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Clothing styles among the residents of the Tegal and Pekalongan Residency during the colonial period 1890 - 1940s: A Study Reflecting the Coastal Cultural Lifestyle

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ABSTRACT : Fashion historiography primarily attributes this Europeanization process to external forces, such as the increasing immigration of men and especially women from Europe. Technological and scientific advances in transportation, communication, medicine, and hygiene enabled these newcomers to maintain European lifestyles in the tropics. They viewed anything indigenous to them as suspicious and potentially harmful. However, this is only half the story, as it fails to adequately explain the specific timing of the transformation of Dutch fashion. The long-standing Dutch domination of the Tegal and Pekalongan Residency, coupled with the influence of the predominantly Muslim native population, meant that clothing in the region served more than simply marking differences and similarities within the indigenous community. Clothing also served as a medium for expressing attitudes toward foreign cultural and political influences. The Dutch and other Europeans in the Dutch East Indies introduced European lifestyles to Indonesian society, including Muslim dress. The Dutch, who established regulations regarding Muslim dress in the Dutch East Indies, sparked confrontation among Muslims, not all of whom were indigenous, as the Muslim population also came from other countries. This led to conflict with the Dutch.

KEYWORDS: *Tegal and Pekalongan Residency, kebaya clothing, indigenous clothing traditions, Indies culture*

I. INTRODUCTION

Clothing is a marker of a person's outward appearance that distinguishes one from another or can also be a marker of a particular group. Before 1900, during the Dutch colonial period, the indigenous population of the Dutch East Indies was restricted in their dress by specific rules issued by colonial policy regarding what clothing could and could not be worn by certain groups. Exceptions to colonial policy regarding clothing regulations applied to people with close ties to the Dutch. Western styles were highly coveted at the time, so Dutch officials saw this as a reason to create dress restrictions for their colonized people. The indigenous population, consisting of Javanese, Muslims, and ethnic Chinese, were not permitted to wear Western attributes because they did not deserve to be equated with them. Anything Western was paramount, and anything indigenous was denied recognition (Van Dijk, 1997:40-41).

The long period of Dutch domination and the influence of the predominantly Muslim native population meant that clothing in Indonesia served more than just a purpose of marking differences and similarities within the native population. Clothing also became a medium for expressing certain attitudes toward foreign cultural and political influences. The Dutch and other Europeans in the Dutch East Indies confronted the Indonesian people with European lifestyles, including the clothing of Muslims. The Dutch, with their rules regarding Muslim clothing in Indonesia, created confrontation among Muslims, not all of whom were native, as Muslims in Indonesia also came from other countries, thus creating conflict with the Dutch. This was due to evidence that Indonesian contacts with the Islamic world predate their contacts with the European world. Rijckloff van Goens, as a representative of the VOC, visited the Mataram palace and witnessed one of the usual public appearances of the Islamic Mataram King, Susuhunan Amangkurat 1. He observed that the king's headdress, which included a Javanese headdress or Turkish turban style, was "indistinct." (Van Goens, 1856:323).

During the VOC era, Dutch clothing was a clear indicator of the culture and religion of the foreign landowners. Initially, the Dutch wanted to preserve European dress for themselves. The native inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies who wore Western-style clothing were Christians, the native religion of Europeans. European-style hats, socks, and shoes were the accessories for non-European Christians to distinguish themselves from European Christians (De Haan, 1922, I:467). In 1658, for example, an ordinance was issued prohibiting Javanese in Batavia from mingling with other Indonesian “nations” and wearing their costumes. From these numerous regulations regarding clothing, it is clear why the VOC was so persistent in demanding that every native inhabitant of the Indonesian archipelago wear the clothing of their respective regions.

Permanent residences and distinctive attire made it easier for the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to keep tabs on the Batavian population. If a crime occurred, it would be easy to identify the perpetrator if one knew their attire and community. A July 1701 account recounts that, to avoid the surveillance of tribal chiefs, residents changed their residences, leaving their designated areas. They also abandoned their national attire. This was precisely what the VOC wanted to avoid. Therefore, it is not surprising that N. de Graaf's 1742 description of Batavia mentions that various ethnic groups were distinguished by their distinctive attire (De Graaf, 1942).

Another rule regarding the role of attire can be seen in Javanese men, who often went bare-chested and wore a cloth around their waists that reached down to their knees. They sometimes tied a sash around their waists, into which they then inserted a keris or other weapon. They wore a kind of hat on their heads, but they were barefoot. The Ambonese men “wrapped a cotton cloth around their heads, the two ends hanging down, and decorated this head covering with various kinds of flowers. The same information is given in another book about Batavia, adding that the Bugis men were also almost naked except for a cloth around their waists, with a kind of hat that resembled a small basket on their heads (De Graaf, 1942:22).

Clothing regulations were established with the establishment of the Dutch colonial state in the 19th century. Initially, these regulations were issued locally, by city or district, but in 1872 they were replaced by police regulations that applied to the entire colony. These regulations included provisions on clothing for both Europeans and indigenous people, which stipulated that "anyone who appears in public disguised in clothing different from that appropriate to his ethnicity or rank, except for masked or costumed parades" would be punished "with a fine of between sixteen and twenty-five guilders."

For indigenous people, this was a particularly harsh punishment. Furthermore, these regulations empowered the colonizers to categorize colonial subjects, establish fixed ethnic costumes, and effectively define their cultural identities. This included determining the dress, language, traditions, and customs of Javanese, Sundanese, Malays, Madurese, Chinese, and Arabs, as well as Europeans. Given the deep history of cultural and racial exchange in the region, this was an extremely ambitious, if not entirely impossible, task. The assumption that only the Dutch could make colonial society understandable testifies to the arrogance of the colonial mindset and indicates a deep-seated belief in the necessity of ethnic categorization for colonial governance.

This hierarchical institution of ethnic dress was an integral part of the Javanization of colonial rule in the 19th century. In a multiracial and culturally hybrid colonial world, dress was a visual reflection of one's rank, position, gender, ethnicity, and legal status, all of which determined social and interpersonal etiquette. In the everyday experience of colonialism, outward appearance made social interactions and relationships clear at a glance. Who was required to show respect to whom? What honorifics were appropriate? And in what language would conversations be conducted? Without clothing as a visual marker, proper etiquette for social interactions would be impossible to ascertain.

It is therefore no coincidence that dress regulations coincided with the Javanization of colonial authority—the Dutch appropriation and codification of Javanese cultural traditions. Prior to the 1872 police regulations, colonial authorities clearly demarcated the dress of regents and priyayi in specific guidelines issued in 1820 and 1824, respectively. Together, these regulations ensured that colonial hierarchies were instantly legible and reinforced through the Javanization of colonial power.

The history of the sarong, a traditional skirt wrapped around the body, and the kebaya, a short- or long-sleeved blouse closed at the front with a pin or brooch, illustrates the complexity of establishing a fixed sartorial identity. Traditionally, men and women in Java wore various lengths of cloth around their lower bodies, the forerunner of the *sarong*. While men are bare-chested, women who are able to wear it wear *kemban*. Most likely under the influence of Hindu-Javanese court culture (eighth to fifteenth centuries), noble women wore light cloth blouses over their *kemban*.

