

Suwito Casande

The Fashion style of Nyai (Concubines) in Batavia 1870-1930

 Quick Submit

 Quick Submit

 Universitas Multimedia Nusantara

Document Details

Submission ID

trn:oid::1:3076275498

Submission Date

Nov 12, 2024, 2:06 PM GMT+7

Download Date

Nov 12, 2024, 2:08 PM GMT+7

File Name

The_Fashion_style_of_Nyai_Concubines_in_Batavia_1870-1930.pdf

File Size

775.9 KB

12 Pages

6,108 Words

32,745 Characters

4% Overall Similarity

The combined total of all matches, including overlapping sources, for each database.

Filtered from the Report

- ▶ Bibliography
- ▶ Quoted Text
- ▶ Cited Text
- ▶ Small Matches (less than 8 words)

Exclusions

- ▶ 2 Excluded Sources
- ▶ 3 Excluded Matches

Match Groups

- **13 Not Cited or Quoted 4%**
 Matches with neither in-text citation nor quotation marks
- **0 Missing Quotations 0%**
 Matches that are still very similar to source material
- **0 Missing Citation 0%**
 Matches that have quotation marks, but no in-text citation
- **0 Cited and Quoted 0%**
 Matches with in-text citation present, but no quotation marks

Top Sources

- 4% Internet sources
- 0% Publications
- 3% Submitted works (Student Papers)

Integrity Flags

0 Integrity Flags for Review

No suspicious text manipulations found.

Our system's algorithms look deeply at a document for any inconsistencies that would set it apart from a normal submission. If we notice something strange, we flag it for you to review.

A Flag is not necessarily an indicator of a problem. However, we'd recommend you focus your attention there for further review.

Match Groups

- **13 Not Cited or Quoted 4%**
Matches with neither in-text citation nor quotation marks
- **0 Missing Quotations 0%**
Matches that are still very similar to source material
- **0 Missing Citation 0%**
Matches that have quotation marks, but no in-text citation
- **0 Cited and Quoted 0%**
Matches with in-text citation present, but no quotation marks

Top Sources

- 4% Internet sources
- 0% Publications
- 3% Submitted works (Student Papers)

Top Sources

The sources with the highest number of matches within the submission. Overlapping sources will not be displayed.

1	Student papers		
		School of Business and Management ITB	2%
2	Internet		
		core.ac.uk	1%
3	Internet		
		technodocbox.com	0%
4	Internet		
		chroniclingamerica.loc.gov	0%
5	Internet		
		inggris.fkip.untirta.ac.id	0%
6	Internet		
		www.ldsd.org	0%
7	Internet		
		discovery.researcher.life	0%
8	Internet		
		dokumen.pub	0%
9	Internet		
		trishburr.com	0%
10	Internet		
		www.midorinco.ir	0%

The Fashion style of *Nyai* (Concubines) in Batavia 1870-1930

Suwito Casande*, Dharsono Dharsono, Guntur Guntur
Doctoral Program Institut Seni Indonesia Surakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

Changes and developments of the times were also marked by changes in fashion, including in the period 1870-1930, when Batavia had developed into a major port city, it was grown not only as a centre of government but also as a centre of fashion. Fashion in Batavia was an expression of the diversity of its residents. The existence of *nyai* (concubines) at this time also influenced the development of Batavian fashion. The perspective used to see the fashion worn by women in Batavia was symbolic interactionism. Dilthey Hermeneutic method was used to examine the structure of clothing including main clothing, millineries, and accessories. And the analysis of the interpretation used Homi Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity. The conclusion was that this concubine fashion style was a new form of fashion that placed European women's fashion and aristocratic women's fashion as the dominant culture. Concubine fashion seemed to imitate, admire, but at the same time demean the symbols of the dominant culture and replaced it with a concubine style that interfered with the existence of fashion worn by the dominant culture, by eliminating class boundaries created by the colonial government in segregation politics.

Keywords: Batavia, concubine, Dutch East Indies, fashion, *nyai*, social strata

DOI: 10.7176/ADS/100-05

Publication date: May 30th 2022

1. Introduction

1870–1930 was a period in which Batavia was in a golden era. This was none other than the change in the policy of the colonial government over the colonies which was implemented by the investment of private foreign capital. Changes in economic policy led to significant changes in technology and mechanization; especially in the agricultural and plantation sectors, as well as supporting facilities such as railroads. The need for large resources for the process of industrialization and mechanization made Batavia's position even more important because it connected a number of cities in Java that produced traded crops and industrial commodities with international markets and inter-island domestic markets. On the other hand, Batavia was an important port for the arrival of commodities from international markets to cities in Java such as cotton for the batik industry and fashion products. In addition, Batavia was an inter-island trading port for the flow of trade in goods, including batik produced in areas such as Surakarta, for inter-island trade.

