-5
1733-5
1757-9
1770-1
1780-1
Textile Sales in Ambon by Clusters, 1652-1780

- **Chintz**
- **Checked & Striped**
- **Luxury**
- **Muslin**
- **Plain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Chintz</th>
<th>Checked &amp; Striped</th>
<th>Luxury</th>
<th>Muslin</th>
<th>Plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1723-5</td>
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<td>1733-5</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757-9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Textile Sales in Banda by Clusters, 1652-1780

- Chintz
- Checked & Striped
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

Years:
- 1652-3
- 1703-5
- 1723-5
- 1733-5
- 1757-9
- 1770-1
- 1780-1

Sales Values:
- 8000
- 7000
- 6000
- 5000
- 4000
- 3000
- 2000
- 1000
- 0
Textile Sales in Ternate by Clusters, 1652-1780

- Chintz
- Checked & Striped
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1770-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Textile Sales in Makassar by Clusters, 1652-1780

- Chintz
- Checked & Stripes
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

Yearly Sales Distribution:
- 1652-3
- 1703-5
- 1723-5
- 1733-5
- 1757-9
- 1770-1
- 1780-1
Textile Sales in Timor Solor by Clusters, 1652-1780

- Chintz
- Checked & Striped
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

Yearly Sales:
- 1652-3: 5000
- 1703-5: 3000
- 1723-5: 2000
- 1733-5: 1000
- 1757-9: 1000
- 1770-1: 1000
- 1780-1: 1000
Textile Sales in Java North Coast, 1652-1780

![Bar chart showing textile sales by year and type: Chintz, Checked & Stripes, Luxury, Muslin, Plain.]
Textile Sales on the Sumatran West Coast by Clusters, 1652-1780

Chintz
Checked & Striped
Luxury
Muslin
Plain

1703-5
1723-5
1733-5
1757-9

Years

Pieces

0
10000
20000
30000
40000
50000
60000
70000
80000
90000
Textile Sales in Palembang by Clusters, 1652-1780

- 1703-5
- 1723-5
- 1733-5
- 1757-9
- 1770-1
- 1780-1

Legend:

- Chintz
- Checked & Striped
- Luxury
- Muslin
- Plain

Pie chart showing the distribution of textile sales by cluster from 1652 to 1780.
Textile Sales in Jambi by Clusters, 1652-1780

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Chintz</th>
<th>Checked &amp; Stripes</th>
<th>Luxury</th>
<th>Muslin</th>
<th>Plain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1652-3</td>
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CHAPTER 10

THE POWER OF CLOTH: THE BATIK REVIVAL

Introduction

It is impossible to obtain a thorough understanding of the VOC cloth trade within the scope of a four year project. The trade of the Company is from an economic viewpoint a very complex enterprise. To explain the major issue of the decline of the Company's trade in general—not in particular the textile trade—has been attempted by many historians, but no satisfactory answers have been found. Gaastra explains the diminishing profits from the inter-Asiatic trade as a major factor that drained large sums of metals from the Netherlands to Asia. He adds to this important factor the weakness of managing the Company by the directorate, shortcomings in the bookkeeping, corruption and bad management of affairs in Asia, increasing costs to maintain the corporation, defective financing, and the Fourth English-Dutch war. All of these factors are indisputably valid and the accumulative effect attributed to the decline of the VOC if viewed from a European historical perspective.1

Steur disagrees with Gaastra in some ways by giving emphasis to the very high costs of maintaining an institution like the VOC with most branches constantly operating on a deficit.2 Klerk de Reus contributes the decline to the continual maintenance of the monopoly, the untrustworthiness of employees who were terribly corrupt and the increased competition of the English Company. Colenbrander's ethnocentric viewpoint attributes a decline to the awkward bookkeeping and payments of unaccountable and irresponsible dividends. Fasseur and Lequin offer variations on the same themes. Steur makes a point that in evaluating the Company's operation one should make a distinction between the way the VOC thought and acted in

1 F. Gaastra, "De VOC in Azië, 1680-1795" in Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, vol 9: 464
2 J.J. Steur, Herstel van Ondergang: 28-9
the Netherlands and in Asia.\textsuperscript{3} In my view the correspondence between Batavia and the Netherlands reflects a process of action and reaction. The management in Asia was caught between an Asian way of doing business and Dutch commercial dealings ordered by the directorate in the Netherlands. Batavia management usually handled correspondence diplomatically while it kept a parallel interest in the operations in Asia which included the "excessive" private trade by the employees: a mechanism to survive in the Asian environment. That corruption of the employees and the private trade caused the decline of the Company's trade is unlikely because those offenses, continually complained about in letters from the Netherlands, occurred from the earliest beginnings throughout the VOC period. When a Council member in 1630 was reprimanded by the Governor-General over his private trading activities, he answered that he did not come to the Indies to eat hay\textit{(in India niett was gecomomen om hoij te eeten)}.\textsuperscript{4} The upper echelon in Batavia was very much ingrained into an Asian way of living, as made clear in Taylor's \textit{The Social World of Batavia}. Eventually the Indonesian people reacted to the foreign competition and dominance, especially the oppressive commercial policy of the Dutch in a silent war: import substitution.

Some VOC officials in the mid-18th century were enlightened and understood that the Company was heading towards its downfall. Governors Van Imhoff (1743-50) and Van der Parra (1761-75) both attempted to change the Company's tack.\textsuperscript{5} On a lower level Governor Fockens had pertinent ideas about what would be good for the Company in the archipelago, as discussed in Chapter 8. He wanted to throw the trade in his Ambon province open to free traders and argued that the Company would benefit from it. This was supported by Governor-General Mossel, who wanted to streamline the Company's operations into a modern business enterprise.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid: 36

\textsuperscript{4} Anthony van Diemen, "Letter 1630" in Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap: 82

\textsuperscript{5} Realia, vol 3 (1743-6): 23 Both Governor-Generals opened trade to free traders in many products that were previously monopolized.
However Governor-General van der Parra, born and raised in Asia, thought more along the lines of Fockens. Thus the wind was beginning to blow from a different direction, but the demise of the textile trade had gone too far to recuperate.

Having analyzed the VOC trade from Asia to Europe, Glamann pointed out:

Historians have in too high a degree fastened on the provision in the octrois for trade west of the Cape of Good Hope and on the great profits on spices, but have overlooked that also on markets where there were few competitors price competition and other forms of competition might break out, just as it has been forgotten that spices did not dominate the export from Asia and that gross profits were one thing and net profits something else.⁶

Glamann continues to refer to other products that had an impact on the markets, namely silks, textiles, indigo, but he references these products like most European historians do, to the territories of the European economic markets, not being familiar with Asian markets. Arasaratnam has through his many writings shown the strength of the Indian traders who competed with the VOC and other Europeans wherever possible. In this chapter I want to point to the Indonesian competitive forces opposing the Dutch monopoly, in particular the trade in cloth.

Both the Dutch and the Javanese state interfered with the longstanding Indonesian textile production, each according to its strategic interests. In describing these two contrasting strategies, it becomes clear that Java was following a calculated retrenchment policy on the trade activities of the north coast, in contrast to the Dutch policy of trade suppression to destroy or at least weaken competitors in Batavia, Banten, Makassar, and Sumatra. In this interplay of Javanese retrenchment and Dutch suppression, the surplus production of cloth and the popularization of batik developed into a major political and economic battleground involving all parties—the Indonesians

⁶ K. Glamann, Dutch Asiatic Trade: 262. Emphasis was added.
actively promoting the trend as a weapon, the Dutch opposing it as a threat. What follows is an account of (1) how the pattern of war and politics between Java and Batavia involved the issue of the import of Indian cloth; (2) how Company suppression of local trade in Banten, Makassar, and Sumatra contributed to the revival of local productive capacities; and (3) how batik-making—and the commercialization of batik cloth as an imitation of and import-substitute for Indian chintz—came to epitomize an organized campaign by Java to fight the Dutch monopoly in textiles.

Dutch Suppression Policy: Makassar, Sumatra, and Banten

In Chapters 1, 2 and 3 it was shown that Indonesian women had a long history of cloth production and trade. The Dutch ignored the existing Indonesian cloth trade that went both eastward to the islands that produced the spices and north to Melaka. Participation in buying and selling local cloth did not satisfy the Dutch profitability equation. Profit on the Indian cloth was double that on local cloth.

At the height of the pepper and spice trade the VOC severely curbed the commercial activities of the trading communities in the archipelago: Banda, 1624; Melaka, 1641; Ambon 1655; Makassar, 1669; Aceh, 1668; the Java north coast, 1678; Ternate, 1680; and lastly Banten, 1682. These commercial blows tended to shift these societies towards a mere subsistence pattern, at least for a period immediately after the VOC pressed trading restrictions upon them.

The commercial downturn did not last. It was not mandatory to buy imported Indian cloth. The cloth was attractive as long as it was reasonably priced. However, the ingredients for cloth making were all available, as shown in Chapter 1 and 2. As prices of the Indian import-cloth rose, a growing number of women reverted to weaving, dyeing and decorating their own cloth. Their production expanded as local trade picked up. The Dutch often complained about the increase of the Sulawesi trade because it affected

Also in Makassar people started to weave more than before.\footnote{W.Ph. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1671): 756; vol 4 (1676): 139, (1678): 246, (1679): 336} At the height of its commerce in the middle of the 17th century traders in Makassar sailed with Indian cloth to Timor, Flores, Solor, Tanimbar, Alor, Sumbawa, Buton, Tambuku, Banggai, Ceram, Tawi-Tawi, Sibutu, Macao, Manila, Cebu, Cambodia, Patani, the Java north coast, Johore, Melaka, Aceh, Banjermasin, Brunei and the north-west coast of Sulawesi from Menado to Mandar. The wealth of Makassar rulers was demonstrated in a list of the treasure cloths that were reclaimed after the war (Appendix D). The Indian cloth was imported from India by the Portuguese, English and Danish or obtained by intermediary traders in places on the way from India to Makassar from where it was distributed to the eastern provinces and Manila. The tribute-cloth to the royal families from Selayer, an island southeast of Makassar, was annually traded in Kutai and Pasir, east Borneo. Selayer cloth of different types (white, white- and blue-striped, gabar, marbyssang) was shipped to Banjermasin, west Flores, Tanimbar, Alor, Sukadana, and Ceram. Woven cloth from Sumbawa was traded to Manila, and also to Kutei and Pasir; Madurese cloth to Manila; red cotton thread to Cambodia and, curiously, a cloth called sarassa jumpandang, described as a painted and dyed cloth, to Manila. Bali also used to export large quantities of coarse cotton thread and multi-colored woven cloths to Makassar, but had stopped doing so by the 1660s.\footnote{J. Noorduyn, "De handelsrelaties van het Makassaarse rijk volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670": 103-16}

When the Dutch occupied Makassar, Batavia’s largest competitor, they thought to take over this lucrative trade. They expelled all foreign traders in order to take over their trade. That proved to be a grave tactical error because it crippled Makassar’s rich international trade, which was tied to the
resident foreigners. For example, one Portuguese trader had always supplied Indian cloths he bought in Makassar for Manila. The value of the cargo was about 100,000 reals-of-eight or £300,000. When he died, a Makassarese and an Indian Muslim took over this route. After Makassar came under Dutch control, in 1670 Manila initiated a new route directly linking Madras and Manila, cutting out Makassar. The new trade route was serviced first by Indo-Portuguese merchants from Madras and San Thome and later by Coromandel Hindu and Muslim merchants to whom the English also entrusted their cargo of cloths. This trade in Coromandel cloth and Manila silver grew by the latter quarter of the 17th century to more than one million guilders per year. The preparation of an order of such magnitude took time. Coromandel dyers (schilders) gave preference to the order for Manila as opposed to the order for the VOC in Batavia because the Manila traders paid better prices for the painted chintz.