With the spread of Islam from the thirteenth century onward, this light garment gradually evolved into a more covered blouse, the kebaya, which eventually became common among Javanese. Around the same time, Javanese men began wearing long-sleeved shirts to cover their bodies, as well as forms of head covering, ranging from the hijab to the hat. The sarong also evolved with changing circumstances. In the 17th century, Eurasian and European women adopted the sarong and kebaya and developed their designs. In the 19th century, Eurasians and Chinese broke the monopoly on batik production in Java and developed stamped batik (batik cap) as a substitute for hand-drawn patterns (*batik tulis*). Production surged, making batik sarongs available to those outside the traditional elite, such as Europeans, Chinese, and lower-class Javanese. The import of imitation batik from the Dutch textile industry further accelerated the process. Thus, although the sarong and kebaya became increasingly associated with local ethnic identities, their histories reveal diverse origins and a development that was never static.

The Dutch East Indies colonial government's position within this sartorial hierarchy was unclear in the 19th century. European men and women wore European clothing in public as a sign of prestige and privilege, but changed into attire similar to Javanese attire in private. Women wore batik sarongs and white kebayas. Men wore batik trousers, which they considered less feminine than sarongs, paired with white collarless shirts. While this may seem counterintuitive to the purpose of the sartorial hierarchy, European attire in the private sphere

was still clearly recognizable as colonial attire. The Dutch adopted batik, a familiar sign of indigenous status, after the Java War, thus severing their exclusive ties with the Javanese nobility. However, they not only adopted Javanese batik styles but, at the initiative of Eurasian women entrepreneurs, designed their own patterns, known as Dutch *batik*. Like their adoption of umbrellas and traditional Javanese forms of respect, the Dutch used batik as a status symbol to legitimize their colonial authority (van der Meer, 2021, pp. 116-117).

Besides batik cloth, European colonial dress also included other visual markers of colonial power. In both public and private spaces, Europeans wore white. Their white shirts and kebaya in private, and the high-collared white colonial jacket (jastutup) worn by men in public (also known as the tropical jacket) were certainly practical in Java's hot and humid climate. However, displaying spotless white Dutch clothing was also an effective status symbol, as it communicated that the wearer did not perform manual labor and could afford and maintain expensive white clothing. Furthermore, the strong connotations of purity and Christian sacrifice, in contrast to Java, where it was traditionally associated with death and mourning, only helped the colonizers' appropriation of the color. By the late nineteenth century, increasing numbers of hajis (Muslims who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca) were also wearing white, but by then, white had become, according to the editors of conservative colonial newspapers in Batavia, a protective armor of colonial authority and prestige. In this way, the Dutch used clothing to maintain and visually express their difference and superiority over their native subjects.

Elliot, in his work, states that batik has been traded in Pekalongan since the 1840s or earlier. This is also supported by the many ethnic Chinese and Arab traders living in coastal areas, who traded batik cloth as their primary and highly profitable commodity. These batik traders initially only ordered batik from batik artisans, who were then scattered throughout the villages. It is said that the habit of ordering batik has existed since the 16th century, or before the VOC era. In Pekalongan, batik developed around the coast, namely in the Pekalongan city area and the areas of Buaran, Pekajangan, and Wonopringgo. By 1850, Pekalongan had become a leading batik center (Elliot, 2004).

II. THE TEGAL AND PEKALONGAN RESIDENCY DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The Tegal Residency was a region supported by economic activity in the coastal and inland areas. The inland played a significant role in driving the economic dynamics of the local community. However, in-depth descriptions of the hinterland of the Tegal Residency in the 19th century are still scarce (Suputro, 1959: 77-78). In the 19th century, documents indicate that Tegal's existence was supported by the inland area, which produced sugar, rice, secondary crops, and other commodities. Several sugarcane and indigo plantations existed in Tegal, as well as several sugar mills. Furthermore, the Tegal Residency flourished in rice, secondary crops, a small amount of coffee, cattle, buffalo, and other livestock (Veth, 1869: 844-848; Arthur van Schaik, 1986: 129). This situation suggests that the role of the hinterland's supply chain significantly influenced the community's economic activities. Based on this, this article will describe the Tegal Residency area during the 19th century, covering its historical, demographic, and geographic conditions, as well as its socio-economic life, including the Dutch East Indies government's economic policies towards the region.

Tegal is a residency in Java, bordered to the west by the Cirebon Residency, to the southwest by the Banyumas Residency, to the east by the Pekalongan Residency, and to the north by the Java Sea. The area of this residency is 53.1 geographical miles or 1,284 square yards. (The area of 53.1 square miles here is based on a statistical map by Melvill van Carnbee in 1849. According to the Atlas of the Dutch East Indies, with regard to provisional topographic calculations, it amounts to 63 square geographic miles, or approximately 1,523 paals (Stibbe, 1921).

The city, whose name means "plain" or "valley," covers an area of 18 square kilometers and is intersected by a 23-kilometer network of cart roads. Tegal has natural boundaries on three sides: the Java Sea serves as a temporary boundary to the north, and the Ketiwon and Sibeh rivers to the west and east. Tegal is located on the main highway connecting West Java and East Java on the north coast; since the road that runs from the north coast to the south coast (Banyumas) begins in Tegal, the city is an important traffic intersection. Numerous land routes connect Tegal with surrounding areas, while Tegal is connected to these cities via the Semarang-Cirebon Steam Tramway Company (Stibbe and Sandbergen, 1935: 218).

The plains are generally flat and stretch southward, with a hilly appearance. Meanwhile, on the Banyumas border, only one mountain is found: Mount Slamet, known as Mount Tegal. This mountain is the largest in Java after Semeru. The Tegal Residency is generally fertile, and several important rivers originating from the mountains contribute significantly (Veth, 1869: 827). Meanwhile, 1.5 miles northeast of Tegal harbor lies a place known as Kali Jeruk. There are 43 rivers, and the Comal River is the only one navigable for up to 20 hours. To the west are the Losari or Sangaron, Kabociutan, Pamali, Gangsa, Tegal, and Maribaya rivers. These rivers are 40-50 feet wide, but their width decreases as they approach the Residency capital via the Pagongan Canal (Veth, 1869: 827-828). The residency borders Semarang to the east, Bagelen and Banyumas to the south,

and Tegal to the west. To the south, the residency's boundaries extend over the Dieng Mountains and the ridge that forms the watershed between Pekalongan and Banyumas. The smallest area in Java is 32.3 geographical miles; the population at the end of 1885 was 567,727, or 17,576 people per geographical mile. Only the northwest part of the residence is completely flat; east of Batang the land is already hilly. By far, it is the largest.

The southern part of the region is covered by mountainous foothills, stretching from Mount Prahu in the southeast to Mount Slamat in Tegal. The flat northwest section is a continuation of the Tegal plain, extending from the western border to Batang. This triangular alluvial section is bordered by a Quaternary strip of land that touches the coast east of Batang and, interrupted only by some alluvium, continues to the swampy left bank of the Kuta River, which forms the border with Semarang. Behind this Quaternary strip, on both sides of the main post road, lies a hilly Tertiary terrain composed of breccia, marl, and sandstone, much of which falls within the Soebah district. The highest peak of this terrain is Mount Lenjong (429 m).

To the north of the district capital, Kadjen, lies a narrow range of hills composed of breccia and sandstone, weathered to form a brown clay surface, among which are fragments of andesite. The remaining ¾ of the settlement is almost entirely occupied by volcanoes and volcanic mountain areas, which reach their highest height in the mountains on the southern border, above which, from east to west, rise the following peaks: Prahu (2565 m above sea level), Butak (2222 m), Sikucing (1900 m) and Raga Jambangan (2175 m). In the extreme southwestern part of the area, the soil consists of tertiary deposits (Stibbe, 1921).