This process of industrialization and mechanization took place quickly, at least it could be seen in the diversity of ethnic groups that merged into one in the city of Batavia. Most of the foreigners who came to Batavia were young men skilled in industry and mechanization. These European men were generally single, so that the gap in the composition of men and women was filled by local women who were at the same time in Batavia to work and some were directly involved in the industrialization of plantation crops such as laborers on coffee, tea, and tobacco plantations. The practice of inter-racial relations was widely practiced at this time, although the colonial government intervened to monitor this through segregation politics. This politics classified a number of races based on their groups in housing patterns and dress codes that must be in accordance with their respective races. This interference was clearly stated in the regulations that dealt with how a person should look.



Figure 1. The diversity of fashion in Batavia 1870-1930

Source: (en Wetenschappen 1922, 298), Hardouin (Hardouin, 1855, 18)

<http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/861562ba-ddc0-49ac-abdc-98ce12086e14>

The segregation policy of the colonial government which was implemented in 1870-1930 on the fashion of Batavia residents (Figure 1) seemed paradoxical because the regulation only regulated how a person dressed in public spaces. Thus, a paradoxical style emerged when the fashion was worn in a domestic space. This could be seen when European people wore batik. In this process of cultural acculturation, concubine figure had a significant role because they acted as female who filled male-female inequality in European households. In this position the concubine absorbed European culture brought by European men such as fashion, dishes, etc. Concubine also acted as agent of cultural change, one of which was by introducing the use of batik as fashion.

Figure 2: Picture of concubines



Source: 1.

https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/804181?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=f235403f694b7f09da7a&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=4

(Downloaded by Casande, 21 Juli 2020 10,28)

Source: 2. Baay, R. (Baay 2010, 88). Portret van een oermoeder. *Beelden van de nyai in Nederlands-Indië*

Concubine (*nyai*) is mentioned in the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (Paul, 1917: 36), at least until the late 19th century was a profession that managed European houses in the Dutch East Indies. The term *nyai* by Taylor (2009: 147) is used to refer to a European concubine (life partner), Ridwan Saidi (2019 interview) and Regie Baay (Baay, 2010: 2) convey the same thing. So, in this terminology, *nyai* (concubines) were women who lived together with European men in the Dutch East Indies. Concubine (figure 2) was a painting by Ernest made in the early 19th century, an illustration of the phenomenon of concubines occurring until the 19th century. In the painting, the concubine appeared wearing a long dark kebaya combined with a sarong as the main outfit, batik

shawl, umbrella, and slippers as millineries. The appearance of the concubine in the photo (figure 2) when compared to the fashion style of the Batavian people (figure 1) illustrated that the clothes worn were quite classy in their era due to the use of relatively complete fashion compositions.

In the year of 2022, Hayu Adi Darmarastri conducted a research on concubine titled "Keberadaan Nyai di Batavia 1870-1928". This research uses historical method focusing on the figure of concubine as a social phenomenon in the Batavian society in the 1870-1928 era. Concubines is characterized as figures wearing a lacy white kebaya. Research on concubine is also carried out by Linda Christanty in 1994 with the title "Nyai dan Masyarakat Kolonial Hindia-Belanda". This research also uses historical methods and sees concubines in relation to the Dutch East Indies colonial phenomenon. The same research is also conducted by Terry Irenewaty and Winda Prasetyaning Adhi in 2016 with the title "Eksistensi Perjuangan Wanita Masa Kolonial". The research focuses on the role of women in the colonial period, especially concubines as agents of cultural change. This paper uses historical method. Research on concubines was also carried out by FX Domini BB. Hera in 2014 with the title "Terasing dalam Budaya Barat dan Timur: Potret Nyai Hindia-Belanda abad 17-20". This paper uses historical method. The research focuses on the image of concubines as marginalized women with a negative stigma, although concubines also play positive roles in cultural acculturation. The four existing studies examine concubine from historical perspective and come to the conclusion that concubine are a colonial period phenomenon and concubine have a positive role as cultural agents. So it is quite relevant to discuss the fashion worn by Batavian concubines in the 1870-1930 era.

2. Method

This research used Dilthey's Hermeneutics method to interpret the fashion worn by concubines and women in Batavia. Hermenutics by Dilthey was a means to understand art, action, and human writing (Palmer 2005: 45) and to be able to understand (verstehen) the fashion worn by concubines, a symbolic interactionism perspective was applied. This view believed that symbols were social formations so that meaning was a form of society's collective understanding as a result of interaction (Turner, 2012: 338). In this perspective, concubines' fashion was a form of understanding with other women's fashion in Batavia as a model for understanding the clothes worn by concubines.