Thus, as a consequence of their suppression policy, not only had the Dutch lost this Makassar trade, but now they had to witness an increasingly lucrative trade to Manila carried out by their competitors in Coromandel. From 1670 onward the Makassar trade was reduced to the size the Dutch allowed the royal families to maintain. Under the auspices of the Company's pass system other traders were allowed to trade, but were severely restricted in the products they could carry. The whole 1667-9 warring episode had depressed Makassar's affluent society, impoverishing both royal families and their subjects. The Company allowed Makassar based Asian merchants to trade with Bali, Java's north coast, Batavia, Banten, Palembang, Jambi, Johor, Aceh, Malaka, Borneo and Patani. With more restricted commercial opportunities the Makassarese no longer received large quantities of Indian cloth, and lacked the money to buy the cloth from the Company which was

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10 Ibid: 106-7

11 S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce: 129, 154

12 Ibid: 208

13 J. Noorduyn, "Handelsrelaties Makassaarse rijk": 110
more expensive than that obtained from free traders. Thus people started to rely more on the increase of their own productivity for both local consumption and for trade.

One is not surprised to find that increased cotton growing and weaving began to be mentioned in Dutch reports as early as 1676, and remarks to that effect were repeated almost yearly. In 1678, for example, it was noticed that "the earlier weaving of wide striped and coarse cloth was beginning to be taken up again diligently" in Makassar. The Dutch even contracted for £6,000 worth of cloths with the Makassarese to mix these textiles with their own coarse textiles and sell them in Passir. They correlated the increased weaving, in part correctly, to the diminished buying capacity of the people. The increase in weaving was an affirmation of the Indonesians' productive capacity, the power inherent in their women to produce cloth for their own consumption and for the market.

It goes without saying that if the people in Makassar and subject areas suffered economically under Dutch trade restriction, then they would search for trade opportunities outside Dutch control. The need for Indian cloth cheaper than what the Company sold in Castle Rotterdam sent the Bugis and Malay traders from Makassar to Johore. What the Dutch considered "smuggling," that is, trading in goods or to places that were not permitted, by the VOC, or sailing without a pass, became a common way of trade for the indigenous traders. These traders knew that the Indian cloth brought by the Danes, Portuguese, English, Armenians and Muslims to Johore and other towns was cheaper than the Company cloth sold in Castle Rotterdam or in Batavia even though the Company had been lowering its prices.

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15 Ibid: vol 4 (1678): 246
16 Leonard Y. Andaya, The Kingdom of Johor, 1641-1728: 7, 119, 179, 312
Opposition to the Dutch grew to such an extent that the Bugis king forbade his subjects to go to the castle without his permission. And although the elite members of royal families had been used to buy Indian cloth in the Company shop, they stopped coming. The local policy was in the interest of the local traders such as the Buginese, who fanned out over the archipelago to trade and provide cloth, severely undermining the Company's sales.

In a description of the island Sulawesi in 1759 a Dutchmen called the Wajorese the largest traders and the wealthiest. He described their trade routes, which conform to the reports that Bappa Samma, the slave from Tegal captured by the Buginese, gave to the Dutch in Ambon a few years later.

The quality of the cloth from the Makassar regions has often been praised. The cotton was a superior type, the woven cloth strong; the women were the best weavers in the archipelago. Plain white cloth, striped and red checkered cloth mixed with blue were well known varieties. The checked cloth was worn as a sarong, the striped cloth as trousers. The import of the local woven cloth in Ambon was discussed in Chapter 8. True to the spirit of the Sulawesi traders the King of Gowa had already exclaimed early in the 17th century to the Dutch when they wanted to ban his trade from Melaka, Solor, Maluku, Ambon, and Banda "God has given the sea to share" (Godt heeft de zee gemeyn gegeven).

The increase of weaving in Sumatra was also noted in the earliest

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18 W.Ph. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol 8 (1726): 77


20 J.C.M. Radermacher, "Korte beschrijving": 212; Captain David Woodard, Narrative: 85, 103

21 W.M. Donselaar, "Aanteekeningen over het eiland Salijer" in Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap, vol 1: 302

22 H.T. Colenbrander, Leevensbeschrijving: 66
reports from western Sumatra in the 1650s.\textsuperscript{23} The Company thought the cotton growing harmful to the sale of the Indian cloths that were exchanged for Minangkabau pepper and gold. In the 1660s it tried to tell local leaders to diminish the cultivation of cotton in the coastal region between Painan and Indrapura, but the people objected.\textsuperscript{24} The increase of local weaving was attributed to an economic adjustment to the decreasing pepper sales.\textsuperscript{25}

It was a thorn in the side of the Dutch who did everything to stop the growing of cotton on the west coast of Sumatra.\textsuperscript{26} In 1671 the Dutch used a tactic to reduce the growing of cotton on the west coast by keeping the deliveries of cotton from the Padang regents stored in the warehouse without immediately compensating the rulers for them. Fifty bales brought down by the mountain people to the coast lay stored. The tardiness in paying the regents had stopped the people from bringing more down. This was another way by which the Dutch hoped to reduce the interest in growing cotton.\textsuperscript{27} Their campaign seemed to have had little success judging from the two regions Agam and Uma Puluh Kota, which were flourishing weaving villages in 1780.\textsuperscript{28}

The Dutch had become unpopular because of their unreasonable policies and demands. Members of the old royal Minangkabau family stretching over large areas in the interior of Sumatra demonstrated resistance to the Dutch in the late 1660s. One member of the royal family accused the

\textsuperscript{23} Hendrik Kroeskamp, De Westkust en Minangkabau: 48-9; Joel S. Kahn, "Mercantilism and the Emergence of Servile Labour in Colonial Indonesia" in J.S.Kahn & Joseph R. Llobera eds., The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies: 189;

\textsuperscript{24} Akira Oki, "A Note on the History of the Textile Industry in West Sumatra" in F. van Anrooij et al., Between People and Statistics: 148

\textsuperscript{25} H. Kroeskamp, "De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1668)", PhD dissertation: 43-51


\textsuperscript{27} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1671): 763

\textsuperscript{28} Akira Oki, "Note on the history of textile industry": 148
Dutch of ruining the celebrated Malay trade.\textsuperscript{29} Less than 20 years later Sultan Muhammad Syah of Indrapura defected from the Dutch side to the English.\textsuperscript{30}

Opposition towards the Dutch had been shown by the king of Makassar who forbade his subjects to buy cloth in the Company shop, and by some of the members of royal houses in Sumatra. More opposition had developed in the Sultanate of Banten, the Company's neighbor in Java.

The Sultan had cultivated good relations with rulers and orangkayas in other trade centers in the Malay world: Makassar, Jambi, Palembang, Johor, Malaka, and Aceh; in western Asia: in Persia and Arabia; and in particularly on the Coromandel coast through the Chulia merchants who traded in Banten's harbor; and with east Asia through the employ of Chinese agents who traded in Tonkin, Canton, Taiwan, Japan, and Manila.\textsuperscript{31} Between 1663 and 1675 Banten's Sultan sent off 35 ships.\textsuperscript{32} When a few vessels were shipwrecked the losses involved tens of thousands of rixdollars which implies that his trade was substantial. The Sultan also backed the religious-political campaign of Trunajaya, indicating an anti-Mataram and anti-Dutch stance. When Banten's influence became a threat to Dutch dominance, the latter attacked. The flourishing international trade of Banten came to an abrupt end in 1681 when under the tree in the pasar and using the drumbeat to call the people's attention, the syahbandar announced that all the pepper cultivated in Banten, Lampong, and Selibar had to be gathered for the Company and was not allowed to be traded to other places or privately sold in Banten. No Indian cloth or opium was allowed to be imported, bought or sold unless it had been supplied by the Company; the Company was the sole trader in

\textsuperscript{29} Jane Drakard, "A Kingdom of Words: Minangkabau Sovereignty in Sumatran History", PhD dissertation submitted to The Australian National University (1993): 81

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid: 167

\textsuperscript{31} J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Banten: A West Indonesian Port and Polity": 117-8

\textsuperscript{32} F. de Haan, Priangan, vol 1: 238 The Dutch complained that their sales were diminishing because of the flood of cloths that were distributed from Banten.
Banten. Muslims arriving with cargoes of cloths were sent back and all foreign traders had to leave. The suppression by the Dutch considerably reduced Banten’s trade. The Sultan’s fortunes declined, but surely the number of enemies vowing to destroy the Company must have gone up.

Monetization and Decreasing Textile Sales in Java

Was there a relationship between the decreasing textile sales of the Company and the process of monetization in Java?

During the 18th century most payments for the contingent and required products were in silver coins, making the *dubbeltjes* (f0.10) especially popular. The payments in silver money, the only product the Dutch could offer from Europe, hastened the process of monetization for Java. Nagtegaal refers to the primary function of Indian textiles as an *oppotmiddel* or a means of hoarding and relates this function to the monetization process. He correlates the decrease of the Company textile sales with the increase and substitution of coins as currency and concludes that the *dubbeltjes* started to function as an *oppotmiddel* in place of textiles. He also suggests that Indian textiles were subject to changes of fashion. This is the argument he uses to explain the Company’s declining sales in Java and Sulawesi. Nagtegaal

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33 J.K.J. de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 7 (1681): 365-6; 401

34 It is not the intention to continue a history on the conspiracies against the Dutch, but suffice it to mention that anti-Dutch movements continued to occur. In 1721 in Batavia town 10,000 members allegedly joined a movement that had as aim to kill all the Europeans and take over the Company Headquarters. The movement also had spread to the surrounding countryside expanding the membership to 17,000 throughout Java (even if the numbers are exaggerated, it implies at least a very large number). J.K.J. de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 9: VIII-XIV

35 Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*: 12, 182186-9

36 Ibid: 184 "in 1693 meenden GG en Raden dat de vraag in wezen irracioneel was geweest, een modeverschijnsel onder de Javaanse elite (in 1693 the Governor-General and Council concluded that the demand had actually been irrational, a fad among the Javanese elite)." A reassessment of the references indicated by Nagtegaal reveals that neither irrationality nor fashion were primary factor. The reasons given in his references indicated that the decrease in the sales of Indian textiles was a result of bad
dismisses the remarks made by the Company authorities that the decreasing textile sales were related to increased local weaving, impoverishment of the people, bad harvests, illegal trade, etc. He adds that the Javanese still conducted a lively trade—it was not dead as was believed—and the people's apparel had always been the products of their own weaving. Moreover, it would be difficult to prove that the people became poorer under monetization while the sales of opium, a non-essential article, increased during this period.

If the sales of the Company's textiles are compared with the sales of opium in north Java, the two statistics complement each other strikingly. While the textile sales of the Company decreased, opium sales increased. A small comparison also brings another facet to light. Comparing the average annual sales of opium with those of textiles before and after 1700, when the process of monetization seems to develop faster because of payments in cash for the contingents, a significant pattern of average expenditures emerges over two periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Opium</th>
<th>Textiles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1672-95</td>
<td>f 93,681</td>
<td>f 135,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-40</td>
<td>150,957</td>
<td>20,355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The textile sales dropped precipitously against the increase of the harvests of rice in Java, W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1684): 745; smuggling, local weaving and poverty in Makassar, vol 5 (1692): 525; and local weaving, no more wealth, poverty, only the rich could have afforded the textiles in Java (1693): 639. There was no indication that the Dutch themselves thought that the demand had been irrational or a fad. The figures demonstrating the quantities of the imported textiles and the stock of the textiles the Company held, belie that the import of Indian cloth was considered a fad or an irrationality of the Indonesian elite. The figures amounted to large numbers with which the Governor-General and Council in Batavia were very familiar. Surely, they would not invest substantial capital into something that was irrational or a fad. See Chapter 8 and Appendix G for the actual quantities.