The afdeeling and regency area of the Pekalongan residency, covering an area of 16.9 g. m. or 92,439.40 hectares and forming the western part of the province. Its boundaries are: to the north the sea, to the east the Batang division of this province, to the south the Banyumas residency, to the west the Tegal residency. This afdeeling is divided into 3 afdeeling controls and 6 districts, as follows: the Pekalongan afdeeling control, covering Pekalongan, Wiradesa and Kedungwuni; Kajen, covering Kajen and Paninggaran; Doro, covering the sixth district also called Doro. The capitals all have the same name. The number of villages is 659. The land is flat along the coast; further south it is entirely covered by the foothills of the central mountains or Pembarisan, namely the range connecting Slamat in the west with Prahu in the east, which range itself - so far - forms the southern limit of the afdeeling. Of the many mountain peaks within it, the following can be mentioned for this division: Rogo-Jambangan (2175 m.), also the highest of all, and Mount Sikucing (1900 m.), where Lake Indra is located. Other mountains are located in the southern part of the border with Tegal (Van der Lith et.al, 1896-1905).

Administratively, this region is divided into 2 afdeeling or administrative areas at the district level, namely Pekalongan and Batang, with main cities of the same name, 6 afdeelingen controls and 11 districts. The afdeeling controls are: Pekalongan, Kajen, Doro, Batang, Kebumen (Subah station) and Bandar. The population consists of Javanese who in the north speak Javanese with the sound e and in the south, as well as in Tegal, parts of Bagelen and areas located to the west, with the sound e. The place names Pekalongan, Wiradesa, Batang and Subah appear in the description of the expedition carried out by Dr. De Haan as an envoy of Governor General J.P. Coen in 1622 to Mataram. In 1743, through an agreement with Pakoe Boewana II, the north coast of Java from Ci Losari to Pasuruan and thus also the Pekalongan district was handed over to the VOC (Stibbe, 1921).

III. THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN FASHION ON THE POPULATION

In 19th-century Dutch colonial Java, clothing was an important social and racial marker that distinguished between colonizers and colonized. Due to the long history of racial mixing between Europeans and Javanese, as well as other groups in Java such as Chinese and Arabs, skin color alone did not distinguish people. Many Eurasian residents appeared racially Javanese but held European status, and vice versa. This posed significant challenges, as 19th-century colonial society was structured around a pluralistic administrative and legal system. Dutch colonial law divided the population into "Europeans," "Natives or Bumiputras," and "Foreign Orientals" (mostly Chinese), and this delineation of race and legal status had far-reaching consequences. Europeans, Natives, and Foreign Orientals were governed by different branches of the civil service, prosecuted in different courts, and subject to different legal codes governing employment, travel, and more. Therefore, it was crucial for authorities to be able to easily distinguish which legal or racial group a person belonged to. Therefore, strict regulations required everyone in the colony to dress according to their ethnicity (van der Meer, 2021).

Regulations regarding dress were established with the formation of the Dutch colonial state in the 19th century. Initially, these regulations were issued locally, by city or district, but in 1872 they were replaced by a regulation that applied to the entire Dutch East Indies. This regulation included provisions on dress for both Europeans and indigenous people, which stipulated that "anyone who appears in public disguised in clothing different from that appropriate to their ethnicity or rank, except for masked or costumed parades" would be punished with a fine of 16 to 20 shillings. (van der Meer, 2021: 103-106) For the population, this was a very severe punishment. Furthermore, this regulation empowered the colonial government to categorize colonial subjects, establish fixed ethnic costumes, and effectively define their cultural identities. This included determining the dress, language, traditions, and customs of Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Madurese, Chinese,

and Arabs, as well as Europeans. Given the deep history of cultural and racial exchange in the region, this was an extremely ambitious, if not entirely impossible, task. The assumption that only the Dutch could make colonial society comprehensible testifies to the arrogance of the colonial mindset and demonstrates a deep-seated belief in the necessity of ethnic categorization for colonial governance (van der Meer, 2021; Mrazek, 1997).

This hierarchical institution of ethnic dress was integral to the Javanization of colonial authority in the 19th century. In a multiracial and culturally hybrid colonial world, dress was a visual reflection of one's rank, position, gender, ethnicity, and legal status, all of which determined social and interpersonal etiquette. In the everyday experience of colonialism, outward appearance made social interactions and relationships readily apparent. Without clothing as a visual marker, proper etiquette for social interactions would have been impossible to ascertain. It is therefore no coincidence that dress regulations coincided with the Javanization of colonial authority, the Dutch appropriation and codification of Javanese cultural traditions. Prior to the 1872 police regulations, colonial authorities clearly demarcated the dress of regents and priyayi in specific guidelines issued in 1820 and 1824, respectively. Together, these regulations ensured that colonial hierarchies were instantly legible and reinforced through the Javanization of colonial power (Mrazek, 1997).

The history of the sarong, a traditional skirt wrapped around the body, and the kebaya, a short or long-sleeved blouse closed at the front with a pin or brooch, illustrates the complexity of establishing a fixed sartorial identity. Traditionally, men and women in Java wore various lengths of cloth around their lower bodies, the forerunner of the sarong. While men are bare-chested, women who are able to wear it wear keban. Most likely under the influence of Hindu-Javanese court culture (eighth to fifteenth centuries), noble women wore light cloth blouses over their kemban. Due to the spread of Islam from the thirteenth century onwards, this light garment slowly gave way to the more covered blouse, the kebaya, which eventually became common among the Javanese. At around the same time, Javanese men began wearing long-sleeved shirts to cover their bodies as well as forms of head covering, ranging from headscarves to hats. Sarongs also evolve as circumstances change.

In the 17th century, Eurasian and European women adopted the sarong and kebaya and developed their designs. In the 19th century, Eurasians and Chinese broke the monopoly on batik production in Java and developed stamped batik (batik cap) as opposed to hand-drawn patterns (batik tulis). Production surged, making batik sarongs available to those outside the traditional elite, such as Europeans, Chinese, and lower-class Javanese. The import of imitation batik from the Dutch textile industry further accelerated this process. Thus, although the sarong and kebaya became increasingly associated with local ethnic identities, their history reveals diverse origins and a never-static development (van der Meer, 2021).

The colonial government's position in this sartorial hierarchy was unclear in the 19th century. European men and women wore European dress in public as a sign of prestige and privilege, but switched to attire similar to Javanese dress in private. Women wore batik sarongs and white kebaya. Men wore batik trousers, which they considered less feminine than sarongs, paired with white collarless shirts. While this may seem counterintuitive to the aims of sartorial hierarchy, European dress in the private sphere was still clearly recognizable as colonial dress. The Dutch adopted batik, a familiar marker of indigenous status, after the Java War, thus severing its exclusive ties with the Javanese nobility. However, they not only adopted Javanese batik styles but, at the initiative of Eurasian women entrepreneurs, designed their own patterns, known as Dutch batik. Like their adoption of umbrellas and traditional Javanese forms of respect, the Dutch used batik as a status symbol to legitimize their colonial authority.