This research used an interaction analysis model, namely by collecting data, interacting it, and then reducing the data as the final result (Huberman and Mile 2009, 592). The data was obtained from several photo collections belonging to Leiden University, conducted interviews with experts and culture and fashion observers in Jakarta, and then interacted them with colonial document data and library data. The interpretation of visual data using Homi Bhabha's hybridity theory was to see the fashion style of concubines based on the environment in which Batavia concubines came from which was a cross between indigenous women, European women, and aristocratic women.

3. Results and Discussion

Analysis method of Concubines' fashion style 1870-1930 used the theory of cultural hybridity from Homi Bhabha. Hybridity by Bhabha (Bhabha 1994, 4) views a new culture as the result of crossing several cultures which produces a new identity. Still according to Bhabha, colonial hybridity is a space of ambivalence in which power is exercised by arranging objects in a mixture, metaphor, and negative transparency (Bhabha 1994, 112). Cultural hybridity in Bhabha's view will separate the dominant culture versus the weak culture, so that the dominant culture will feel superior and will not change its characteristics. Weak culture will be seen as a culture whose characteristics will be changed and this awareness does not only arise from the dominant culture but also from the weak culture itself. This change is carried out by imitating a culture which Bhabha (Bhabha 1994, 54) called mimicry. Still according to Bhabha, this imitation is called camouflage when the culture being imitated is not exactly the same and while imitating the culture with condescending results is called mockery. This demeaning act of imitation is a response to the form of resistance from a weak culture against a strong culture, namely by denying the stigma of the culture it imitated. Bhabha's theory of imitation, according to Ashcroft (2013, 125) has an ambiguous impact because the response of cultural existence make strong cultures doubt whether what is imitated is part of their culture or not. Still according to Ashcroft (Ashcroft 2013, 125) ambiguity appears because even though there are cultures that show strong dominance, on the other hand this imitation is a threat because it also shows the loss of boundaries between dominant and weak cultures. A new hybrid culture according to Bhabha (Bhaba 1994, 38) occurs when this new culture is not accepted into the dominant culture because it is considered harassing (mimicry), while the weak culture considers this new culture

very different from the weak culture itself.

Batavia as a large port city had a diversity of ethnic groups. Blackburn (Blackburn, 2011, 98) 1885 grouped the population of Batavia into Chinese society, European society, Arab society, and indigenous peoples. Meanwhile, the 1890 population census recorded the classification of European and Indo-European communities, Chinese, indigenous (Javanese, South Sulawesi), and slaves (Castle 2007, 10). The census in 1930 divided into indigenous peoples (Betawi, Sundanese, Javanese, Malay, North Sulawesi, Minang, Maluku, Depok, South Sumatra, Madura), while non-indigenous people were Chinese and European (Castle 2007, 24-25). The diversity of ethnic groups in Batavia formed a very heterogeneous population because each brought their own culture and customs. Concubines based on their origins mentioned in Regie Baay's presentation (2010, 43-188) mostly came from the Island of Java, the same thing was also stated by Ridwan Saidi (interview, 2019). Hayu (Hayu 2002, 14) also had the same opinion, adding that some concubines were also taken from the *priyayi* class (elite people), which is the bureaucratic class formed by the colonial government. Hayu considered concubines as cultural agent which was expressed through fashion, so that the clothes of concubines who were Javanese women was identical to those referred to by Margana (Margana, Sri, M. Nursam 2010, 122) as a mix and match of long cloth and kebaya as well as the use of accessories. such as necklaces, pendants, and also shawls as millineries. By taking into account the existence and origin of concubines and the formation of symbols in fashion, this research would be conducted on indigenous women who were Javanese women, aristocratic women-because some concubines came from elite circles, and European women because concubines were in European households.

3.1. European women's fashion in Batavia

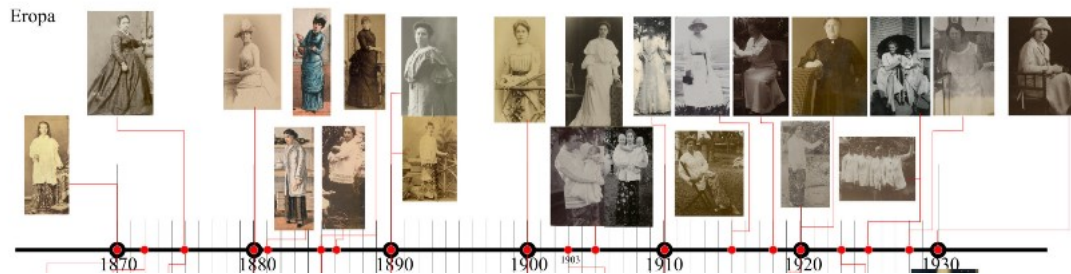


Figure 3: European women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930

Source: <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl>

Table 1: Summary of European women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930
 Source: personal collection