37 Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 128, 181-2 The averages were taken from the two tables of, respectively, opium and textile sales in rixd. for Java's north coast between 1672 and 1740, using exactly the same years presented in Nagtegaal's tables. The amounts were multiplied by 3 to show the guilder equivalent, the unit used in this study.
opium sales, and the undeniable decline of the textile trade became a serious concern of the VOC. The combined amounts the north coast Javanese spent on these two commodities before 1700, namely £228,705, were considerably larger than after 1700 of £171,312; an annual difference of £57,393. This seems to indicate a decrease in economic buying power which could be due to impoverishment with the introduction of monetization after 1700. The former explanation might be as valid as *dubbeltjes* hoarding could be. Either option is speculative.

In Chapter 2 it was argued that Indian textiles were not primarily an *oppotmiddel*. They played a major role in life cycle events, having surplus social meanings that no money coins could ever possess or convey. Cloth cannot be equated with money except at the moment in the social life of a piece of cloth when it fulfills the function of being a currency.

Nagtegaal observed a massive increase in the amount of silver imported by the VOC in Batavia.\(^\text{38}\) However, the bulk of the increase was needed to pay for the increased textile export from India to Europe, the volume and value of which surpassed that destined for Indonesia in most years (see Chapter 8, Table 10). Consequently, most of the silver arriving in Batavia, did not circulate in the islands, but flowed out again to finance Indian purchases. The trend can be seen in the following table:

\(^{38}\) *Ibid*: 184-5 The *payement* paid not only the required deliveries in Java, but also in Ceylon and the Maluku.
The figures show clearly that while the metal exports increased, the cloth imports also rose. It goes without saying that many other tradegoods such as the spices, cotton yarn and indigo discussed earlier, were paid for in imported metal. During the last decade, the increase in textile import was substantially less in value proportionate to the increase in precious metal. The difference was explained by payments made for the large imports of tea and coffee during that period. After 1730 ships from the Netherlands went straight to China to buy the tea.

The table above also shows an escalation in the import of precious metal in the 1690s of approximately 50% compared to a decade earlier, followed by another increase of 50% in the years from 1700 to 1710, etc. Nagtegaal explains that the monetization started only after 1705 in Java.

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39 F.S. Gaastra, "Geld tegen Goederen" in BMGN, vol 91 (1976): 253, Table II. De uitvoer van edel metaal naar Azië door de VOC, naar inkoopprijs in de Republiek; K. Glamann, Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740: 143, Table 26, Sales of Cottons at Kamer Amsterdam, 1649/50-1733/34. The table continues until 1730 because Glamann's records end in 1734. The sum of two five-year totals were taken for the years indicated and doubled because Amsterdam received half of the imports, the other half being divided among the other chambers.

40 G.D. Winius and M.P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified: 17
which coincides with the beginning of the forced delivery system.\textsuperscript{41} The decrease in the sales of Indian cottons, however, started in Southeast Asia no later than in 1650.\textsuperscript{42} The sales in Batavia by the VOC started to drop drastically in 1673; earlier plunges in sales had also occurred—all predating and hence unexplainable by the increase in \textit{payement} and the monetization of Java.\textsuperscript{43} The average annual sales of Indian cloth in Batavia for eight years (1665-72) preceding 1673 were £136,280; the average for eight years (1673-80) after 1673 was half that, namely, £68,521. Thus, the chronology for substituting \textit{dubbeltjes as oppotmiddel} for cloth and the decline of cloth import cannot be correlated.

\textit{Mataram-Batavia Struggle Over Textile Imports in the 17th Century}

Although the agrarian State of Mataram did not stretch far in the 17th century, or embrace many subjects in the outer islands, the kingdom had a reputation far beyond Java. Mataram’s exemplary qualities had been perpetuated through the oral literature (such as \textit{panji} stories) about \textit{Jawa} at least since the 16th century.\textsuperscript{44} In the 17th century, Java’s influence was widely felt from Palembang and Jambi to Ternate, Mindanao and Sulu. Mataram had succeeded in achieving dominance over Madura and the seaports of east Java in 1625 and was seeking still further expansion and hegemony over Banten, while playing a diplomatic game with Dutch Batavia. It asked for the assistance of the Dutch to capture Banten in 1626, but the

\textsuperscript{41} Luc Nagtegaal, \textit{Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger}: 184

\textsuperscript{42} A. Reid, \textit{Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce}, vol 2: 28-9

\textsuperscript{43} Gabriel Rantoandro, "Commerce et Navigation dans les Mers de l’Insulinde d’après les \textit{Dagh-Register} de Batavia (1624-1682)" in Archipel 35, (1988): 61 The table shows sales from 1659 to 1681. A clear decline begins in 1673. The sales before 1659 might have been considerably higher, in which case the decrease would have started much earlier. The 1640s have often been mentioned as years with a flourishing trade in Batavia. J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 5 (1641): 250-1, (1644): 263-4, (1647): 282

\textsuperscript{44} A. Vickers, "From Bali to Lampung Via Pasisir": 16-7
Dutch refused, making Sultan Agung very angry.\textsuperscript{45}

The \textit{susuhunan} became even angrier when he failed in two attempts in 1628 and 1629 to seize Batavia. When the Dutch started to attack Melaka in 1641, the \textit{susuhunan} tried to save his State from the economic impasse that the occupation of Melaka by these foreigners would cause and called upon Palembang, Jambi, and Banjermasin for assistance. These kingdoms aligned themselves with Java against the Dutch. Johore and Makassar were also invited, but it turned out to be too late.\textsuperscript{46}

Java played a central role to scattered Indonesian kingdoms whose rulers took care to be on friendly terms with Sultan Agung in the \textit{kraton} at Mataram.\textsuperscript{47} In 1625 the king of Palembang sent seven elephants to Mataram as a gift.\textsuperscript{48} In Jambi the influence of Java was so strong that in 1642 the Jambi ruler wanted all the mountain people who were accustomed to wearing Malay-style clothing to dress in the Javanese fashion when they came to pay him their respects.\textsuperscript{49} Both Sumatran kingdoms and Banjermasin in Borneo regularly sent envoys to Sultan Agung and Javaneseness was appreciated,\textsuperscript{50} which caused the Dutch to become suspicious of them. Mataram considered Sukadana (Borneo) a vassal chiefdom.

The Malukas also were attracted to Java. Ambonese and Ternatan Muslims received religious instruction in Giri in northern Java; the Bandanese had appealed to Mataram and Banten for help in their plans to murder Coen.\textsuperscript{51} The Hituese in Ambon felt so much antipathy towards the Dutch that they preferred to sell their cloves for one quarter of the price to the

\textsuperscript{45} F.W. Stapel, \textit{Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië}, vol 3: 164. I refer to the ruler of Mataram as Sultan Agung although he did not take the title of Sultan until 1641.

\textsuperscript{46} B. Schrijeke, \textit{Indonesian Sociological Studies}: 61

\textsuperscript{47} L. Andaya, \textit{The Kingdom of Johore}: 86

\textsuperscript{48} J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 5 (1625): 104

\textsuperscript{49} B. Schrijeke, \textit{Sociological Studies}: 57

\textsuperscript{50} B. Watson Andaya, \textit{To Live as Brothers}: 66-7

Makassarese rather than offer them at the regular price to the Dutch. Such was the revulsion felt by all the Indonesian rulers, who shared grievances against the Dutch.

The State of Mataram, embodied in the ruler, Sultan Agung, began to boycott the trade of the Dutch which was aimed especially at the sales of the Indian textiles. In 1620 he ordered his people not to bring any rice to the Dutch in Batavia. He repeated the order in 1625 to his own people, and all others he could persuade, not to bring any rice, livestock, wood, or provisions to the Dutch in Batavia and to stop the traders from buying the Indian textiles from them. The people of Semarang who had provided the Company in Batavia with buffalos, cows, and wood for construction had been moved inland by the ruler of Mataram to prevent them from delivering more food and other items to the Dutch in exchange for cloth. The Dutch resented it and tried to regain the assurance of a supply of rice in 1624,

The regular import of rice from the coastal towns in Java is of such great importance with regards to the cloth trade that another embassy should be sent to Mataram to restore the import of rice. In early August the senior merchant Jan Vos, and following, was sent with letters and gifts to Karta via Demak . . .

Thirty years later Governor-General Maatsuyker wrote in the same terms as the directorate in the Netherlands, after the sales of cloth had been low, which he attributed to the import of much cloth by the Company and others,

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54 H.T. Colenbrander, and W.Ph. Coolhaas eds. Jan Pietersz Coen, Bescheiden, vol 1(1620): 569

55 J.K.J de Jonge, Opkomst. vol 5 (1625): 99, LXVII-LXVIII, CXV. This prohibition was strictly maintained from 1629 to 1635

56 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 5: LXVII
because the Sousouhounangh Mataram has prevented his subjects from coming to Batavia with rice and other provisions, which [people] used to trade here and [they] carried a multitude of cloths and cloth pieces with them which has completely ceased now.

The increase in local weaving started as a consequence of the State of Mataram wanting to stop the trade between its subjects and the Dutch. They saw the Dutch as an evil influence. The *Hikajat Bandjar* instructs the Javanese:

> I warn you earnestly no to let anyone dress like people from abroad, such as the Hollanders, the people from Keling [Coromandel coast], ....Let no-one follow any of the Malay dressing-customs. If foreign dressing-customs are followed this will unavoidably bring misery over the country where this is done; this means that much evil will arise...

The Javanese ruler also conscripted many people to work for him and initiated a rice monopoly which continued for over 50 years. Sultan Agung decreed that all tribute rice be delivered to his treasury in Japara and not to be sold to the Dutch, while the rulers of the north coast were to keep their harbors closed to the Dutch. The people were encouraged to grow cotton to increase the production on their farms and weave cloths. By encouraging people to wear Javanese dress, to grow cotton, and to stop the trade to Batavia, the Javanese State attempted to reduce the market for the Dutch and eventually squeeze them out of Batavia with this economic weapon, since military might had failed.

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59 L. Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*: 41-3, 78 where he points out how the Javanese State influenced the inter-regional trade which included cotton. It was also received as tribute payment.
60 B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*: 75
After the failed attacks in 1629, Sultan Agung sent a party of 14 Javanese to Batavia to announce that Mataram wanted peace. The Dutch sent envoys to find out if the proposal was serious. Their agents did not obtain an audience, the gifts were taken from them, and they were sent back to Batavia with the explanation that the emissaries had not been of a high enough status nor were the gifts of sufficient value. The countergifts of the deputies from the Javanese State to the Dutch consisted of only two pieces of Javanese woven cloth, which in themselves signalled an ominous message.