In addition to batik cloth, European colonial clothing also included other visual markers of colonial power. In both public and private spaces, Europeans wore white. Their white shirts and kebaya in private, and the high-collared white colonial jackets or jastutup (also known as tropical jackets) worn by men in public, were certainly practical in Java's hot and humid climate. However, displaying spotless white Dutch clothing was also an effective status symbol, as it communicated that the wearer did not perform manual labor and could afford and maintain expensive white clothing. Furthermore, the strong connotations of purity and Christian sacrifice - unlike in Java, where it was traditionally associated with death and mourning - only contributed to the colonizers' appropriation of the color. By the late nineteenth century, increasing numbers of hajis (Muslims who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca) were also wearing white, but by then, white had become, according to the editors of conservative colonial newspapers in Batavia, a protective armor of colonial authority and prestige. In this way, the Dutch used clothing to maintain and visually express their difference and superiority over their native subjects.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, some groups within colonial society gradually began to challenge the hierarchy of ethnic dress. This was largely due to the economic opening of Java in the 1870s and the island's connection to the wider world. As people, products, and ideas moved more freely, maintaining established cultural traditions and stereotypes proved increasingly difficult. For example, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the introduction of steamships enabled the exponential growth of pilgrimages to Mecca from the Indonesian archipelago. Upon their return to colonial Java, pilgrims desired a visual indicator of their newly acquired pilgrimage status.

Fashion developments among the Japanese and Chinese provided models for Indonesians to emulate during the colonial period. Associating European fashion with modernity, progress, and respect, many Javanese began adopting hybrid fashions, incorporating both local and European attire. For example, one observer noted that women replaced earrings made from rolled coconut leaves and pineapple fiber safety pins with alternatives made from silver, nickel, and tin to secure their kebayas. Paradoxically, these fashion experiments were made possible by Western imports. Following the opening of the colonial economy, imitation European batik, colorful linen, cotton, and silk, as well as leather belts, watch chains, jewelry, and other consumer products entered Java. The introduction of innovative technologies, such as the sewing machine in the 1880s, enabled local tailors to create modern Western clothing from imported fabrics. By the turn of the century, the streets of Batavia offered a diverse range of fashion choices among the native population, from those wearing combinations of jackets, trousers, tropical helmets, shoes, and boots to those going barefoot in simple sarongs and open shirts. However, very few Javanese people wear completely European clothing, to the point that they are indistinguishable from Eurasians (van der Meer, 2021).

C. Snouck Hurgronje believed that the universal adoption of Western dress reflected the increasingly interconnectedness of the era. Only those who loved beauty, were obsessed with their own prestige, and did not believe that the colonized could be equal to Europeans could support the maintenance of these artificial ethnic stereotypes through "acts of tyranny." Therefore, he proposed a less narrow interpretation of existing police regulations to grant colonial subjects the freedom to dress as they pleased, as long as they did not intend to evade the law or cause harm by disguising themselves.

In his capacity as an advisor on internal affairs, Snouck Hurgronje considered a request for European dress, submitted by Javanese doctor Raden Moekadi in 1903, which demonstrated the social complexity of the dress issue at the time. Although he had attended the medical school of the School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen (STOVIA), spoke fluent Dutch, and was accustomed to socializing with Europeans, Moekadi petitioned to be allowed to wear a European suit combined with a Javanese headdress because he was still expected to wear traditional Javanese attire. According to Snouck Hurgronje, Moekadi was not the only one who wanted to change his dress; many other educated Javanese aspired to the same privilege. This was partly arrogance, he argues, as lower-ranking officials sought to emulate their superiors. But it was also because European clothing was better suited to the modern era; trousers were more practical than the traditional sarong, which restricted the wearer's movement. Similarly, modern life required shoes rather than bare feet. Furthermore, Snouck Hurgronje recognized that Western-educated Javanese were ashamed of their ethnic dress, and was well aware that Europeans associated it with lower social status and lower civilization.

The 1905 government circular on dress did not directly impact the daily lives of the majority of the colonized population, but it sparked debate among Javanese youth. Two students initiated the discussion in the magazine Bintang Hindia. A young medical student named Moesa took issue with his friends' desire to wear European clothing, inspired by Moekadi's success in attracting attention. He recounted a recent incident where, on his way home from a gamelan performance in Batavia, Europeans and native Malays alike taunted him, shouting, "Telur asin" (literally "salted egg") in derision of the knot on the traditional Central Javanese headdress (blangkon). Upon returning to his dormitory room at STOVIA, Moesa stripped off his Javanese clothing in anger and shame, but almost immediately regretted his actions as he considered the love, time, and effort his mother had put into making his batik sarong.

This experience led him to argue that there was a logic to the colonial fashion hierarchy, as each ethnic or national group appeared most graceful, natural, and appropriate in their own costume. European dress also obscured Javanese nationality and made them indistinguishable from Eurasians in Western attire, who were not only looked down upon by Europeans and Javanese but also, because of their legal status, paid higher fares on trains and in theaters. As a final warning, Moesa warned that businessmen disliked Javanese who imitated Europeans in every way.

In addition to changing their clothing, many young Javanese also cut their traditional long hair, which, according to other authors, can be traced back centuries to the Hindu-Javanese era. However, as Javanese later converted to Islam, they were now free to adopt neater and more hygienic hairstyles, drawing inspiration from the Chinese in Java who had recently cut their long hair and the Japanese who had trimmed their topknots (van der Meer, 2021).

IV. CLOTHING OF THE RESIDENTS OF THE TEGAL AND PEKALONGAN RESIDENCY

The following is intended solely to describe the traditional dress of the people of Tegal and Pekalongan during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Comparing national dress of the past and present reveals striking differences, differences that have developed gradually over the years due to the emergence of "fashions," as changeable as those of Western societies. In this developmental refinement of concepts, rooted in their origins but retaining their national essence, nothing unnatural can be found; the opposite can only cause astonishment (Van Dapperen, 1933).

Unfortunately, these natural differences now apply only to a small segment of the population, particularly among men. As a result of Western influence, while a different spirit is also spreading among the population, the old national dress has suddenly been adopted. Therefore, talk of a certain revolution in costume is no exaggeration. The rebellion against old styles of dress led to the disappearance of the hijab among the majority of the population, which was then replaced by the Malay peci. Compositions such as the Schiller-collared shirt, the astrakhan polar cap, the sarong and shoes (with or without stockings), or, to give another example, pajamas and the European hat, while maintaining the sarong wrapped in a roll around the beaten midsection, are becoming increasingly prominent. In this case, traditions and national characteristics are almost completely lost. This is not a writing to discuss counter-movements, or to give voice to the proponents of new concepts. The struggle that arises over the preservation of the old or the acceptance of the new is not over.

A. Male Clothing

Male clothing, as far as the lower classes are concerned, consists of a loincloth, often with white and blue batik, spun and woven from home-made cotton; the priyayi stalls carry batik bed linen. Popular woven patterns include lurik, striped blue and white, kembang dalima (a type of cloth), genjong goling (a type of cloth), kembang kencur (a type of cloth), and juragan midang (a type of cloth). Over this loincloth, the priyayi wear a lurik or cloth jacket, cut at the back for carrying a keris (a type of dagger), and slightly longer at the front, known as a baju senting (a type of cloth jacket). Approximately midway in front of the collarbone, two buttons are placed on either side. Villagers wear their own woven vest, called a sikepan, with 22 flat buttons, often made of silver (ceplekan silver), attached to the center front. Another costume is the "takwa" (a type of overlapping tube with very long sleeves, made of home-woven cloth or imported cotton with floral motifs. This type of jacket has copper, silver, or gold buttons on the top side, just below the neck, with a quail cage, raga-raga, kembang Anggur, kembang Sekar Batu pattern and four buttons on the bottom side on both sides. Residents who work as fishermen wear a camisole, a short-sleeved jacket made of lurik and shorts made of the same material. Both are often soaked in a tub of soga to make them stronger. Next to it is a dagger (Van Dapperen, 1933).