Period	Western Fashion	Batavia Fashion		
		Zaman	Muchlison	Paramitha
1870-1879	Victorian	Victorian	Victorian to Edwardian	Late Victorian
1880-1889	White Victorian, simplified	Victorian	Victorian	Victorian
1890-1899	Victorian	Victorian	Victorian	Victorian
1900-1909	Edwardian	Edwardian	Edwardian	Edwardian
1910-1919	Edwardian	Edwardian, simplified	Edwardian	Edwardian
1920	Coco Chanel,	Coco Chanel,	Edwardian-	Edwardian
1930	Hollywood	Hollywood	-	-

Period	Achjadi	Muchlzon	Zaman	Suciati	Musa
1870-1879	Knee-length white kebaya	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya
1880-1889	Lacy white kebaya	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya
1890-1899	Lacy white kebaya	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya

1900-1909	kebaya is starting to not be worn	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya
1910-1919	Kebaya is not worn anymore	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya
1920-1930	Kebaya is not worn anymore	European-influenced Victorian style kebaya	Lacy white kebaya (<i>nona</i>) with coastal style sarong in Dutch motif	Lacy white kebaya	Lacy white kebaya

European women's fashion trends in 1870 according to Blum (Blum 2012, 77) were still influenced by the Victorian style with characteristics quoted from Black (black 2012, 200) made with fine materials full of embellishments and decorations and using pastel colours. However Zaman (Zaman 2001, 142) stated it as having a bleak color. The fashion materials used at this time were bleak velvet and thick damast (Zaman 2002, 2). European women's fashion styles based on a visual analysis (table 1) by Alim Zaman, Sony Muchlison, and Ratna Paramitha (2019 interview) also had Victorian fashion characteristics, especially in the 1870-1899 era. In the next era, it was stated that European women's fashion in Batavia had adopted the Edwardian style. This style according to Alim Zaman (Zaman 2002, 7) had bright colours. European women in Batavia from 1900-1920 (figure 3) were described by Alim Zaman, Sonny Muchlison, and Ratna Paramitha as Edwardian style.

The European community in Batavia referred to by Blackburn (Blackburn 2011, 70-71) consisted of bureaucrats, businessmen, and the working class. Darmarastrri (Darmarastrri, 2002: 7) mentioned the unbalanced composition of men and women in Batavia (Darmarastrri, 2002: 7), namely the number of men was more than European women, so that in this case the unbalanced need was filled by other women. These women were referred to by Castle (Castle 2007, 9) as mardjiker women (former slaves from Asia or Africa who had been freed) who in the 1890 population census had been included in the European women's group because they had embraced Christianity. The identification of European women could then be filled by women outside of European society itself, and their style and appearance would follow the str

In addition to wearing western clothing in Batavia, European women also wore the *kebaya-jarrit*, especially as clothing in non-formal domestic circles. Kebaya was mentioned by Locher (Locher 2000, 126, 131) in the list of European women's clothing while in the Dutch East Indies. This outfit had been previously prepared, by buying kebayas while still in the Netherlands. Kebaya and *jarrit* (figure 3) were used from 1870-1930. Zaman (Zaman 2002, 12) stated that the kebaya was a tropical fashion for European women.

European women's kebaya (figure 3) was characterized by Judy Achjadi, Sony Muchlison, Alim Zaman, Suciati and Musa (interview, 2019) in the form of a lacy white kebaya, some interviewees agreed that this kebaya was influenced by Western fashion such as Victorian. Clothing in white colour occupied an important position in the bureaucratic system of the colonial government, this could be seen in *Stadsblad 1904 no 40*, where in articles 1 and 2 it was written that the daily official attire was white linen collar and white athila cuffs on the shirt, combined with pants and white linen hat. So that in the 1870-1930 period in Batavia there was a fashion influence from the Western world which European women brought to the Dutch East Indies and adapted them into local kebayas that suit the tropical climate. According to Taylor (Taylor 2009, 277), the appearance of European women when wearing a *kebaya-jarrit* had an impact on permanently lowering the status of the wearer.