The sales of VOC Indian cloths suffered from the ensuing cold war in the early 1630s, but after 1636, when the susuhunan's harbors were reopened and until 1645, the Company experienced a boom in its cloth trade. The competition from the Javanese, who sailed seasonally to Melaka in a few hundred small craft, had in 1630 prompted the Directorate in the Netherlands to order the Batavia government to intercept the local shipping in the Java Sea and establish a monopoly on the Indian cloth trade, patterned after that in Maluku which had been in force since 1617. In 1636 a local vessel on its way to Jambi was overpowered which contained 39 baskets with cotton. During the same raid a Javanese vessel leaving Palembang to sail to Jambi was taken with 160 baskets of cotton and 170 Javanese cloths. In the Sunda Strait three Javanese tinangs were chased, but only one could be captured which also carried Javanese cloth. In the same year another 9 vessels were captured before Banten with as cargo: guinees, salem pore, kain gul ong, red betille, tapi sarasse, tapi cindai, small chintz and cannekins. It was remarkable that the cargoes of practically every vessel the Dutch captured contained Madura-woven cloths or baskets with cotton. The Dutch could not stop all

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61 Ibid, vol 5 (1631): 172-3
62 Ibid: (1637-47): 233, 238, 253, 263, 282
63 J.A. van der Chijs, Batavia Dagh-register, (1636): 84; (1657): 320, 340
64 Dagh-Register, Batavia, vol 3 (1636): 84, 165, 280 A total of 20 vessels were captured with hundreds of pieces of Madura cloths, one vessel carried 900 of them.
vessels because they were often too fast.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1632 Governor-General Hendrik Brouwer and Council wrote to the Directorate that it was impossible for them to implement the Directorate's request to impose a monopoly on the textile trade for Java, Borneo, Sambas, Sukadana and Banjermasin. They gave as a reason the commercial prowess of the Chinese and Javanese who traded out of Makassar, Gresik, Japara and Banten. It was the general opinion among the Dutch and some friendly local leaders that "the Javanese of Mataram would not want to buy cloth from us, if they can obtain it from others, because of the hate [they harbored] towards Batavia, especially after losing face in the two wars."\textsuperscript{66}

The animosity between the Dutch and the Mataram state was also demonstrated in the 50 Dutch prisoners of war that were held captive by Mataram as a result of the 1628-9 attacks on Batavia. Five of the prisoners escaped in 1635 and the thirty that survived their captivity were eventually returned by Sultan Amangkurat I (1647-77) after Sultan Agung died in 1646. The Dutch held Javanese dancers and musicians captive as a countermeasure. Mataram asked Jambi's ruler to mediate on behalf of the Javanese artists, but the Dutch refused to bargain with the mediators.\textsuperscript{67} The incident exacerbated the cold war, which was no longer confined to the political front. In the late 1630s Muslim religious forces started to exert influence on the populace. Religious teachers crisscrossing the countryside used Islamic teachings with the people as a weapon against the Dutch, who were unbelievers.\textsuperscript{68} The religious ferment was still being spread in the 1670s and found renewed

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid, (1632): 191-2

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, vol 5 (1632) 195, (1637): 233 Governor-General Brouwer's philosophy was that the powers of Banten and Mataram should be kept in check. The cold war with Mataram which aspired to become the absolute power in Java, could only be settled by a real war, he wrote. p. CXI-II.

\textsuperscript{67} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 2 (1640): 95

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, vol 5: CVIII, (1639): 241
vigor with the intrigues of Yang di Pertuan Raja Sakti in the 1680s. 69

During the years 1653-7 and 1660-3, Mataram again closed the north coast harbors to the Dutch, and the Javanese were prohibited from bringing rice and provisions to Batavia and from buying imported Indian textiles from the Dutch. The Company's textile sales in 1653 had been meager 70 and the Council did not think they would improve soon because the Mataram state encouraged the planting of cotton, not just to supply the local weavers for their own consumption, but for the purpose of producing and exporting Javanese cloths. 71 Jortan, Gresik, and Madura had early in the century been exporting local cloth as their main product. 72 Thus it is understandable that after the susuhunan had captured these places (1620-24) he would encourage the export to continue, for the income he could derive from it and as a countermeasure against his enemy. Javanese cotton cloths were traded by Malay traders as far as Manila in the 1650s. 73 The Javanese themselves traded their local cottons to places like Passir in east Borneo each year. 74

Hostilities toward the Dutch continued to be demonstrated by Mataram and other Javanese rulers. In 1668 Sultan Amangkurat I received in audience a Dutch embassy from the Governor-General. For the audience, the sultan was barely clad, with only poor Javanese cloth around his lower body, the Dutch ambassador reported, a sign of disregard for a highly placed dignitary and a proclamation of his being Javanese, much like Gandhi among the British lords several centuries later. When the Dutch came to renew the


70 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1654): 38


72 F.W. Stapel ed., Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 1: 21

73 W.L. Schurz, The Manila Galleon: 143

74 J. Noorduyn, "De handelsrelaties van het Makassaar se rij volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670": 115. Salt and rice were the primary imports, Javanese cloth comlementary.
acquaintance the next year they were refused an audience. In the same year the *susuhunan* let it be known that he wanted a tribute from the Dutch to the amount of 20,000 reals-of-eight, another assertion of Mataram pride and claim for primacy. In 1678 the Javanese retorted to an emissary of the Company "the Admiral [Speelman] wants to make merchants of us, but we have no knowledge of such things." 75

The antipathy towards the Dutch was not restricted to Java. A battle epic written by the court of Makassar soon after the 1669 capture by the Dutch and the accursed Bugis, accomplices of the Dutch, advises "never make friends with the Dutch; they behave like devils and no country is safe with them." 76 In 1677 Sultan Amangkurat I died at the height of the ideological and economic competition and warfare in Java between the agrarian interior and the rulers and people of the declining coastal towns. 77 The Dutch were called for assistance by the two parties who were vying for supremacy. They sided with the weaker one, assisting Amangkurat II, the eldest son of the *susuhunan*, in order to break the power of the stronger coastal rulers who had joined the millenarian Trunajaya. 78 Relatives and nobles in the court did not appreciate the *susuhunan*'s friendliness with the Dutch, their erstwhile enemy. 79 The opposing Javanese party circulated letters in the army of the *susuhunan*, implying that the latter's forces were weak and that their association with the Dutch would lead to their ultimate destruction. With the


76 Quoted from Entji' Amin, "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar (The rhymed chronicle of the Macassar war)" ed. and translated C. Skinner, VKI vol 40 : 217-8 in A. Reid, 'Heaven's will and man's fault' The Rise of the West as a Southeast Asian dilemma: 4

77 B. Schrieke, Sociological Studies: 61; Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*: 17-9

78 The resistance against the Company was not limited to Java and a person like Trunajaya. A *mullah* from Hindustan also preached resistance against the Company and had done so in Surat, Siam, Johore, Jambi and at last in Ceribon. When he was about to leave for Kartasura, the Dutch took him prisoner and shipped him to Ceylon. The *Mughal* Aurangzeb asked for his freedom and the VOC had to let the *mullah* return to Surat. J.K.J de Jonge, *Opkomst*, vol 8: XL-I

stabbing to death of Trunajaya in 1680 by Amangkurat II, the chaotic conditions that had prevailed in Java since 1677 came to a temporary halt. However the Javanese rulers continued to show an anti-Dutch stance. De Graaf thinks that "the profession of faithfulness to the Company was as much a sham as the bloody war with Surapati was a farce" and subsequently refers to the Surapati group as the National party. In 1684 the Javanese governor in the kraton, Nerangkusuma, was so anti-Dutch that he forbade them entrance to the buildings. He appears to have been an accomplice in the killing of François Tack. The Javanese were a society that operated by force.

Susuhunan MangkoeRat II pierces with his kris, the esteemed Blabor, the rebel Troenadjaja whom he had ordered to come before him with his two wives Kliting Koenig and Kliting Woengoe, sisters of the susuhunan.

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80 H.J. de Graaf, De Moord op Kapitein François Tack: 18, 135, 144-5
The illustration above is a Javanese interpretation in the 19th century of the 17th century killing. The painter thought that as early as 1677 the national Javanese dress was the celebrated batik and portrayed the motifs in some of the batiks as the forbidden larangan patterns.

The Dutch monopolistic policies (Chapter 3), coupled with Mataram’s countermeasures, had a profound impact on the overall inter-island textile trade. Although authorities on both sides turned a blind eye to smuggling, the susuhunan’s retrenchment of trade on the north coast together with his drastic monopolizing of rice export to Batavia, with the intent to hurt Batavia, had the unfortunate effect of also hurting the coastal traders. Many of them had to leave Java.\textsuperscript{81} In contrast, the VOC monopolies did not seem to have as deflating an effect on the economy of the north coast as the closing of the harbors by Mataram.\textsuperscript{82} There were no reports that traders left permanently as a result of Dutch interference. The Dutch enforced a monopoly on the import of Indian textiles and opium, and the export of sugar from 1678; the export of rice from 1705; and the export of cotton thread and indigo from the 1740s. Nevertheless, inter-island trade in Indian and local cloths still occurred.\textsuperscript{83} The Chinese, Javanese, Malays, and Buginese residents of the north coast still sailed to Palembang, Borneo, Malaka, Bangka, Trengganu and less frequently to Batavia. One may assume that those traders who had left Java to settle elsewhere maintained contact and continued to return to trade. Whereas hundreds of vessels had traded from the north coast in the first half of the 17th century, between approximately 1665 and 1740 an average of 55-60 vessels still sailed annually from Java to the places mentioned above.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{81} B. Schrieke, Sociological Studies: 60

\textsuperscript{82} Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 41-9

\textsuperscript{83} C.J.G. Holtzappel, Het Verband tussen Desa en Rijksorganisatie in Prekoloniaal Java: 679; Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 44-49, 183

\textsuperscript{84} Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 44-7
Dutch Suppression Policy in Other Ports

In addition to the Mataram-Batavia struggle, the Dutch targeted indigenous trade centers in Banten, Makassar, and Sumatra to maintain the Company’s dominance in trade. The VOC’s use of force to pursue its trade monopoly, re-energized local resistance in the form of self-reliance in the manufacture of cloth, among other goods. The seemingly unrelated reactions of local producers and traders in these centers had the effect of amplifying Mataram’s effort to revive the local textile industry to fight the Dutch monopoly.

The polarization between the agrarian interior and the commercial north Java coast was kindled by several contemporary events, aside from the religious and economic differences alluded to above.

The planned interventions in trade by Mataram and the Batavia Dutch differed as strategies in their nature. Mataram’s strategy of closing the north coast harbors and monopolizing the exports of rice was a calculated retrenchment; it seems to parallel to some extent the hermetic episode in which Japan banned contact with outsiders. Mataram’s policy of retrenchment had two effects, both of which were calculated to fight the VOC’s monopoly on imported textiles. It tried to close off the market for Company cloths within Java and at the same time pushed the Javanese into self-sufficiency in cloth; more importantly, it harnessed this re-energized productive capacity toward surplus production for export and competition with the Dutch.

Mataram’s strategy of retrenchment stands in contrast to the Dutch strategy of monopoly in the export of spices and the import of Indian textiles. Dutch monopoly entailed forceful suppression of local trading competitors, initially in eastern Indonesia and later in Java, Banten, Makassar and Sumatra. Dutch suppression of local traders cannot be equated with Mataram’s retrenchment policy because each had different objectives.

A pan-Indonesian animosity toward the Dutch and their aggressive marketing of Indian cloths provoked in many communities the increased
growing of cotton and renewed promotion of local weaving as a retaliatory measure, a reaction that occurred under similar circumstances in other parts of the world.85

Import-Substitution: Indian Chintz to Indonesian Batik

The growing undercurrent of hostility towards Batavia from Mataram, Banten, Makassar and other rulers fostered the import-substitution tactic epitomized by batik. The more immediate circumstances that led to the commercialization of batik, however, arose from several causes. One was the popularity of Indian chintz, which provided technological models for batik. Another was the Javanese mystical attitude to the residual power of cloth.

In discussing batik, at least four dimensions need to be distinguished: batik as a word; batik as a resist-dye technique, i.e. batikking; batik as cloth that was popularized and commercialized, and batik innovation through perhaps Indian and Chinese influence. Batik is an Austronesian archetypal word referring to the application of dots, spots, and related mottled designs scratched or imprinted on a surface. The root "tik" is onomatopoeic for the repeating tik-sound in the process of applying dots. It is the same root found among the Dayak in Borneo of pantik (pricker), the Bulu speaking people in northern Sulawesi, papantik (stylus, tracer) or tritik. In several Philippine dialects, batik or patik refers to tattoos on the body as well as designs on cloth.86

Batikking, the resist-dye technique, is deeply rooted in Javanese classical culture, so much so, that the phrase mbatik manah (drawing a batik

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85 Elisabeth Mikosh, "The Manufacture and Trade of Luxury Textiles in the Age of Mercantilism" in Textiles in Trade, Proceedings of the Textile Society of America: 62

86 G.P. Rouffaer, De Batik Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en haar Geschiedenis: 2; E.S. Casiño, "Arts and Peoples of the Southern Philippines": 133; J.L. Larsen et al. The Dyer's Art Ikat, batik, plangi: 77
design on the heart) has become closely associated with mysticism. "As pursued by the cultural elite, mystic practice bears meaning for batik because the creation of a batik may arise from the batiker's personal mystic practice.... because very fine detailed batik also demands great inner concentration." Batik as cloth, distinguished from technique, is what is involved in the question of import-substitution. Finally, the adoption of better methods of dying and design application needs to be considered separately from the other notions because this innovation may have involved Indian and Chinese specialists, as will be discussed below.