Younger students typically wear kebayas made of red (abang), green (ijo), or imported cotton with flowers, with long sleeves that reach about mid-thigh, including a shorter "biskat" (a type of tabard) made of imported white cotton. Older students wear a robe, a type of tabard—white or flowered—that reaches just above the ankles. Some students wear the robe, known as the "antrakusuma" robe, for special occasions. It's a robe made of a square of red and dirty white cloth, a reminder of the robe that fell from heaven to Sunan Lepen after the completion of the Demak Mosque.

Once dressed in this way, these students would lock themselves in a room in their house, disappearing, according to popular belief, and then, in this attire, they could fly off to make short visits to the tombs of the saints to pray there. According to legend, the tombs of Ampel and Gunung Jati are the most frequently visited in this manner. Wearing such attire also appears to have been a sign of power in the past. By at least the 19th century, all the village heads in the Tegal and Pekalongan residencies wore similar attire, made of homemade cotton cloth in white and dirty red. The elderly students carried cis sticks (pointed staffs for religious scholars) or canes made of a special type of wood, often irregularly shaped.

The Hajj pilgrims wear a white jukung cloth with a colored antar cloth underneath. They wear a white turban without a trailing tail, but when going to a formal event they change to a colored turban to avoid being ridiculed, because in the eyes of the community they only see them as people who want to imitate the attitude of the Wali, if they still wear a white turban there. In ancient times, the Hajj of Tegal strictly adhered to the rule of wearing only a silver ring as the only jewelry, weighing no more than one taal (a quarter of a guilder). At their wedding, they received from the bride a tjeleret, a batik cloth made in the village of Karanganjar, square, the size of a large handkerchief, to wear when going to the mosque. As for the hijab, which is always worn by the upper class, and by the villagers usually batik, but sometimes also woven, it comes in various forms: the mancungan, actually the clothing worn at home in the morning, but also worn in the morning, but also often worn by the careless lower classes here; pëlondosan, for street wear; piritan, worn on holidays or by the gentry who also served; and kebo medot, a combination for shameless men and young adults, especially popular among thieves, robbers, and murderers. A small portion of the population, especially young people, who still wanted to wear the jilbab were no longer able to fold it into the desired shape. They turned to the udeng and blangko makers, whose numbers had recently increased (Van Dapperen, 1933).

Figure 1: Clothing of villagers in Pekalongan around 1916 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:730045)

Figure 2: Clothing of residents who had just returned from the Hajj in Pekalongan around the 1890s (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item: 809332)

Figure 3: Various types of batik craft products at the arts and crafts exhibition in Pekalongan in 1923 (JE. Jasper, 1923)

For children, clothing is more or less the same for all classes, the only difference being the greater or lesser value of what is worn. When they are still babies, they are immediately wrapped in diapers after birth, which can be any kind of patchwork. They are covered with a knotted bandage (octopus) tied around the body, while the upper covering is a piece of white cloth, used to wrap them from neck to toe. They keep this clothing

until they are three years old, when they are given a small sarong and a breast cover, an oto, and a cindong, a cap knitted by the mother and made of cotton, worn on their heads. When they are more than seven months old, they walk around naked and wear only a genital belt, a kontolan, a small pipe with two bells on a chain, usually made of silver. Many are then given jewelry, necklaces of gold or silver, often decorated with embedded coins or, simply wearing amulets, bracelets on the wrists and small earrings in the ears, in the manner customary among the Madurese. Also some single earrings decorated with bells (kroncong).

From the age of three until the day of circumcision, which is performed around the age of 14. This circumcision, still practiced among the Priyayi (priyayi) families, is performed at around 14 years old, while among the villagers it is performed at 5-7 years old, a custom that follows the prevailing Arab customs of the area. When they go out of the house, they wear a sarong or sarong and a senting shirt. At a younger age, they wear a ketu, a white ulama's hat, and then a hijab (destar) wrapped loosely around their heads, leaving the top of their heads barely covered. Priyayi children and ordinary villagers walk without head coverings.

On the occasion of the circumcision, boys wear plain Palembang silk, a thin yellow silk garment. They wear a gold-trimmed headscarf, batik-embossed with orange blossom motifs, and they also wear a bellyband made of plangi, a colorfully speckled silk fabric. Loincloths are worn by the villagers. The loincloth is held in place by a finely carved piece of coconut shell for villagers, and by the sons of aristocrats by a silver hook, usually in the shape of a dragon—the dragon king. In both cases, the object is called a "cengkal." Men's everyday attire also includes an epek for all classes, a white or colored ribbon woven from home-made cotton, about 10 cm wide and several meters long, used to hold the loincloth. In Kalimantan, the Dayak people of northern Sarawak, the Dusoun, and the Bajo wear a wide, home-woven cotton belt several meters long around the waist and upper abdomen when going into battle, to protect the private parts from spears and javelins.

Above this, a belt (belly sash) was worn by villagers, made of their own woven fabric, usually dyed. High-status city dwellers wore songket belts, while the aristocratic class wore leather belts, which were expensive at the time. The hat worn by Tegalese people was a wider, pointed hat called the cotom hat. From Cirebon, the kuwuk hat was a round, flat, very long, and loose-fitting hat. A horn comb was placed on top, often adorned with gold for the nobility, and some even embedded with precious stones (comb). For example, the hair of the great-grandmother of the Tegal Regent was always worn loose to her ankles, only worn in a bun at formal occasions, reaching down to her kuluk (headdress). At the time, this style attracted general attention and admiration, leading the locals to call it "Kanjeng Ure" (fallen hair).

B. Women's Clothing.

Indigenous women before 1900 could be described as backward, having never been given the opportunity to broaden their horizons and taught to think more broadly and deeply. Indigenous women of that era were confined to their homes and never allowed to interact with the outside world. The freedom to engage in public activities and the social life enjoyed by European women was completely foreign to them. Therefore, it was crucial for indigenous women to experience this freedom, to socialize with anyone, to participate in social activities, and to gain a broad knowledge and perspective. This was due to women's role as educators and future character builders for their children. Women were the key to educating children at home, outside of formal education. If indigenous women did not know how to properly educate their children, how could they succeed and bring pride to their families and nations? Therefore, education was crucial for indigenous women to develop their intellectual awareness.

In the late nineteenth century, European Elementary Schools (Europese Lagere School) were the primary pathway for indigenous people to Western education. Although the demand for indigenous civil servants and company workers increased in the 1800s, the number of indigenous people attending ELS schools remained very small. In 1900, there were approximately 1,955 non-European students attending ELS schools throughout the Dutch East Indies, representing only 10 percent of the total student body. With a population of approximately thirty-five million, of which only 75,833 were European, this was a very small proportion of the indigenous population (Brugmans, 1938).