Table 2: Summary of European women's fashion composition 1870-1930
Source: Personal collection

Year	MC	Mil	Acc
1870	√	√	√
1880	√	√	×
1890	√	√	√
1900	√	√	√
1910	√	√	×
1920	√	√	√
1930	√	√	×

Table 3: The main fashion forms of European women 1870-1930
 Source: Personal collection

Year	Kebaya						Jarit							
	Neck shape		Collar	Button		Sleeve	Cuff	Body length	Lace	Length	Type	Motif	Ornament	How to wear
	Type	Size		Type	Size									
1870	V	1/8	Revere	-	1/4	Ballou, loose	Edge seam w/o cuff	Above knee	Rim	Ankle	Sarong	-	Organic	Fold to centre
1880	V	1/4	Shawl	-	3/8	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Above knee	-	Ankle	Sarog	-	Geometric	Fold to centre
1890	V	1/4	Shawl	-	5/8	Straight	Edge seam w/o cuff	Below knee	Bottom edge	Above ankle	Sarong	Ceplokkan (generic)	Organic	End of cloth fold to centre
1900	V	1/8	Shawl	-	1/2	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Hip	Rim	Below ankle	Sarong	Buketan (flowers)	Organic	Fold to centre
1910	V	1/4	Shawl	-	3/8	Long, loose	Edge seam w/o cuff	Hip	Rim	Ankle	Sarong	Ceplokkan (geometric)	Geometric-Organic	Fold to centre
1920	V	1/4	Shawl	-	3/8	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Hip	Rim	Ankle	Long batik cloth	-	Organic	Centre folde
1930	V	1/4	Shawl	-	-	3/4 fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Hip	Rim	Above ankle	Long batik cloth	-	Mix	Fold to the left

The composition of European women's fashion in 1870-1930 (table 2) was relatively complete, starting from the main clothing, namely kebaya and *jarit*, millineries in the form of slippers, shawl, and umbrella, while accessories in the form of bracelets, earrings, and necklaces. It appeared that in the composition of European women's clothing, the main clothing and millineries were considered quite important. Based on the study of clothing structure (Table 3), it was known that European women's kebayas are characterized by a V-neck measuring 1/8 or 1/4 of the height of the kebaya, the collar was a shawl collar, the number of buttons varied, the sleeves were sewn to the edges without cuffs, the length of the kebaya became shorter. At first the kebaya was above the knee, then the model changed to be as long as the hip. In the period 1870-1930, the shape and size of the kebaya sleeve changed. The kebaya of that era used lace that matched the colour of the kebaya material and was attached to the edge of the kebaya. The *jarit* used was a type of coastal batik sarong where visually the *jarit* worn was dominated by the use of organic ornaments (some were seen using a *buketan* (bouquet of flowers) motif) while a small portion used a *jarit* with geometric ornaments. So that in the tropical clothing of European women in Batavia, European fashion was integrated into the kebaya, especially on the sleeves and length of the kebaya. The *jarit* section remained relatively unchanged in the period 1870-1930.

3.2. Indigenous women's fashion in Batavia



Figure 4: Indigenous women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930

Table 4: Summary of indigenous women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930
Source: personal collection

Periode	Achjadi	Others	Zaman	Sumarsono	Musa
1870-1879	Coloured kebaya	Indigo coloured kebaya	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-
1880-1889	Coloured kebaya	-	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-
1890-1899	Coloured kebaya	-	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-
1900-1909	Coloured kebaya	-	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-
1910-1919	Coloured kebaya	-	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-
1920-1930	Coloured kebaya	-	Coloured kebaya, <i>jarit</i> in royal motif	Wax-stamped batik	-

Indigenous women's fashion worn in Batavia, stated by Blackburn (Blackburn 2011, 111) was characterized by colourful kebayas and longer body sizes. Taylor (Taylor 2009, 261) also said the same thing about the characteristics of indigenous women's kebaya, who wore various colors and did not wear footwear. This colored kebaya was said by Zaman (Zaman 2002, 12) to be worn until 1930, while the *jarit* worn was one with a classic batik motif. Indigenous women's clothing (figure 3) in 1870-1930 was the kebaya which Judy Ahjadi and Alim Zaman (interview 2019) characterized as coloured kebaya. Indigenous women's *jarit* cloth (figure 3) was referred to by Alim Zaman (interview 2020) as inland batik, while the type of batik worn according to Hartono Sumarsono (interview 2020) was stamped batik which had been widely produced in Batavia.

Indigenous women in Batavia were expressed by Sandwijk (Sandwijk 1865, 31) working as servants, laundry workers, or in European households commonly referred to as *babu*. This profession made the interaction of indigenous women with Western culture very intensive compared to indigenous men who worked more as farmers. Only a minority of indigenous men worked around European households.