At the peak of Indonesia's prosperity, which Reid places between 1570 and 1630, Indian trade textiles dominated the import in all parts of Indonesia. Among these trade cloths, chintz tapis, gobars, gulongs, and other chintz kains in a wide variety of sizes and patterns had become the coveted cloths to wear, particularly in 16th- and 17th-century western Indonesia, including Java. Not all of these types of cloths would have been worn daily—many were for special occasions—but the chintz tapi or tapi cindai seems to have been common. Many Javanese could afford to buy Indian cloths and even the people in the hinterlands wore a coarse chintz tapi. The sarassa chintz craze in Indonesia preceded by one century the chintz craze that would overtake Europe and Euro-Americans.

The VOC, who were quick to grasp opportunities in this line of cloth, sought relentlessly to remove any foreign or local traders dealing in Indian cloth and sarassa. The final blow to local traders occurred in 1678-80 when according to the treaties only the Dutch could trade the Indian cloth in Java. The Company sold the popular chintz cloths throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but not always in the same large quantities.

87 Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java: 287; A.V. Djajasoebrata, "On the Origin and Nature of Larangan": 203

88 Ibid: 203; K.R.T. Hardjonagoro, "The Place of Batik in the History and Philosophy of Javanese Textiles": 229 mentions the meditation aspect of batikking "a process which gave birth to an uncommonly elevated sublimity in man".

89 A. Reid, Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, vol 2: 326
In the early 1680s a new variety of batik patterns had become very popular. The Javanese preferred their own motifs to those of the Company's Coromandel chintz. The VOC sent samples of the new batik motifs to Coromandel, and asked for the best quality chintz to be made in order not to be overshadowed by the Javanese. They hoped:

to distract them and get them out of the habit of growing cotton in order to bring them back to agricultural pursuits, because it was feared that otherwise they (discovering that their own weaving is as durable in use and wear as that from Coromandel) would increase their own [cloth] production and trade, which could overshadow their preference for the beautiful exotic fabrics.

However, the Company could not compete in price with the Javanese in the 1680s because the Coromandel prices began to increase when the English started to order large quantities for Europe and Manila. It is difficult to judge from the written documents without illustrations how Javanese batik and Coromandel chintz differed, but the difference cannot have been very noticeable, because the Javanese batik and weaving affected VOC sales from the 1670s. The competition of the Indonesian batik would not have been noticeable if there had been a considerable difference in quality. By 1690 the chintz and batik sales must have been overwhelming, even in Batavia, because a chintz pasar was especially opened.

The increased batikking originated in the area of Mataram from where the first reports of the sales came. Batik was sometimes cheaper than Coromandel chintz, but it was not dyed as well. It is not yet clear if the patterns or styles had originated from the royal families or from the women

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90 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1684): 621-2; Tapan Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel: 162


92 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1686): 56-7

93 F.de Haan, Oud Batavia, vol 1, paragraph 674

who practiced batikking as a cottage industry in the folk art tradition. Wars often had closed off the inland areas from the coast, making the Indian cloths unavailable.95

The Company officials became frustrated by the increased weaving and batikking. They feared being left with their large stock of chintz with outmoded patterns. They also noticed that the wax imported in Java, from as far as Mindanao, expanded.96 In 1648 more than 6,000 kilogram wax arrived in Batavia from Solor and Makassar.97 In 1679 the VOC bought 14,000 kilograms of wax on Borneo’s east coast at 15 rixd per pikul (1 pikul = 62.5 kilogram).98 Wax was used for candle and batik making and to preserve food. VOC authorities realized they could not stop the trade in wax. How could imported wax be distinguished from Javanese wax? Java itself yielded plenty of it, but apparently not enough to supply the need for all of the batik-making.99

The Dutch had decreased the prices of their own cloths in order to sell them, because of the increased competition from the Indonesian weavers.100 Some VOC authorities attributed the import-substitution to the peaceful conditions that prevailed again after the peace contracts in 1678 and 1680.

Around 1700 the Company must have built up a new stock of chintz tapi with the popular motifs, because it sold annually tens of thousands of pieces in Java. What was new about the cloths to warrant such a large surge for the chintz tapi is still a puzzle. In the 1720s the sales of the chintz tapi decreased to a few thousand and none were sold after 1735. The sale of other chintz items continued, but in decreasing quantities (see graph, Chapter 8,

95 Ibid, vol 5 (1688): 248-50
96 R. Laarhoven, Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: 219-21
97 Daghregister Batavia, (1648) June 3, September 21, 28
100 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1660) 89, (1662): 95
section Batavia). These figures are further substantiated in Table 15. The quantity of *tapis* the Company traded in Java decreased very quickly sometime between 1705 and 1722. The decline in Indian chintz sales correlates with the increase of successful imitation chintz i.e. batik. Most chintzes for Indonesia came from Coromandel.

Five variables have been correlated in the analysis of chintz performance for the years 1623, 1652, 1703, and 1757:

1) how many types of textiles were imported to Indonesia
2) how many of these were definitely chintz productions. By a chintz item is meant a textile that was known to be treated as described in Appendix C
3) A. the number of Coromandel textiles that were sold in Indonesia including those for Java
   B. the number of Coromandel textiles sold in Java
4) A. the number of Coromandel chintz textiles that were sold in Indonesia including those for Java
   B. the number of Coromandel chintz sold in Java
5) A. the percentage of Coromandel chintz sold in Indonesia including those for Java
   B. the percentage of Coromandel chintz sold in Java
Table 15

COROMANDEL CHINTZ SALES IN A) INDONESIA and B) JAVA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1623</th>
<th>1652-3</th>
<th>1703-5</th>
<th>1757</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) No. textile types traded</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) No. chintz items*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) No. Coromandel textiles traded in thousands for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) Indonesia</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Java</td>
<td>nk+</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) No. pieces of chintz in thousands for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) Indonesia</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Java</td>
<td>nk</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Percentage of chintz for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A) for Indonesia</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) for Java</td>
<td>nk</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* see Appendix G
+ not known

The table shows that in the first half of the 17th century the chintz items from Coromandel increased in importance in the Company's trade, jumping from 13% to 38% of the total number of textiles traded. Chintz was still important in 1703, namely 37% of the total amount of textiles sold that year in Indonesia, although the actual quantities had dropped from 93,000 to 51,000 pieces. However, more than half of the sales were still in Java. By far the largest consumption of chintz was always in Java. In 1652, 53% of the chintz items were sold in Java, 55% in 1703, but only 6% in 1757. By the middle of the 18th century, the number of Coromandel textiles being sold had risen compared to early in the century, but the number of chintz items

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101 Om Prakash, The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623: 290-1; VOC 10396 (1652-53); 10810 (1703-04); 10836 (1757-58) the appropriate accounts in the Batavia Negotie Grootboeken.
are only 3% of the total quantity of textiles sold in Indonesia. Practically all of these were still sold in Java. Compared to other textiles being traded, chintz now constituted a very small proportion. It is apparent that competition from batik was behind this decline.

The tapi cindai from Coromandel that were already very popular during Coen's time had also been cloths which were painted on both sides, just like the Indonesian batik. During Coen's time the word batik was locally used to designate sarassa "painted" Javanese cloth. This caused the Dutch also to sometimes refer to a quantity of Indian sarassa as batik. Since the Company was the biggest trader in Indonesia, the trend of decline in Indian chintz can be taken as valid for all Indian chintz imports by local and other European traders to Indonesia in the 18th century too.

The table above does not include the chintz produced in Surat or Bengal because these were never the primary sources of chintz production for Indonesia. The chintz in Bengal especially was produced in response to the demand from the markets in Europe and America (via the Manila galleon) when they opened up for this line of product.

The bright fast colors of chintz, and designs and patterns that appealed to Indonesian taste no doubt ignited the onset of the making of batik. They were miraculous cloths to everyone who became acquainted with them. A Venetian trader who travelled to India in 1563 described "the extensive trade carried on between St. Thomay and Malacca in fine bumbast cloth (cotton) of every sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because these kinds of cloth look as though they were gilded with divers colours and the more they are washed


103 Daghr-register, Batavia, vol 5 (1641): 234. The earliest cloth reference using the word batik dates from 1622 in a Portuguese document. Colloquially batik also referred to Indian-like sarassa (chintz) which had been traded and had been identified with the locally made batik that had been practiced in Indonesia for centuries. When in 1671 a resident in Batavia sent a gift of 50 pieces of cloths to a relative in Nagasaki, 48 pieces consisted of plain cotton from India, but two pieces were called batik. Because batik was a term applied to the tulis wax-resist technique it could be either chintz or batik at that time. L. Blussé, Strange Company: 191
the livelier the colours will show." \textsuperscript{104} Again in 1657 the Europeans were just as amazed as the Javanese at the colors of the Indian dyes and thought them far superior to European dyes. \textsuperscript{105} The Javanese, however, became adept at making satisfactory copies of the miraculous chintz long before the Europeans.

The batik technique was known at least early in the 17th century, but the knowledge about how to use mordants with the colorants had not been perfected. According to Pigeaud, batik was not mentioned in 14th century texts. \textsuperscript{106} When batik began to be practiced it was done by the ladies in the courts of Mataram and Banten and possibly Makassar. \textsuperscript{107} Early in the 19th century batik also had spread to Palembang, but the Javanese batik surpassed all others in quality. \textsuperscript{108} There had been no court-sponsored batik production that catered to export before 1600. No records exist showing the contrary.

The Indonesians found the bright and colorful Indian \textit{sarassa} the most attractive clothing items; the variation in the red \textit{chay} colors (Appendix C, chintz making) was in particular appreciated. Indonesians apparently did not know how to produce these multiple shades of one colorant in a fast dye

\textsuperscript{104} G.P. Baker, \textit{Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries}: 19

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid: 19 Such a remark was made in 1657 by Thevenot who showed the Indian cloth to dyers in France. Baker relates several examples of Europeans who travelled to India and remarked about the remarkable chintz: Marco Polo, Barbosa, Cesar de Frederici, Sir Thomas Roe, Peter Mundy, and Thevenot.

\textsuperscript{106} T.G.Th Pigeaud, \textit{Java in the 14th Century}, vol 4: 506

\textsuperscript{107} J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 4 (1614): 21 in Banten Coen saw the ladies in the court of the Pangeran daily paint cloths, a fashionable activity for highly placed persons and not, as Coen implied, a means to earn their living. The Dutch always used the word for painting when they described batik, see F.W. Stapel, Pieter van Dam, Beschrijvinge, vol 2, part 3: 394 who says \textit{"geverfde of geschilderde doeken"} (dyed or painted cloths) However, in 1688 the Javanese bought the batik from Mataram because it was cheaper than the Coromandel chintz, although it was not quite as clear of color as the Coromandel chintz, in W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 5 (1688): 248-50

process. That the Javanese painted and dyed cloth is evidenced in a gift sent to the Portuguese after they conquered Malaka in 1511, but the special attraction of the Indian cloth had been the fastness and multiple colors on the one cloth. This is known from another statement in the 1620s: "the people of Java were more concerned with the brightness of the colors than with the quality of the cloth." 109

The imitation chintz in Java in the 1640s were very good copies for the intensity of the color, the way the dye was applied, and all other technical details. They could easily pass for the Indian import. In fact, the imitations were so successful that they began impairing the commerce of the Company's authentic chintz. However, the least bit of moisture or water on them made the colors run, the Dutch reported. Had the dyers not yet acquired the technique of keeping the colors fast? Notwithstanding problems of quality in the local imitations, in 1648 the Dutch felt threatened enough to issue an edict announcing that whoever was found producing or trading the imitated chintz would be chained for three years without due process, their vessel and the cargo of cloths confiscated, and a fine charged of 10 reals-of-eight per textile. 110

Even though the technique of making batik using fast colors was apparently not widely known in the 1640s, less than forty years later mass-produced batik had attained such high quality that the Council in Batavia was forced to remark "the ingenious Javanese superseded them [the Coromandel chintz producers] and, as the saying goes, take the bread out of their mouths." 111 The details on how exactly the batik-making technology and its innovations had spread are not fully known. But there are intriguing indications that Indian weavers and cloth specialists living in Java between the 1640s and the mid-1680s were somehow involved in this innovation.