Although ELS schools were the primary pathway to higher education around 1900, the entry qualifications for these schools were very high in the early years of the twentieth century. The language of instruction was Dutch, so a certain knowledge of this language was a requirement for admission. The government also doubted the large number of indigenous students in ELS schools. Because of their inadequate knowledge of Dutch, the government feared that they would lower the educational level of other European students. Therefore, education for the indigenous population was to be provided in separate institutions. The desire for separate education was already evident in 1892 with the establishment of first-class schools (eerste klasse school) and second-class schools (tweede klasse school). These were government-established schools for indigenous children from the upper classes of the indigenous population. First-class schools were intended for the children of indigenous aristocrats, while second-class schools were, in principle, open to the entire indigenous population. However, due to the high cost of second-class schools, these schools remained accessible only to indigenous children of wealthy or aristocratic parents. As a result, first-class and second-class schools

achieved respective results and received the nicknames "leading public schools" and "ordinary public schools" (Van der Wal, 1963: 156-157).

The turn of the 20th century is seen as a milestone in the history of the Dutch East Indies. For indigenous aristocratic women in Java, in particular, their desire for equal rights to education was realized. They were able to attend girls' schools and even European schools. The education they received influenced the minds and behavior of indigenous women. This was reflected in their appearance. Indigenous women maintained their bodies in the most attractive way possible. Clothing was the most important aspect of appearance. Clothing played a significant role in determining a person's image. Clothing reflected identity, status, hierarchy, and gender, held symbolic value, and was an expression of a particular lifestyle. Indeed, at that time, most people focused solely on schoolwork and diplomas for their prestige, with other matters being neglected.

However, young indigenous people realized that they also needed to pay attention to their appearance, as it reflected their personality. In terms of clothing, for example, clothing indicated the progress, decline, height, or lowliness of the wearer. From clothing, one could discern where one came from. At that time, young men and women were imbued with knowledge of the European world. They looked to the progress made by Europeans and wanted to emulate it, including in terms of clothing.

For women, appearance is paramount. This understanding was acquired by indigenous noblewomen who socialized extensively with European women. Previously, indigenous noblewomen paid little attention to their appearance, especially after marriage. This is why indigenous noblewomen quickly began to appear aged and unkempt, leading to boredom among onlookers. Therefore, an indigenous noblewoman must be expert in mancak (grooming), that is, applying makeup, dressing, and dressing herself to the best of her ability to consistently appear beautiful, attractive, and charming. This is a fundamental obligation that must always be maintained as a form of devotion to serving her husband. Therefore, if a woman consistently appears attractive, she will make her husband feel at home. In general, men are attracted to a woman primarily after seeing her charming appearance. Javanese women who appear in traditional attire, such as kebaya, and a complete kain (cloth) with a chignon, are even more appealing to the eye (Septiani, 2015: 8-12).

Regarding the ability to dress herself, Javanese court women must be able to choose the types of clothing that should be worn according to the customs and culture of the court. In fact, they must know the names of Javanese cloth (jarit) and when to wear them. Javanese court women must memorize the meaning of parang kusuma, sida mukti, sida mulia, and others. The sida asih cloth, for example, is assumed to ensure the wearer's continued love. Likewise, the sida mulia cloth is interpreted as ensuring the wearer becomes a noble person. The jarit cloth is indeed a typical Javanese dress, so Javanese women who can no longer wear it are said to have lost their Javanese identity. A kind of dilemma arose for indigenous women in Java at that time. The kebaya, which was their daily attire, was considered uncomfortable to wear when indigenous noblewomen were introduced to European clothing. This also became an obstacle to the advancement of indigenous noblewomen's fashion. Meanwhile, European women's fashion was more advanced because they diligently maintained the progress of their clothing, so every year the fashion changed. Thus, native noblewomen of the time adopted European women's dress styles. This began with changes in the function of clothing itself.

Initially, clothing was worn by women solely to cover their private parts, but with the advancement of modern thought, which was predominantly influenced by Europe, the function of clothing shifted. Clothing had a significant impact on human feelings and concerns. Naturally, clothing varied in type, cut, style, and rules of wearing it according to the customs of each region and nation. What was considered good and appropriate by one group might not be appropriate for another. Type, body shape, skin color, customs, habits, and religion all contributed to the diversity of clothing styles. These considerations also formed the basis for the development of fashion for indigenous aristocratic women. Style, skin color, and customs were all important considerations. This advancement in fashion demonstrated a mixture of motifs and styles, making it rare to see indigenous clothing. However, the fashion for indigenous aristocratic women had its limits. The limitation is the eastern feeling of every native woman in wearing clothes, so that native women only imitate the materials and the time of wearing them which are adjusted to the weather conditions in Java (Septiani, 2015: 16).

Since the rural population in this region, as well as the lower classes in the larger cities, had very poorly developed tastes, it is not surprising that the once very formal costume here, dictated by custom, often gave way to the most outlandishly garish colors, imposed by commerce. This was abandoned after the custom relaxed, and in many cases was completely abandoned. Tapih, in particular, exemplifies a sad decay. Improbable patterns (all of them prints), such as airplanes, steamships, houses, and so on, in wildly clashing color combinations, and brought here in the most bizarre ways, became extremely popular among the villagers, for example. In general, the most distinctive feature of the later period in these regions is the vast difference in patterns and colors between the past and the present.

Under the influence of the rise of Islam, the wearing of the hijab or veil became common among the lower classes in subsequent years, especially where it was seen by some classes as a seal of "status," and partly as a concealment of many unsightly features. This was especially true for women of the lower classes. The upper nobility remained, with minor changes, almost faithful to the old ways as a result of nationalistic

tendencies. Most of them reverted from their many mistakes in clothing and returned to wearing hand-drawn batik and fine woven fabrics or pineapple fiber or simple imported goods. They were further compelled to do this because their previously chosen style of dress had been adopted by the lower classes, women officials, and so on. They were thus forced to take another path, namely the path of modesty, a path that the lower classes would no longer follow (Van Dapperen, 1933)/

The aristocrats of the Tegal and Pekalongan Residency in the late 19th century wore knee-length dresses made of imported floral cotton (kabaja landung), with fitted sleeves slit about 1m. above the wrist and down, decorated with gold or diamond-studded buttons, cut-inten buttons, and closed buttons. Open at the neck, the dress was fastened down to the chest with a set of three silver or gold breast pins (now uncommon), also studded with diamonds. When they were out and about, or at celebratory occasions, they wore baju solachi (solachi), the color of which must match the color of the dress. For example, baju solachi biru nem, kembang biru sepuh (light blue dress with dark blue flowers) or baju solachi abrit sepuh, këmbang abrit nem (dark red dress with pink flowers).

Tapih, nyamping, underwear, skirts, always batik, preferably with motifs: (sawat) pring gendani, reni, loeng peneker, lumbehi, purbanegara. sweet nuts (Pekalongan product), cuwiri. A colored woven setagen approximately 5 m long is wrapped around the waist, often in the form of a cinde ribbon for wealthier people. What is worn as jewelry is: a bende necklace (a necklace with a gold coin that is perforated in the middle and hangs down) or a bandoule necklace, namely a chain whose coins are not perforated, but are hung on short, swinging holes. In addition, depending on the jepun which is a wide, flat bracelet carved with a leaf motif in the center, suweng ulir (ear scraper with screws) from the banyu umep setting, kembang tanjong or kebo giro. This kebo giro has buttons on the front and back of the diamond and finally a ring (Van Dapperen, 1933: 193).