Kebaya and *jarit* as indigenous women's clothing remain firmly attached even after the indigenous men's fashion style had changed to Western style clothing (Rovine, 2009: 22), this showed that the indigenous women's clothing style had experienced minor changes compared to Western style clothing which was dynamically changing. Changes, the influence of new cultures, and new technologies did not necessarily change the habits and styles of indigenous women, instead of changing the styles and habits, they tended to adapt these changes in a dialogical and adaptive manner (Taylor, 2012: 80). So that indigenous women's clothing would appear dynamic by integrating Western fashion styles into their daily clothes.

Table 5: Summary of indigenous women's fashion composition in Batavia 1870-1930
Source: personal collection

Year	MC	Mil	Acc
1870	√	√	√
1880	√	×	×
1890	√	×	×
1900	√	×	√
1910	√	√	√
1920	√	×	×
	√	√	√

Table 6: The main fashion form of indigenous women in Batavia 1870-1930

Year	Kebaya						Jarit							
	Neck shape		Collar	Button		Sleeve	Cuff	Body length	Lace	Length	Type	Motif	Ornament	How to wear
	Type	Size		Type	Size									
1870	Slit	¼	Shawl collar	-	-	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Below knee	-	Above ankle	Long batik cloth	Geometric	Fold to the right	
1880	V	¼	Shawl collar	-	1/8	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Below knee	-	Below ankle	Sarong	Organic geometric	Fold to centre	
1890	V	¼	Shawl collar	-	1/8	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Knee length	-	Above ankle	Sarong	Organic geometric	Fold to centre	
1900	V	1/8	Shawl collar	-	¼	Long, fitted	Edge seam w/o cuff	Hip	-	Above ankle	Sarong	Organic geometric	Fold to centre	
1910	V	¼	Shawl collar	-	3/8	Long, loose	-	Hip	-	Above ankle	Sarong	Organic	Fold to the right	
1920	V	¼	Shawl collar	-	¼	Long, fitted	Edge seam	Hip	-	Above ankle	Long batik cloth	Geometric parang	Fold to the right	
1930	V	1/4	Shawl collar	-	1/2	Long, fitted	Edge seam	Hip	-	Above ankle	Long batik cloth	Kawung (geometric)	Fold to the right	

The composition of indigenous women's fashion (table 5) consists of the main fashion in the form of kebaya and jarit, millineries in the form of slippers, and accessories in the form of earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and rings. In the 1870-1930 period, indigenous women more commonly wear the main outfit, while accessories and millineries are not widely used. Based on the study of fashion structure (table 6), it is known that the indigenous women's kebaya in the 1870-1930 period is relatively unchanged which is having a "V" neck with a size of 1/4 the height of the kebaya, shawl collar, long fitted sleeves, while the cuffs and length of the kebaya were shortened. Indigenous women are more dominant in wearing *jarit* in the form of cloth with geometric ornaments and generally wearing a sarong.

3.3 Aristocratic women's fashion in Batavia

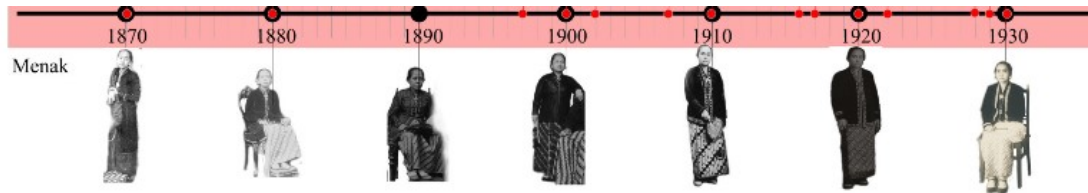


Figure 5: Aristocratic women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930

Source: <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl>

Table 5: Summary of aristocratic women's fashion in Batavia 1870-1930
 Source: personal collection

Year	References	Documents	Suciati
1870-1879	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik
1880-1889	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik
1890-1899	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik
1900-1909	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik
1910-1919	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik
1920-1930	Velvet kebaya	Velvet and jarit in parang motif	Velvet kebaya colour black, blue, or red and Javanese batik

Aristocratic women's clothing is stated by Lubis (Lubis 1998, 180-186) to have similarities with the type of clothing worn by aristocratic men, namely wearing a batik sarong plus a white sleeveless shirt on the inside, covered with a velvet coat with rows of buttons. The batik cloth worn is of various types where the motifs used are adjusted to the level of nobility of the aristocrat (Lubis 1998, 184). Rules for the use of aristocratic clothing also referred to by Lubis (Lubis 1998, 183) have been regulated in the staatsblad dated April 2, 1870 no 9. The types and models of aristocratic women's clothing referred to by Suciati (interview 2019) are the types of black, blue, or red velvet clothing and wearing Javanese batik cloth. Referring to the aristocratic clothing (figure 5), the suit made of velvet was worn until 1930. Millineries were also worn by aristocratic women. Lubis (Lubis 1998, 185) reveals that they wore Turkish slippers for regents with the rank of duke, while lower aristocrats wore sandals.