In 1662 many Indians from Coromandel who were residing in Batavia

109 Om Prakash, Dutch Factories in India: 252
110 J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1648): 121
111 W.Ph. Coolhaas, ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1686): 56
were driven away by the Dutch. The Council of the VOC had been annoyed at the outflow of capital from Batavia through remittances of these expatriates. Many Indian Muslims worked as tailors and were active in other facets of the clothing industry. As soon as they had saved plenty of money, they would return home to Coromandel with their accumulated earnings. To control the metal currency drain, the Dutch decided to oust these Indians from their profession by setting up a guild of tailors. The new policy stipulated that each nationality had to use tailors of their own ethnic group. Clothing for the Dutch, Javanese, Muslims, or Chinese had to be made by tailors from their own people, thus effectively cutting down the market for Indian tailors. The guild was supervised by two of the best Dutch tailors, who were requested to keep an ethnic register of professional tailors.\footnote{J.A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, vol 2 (1662): 360}

Predictably the resentment about this unfair treatment coupled with the animosity of the Javanese toward the Dutch might have inspired a technical liaison between the Javanese, Indians, and Chinese. The expelled Indians joining Indian communities already settled in places along the Java north coast might have helped the makers of the imitation chintz learn the technique for producing batiks with fast dyes, in exchange for more favorable treatment and employment. In an era where vertical bonding was a common form of social security,\footnote{Luc Nagtegaal, *Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger*: 67-8} finding a powerful patron interested in promoting local textiles would have been a shrewd move for an Indian wishing to remain in the islands. The Javanese may have collaborated also with the Chinese for additional knowledge to commercialize and mass-market batik. The Chinese were, after all, experienced trade agents for the VOC in Demak, Gresik, Pasaruan, and especially in Juwena. They were familiar with the trade network of textile consumers in those communities. They spread out from Batavia and Banten and settled in the towns of Java’s north coast after 1680 when the local wars were over and were followed by an influx of Chinese immigrants.
What role did the rulers of Java play in all this? In the 1640s inland in Java (the exact locations are unknown) imitations of Coromandel chintz were locally produced and traded: "The sale of fraudulent imitated Coromandel cloth has been prohibited."114 The Dutch prohibited making or trading them, but the production continued, because it had the blessing of Mataram, situated too deeply inland for the Dutch to control. Until 1678 the Dutch did not have much contact with Mataram; after the Dutch emissary Tack was killed in 1686, contact was practically non-existent until 1704.115 Communication was maintained through intermediaries on the Java north east coast. As the VOC did not pay import duty, the local regents were not exactly cooperative with the Company's attempts to sell and distribute their Indian imports through the pasar women. Moreover, the regents on the coast would have favored the local cloth sales above those of the Company.116 The Dutch were powerless to control and suppress local cloth production, distribution, and promotion.

The success of the batik making was demonstrated by the export of it to Palembang in 1758 and to Ambon in 1781.117

The commercialization of batik poses an important historical question. If Javanese royalty was instrumental in the growth of batik, how does one explain the dichotomy, known to many scholars of Indonesian textiles, between palace batik and commoner batik? It is unlikely that royal batik would have been the basis of mass-production, because its motifs were reserved for royalty. It follows, therefore, that mass production probably emerged from village batik types common in the commercial towns of Java's north coast.118 Commoner batik, being supervised and supplied with motifs

114 J.A. van der Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1648): 121; Realia, (1648): 154

115 Ibid: 149

116 Ibid: 124


118 Th.G. Th. Pigeaud, "Javaanse Beschavingsgeschiedenis" in ms H717: 296-7
by royalty, was promoted for commercialization with important technical and marketing inputs from expatriate Indians and Chinese, as argued earlier. The Chinese appear to have also played an important role in the batik revival, aside from the marketing function. Because of their role in the dyeing process, the VOC in Batavia referred\textsuperscript{119} to the Chinese as the indigo dyers; these craftsmen were supplied from the indigo fields found between Kartasura and Kediri.\textsuperscript{120}

It appears now that the inspiration for and articulation of the import-substitution strategy centered on cloth. Although it was implemented by commoners from the villages, they were planned and instigated by the susuhunan and his wives, who alone had tremendous command over manpower and woman-power. It is said that in 1656 the susuhunan of Java was served and surrounded by 10,000 women, 4,000 of whom were seen weaving, spinning, embroidering, painting, and sewing. These women were recruited from all over his domains.\textsuperscript{121}

One prominent player active in the upsurge of batik and increase in weaving for export purposes appears to have been the first wife of the susuhunan, who stood probably behind this energizing movement.\textsuperscript{122} After 1680 the susuhunan intensified his grip on the coastal regents, a manoeuver also supported by his first wife.\textsuperscript{123} The concerted effort to promote the weaving of textiles and to stimulate batik-making was not just to fight the Dutch monopoly but also a measure to rebuild the economic and political resources of the state after the devastating wars.

It should be noted, furthermore, that opposition was not against Indian

\textsuperscript{119} J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1648): 121

\textsuperscript{120} J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 8 (1678): 138 (expedition of Anthonio Hurdt)

\textsuperscript{121} H.J. de Graaf ed., De vijf Gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens: 256-7

\textsuperscript{122} Suzanne Brenner, "Domesticating the market: History, culture, and economy in a Javanese merchant community" PhD submitted to Cornell University (1992): 34-47 who gives a synopsis of "The Development of the Batik Industry in Solo" and did fieldwork in Laweyan, the center of batik in Solo at present.

\textsuperscript{123} Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 149
textiles as such, but against the Dutch as power players dominating coastal economies and principalities inside and outside Java. Indonesians had been attracted to Indian cloths for centuries before the Dutch. Indeed, local textile technology and vocabulary were full of Indian borrowing. The resistance in the form of import-substitution must be seen as an economic response with obvious political and possibly mystical underpinnings.

One Sundanese-Dutch scholar Djajasoebrata has argued that many of the so-called larangan patterns of royal batik were variations of a "mandala of power," the well-known manca-pat, a pattern analogous to a compass with a center radiating to the four cardinal directions—with One as Supreme Being in the center and Four in a circle around him at the south, west, north and east.124 These special batik patterns, like the parang rusak, sawat garuda wings, udan liris, and the cemukiran leaf pattern bordering the plain center field of a cloth, were reserved for the royalty and forbidden to commoners under penalty of death.125 The association in modern times between batiks and certain patterns and power is unquestioned.

In the end, the contrasting policies of retrenchment and suppression had the same consequence, unintended by the Dutch but foreseen by Mataram. The net effect of both policies was to force local rulers, traders, farmers, weavers, and craftsmen—all the combined talents of Indonesian men and women—to revive local productivity to compete with the Dutch in a life and death struggle. They forced the Indonesians to reach back into their own traditional productive resources and to find at the living center of their culture the residual power of cloth that would eventually help them prevail decisively over their common enemy.

124 Ibid: 205 The illustrations (figures 1-9) accompanying Djajasoebrata’s analysis show patterns that belong to the same category as the batik patterns worn by the Javanese in the illustration above in this chapter.

125 Sylvia Fraser-Lu, Indonesian Batik: 57
CONCLUSION

"It is nothing but poverty that is the true reason that the traffic in the finest [Coromandel] Coast and Surat cloths declines daily, while by contrast their own weaving has increased more and more through the multiplication of poor people."  

Three sets of questions were raised at the start of this study. The first concerned the general dimensions of the trade including the VOC rationale for starting trade in cloth; how the textiles were bought, sold, and distributed; the quantitative parameters of the trade; and the impact of the trade in Indonesia. The second set specifically raised the question of batik and its connection with import-substitution. What were the antecedents and consequences of the rise and promotion of batik? The third and last set concerned the central issue of "the decline in the consumption of imported textiles." How does one explain the decline? What do the records say to support the hypothesis that import-substitution was the primary cause for the decline of certain textile types. Do we have enough evidence for affirming that this is no longer a hypothesis but an empirically grounded conclusion? The final result of this investigation is that import-substitution was indeed a major cause, rather than the effect, of the decline of the VOC trade in imported textiles from India. Furthermore, impoverishment was not the key factor in this decline.

The central question that underlies the whole investigation is why the VOC textile trade began to decline in the second half of the 17th century. There are other related questions, obviously, that are of interest to other historians, which will be briefly discussed here too. But the central question deserves a more intensive review. What is at issue is not the decline as such, since both the VOC officers at the time as well as later historians attest to this fact. What I have done is confirm this observed fact by plotting the trends and

\[\text{Masselman, Cradle of Colonialism: 313}\]
variations of frequencies in several graphs and by citing figures from Company book-keeping records, until now unpublished. What is at stake, theoretically, is the circumstances of this decline, its antecedents and consequences, its immediate and remote causes. A set of explanations was needed that would explain events, and couch the explanation in a framework technical enough to satisfy academic requirements, yet simple enough for uninformed, but interested lay persons.

The explanation I offer is best contrasted with what is referred to as the impoverishment theory according to which Indonesians had become so impoverished under Dutch trade monopoly and interference in local politics that they no longer could afford to buy imported Indian textiles, which led to the decline of the cloth trade. On the face of it, the explanation appears most reasonable, especially when the Dutch themselves who were the key players in this trade at that time, are cited as witnesses.

The investigation into this decline-event has revealed a different, more complex situation; it prompted me to reject impoverishment as an explanation in favor of import-substitution. One could, of course, argue that the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. If there is no money to buy what is needed, people can make do by producing it themselves. Did Indonesians produce cloth in a purely subsistence mode? The local weavers and dyers produced more than what was needed for family use; they were producing surplus to fuel a revival of trade in local textiles that competed successfully with imported ones, effectively cutting into the Dutch monopoly.

To effectively deal with the fact of decline and the alternative theories advanced to explain it, deconstruction of the two concepts of decline and impoverishment is needed and pursued.

Deconstructing the concept of "decline" will require analyzing it at several levels of generality. Firstly, there is a general decline of the VOC, whose causes are multiple and complex, and remains open to debate. Secondly, there is a decline of the overall textile trade from India to Indonesia, one aspect that is obvious from the general VOC decline. Thirdly, there is the decline of particular
types and varieties of imported textiles. Both the second and the third aspects of decline were central to our investigation, but the most critical is the decline of particular textile types because its explanation does not fit within the impoverishment paradigm. Accordingly more space will be devoted to this third aspect of decline.

