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.


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.19

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.20 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.21 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).22

The increase of weaving in Sumatra was also noted in the earliest

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, Leeuensbeschrijving: 66
reports from western Sumatra in the 1650s. 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. The increase of local weaving was
attributed to an economic adjustment to the decreasing pepper sales.

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. 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. Their campaign seemed to have had little success judging from the two
regions Agam and Lima Puluh Kota, which were flourishing weaving villages
in 1780.

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

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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;

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

25 H. Kroeskamp, "De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1668)", PhD dissertation: 43-51

26 H. Kroeskamp, De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1668): 43-51, 59; W.Ph.

27 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 3 (1671): 763

28 Akira Oki, "Note on the history of textile industry": 148
Dutch of ruining the celebrated Malay trade. Less than 20 years later Sultan Muhammad Syah of Indrapura defected from the Dutch side to the English.

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. Between 1663 and 1675 Banten’s Sultan sent off 35 ships. 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


30 Ibid: 167

31 J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Banten: A West Indonesian Port and Polity": 117-8

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.\textsuperscript{33} The Sultan's fortunes declined, but surely the number of enemies vowing to destroy the Company must have gone up.\textsuperscript{34}

\textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{35} Nagtegaal refers to the primary function of Indian textiles as an \textit{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 \textit{dubbeltjes} started to function as an \textit{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.\textsuperscript{36} Nagtegaal

\textsuperscript{33} J.K.J. de Jonge, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 7 (1681): 365-6; 401

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Opkomst}, vol 9: VIII-XIV

\textsuperscript{35} Luc Nagtegaal, \textit{Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger}: 12, 182186-9

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid: 184 "in 1693 meenden GG en Raden dat de vraag in wezen irrationeel 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(^\text{37})</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. 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:

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38 Ibid: 184-5 The payement paid not only the required deliveries in Java, but also in Ceylon and the Maluku.
TABLE 14  
Precious Metal Export from the Netherlands  
Compared with Indian Cloth Import to the Netherlands  
in Ten-year Totals from 1650-1730

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Metal Export in £1,000</th>
<th>Indian Cloth Import in £1,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650-60</td>
<td>8,400</td>
<td>11,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660-70</td>
<td>11,900</td>
<td>10,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670-80</td>
<td>10,980</td>
<td>13,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680-90</td>
<td>19,720</td>
<td>26,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690-1700</td>
<td>29,005</td>
<td>27,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-10</td>
<td>39,125</td>
<td>38,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710-20</td>
<td>38,827</td>
<td>44,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720-30</td>
<td>66,027</td>
<td>46,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \textit{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 \textit{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.45

The 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 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.46

Java played a central role to scattered Indonesian kingdoms whose rulers took care to be on friendly terms with Sultan Agung in the kraton at Mataram.47 In 1625 the king of Palembang sent seven elephants to Mataram as a gift.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.49 Both Sumatran kingdoms and Banjermasin in Borneo regularly sent envoys to Sultan Agung and Javaneness was appreciated,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.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

45 F.W. Stapel, 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.

46 B. Schriek, Indonesian Sociological Studies: 61

47 L. Andaya, The Kingdom of Johore: 86

48 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 5 (1625): 104

49 B. Schriek, Sociological Studies: 57

50 B. Watson Andaya, 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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57 J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 6 (1654): 39
58 J.J. Ras, Hikajat Bandjar (1968): 329
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 susuhunans 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, salemore, kain gulong, 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

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. 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." 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. 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. 68 The religious ferment was still being spread in the 1670s and found renewed

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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.

67 W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 2 (1640): 95

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 meager70 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 Makassar rijk volgens de Notitie van Cornelis Speelman uit 1670": 115. Salt and rice were the primary imports, Javanese cloth complementary.
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

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 Troenádjájá 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. 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. 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. 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.