Bila seseorang datang menghadap ke rumah Bupati atau Patih, lazimnya mengenakan baju gelap, tanpa kancing, dan dikenakan sampai setengah paha. Gadis-gadis yang akan menikah juga mengenakan baju, takwa, atau baju pegulon yang dilengkapi dengan kerah terbuka. Perhiasan selain anting-anting dan cincin biasanya tidak dikenakan selama kunjungan. Anak perempuan berusia empat hingga tujuh tahun mengenakan koelambi corong pendek, dengan kerah bundar yang menutupi leher dan ditarik ke atas kepala. Bahkan anak-anak yang lebih muda hanya mengenakan ikat pinggang kemaluan (*pahu-pahu*) dan cincin pergelangan kaki (*binggel*). Sebagai hiasan, gadis-gadis muda mengenakan kalong soewoek (rantai untuk menangkal kejahatan, terbuat dari tembaga, perak atau emas, atau sekadar rantai manik-manik atau kerang, dirangkai pada benang katun, lawe wenang. Dari usia dua hingga empat tahun, anak perempuan membiarkan rambutnya dalam bentuk gombak (dicukur pada dahi dan dibiarkan terurai di belakang). Pada usia lima sampai tujuh tahun, rambut mereka tidak lagi dicukur dan mereka diberi sisir di rambut mereka (*munggah rambut*). Ketika anak tersebut bertambah besar, rambutnya diikat simpul di belakang (*digelong*) (Van Dapperen, 1933: 194).

Women style their hair indoors, especially after the frequent "kramas" (ritual washing), using a "pendok los" (a traditional Indonesian traditional hair bun) – a bun at the back of the head, with flowers in it, and loosely hanging flakes on the other side. When going out, they wear their hair in a bowl-shaped "bokoran" style, pinned back with a hairpin. Over the bokoran, they wear a small gold comb, often studded with diamonds, called differently according to its shape: sisir gunungan, djëroek sapasih, and so on. Married girls also often wear such combs. When visiting the Regent, their hair must be tied in a "malang" bun. Another hairstyle mentioned is the "glatik mungup," a style in which flowers are visible on the sides of the bun.

Upon marriage, girls under 20 years old typically dress in the "raja-putren" style. The upper body is smeared with boreh, and a kemben or chest covering is worn in front of the chest, in accordance with the welfare of the cinde, or djinggan (a red field - modang - with jasmine godong on the edge). Furthermore, a setagen, usually made of tjindé, the usual jewelry used for this costume, and boental (jasmine rope), which hangs down to the ankles. In front of the head is a srebeng (diadem) with appropriate decorations. If someone marries at an advanced age, it is customary to wear a solachi or antelas shirt and a pradan cloth.

Hajj women wear a longer or shorter "klambi kurung biru," a bag-like jacket with long sleeves, open at the neck, pulled over the head, without buttons. As a shawl (syaal) they wear "tandesan Latar Petak" batik, a blue and white cloth untreated with soga, of which sawat kembang tamarind is popular. A comb of this kind, usually with a "banji gumbang" pattern, serves as an undergarment. Later, the batik shawl was often replaced by a silk shawl from Semarang, while when Chinese women abandoned their shaal, the shawl became very popular. As decoration, they usually wear gold rings. On the occasion of Bakda Pasa they wear the famous Palembang sinjang, a gold cloth with a cucuk ribung pattern as the fabric; the baju gadong (bluish green) made of mori, a white European linen dyed indigo, with a cat's shell made shiny (dikuwuk); and the Palembang shawl with a cucuk pahu pattern. Their children do not differ in terms of clothing from village children (Van Dapperen, 1933: 197).

The hair of the Hajj women is tied in a bun at the back (gelong). Village women wear "kulambi kurung cemeng," a dark blue, bag-shaped jacket, reaching above the knees, with long sleeves pulled over the head. The wealthy wear these sleeves when going to the market or on celebratory occasions, a set of silver or gold buttons. The fabric used to make the jacket is mori, a famous imported linen. Older women wear "kulambi wulung," a

linen cloth dipped first in indigo and then in soga. As a tapih, women often wear cotton batik cloth "sindjang tandësan Latar Petak," and as a slendang abanen, 2 or 3 woven or batik cloths called "complongan," a process in which the entire cloth is pierced with a small piece of bamboo, which is then pierced at the top with four thin iron or copper pins. Then the cloth is dipped in indigo. Such fabrics are also in demand. Later, Semarang silk scarves also became popular among them. To hold the fabric in place, they wore a narrow band of woven fabric around their midsection as a udet, or belt: a benting made of pig intestine (as in the case of a belt intestine).

As earrings they wear on festive occasions "suweng jawi", earrings made entirely of silver or gold, without gemstones, as well as suk-kunde irus, hairpins and rings. Girls who are ready to get married wear blue nem clothes, light blue jackets in the same style as women, tapih (Sinjang), bang-bangan (dibatik then dyed in noni), and similar shawls. They accept necklaces and wrist rings. Young children up to about 4 years old walk around naked and often wear only a string around their necks to which a charm is attached. Women often walked around with their hair unstyled, tied back in an untidy knot. Fingers are used to comb hair (comb). However, if the hair is styled correctly, the hair is tied in a bun. Almost all marriages are concluded "raja-putren". The necessary clothes and jewelry were then rented from the Chinese who owned them.

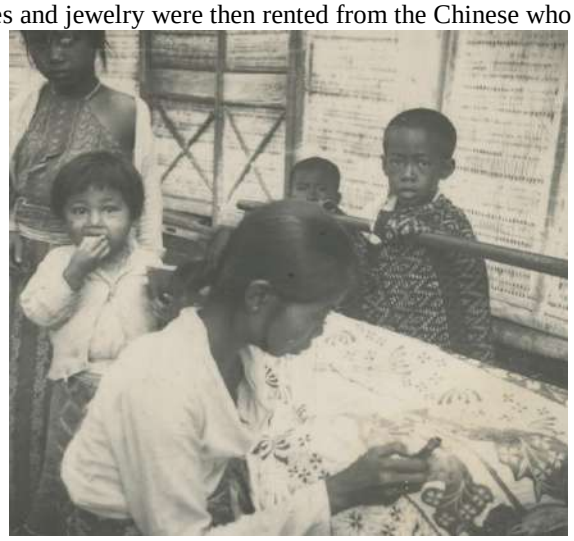

Figure 4: Female batik artist with children in Tegal circa 1938 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:707538)

In the 19th century, the kebaya was worn not only by Chinese Peranakans but also by Dutch and other women of mixed ethnicity. This cultural fusion between the indigenous and Dutch people resulted in a new culture called Indies culture. This culture not only influenced the seven cultural elements as a whole but also specifically influenced how women dressed, such as the kebaya commonly worn by indigenous women. Indies culture, situated within the Dutch East Indies, refers not only to the Dutch who mixed with the indigenous people but also to the mixed cultural elements of European and Dutch East Indies culture. Acculturation between these two cultures was indeed very good, including in terms of clothing, customs, food, transportation, and household furnishings.

The kebaya, discussed in this research, also represents one of the cultural acculturations that occurred between Dutch and indigenous cultures. This is because it became part of the cultural elements in the living equipment resulting from the adaptation of Dutch women to the tropical climate of the Dutch East Indies. Because of the tropical climate, lightweight clothing is essential for protecting the body. Therefore, cotton is considered more suitable, not only reducing heat evaporation from the body but also facilitating sweat evaporation, which is excellent for protecting the body from heat vapor. This was the case for men who arrived in Batavia in the Dutch East Indies in 1826. Similarly, Dutch women wore the kebaya as everyday attire in the 19th and 20th centuries (Andika Putri and Asep Achmad Hidayat, 2021).