The Causes of the Overall Decline

The causes of the overall decline are many and it is not in the scope of this study to have elaborated on them, since other historians like Gaastra, Steur, and Winius have already written them up. To summarize some of these causes behind the overall decline, we may mention the following: 1) In contrast to the English and other European competitors, the Dutch had lost their earlier lust for aggressive trading practices, as much a psychological change as a policy shift dictated by the Company directors in the Netherlands. 2) The success of Dutch private and free traders and European country traders in breaking the monopoly and dominance of the VOC in the several inter-Asiatic trading centers. 3) The resurgence of indigenous traders who collaborated with free and country traders in the buying, selling, and distribution of spices, species, and textiles, thereby cutting into the profit margins of the Company. 4) The increasing monetization of the Indonesian economy with the introduction of the *dubbeltjes* used to pay for forced deliveries. 5) The increasing difficulty of obtaining silver and gold for increased prices in Europe, which came to a still stand during the ruinous English-Dutch war (1780-4) seriously affected the Company basic purchasing power and operating capital. 6) The general increase in the price of textiles, reflecting the changed economics in Asia, and Europe, affected the affordability of textiles among the Indonesians who were increasingly being forced into the money-economy and being impoverished in the process. Thus, I do subscribe to the general concept of impoverishment but only when applied to the overall decline, particularly after the period of forced monetization. The impoverishment paradigm, in my opinion, does not apply to an earlier period when a textile revival in Indonesia could be observed, a revival that was born
not out of the poverty of its people but out of their inner productive powers and resilience.

The usual depiction of the third instance of decline, which I call the decline-event, does not sufficiently take into account the over 200 different cloth types and varieties involved in the VOC trade. The decline-event cannot be predicated uniformly of each of these types. Our analysis of the overall textile trade enterprise shows there were European as well as Chinese cloth products in addition to the bulk procured in India. And those that came from India are themselves of multiple types and varieties. I re-classified them into several clusters in order to demonstrate more clearly the differential behavior of individual trajectories. What is significant to note is that some clusters declined at a faster rate than others; some disappeared completely, while still others remained constant or increased. If the Indonesians did in fact suffer from impoverishment, their lower purchasing power should have been manifested across all types of imported cloth they no longer could afford to buy, but this clearly was not the case at all. Apparently a selection factor was operating underneath the pattern of non-uniform rates of decline, and this factor was not impoverishment. The demand for high-priced luxury types did not drop significantly, indicating that neither price nor purchasing power was a controlling factor. When prices for textiles decreased the sales of cloth did not increase which is what could be expected. The impoverishment factor, moreover, is flatly contradicted by the increase in the demand for opium, again indicating that Indonesians had money to spend even for non-essentials.

The other concept that needs to be deconstructed is impoverishment. This is a very critical concept because it has been used as a major explanatory construct for understanding Indonesia's colonial history. The VOC traders came from a monetized European economy where poverty and wealth were expressed in money, i.e. in silver and gold currencies. On the other hand, the 16th century Indonesians were just entering a monetized economy, from the more widespread traditional barter economy where trade goods, like cloth, were multi-
valent, operating as commodity and as currency according to the circumstances of a given transaction. In fact, it was the VOC, following the earlier attempts of the Chinese and the Portuguese, who really accelerated the shift to monetization. This was especially evident in the policy decision to introduce the silver *dubbeltjes*, discussed in the last chapter, as metal currencies to facilitate trade and the payment of forced deliveries of contingents. If one were to use possession of money currency as a measure of wealth, following the Dutch argument would lead to the absurd conclusion that all Indonesians were poor during all the previous generations when they had no money. Poverty in terms of money is a culturally-conditioned Dutch perspective that needs to be radically recast in terms of indigenous concepts of wealth.

Historians are in general agreement with the proposition that the measure of wealth and power in early Southeast Asian kingdoms was command over man-power and woman-power. Because of the critical role of labor, slavery, vertical bonding, and corvee labor became a fundamental social institution of Southeast Asian societies. This command over labor, in turn, was converted to production of traditional items of economic value, including textiles. It has been argued in Chapters 2 and 10 that cloth to the Indonesians was both commodity and currency, and therefore could be accumulated as a measure of wealth and power. In other words, one could substitute possession of money with possession of cloth and conclude that those Indonesians who had accumulated a lot of cloth were not impoverished but wealthy according to indigenous conception of wealth. More importantly, having the ability to weave and produce cloth for the market, meant that women who had the ability to weave, had the ability to produce "money". Hence women and slaves continued to be valued by rulers precisely because of their control over the power to make cloth.

By reconceptualizing "impoverishment" and contrasting Dutch and Indonesian notions of "money," we begin to appreciate the quotation cited by Masselman, displayed at the heading of this chapter. In the light of this contrast, one can observe deep irony in the Dutch assessment of poverty and
decline. It was not poverty that was the "true reason" ("true" according to Dutch money measure) for why the traffic in the finest Coromandel and Surat cloths had declined. Rather it was the wealth of the Indonesians, expressed in their ability to produce cloth, that was the true reason for the decline. Local weaving "increased more and more" because of the multiplication of people who opted to exercise their power over cloth. I do not believe the Indonesians were driven by poverty to engage in home weaving. Dutch misperception of the many meanings of cloth, coupled with their assumption of the primacy of metal currency, misled them to transpose cause and effect, seeing poverty where they should have seen wealth; construing decline from lack of purchasing power rather than from abundance and self-sufficiency. In other words, rather Indonesian wealth in cloth-power than poverty in metal-currency should be reinstated as the true reason for the decline-event.

The concept of impoverishment, as we stated above, cannot be totally rejected as an explanatory concept in Indonesian social history. It did occur in the archipelago. Impoverishment, I think, is linked with a radical change in the primacy among spices, species, and textiles in Indonesia's political economy. One could have eliminated money currencies for the export of spices, and the Indonesian economy would have survived on the strength of textiles alone, because cloth was capable of taking the place of both metals and spices.

Dutch interference had forced metal-monetization on the Indonesians, particularly through the so-called "contingents" system of forced village production for export. The Indonesian "barter-based economy" had begun to transform into a capital-based economy. The Dutch happened to be the instrument in accelerating this transformation because they were a primary actor in the Indonesian economy; and they were, moreover, in the forefront of capitalism and industrialization in Europe. In the light of these historical forces, the weaving and batik revival in Indonesia can be seen as a fundamental rear-guard assertion of Indonesian cloth-capital against Dutch metal-capital. As long as balance and parity was maintained between the two systems, the Dutch and Indonesians could be regarded as equally wealthy and powerful, on the basis of
their chosen embodiments of value. The shift from cloth to metals, on hindsight, was the signal of a much deeper revolution, the shift from one fundamental value system to another. And the Indonesians ended impoverished materially, because they had depended more on cloth and barter than on metals and capitalism.

For this reason, during the period when the radical shift to monetization had not been completed, "impoverishment" as a theory carries limited validity and relevance. It fails, particularly, as a viable explanation for the decline-event related to the VOC textile trade. Our alternative explanation is the "import-substitution theory." whose underlying principle is the residual power of people to produce cloth. In the light of our alternative formulation, Gandhi's Swadeshi strategy received historical confirmation by the earlier strategy of batik revival in Indonesia.

The Batik Revival

Many questions have been raised regarding batik. Why was it revived, how was it revived, who were responsible for the revival, and what was its role in the import-substitution process? Our investigation have now shed some light on these questions. The distinction between batik-technique and batik cloth is important because it allows for understanding several dimensions of the revival question. There is consensus over the idea that batik technique, batikking, is an essential Javanese form of textile decorating. Even though some art historians have pointed out that in some rituals batik-cloth is not classified with the core collection of sacred cloths, nevertheless, batikking is undoubtedly within the mainstream of classical Javanese culture.

A picture of possible royal (Mataram) inspiration must be carefully balanced with data strongly suggesting that other influences than royal inspiration might have come from outside i.e. from cloth traders, Indian cloth specialists, and Chinese dyers. As pointed out in Chapter 10 improvements on batik-dyeing, to make them with color-fast dyes, might have originated from
Chinese and perhaps Indian technicians and tailors whom the Dutch tried to deport from Batavia. The Chinese apparently were also partly instrumental in developing local markets for batik-cloth in competition with Dutch-imported Indian chintz. Later additions of batik-designs, depicting non-indigenous motifs, allow us to suspect that the main technology had escaped the control of royalty and entered more fully into the commercial textile industry.

The earliest batik-making reference in Dutch sources was in the early 1640s, although the word "batik" is known to have been used by the Portuguese as early as the 1620s. The appearance of the term in the early 17th century only attests to the existence of batik-cloth, not to its origin as a technique, which may date several centuries back to Indonesian prehistory. The Dutch mention of "batik" as a cloth type was in the context of Indian chintz, referred to as "batik sarassa." Assuming that both the term and the cloth type were known to cloth traders, the commercial emergence of batik in later decades would not have appeared strange or initially threatening to the Company. It is most likely that the Company itself profited from this initial surge in batik making, by supplying the raw cloth materials for batik-making. Batikking, being a value-adding, post-loom technique, required a supply of plain undecorated cloth, either locally woven or imported. The types of undecorated cloth suitable for batik-treatment were the muri, percalle, and salempore all imported from India. If Dutch participation in supplying raw materials for batik indeed occurred, it would get supporting evidence from the record of import trends and variations. Whereas chintz tapi declined dramatically, those of undecorated types remained relatively steady, suggesting that they could have fed into the raw cloth supply for batik-making. In other words, the Dutch may have profited in the short-run by selling undecorated cloth, but lost out in the long run when their market for Indian chintz tapi was wiped out by competition from Indonesian batik.

In the 1740s under Governor-General Imhoff the Company relaxed its monopoly and allowed other traders to procure foreign textiles directly from the Indian production centers. This allowed free play to the forces of supply and
demand. The next Governor-General Mossel took the opportunity and initiative of objectively review the comparative market appeal of particular types. It was on the basis of this review that the Company re-imposed a limited monopoly of so-called Company Cloth, whose profitability and marketability in the islands could justify the new monopoly policy. The Company cloth did not include chintz which were losing to batik, nor did they the luxury types, but they included the most popular and traditional trade textiles for which the demand was the highest. Company cloth types were targeted to exploit a niche in the Indonesian market where continued demand assured VOC profits.
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wel expresselyk, ten opzigt van de Sorteeringe, Lengte en Breete, of zoo
daarin meerder Vlakken of Beschadigheid mogten gevonden worden,
daar voor niet responsable te willen zyn: 1-43

Zeeland, Anno 1769. Cattoene Lywaten, Der t'Huis gekomen Officieren. 6.
November 1769: 1-61
GLOSSARY

adat  customary law
afpakbriefje  packing slip
alfuras  reference used by the Dutch for pagan inhabitants in the interior of the islands in the archipelago
annatto  the *Bixaorellana*, a tropical tree. The pulp around the seeds yields a reddish yellow dye
arak  distilled alcoholic liquor
asta, hasta  a measure with large local variations in India from 0.45-0.68 meters; synonym to Portuguese *covid*. The Dutch took *asta* to mean an ell measure of 0.68 meters
badan  "body" of a cloth or centerfield. A sarong is usually composed of two parts, the *badan* and the *kepala*, the "head". The *badan* measures approximately three-quarters of the entire length of the cloth
bahar  A variable unit of weight. In the Indonesian archipelago usually calculated at three *pikul* or 375 pounds
bantal  cushion or pillow
batik  a resist-dye process in which the resist, usually wax, is applied to the cloth surface; when dyed, patterns are reserved in the colors of the foundation. Sequences of waxing and dyeing result in multiple color patterns
bewindhebbers  the executive members of the six commercial chambers comprising the VOC. There were seventy-six bewindhebbers in 1602, but this number was later reduced to sixty. From representatives amongst them, the directorate referred to as Heren XVII, was formed
bichara  to discuss in a meeting, applying adat laws
bontjes  colored pieces of woven cotton for the tropics
bow  a tool to fluff cotton during the carding process which is usually made of bent bamboo and held taut with twine stretched between. The stretched twine of the bow is struck to produce vibrations which loosen any packed cotton fibres
buitenkantoor: branch office

burger: resident who is considered to be Dutch in a place under the jurisdiction of the VOC, but not an employee of the company. Could be an ex-employee or descendents of the Dutch.