Table 6: Summary of Aristocrat women's fashion composition 1870-1930
 Source: personal collection

Year	MC	Mil	Acc
1870	√	×	√
1880	√	√	√
1890	√	√	√
1900	√	√	√
1910	√	√	√
1920	√	√	√
1930	√	√	√

Table 7: Forms of aristocratic women's main fashion in Batavia 1870-1930
 Source: personal collection

Year	Kebaya								Jarit					
	Neck shape		Collar	Button		Sleeve	Cuff	Body length	Lace	length	Type	Motif	Ornament	How to wear
	Variety	Size		Variety	Size									
1870	V	1/8	Shawl collar	-	-	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	below knee	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Semen (prosperous life)	Organic	Fold in the middle with
1880	V	1/8	Shawl collar	-	3/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	below knee	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric medium size	Fold in the middle with
1890	V	2/8	Shawl Collar	-	3/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	knee length	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric medium size	Fold to the right with pleats
1900	V	1/8	Shawl Collar	-	6/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	hip length	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric small size	Fold in the middle with
1910	V	2/8	Shawl Collar	-	5/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	hip length	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric small size	Fold in the middle without
1920	V	2/8	Shawl Collar	-	4/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	hip length	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric big size	Fold in the middle without
1930	V	2/8	Shawl Collar	-	4/8	long, fitted	Cone (gauntlet)	hip length	embroidery	ankle	long cloth	Parang (cliff)	Geometric medium size	Fold in the middle without

The composition of aristocratic women's clothing (Table 6) is the main clothing in the form of kebaya and *jarit*,

millineries in the form of slippers, and accessories in the form of rings, bracelets, and necklaces. The composition of clothing is used in full in the period 1870-1930. Based on the research on the fashion structure (table 7) it is known that the kebaya for aristocratic women in the 1870-1930 period had the same characteristics, namely a "V" neck shape with a size of 2/8 the height of the kebaya, shawl collar, fitted long sleeves, narrowed cuffs, and applying embroidery lace. The relatively different part of the kebaya is the length of the buttons and the length of the body of the kebaya which is shortened. Aristocratic women wore *jarit* to the ankles and folded it without pleats. The *jarit* was a type of long cloth, with *parang* motif, geometric ornaments of different sizes (large – medium – small).

4. Conclusion

Concubines who came from indigenous women and aristocratic women, their fashion style would follow the existing social formations. While European women's styles influence the concubines, because concubines interacted with this culture while in a European household. There were several social classes in the community of concubines in Batavia, for example there were concubines who came from the aristocrats as upper class concubines, and those from indigenous people became lower class concubines.

Considering the aristocratic class was the bureaucratic class of the colonial government, so that the type, material, and etiquette when wearing clothes were closely monitored. The aristocratic women's clothing styles would not be worn by the concubines. However, by observing that aristocratic women's clothing, concubines still adopted a shorter kebaya model and this was not regulated by the colonial government. It can be concluded that the trend was still well adapted by aristocratic women. Meanwhile, aristocratic clothing that was not regulated by law could be worn by concubines (figure 1), for example the use of accessories in the form of necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and rings, as well as millineries which could represent the upper class concubine style inspired by aristocratic women.

The lower-class concubine fashion style is an indigenous women's fashion style. While concubine is characterized by the use of a white kebaya, actually this type of kebaya is a feature of the kebaya worn by European women, so it is categorized as a hybrid type of clothing. This white kebaya was worn to distinguish the status of the concubine who was no longer an ordinary indigenous woman who wore colourful kebaya. The use of white clothing is very synonymous with European women's clothing, a colonial bureaucratic class integrated into indigenous women's clothing.

The three groups of women in Batavia were known to have their own characteristics but still adopted fashion trends that were happening in Europe. This fashion adaptation was applied to the kebaya, especially to the sleeves and body length, which seemed to adapt to changing trends. This fact proves that behind the rules made by the colonial government, women in Batavia could appear more adaptive and dynamic. In the use of *jarit* cloth, the three groups of women in Batavia appear using cloth that did not change its type so that *jarit* cloth was used as a closely attached cultural identity, so that it could be distinguished between European women, aristocratic women, and indigenous women.