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81 B. Schrieke, Sociological Studies: 60

82 Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 41-9


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

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.\textsuperscript{90} 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.\textsuperscript{91}

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.\textsuperscript{92} 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.\textsuperscript{93}

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.\textsuperscript{94} It is not yet clear if the patterns or styles had originated from the royal families or from the women

\textsuperscript{90} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 4 (1684): 621-2; Tapan Raychaudhuri, \textit{Jan Company in Coromandel}: 162

\textsuperscript{91} W.Ph Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 4 (1683): 621-2; vol 5 (1686): 56-7

\textsuperscript{92} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., \textit{Generale Missiven}, vol 5 (1686): 56-7

\textsuperscript{93} F.de Haan, \textit{Oud Batavia}, vol 1, paragraph 674

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid, vol 5 (1688): 248-50
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{96} In 1648 more than 6,000 kilogram wax arrived in Batavia from Solor and Makassar.\textsuperscript{97} In 1679 the VOC bought 14,000 kilograms of wax on Borneo’s east coast at 15 rixd. per \textit{pikul} (1 \textit{pikul} = 62.5 kilogram).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{tapi} is still a puzzle. In the 1720s the sales of the chintz \textit{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,

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid, vol 5 (1688): 248-50
\textsuperscript{96} R. Laarhoven, Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: 219-21
\textsuperscript{97} Daghregister Batavia, (1648) June 3, September 21, 28
\textsuperscript{98} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 4 (1679): 336
\textsuperscript{99} W.Ph. Coolhaas ed., Generale Missiven, vol 5 (1688): 248-50
\textsuperscript{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\(^{101}\)

<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</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

\(^{101}\) 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 Negorie 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.\textsuperscript{102} 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.\textsuperscript{103} 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


\textsuperscript{103} Dagh-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 "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." 

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.

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." 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

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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." 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. 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. 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. 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. 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\cite{119} to the Chinese as the indigo dyers; these craftsmen were supplied from the indigo fields found between Kartasura and Kediri.\cite{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.\cite{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.\cite{122} After 1680 the susuhunan intensified his grip on the coastal regents, a manoeuver also supported by his first wife.\cite{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

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\begin{enumerate}
\item J.A. Chijs, Plakaatboek, vol 2 (1648): 121
\item J.K.J. de Jonge, Opkomst, vol 8 (1678): 138 (expedition of Anthonio Hurdt)
\item H.J. de Graaf ed., De vijf Gezantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens: 256-7
\item 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.
\item Luc Nagtegaal, Rijden op een Hollandse Tijger: 149
\end{enumerate}
\end{flushright}
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. 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. 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."¹

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

¹ 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 then 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
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 salem pore 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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VOC 54   Samples on 2 pages, each with two small pieces of cloths

VOC 1055   Instructie van de Kleeden die op de Custe van Coromandel gemaakt worden te weten van sorteringen die tot Banten, de Molucques, Banda en Borneo wel begeert zijn. Unpaginated (1607-13)

VOC 1055   Acoort gemaakt bij den Capiteyn Arent Martsen Van Reyhen uyt crachte van de Ed. Heeren staten ende sijn princelijckh. vande Mauritius de Nassau excellentie ter eene sijde ende den doorlughtighe hoogheboren Coninck genaempt Vincay Pata Raya Alou Coninck onder de landen Canabuaj Sinwa Seneapaty ende meer ander heerlichheden ter andere ende dat voor henenz deseene April Anno 1610. Unpaginated

VOC 1408-22   1785, Japanse eisen; staten opgemaakt door het College van Tolken, met opgave van door Japanse autoriteiten verlangde goederen, met tekeningen en monsters.

VOC 1483   Report from Barent Brouwer about Magindanao to Governor Thim in Ternate, No. M (1689): 1-83

VOC 1483   Report from Meindert de Roy about Magindanao to Governor Thim in Ternate, No. M (1689): 1-70

VOC 1637   Instructions to Captain Paulus de Brievingens and Ensign Jacob Cloeck leaving to Maguindanao on June 15, 1700 with the Yacht de Bije, the galiot de Peer, and the sloop Larijgue: 270-281.