caal: one caal counts 240 threads; an indication of the fineness of a woven cloth

cafila: a train or convoy of travellers usually over land as a caravan, but sometimes by sea

caixies: Dutch from Portuguese caixa, copper, tin or lead coins of low value introduced to Indonesia by the Chinese traders before 1600

cap: a copper stamp in use by the VOC to mark its trade goods; in the context of batik it is a metal stamp used to apply molten wax to the cloth surface in one type of batik

carding: the process of untangling and loosening fibres of dried cotton with the application of a bow prior to spinning

Carnatic: Kingdom from north to south along the eastern coast of India in the 16th and partly 17th century

catechu: betelnut

ceer: weight measure of usually 10 ounces

chay: Tamil chaya, the root of the Oldelandia umbellata from which a red dye is obtained

couched: a method of embroidery in which a decorative element is laid on the surface of cloth and tied down with a series of small anchoring stitches

covado, cobido: measure of one ell of 0.66-0.69 meter

cowl: a lease or grant specified in a written document issued by the kings in India to the Dutch who also named it a kaul

curcuma: the root of the Curcuma longa is used as a yellow dyestuff, a spice, and a medicine
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dagh-register</em></td>
<td>daily record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>damask</em></td>
<td>a general term applied to fabrics patterned by floating weaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dito</em></td>
<td>idem, the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>drapes de dames</em></td>
<td>loosely woven textile, lightly fulled, Z-twisted fine wool warp, S-twisted fine wool weft, usually dyed black in the 17th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dubbeltjes</em></td>
<td>small silver Dutch coin at the value of f0.10,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>embroidery</em></td>
<td>a variety of needlework stitches that are used to decorate or embellish a fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fiscal</em></td>
<td>member of the judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>firman</em></td>
<td>a written order issued by a ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>float weave</em></td>
<td>threads woven to traverse over two or more perpendicular threads on a loom or in a cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>floret</em></td>
<td>a kind of silk floss or yarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>floss silk</em></td>
<td>untwisted filaments of the finest silk, used in embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fluyt</em></td>
<td>a light ship mainly used for shipping bulk goods, similar to a flyboat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>foundation weave</em></td>
<td>basic woven structure of a fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fuya</em></td>
<td>trade term for cloth produced from the bark of a tree, same as <em>tapa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gambir</em></td>
<td>or yellow catechu; the leaves are used as a mordant and in beetle chewing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gamelan</em></td>
<td>set of musical instruments making up a Javanese orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gauze</em></td>
<td>a light, sheer fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gerede zijde</em></td>
<td>silk thread ready to be woven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gessies</em></td>
<td>plain woven cotton cloths that were measured by the gaz, an Indian measure of almost one ell or 0.68 meters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hasta</em></td>
<td>see <em>asta</em></td>
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<td>459</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the directorate or central management of the VOC consisting of seventeen bewindhebbers. They were selected two or three times per year from among members of the six commercial chambers as delegates to the meetings of the directors. The chamber of Amsterdam was allowed to send eight delegates, Zeeland four, Hoorn, Rotterdam, Delft and Enkhuizen one each and the seventeenth delegate alternated from one of the chambers except Amsterdam.

Uncaria gambir from which a concoction was brewed using the leaves. It was consumed with betelnut but also used as a dye.

twisted spun threads

from Indonesian literally meaning "string" or "band" and in its verb form "to tie" or "to bind." A term applied to a resist-dye process in which patterns are created in the warp or weft by tying off small bundles of yarns with a dye resistant material. The resists are cut away and new ones added for each color. When all are removed the yarns are patterned, ready for weaving. In weft ikat the technique is only applied to the weft threads, in warp ikat to the warp threads.

een japanse lengtemaat van 1,909 meter

select association of Japanese merchants engaged in *pancado* buying

a rectangular piece of cloth

Javanese for river, a water

cotton

cotton to make a *panjang*, a cloth of approximately 2.50 x 1.10 meters

red cotton

weight; 1/100 of a pikul

textile workshops patronized by the state or rulers in India
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kasab</td>
<td>silver or gold thread in northern Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katoë</td>
<td>weight measure of 0.62 kilogram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepala</td>
<td>from Indonesian meaning &quot;head&quot;, in cloth context it is the decorative panel of the cloth, often characterized by <em>tumpal</em> motifs, located in the middle or at the end of a cloth with a color pattern dissimilar to the body or <em>badan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kesumba</td>
<td>yellowish-red vegetable dye of the safflower, <em>Carthamus tinctorius</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleeden</td>
<td>textiles, fabrics, clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleedenpakhuis</td>
<td>warehouse for cloth and clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kleedenwinkel</td>
<td>shop that sells cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krawang</td>
<td>furl work, gold or silver thread sewn coiled onto a cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraton</td>
<td>palace and capital of an Indonesian ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kris</td>
<td>from Malay <em>keris</em>, traditional Malay-Indonesian dagger or sword with ridged serpentine blade worn by all men in the 17th and 18th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuban</td>
<td>Japanese oval shaped gold coin weighing 18 grams. In 1696 the gold content decreased from 85.69 mark to 56.41 mark or 34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampotes</td>
<td>cotton cloths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapis bezoar</td>
<td>stone found in some animals which was awarded great power as an antidote. Portuguese, <em>pedro porco</em>, a stone found in porcupines, pigs, goats, monkeys, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantas</td>
<td>item of clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantri</td>
<td>(mandarin) fiscal and governmental functionary of the king from the Majapahit period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mardijker</td>
<td>a non-Indonesian Asian person. The word is an old Dutch rendering of the Portuguese version of Maharddhika, Sanskrit for &quot;great man&quot;, &quot;high and mighty&quot;, and which acquired in Indonesia the meaning of free(d) person (Taylor, 1983: 47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mestiza</td>
<td>female of mixed parentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas dinar</td>
<td>small gold coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>Mogul, a person belonging to the nomads in Persia, but in India associated with its ruler who came from the Turk family of Baber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mullah</td>
<td>a Muslim teacher or interpreter of the religious law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myrobalan</td>
<td>from Greek myron, unguent, and balanos, date; the plum-like black fruit of amongst others the <em>terminalia chebula</em>, a kind of palm tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negotie boeken</td>
<td>records the Company kept concerning the daily financial transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nieuwe Markt</td>
<td>new market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nila</td>
<td>Sanskrit for indigo dye, deep blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oppotmiddel</td>
<td>something to hoard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orangkaya</td>
<td>wealthy man of the Malay nobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'i</td>
<td>bolt (of cloth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padi</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pancado</td>
<td>Spanish-Portuguese <em>pancada</em>, a commercial term for selling wholesale. In Japan it meant that the Governor in agreement with other parties bought up the total import for one price without permitting sales to individual merchants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panglima</td>
<td>political title indicating executive power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panjumpleng</td>
<td>house tax, levy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panji</td>
<td>the name of the heroine in stories about the wars and adventures of a betrothed royal couple disguised as soldiers who are the subject of the Panji naratives of Hindu Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parang rusak</td>
<td>meaning &quot;broken sword&quot;, a classical diagonal batik design motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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patola  plural for patolu
payement  from Dutch paeyen, a way of paying: coins
peranakan  person of an ethnic mixture and Javanese, often applied to a Chinese-Javanese
picis  collective noun for Asiatic coins of copper, tin or lead
pikul  a person’s carrying capacity on a joke. In Java in 1638 for pepper it was 122 pounds, in 1695, 125 pounds.
pound goods  trade goods that were expressed in a unit of weight when transacted such as raw silk, cotton thread, spices, sugar, thee etc.
prada  application of gold leaf or -dust to the surface of a cloth
reederij  the outfitting of a ship for one voyage in 16th century Netherlands
rendement  an account showing the results of an auction or sales
rupia  Sanskrit rūpya meaning silver. A Bengali silver coin originally. One rupia equalled 28 stuivers in 1645
ruw  rough, unfinished
ruwe zijde  thread of reeled cocoons of the silk worm
ruym  > more than
sappanwood  the wood of Caesalpinia sappan from which a red dye is made by boiling the shavings of the wood
sarisari  store that sells things of varied kinds
sarung  Indonesian sarung, same as Dutch sarong, a tubular tubeskirt for the lower body characterized by design zones known as "head" or kepala, and "body" or badan
satin  a cloth characterized by a lustrous smooth silky surface
satin weave  a float weave structure of either weft or warp threads
sawah  irrigated agricultural land
**selvage**
the edges of a textile where the wefts encircle the outermost warp threads

**schaers**
< less than

**schilderij**
painting

**shogun**
military governor of Japan who until 1868 constituted a quasi-dynasty exercising absolute rule and relegating the emperors to a nominal position (from Chinese, *chiang-chun*)

**syahbandar**
authority who oversees the trade with foreigners in an international port; derived from a Persian title

**sindu**
cotton cloth from Sind in India

**sitsen**
chintz

**slendang**
same as *selendang*, a shouldercloth; also used as an all-purpose carrying sling for babies, marketwares, etc.

**sogo**
a bark used as dyestuff

**socketocken**
textile from India for the Siamese market written in the Dutch vernacular of the 17th century

**songket**
supplementary weft cloth, usually made in Sumatra or Sulawesi and characteristically made with silver or gold, or both, metallic threads

**stuagie lijst**
bills of lading

**stuyver**
a silver dutch coin in the 17th and 18th centuries. Twenty stuyvers make a guilder, which is the monetary unit in which the accounting books of the VOC expressed the value of things. The intrinsic value was 1 stuyver in Indonesia from 1658 till 1744

**supplementary**
decorative technique in weaving in which a *weft or warp* pattern thread is added to the *foundation weave*. Supplementary warp threads are usually continuous, extending the length of the warp

**susuhunan**
old Javanese title for the ruler of Mataram, an inland eastern Java kingdom
**syahbandar** administrator of international trade to whom duties were paid in a harbor; he usually spoke the language of the traders whose affairs he handles; he was often a descendent of one of the trading groups, a resident foreigner

**t'ang-t'ou pu** a headcloth made in China for export to Kelantan

**ta-ch'in** the name the Chinese gave to the luxury products that were imported from Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, including the products from Southeast Asia that reached China together with these western Asian luxuries in an indirect way. The Chinese called the people from western Asia Ta-chih

**taël** Dutch for Malay tahil. A Chinese unit of weight and value which changed from harbor to harbor and over time

**tapestry weave** a textile structure in which the warps are concealed by the wefts which are worked back and forth in defined blocks. The variously colored wefts may interlock where the blocks join, or not, leaving slits in the patterning

**tapi** length of cloth used as a wrapper

**tasar** Hindi, same as Sanskrit tasara, also tussah silk, produced from an undomesitcated Asiatic silkworm, *Antheraea mylitta*

**tegal** non-irrigated agricultural land

**tirāz** originally it meant embroidery. Next, a robe with elaborate embroidery and bands on it with embroidered writing for rulers or high ranking persons. At last the connotation changed to mean the workshops in which the robes were made.

**toko** shop, store

**tritik** a resist dye process in which patterns are stitched and tightly gathered in the cloth to prevent substantial penetration of dye

**tulis** Indonesian for handwritten, handdrawn. The name for a batik in which the resist has been hand-drawn rather than stamped

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumpal</td>
<td>patterns of long drawn out triangles or cones repeated in a row, mostly associated with a sarung, but they also occur on other cloths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twill weave</td>
<td>a textile structure characterized by a diagonal alignment of floats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaderlandse eis</td>
<td>order for goods from Asia initiated in the Netherlands and sent to Batavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warung</td>
<td>shop in front of a residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warp</td>
<td>parallel threads that run longitudinally on the loom or cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayang</td>
<td>traditional Javanese or Balinese theatre, including leather, wooden, or shadow puppets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weft</td>
<td>threads in a cloth or on the loom that traverse the threads of the warp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winkel</td>
<td>shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wisselbank</td>
<td>bank of exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>worsted</td>
<td>long stapled wool, combed straight and smooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulun</td>
<td>probably an ikattted cloth; wulun in Javanese is feathered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>