The existence of concubines in Batavia functioned as cultural agents so that through them fashion changes were obtained. Concubines while in European households absorbed Western culture, then this culture was expressed in women's clothing that was Western style but still had a local cultural identity. By linking the existence of concubines who came from indigenous women and those who came from menak women, as well as the influence of European women, causing the outfit that the concubines wore (Figure 2) as a form of cultural hybridity. The clothes worn by concubines who were originally indigenous women were a weak cultural representation in the perspective of Bhabha's cultural hybridity, while the dominant culture was represented by European women's clothing and aristocratic women.

The concubines outfit (figure 2a) is a mimicry outfit. This can be seen when the concubines wore *jarit* cloth with a *parang* motif and the use of Turkish slippers which is seen as a mockery of aristocratic women's clothing. This concubine adaptation of aristocratic women's clothing is shown by the use of coloured kebaya, which was not made of velvet but used a much lighter material, such as cotton. Concubine's *jarit* (figure 2a) was a batik cloth with a small *parang* motif. This adaptation shows a dominant cultural form that defeats a weak culture. The weak culture then admires but at the same time demeans the dominant culture. This concubine fashion style has become an ambivalent culture because it is a form of appreciation for dominance but also insults the symbols attached to colonial bureaucratic clothing which have been regulated in law.

Concubine clothing (figure 2b) was a white kebaya, *jarit* cloth with inland batik motif and wearing slippers. This

outfit is a hybrid outfit because the upper part was a kebaya with a model that was generally worn by European women. The white colour itself is one of the colors that is synonymous with colonial bureaucratic clothing. This hybrid clothing become a mimicry as if it was similar to European women's clothing, but was also considered as an adaptation because it was matched with the inland motif *jarit* that was usually worn by indigenous women. This outfit is a form of admiration for European women's outfits as the dominant culture but seems to be a mockery, because the composition of the clothing is not worn as women's clothing should be worn.

The concubines succeeded in carrying out the role of indigenous women who appeared adaptive to integrate foreign cultures, something that inspired the presence of new things for them. This adaptation concept is applied to the appearance style and becomes a different fashion style. Several colonial era documentations, both in photographs and paintings, are evidence that the style of these concubines influenced the fashion style of the Batavian people and the style of Dutch Indies women. This fashion style explains the existence of the concubines as women with a new style that uses other styles as inspiration and donors, then presents a typical colonial era fashion style. In the political aspect, the existence of concubines is a phenomenon that, although hidden by the colonial government, the style of concubines actually explains the political anomaly of segregation through clothing.

References

- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts*. Routledge, 2013.
- Baay, Reggie. *Nyai & Pergundikan di Hindia Belanda*, Jakarta: Penerbit Komunitas bambu, 2010.
- Baay, Reggie. "Portret van een oermoeder." *Beelden van de njai in Nederlands-Indië*, Athenaeum: Polak & Van Genep, 2010.
- Bhabha, Hommi K. *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, 1994.
- Blum, Stella, ed. *Victorian fashions and costumes from Harper's bazar, 1867-1898*. Courier Corporation, 2012.
- Blackbury, Susan, Jakarta, *Sejarah 400 tahun*, Depok: Penerbit Masup Jakarta, 2011.
- Castles, Lance. "Profil Etnik Jakarta, terj." Gatot Triwira, Masup Jakarta (2007).
- Darmarastri, Hayu Adi. "Keberadaan Nyai di Batavia 1870-1928." *Lembaran Sejarah* 4.2002 (2002).
- Huberman, A Michael, and Matthew B Miles. 2009. "Handbook of Qualitative Research." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman K Denzin and Yvonnas S Lincoln. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar. Martono, Nanang.
- Lubis, Nina Herlina. *Kehidupan kaum ménak Priangan, 1800-1942*. Pusat Informasi Kebudayaan Sunda, 1998.
- Margana, Sri, and M. Nursam, eds. *Kota-kota di Jawa: Identitas, gaya hidup, dan permasalahan sosial*. Ombak, 2010.
- Paulus, Jozlas, Simon de Graaff, and David Gerhard Stibbe, eds. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië. Vol. 1*. M. Nijhoff, 1917.
- Rovine, Victoria L. "Colonialism's Clothing: Africa, France, and the Deployment of Fashion." *Design Issues* 25.3 (2009): 44-61.
- Taylor, Jean Gelman. *Kehidupan sosial di Batavia*, Masup Jakarta, 2009.
- Taylor, Jean Gelman. "The sewing-machine in colonial-era photographs: a record from Dutch Indonesia." *Modern Asian Studies* 46.1 (2012): 71-95.
- Volkstelling 1930. Deel I. *Inheemsche Bevolking van West-Java* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1933).
- Zaman, Moh, *100 Tahun mode di Indonesia 1901-2000*, Jakarta: Penerbit Meutia Cipta Sarana & DPP Ikatan penata busana Indonesia "Kartini", 2002.