\(^1\) The years refer to the financial year or book year that started in the preceeding year. For example, 1653 is the book year from September 1, 1652 to August 31, 1653.
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wel expresselyk, ten opzigt van de Sorteeringe, Lengte en Breeete, of zoo daarin meerder Vlakken of Beschadigheid mogten gevonden worden, daar voor niet responsable te willen zyn: 1-43

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buitenkantoor</td>
<td>branch office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burger</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caal</td>
<td>one caal counts 240 threads; an indication of the fineness of a woven cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cafila</td>
<td>a train or convoy of travellers usually over land as a caravan, but sometimes by sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caixies</td>
<td>Dutch from Portuguese caixa, copper, tin or lead coins of low value introduced to Indonesia by the Chinese traders before 1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cap</td>
<td>a copper stamp in use by the VOC to mark its tradegoods; in the context of batik it is a metal stamp used to apply molten wax to the cloth surface in one type of batik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carding</td>
<td>the process of untangling and loosening fibres of dried cotton with the application of a bow prior to spinning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnatic</td>
<td>Kingdom from north to south along the eastern coast of India in the 16th and partly 17th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catechu</td>
<td>betelnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceer</td>
<td>weight measure of usually 10 ounces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chay</td>
<td>Tamil chaya, the root of the Oldenlandia umbellata from which a red dye is obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couched</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covado, cobido</td>
<td>measure of one ell of 0.66-0.69 meter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowl</td>
<td>a lease or grant specified in a written document issued by the kings in India to the Dutch who also named it a kaul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curcuma</td>
<td>the root of the Curcuma longa is used as a yellow dyestuff, a spice, and a medicine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**daily record**

**damask**
a general term applied to fabrics patterned by floating weaves

**dito**
identem, the same

**dubes de dames**
loosely woven textile, lightly fulled, Z-twisted fine wool warp, S-twisted fine wool weft, usually dyed black in the 17th century

**dubbeltjes**
small silver Dutch coin at the value of 0.10,

**embroidery**
a variety of needlework stitches that are used to decorate or embellish a fabric

**fiscal**
member of the judiciary

**firman**
a written order issued by a ruler

**float weave**
threads woven to traverse over two or more perpendicular threads on a loom or in a cloth

**floret**
a kind of silk floss or yarn

**floss silk**
untwisted filaments of the finest silk, used in embroidery

**fluyt**
a light ship mainly used for shipping bulk goods, similar to a flyboat

**foundation weave**
basic woven structure of a fabric

**fuya**
trade term for cloth produced from the bark of a tree, same as *tapa*

**gambir**
or yellow catechu; the leaves are used as a mordant and in beetle chewing.

**gamelan**
set of musical instruments making up a Javanese orchestra

**gauze**
a light, sheer fabric

**gerede zijde**
silk thread ready to be woven

**gessies**
plain woven cotton cloths that were measured by the gaz, an Indian measure of almost one ell or 0.68 meters.

**hasta**
see *asta*

**459**
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.

**gambir**

plant *Uncaria gambir* from which a concoction was brewed using the leaves. It was consumed with betelnut, but also used as a dye.

**getwernde**

twisted spun threads

**ikat**

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.

**ikje**

een japanse lengtemaat van 1,909 meter

**ituwappo**

select association of Japanese merchants engaged in *pancado* buying

**kain**

a rectangular piece of cloth

**kali**

Javanese for river, a water

**kapas**

cotton

**kapas panjang**

cotton to make a *panjang*, a cloth of approximately 2.50 x 1.10 meters

**kapas mera**

red cotton

**kati**

weight; 1/100 of a *pikul*

**karkhana**

textile workshops patronized by the state or rulers in India
silver or gold thread in northern Sumatra

weight measure of 0.62 kilogram

from Indonesian meaning "head", in cloth context it is the decorative panel of the cloth, often characterized by tumpal motifs, located in the middle or at the end of a cloth with a color pattern dissimilar to the body or badan

yellowish-red vegetable dye of the safflower, Carthamus tinctorius

textiles, fabrics, clothes

warehouse for cloth and clothing

shop that sells cloth

furl work, gold or silver thread sewn coiled onto a cloth

palace and capital of an Indonesian ruler

from Malay keris, traditional Malay-Indonesian dagger or sword with ridged serpentine blade worn by all men in the 17th and 18th century