The kebaya worn by indigenous women also varied, particularly from the early 19th century through the 20th century. At that time, the colonial government's influence began to increase in social and cultural spheres. This indirectly influenced the kebaya fashions already in use among the population. The most visible influence was in the use of materials. The materials worn by indigenous women, especially those in the upper classes, were certainly different from the kebayas worn by ordinary people. Although women's clothing during the colonial period was not specifically discussed, there were regulations regarding clothing issued by the Dutch government. In 1870, there were regulations regarding the dress code for indigenous people. These regulations were stipulated in the Staatsblad dated April 2, 1870, No. 9. This Staatsblad regulated the dress code of officials, both in terms of how to dress and when to wear European clothing. This attire also influenced a person's rank and position. The 20th century also saw the use of batik, batik cloth, and hair tied up in a bun. The distinction

between noblewomen and indigenous women, aside from the fabric and accessories worn, is also evident in the fact that the upper class wore footwear, while the slaves or lower classes went barefoot. As seen in the photo on the left, the woman is seated at the bottom, reflecting her social status and position. In contrast, members of the regent's family, who are seen sitting and some standing, wear footwear. Furthermore, the servants or lower classes usually dress very simply.

Gradually, in the early 20th century, many indigenous women began wearing kebayas not simply to cover their bodies, but rather for their fashion. There are specific rules for making kebayas, with different cuts, colors, and customs from each tribe, creating distinct regional variations in kebaya fashion. This led to the development of kebaya fashions in line with European influences brought by the Dutch to the Dutch East Indies. Indigenous women made kebayas from materials modeled on clothing commonly worn by European women, but adapted their use to the weather on the island of Java. The diversity of kebayas in Indonesia has also grown in several regions, becoming distinctly regional in style. This demonstrates the existence and spread of the kebaya in Indonesia across several regions. The acculturation of cultures from diverse ethnicities, nations, tribes, and other backgrounds has contributed to the kebaya's popularity among both the common people and the upper classes. Even before independence, the kebaya was touted as Indonesia's national dress. This demonstrates the kebaya's presence in Indonesia and its distinctive role in women's fashion.

Figure 5: Raden Ayu in Pekalongan (seated) around 1868 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:740025)

The clothing worn by Dutch women when they first arrived in the Dutch East Indies, or Indonesia, consisted of long, voluminous dresses and the need to wear corsets. This occurred in the 19th century, when Dutch women were in high demand in the Dutch East Indies.

Figure 6: Dutch female teacher with her assistant in Pekalongan around 1923 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:782198)

The image above, taken in 1923, depicts how Dutch women in Pekalongan dressed. This contrasted with the natives, who from the beginning wore kebaya, a form-fitting garment. This contrasted with dresses that were large and had a cinched waist. Embroidery or lace on European clothing was also a hallmark of Western clothing. Dutch women also continued to follow European fashions, as they, newly settled in the Dutch East Indies, sought to create a similar atmosphere to their homeland. Therefore, news from Europe was highly anticipated, especially the emerging fashion trends of the time. Therefore, in the early stages of their arrival, the clothing worn was still long dresses.

Figure 7: Regent of Pekalongan R.T. Ario Soerjo together with Raden Ayu in 1930 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item: 916968)

Figure 8: Tegal Regent R.M.T. Soesmono with Raden Ayu around 1930 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:911453)

Figure 9: Residents and government employees together with their wives at the inauguration of the Tegal regent R.M.T. Soesmono in 1930 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item: 968007)

Figure 10: Pekalongan court officials in 1929 (KITLV 90599 -http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:80862)

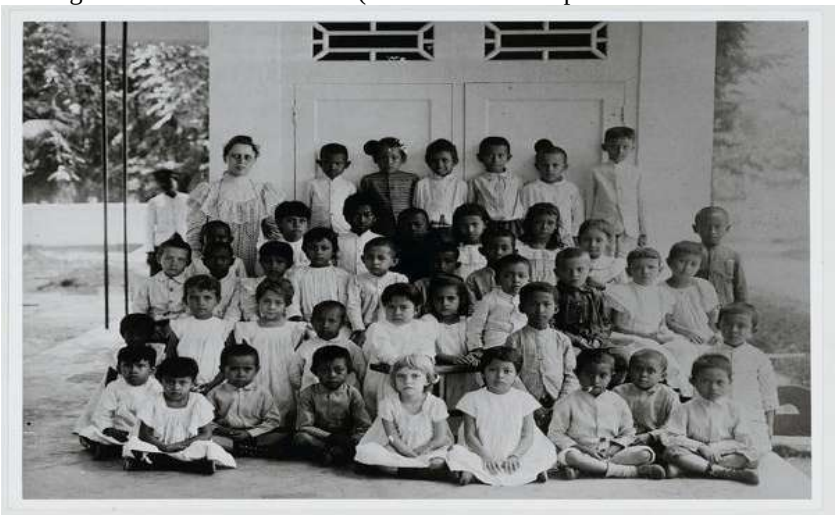

Figure 11: Students of the "Maria Daum" School in Pekalongan around 1899 (KITLV 90599 - http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:706152)

V. CONCLUSION

Clothing or attire is linked to time and place in two ways: historical and contemporary. Dutch men wore Western-style suits to work, but upon returning home, they changed into sarongs. They learned about sarong-wearing from the businesses of Bugis traders in the Indonesian archipelago. Similar to sarong-wearing Dutch women, they also apparently learned about wearing kebaya at home. By the late 19th century, this Indo-

style attire for the Dutch was limited to morning attire or for visiting female relatives. From the 1890s, when the Dutch entered colonial-controlled spaces, they adopted Western attire. Suits and overalls in Java acquired the status of uniforms for the ruling class.

The widespread sartorial transformation among the residents of the Tegal and Pekalongan Residency areas was an expression of broader social and intellectual changes that characterized significant turning points in Indonesian history, but this crucial connection has not been established in a detailed study of clothing in colonial Indonesia. These sartorial shifts constituted highly visible political statements that surprised many, making dress and the social body increasingly contested sites within colonial relations. As anthropologist Emma Tarlo has argued, the key to unraveling these contentious moments is to focus on the question of "what to wear rather than the description of what to wear." In this formulation, the human body is a social rather than a physical entity around which clothing functions as a marker of multiple identities. When the Javanese adopted European dress, the Dutch were forced to alter their appearance, as they could not continue wearing the seemingly indigenous clothing that the Javanese themselves had largely abandoned, even in semi-private settings.

To reassert their dominance in colonial society, the Dutch heightened their own sense of sartorial correctness by dressing in "clothes" in the latest European fashions, while simultaneously mocking the Javanese's attempts to appear modern. For the colonized, however, this experience was empowering and inspired reflection on what it meant to be modern and how clothing reflected one's ethnic or national identity. Similarly, Europeans were challenged to rethink their own identities in the colonial world. Crucially, these experiments with clothing were highly gendered, raising questions about how clothing reflected and, in some cases, challenged gender roles within society. These hegemonic struggles over clothing were thus a crucial factor in the emergence of new ethnic, national, and gender identities in colonial Indonesia.

In the context of clothing, fashion served as a "fence" to separate one group from another, ensuring the existence of one identity distinct from another within a given community. As a "bridge," fashion enabled members of a group to share a common identity, providing a means or space for encounters within that community. So, fashion and clothing can be used to differentiate one group from another, but at the same time they are used to identify shared values within a group and provide a space for socialization within a particular society.

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