Japanese oval shaped gold coin weighing 18 grams. In 1696 the gold content decreased from 85.69 mark to 56.41 mark or 34%

cotton cloths

stone found in some animals which was awarded great power as an antidote. Portuguese, pedro porco, a stone found in porcupines, pigs, goats, monkeys, etc.

item of clothing

(mandarin) fiscal and governmental functionary of the king from the Majapahit period

a non-Indonesian Asian person. The word is an old Dutch rendering of the Portuguese version of Maharddhika, Sanskrit for "great man", "high and mighty", and which acquired in Indonesia the meaning of free(d) person (Taylor, 1983: 47)

female of mixed parentage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition/Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mas dinar</td>
<td>small gold coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td><em>Mogul</em>, 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 <em>myron</em>, unguent, and <em>balanos</em>, date; the plum-like black fruit of amongst others the <em>terminalia chebula</em>, a kind of palm tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negocië 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 narratives 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>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>patola</em></td>
<td>plural for <em>patolu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>payement</em></td>
<td>from Dutch <em>paeyen</em>, a way of paying: coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>peranakan</em></td>
<td>person of an ethnic mixture and Javanese, often applied to a Chinese-Javanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>picis</em></td>
<td>collective noun for Asiatic coins of copper, tin or lead</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>pikul</em></td>
<td>a person’s carrying capacity on a joke. In Java in 1638 for pepper it was 122 pounds, in 1695, 125 pounds.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>pound goods</em></td>
<td>trade goods that were expressed in a unit of weight when transacted such as raw silk, cotton thread, spices, sugar, thee etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>prada</em></td>
<td>application of gold leaf or -dust to the surface of a cloth</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>reederij</em></td>
<td>the outfitting of a ship for one voyage in 16th century Netherlands</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>rendement</em></td>
<td>an account showing the results of an auction or sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rupia</em></td>
<td>Sanskrit <em>rupya</em> meaning silver. A Bengali silver coin originally. One <em>rupia</em> equalled 28 <em>stuivers</em> in 1645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ruw</em></td>
<td>rough, unfinished</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ruwe zijde</em></td>
<td>thread of reeled cocoons of the silk worm</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ruym</em></td>
<td>&gt; more than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sappanwood</em></td>
<td>the wood of <em>Caesalpinia sappan</em> from which a red dye is made by boiling the shavings of the wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sarisari</em></td>
<td>store that sells things of varied kinds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sarung</em></td>
<td>Indonesian <em>sarung</em>, same as Dutch <em>sarong</em>, a tubular tubeskirt for the lower body characterized by design zones known as &quot;head&quot; or kepala, and &quot;body&quot; or badan</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>satin</em></td>
<td>a cloth characterized by a lustrous smooth silky surface</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>satin weave</em></td>
<td>a float weave structure of either weft or warp threads</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>sawah</em></td>
<td>irrigated agricultural land</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selvage</td>
<td>the edges of a textile where the wefts encircle the outermost warp threads</td>
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<tr>
<td>schilderij</td>
<td>painting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shogun</td>
<td>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)</td>
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<tr>
<td>syahbandar</td>
<td>authority who overseas the trade with foreigners in an international port; derived from a Persian title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindu</td>
<td>cotton cloth from Sind in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitsen</td>
<td>chintz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slendang</td>
<td>same as selendang, a shouldercloth; also used as an all-purpose carrying sling for babies, marketwares, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sogo</td>
<td>a bark used as dyestuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socketocken</td>
<td>textile from India for the Siamese market written in the Dutch vernacular of the 17th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>songket</td>
<td>supplementary weft cloth, usually made in Sumatra or Sulawesi and characteristically made with silver or gold, or both, metallic threads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stuagie lijst</td>
<td>bills of lading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stuyver</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplementary</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susuhunan</td>
<td>old Javanese title for the ruler of Mataram, an inland eastern Java kingdom</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
"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 undomesticated Asiatic silkworm, Antheraea mylitta

"tegal" non-irrigated agricultural land

"tiraz" 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, hand drawn. The name for a batik in which the resist has been hand-drawn rather than stamped
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<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 ikatted cloth; wulun in Javanese is feathered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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