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Introduction

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STRIKING PATTERNS

Global Traces in Local Ikat Fashion

Publication accompanying the exhibition
"striking patterns. Global Traces in Local Ikat Fashion"
October 21, 2016–March 26, 2017.



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Cover illustration: Details of men's hip and shoulder wrap
from Timor island (Fig. 95, p. 166) and women's sarong from
Sabu island (Fig. 25, p. 52).

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Acronyms:

FMB – Freiwilliger Museumsverein Basel
MKB – Museum der Kulturen Basel, Schweiz
UCLA – University of California, Los Angeles

Introduction

Richard Kunz and Willemijn de Jong

The idea behind this project on the textile art of East Indonesia and East Timor originated through a happy combination of circumstances. For one, the Museum der Kulturen Basel houses an impressive fund of textiles, collected during many research and collecting tours to Indonesia. Alfred Bühler's collecting tour to the Lesser Sunda Islands Timor, Flores and Rote in 1935 was the beginning of an ongoing scientific engagement with textiles and textile techniques (Richard Kunz, pp. 60 ff., discusses Bühler's tour and his research in textiles; Joanna Barrkman, pp. 128 ff., addresses changes in the textile field in Baguia, Timor-Leste, based on the Bühler Collection). On the other hand, Willemijn de Jong has devoted herself intensively to textiles and textile producers in the region of Central Flores since the mid 1980s; over the years she has put together her own collection of ikat textiles with this focus (Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, pp. 70 ff., examines this collection). For a long time we have nourished the wish to put the two collections together in an exhibition and publication project on ikat art from this region. In 2015, with funds from the Georges und Mirjam Kinzel-Fonds, it was finally possible to undertake a research trip in the footsteps of Alfred Bühler to Flores, Rote and Timor, in order to get an overview of the current state of ikat weaving there. We can thus draw on roughly three time frames: 1935, 1985 and 2015.

With the exhibition and this publication we contribute to current research in the area of Southeast Asian textiles. In so doing, it is important to us to refute the preconceived notion that ikat art in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste is slowly dying out, that only textiles of an inferior quality are produced and that ikat weavers have lost their knowledge of the patterns. On our trip we experienced quite the opposite: ikat weaving is alive and dynamic, the weavers know very precisely what they are doing, and masterpieces can still be discovered (Roy W. Hamilton, pp. 17 ff., addresses the debate on patterns and their meanings). It goes without saying that ikat art is subject to constant changes; the global flow of goods, economic constraints and the social interrelations of the weavers are some of the influencing factors. These factors have not necessarily led to the demise of ikat weaving; in Central Flores, for example, it has experienced a striking upswing since the middle of the twentieth century.

Ikat

The term *ikat* designates a technique of textile patterning. Before weaving, yarn is tied (*ikat* in Indonesian means to tie) and dyed; only then is the textile woven. The places that are tied on the yarn are reserved—ikat is a special form of resist dyeing

(Seiler-Baldinger 1994: 148) — and the dye does not penetrate the tied bundles, that is, they keep their original colour. For multi-coloured textiles, the tying and dyeing are correspondingly adjusted and repeated. Thus, the complete pattern is only visible after the weaving. According to which threads are tied, we distinguish between warp ikat (reserving the warp threads), weft ikat (reserving the weft threads) and double ikat (reserving both thread systems).

In East Indonesia and Timor-Leste, ikat — more precisely warp ikat — is one of the most important patterning techniques; using it, weavers attain in their handwoven textiles complex and fascinating ornaments. According to Bühler (1941: 1868), the warp ikat technique in East Indonesia has “found in fact [its] highest expression”. From the 1960s and the 1970s on, ikat textiles from East Indonesia have become known to a wider public and have found their way into private collections.

Hand-dyed and handwoven ikat textiles play a central role in social life in many communities in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste. Whereas in everyday life industrially produced clothing is frequently worn, ikat textiles serve both as clothing and as decoration on festive occasions. Especially in the context of life cycle rituals, such as marriage or funeral ceremonies, locally produced textiles must be worn as festive garb. In addition, they are fixed elements in gift exchanges. For example, when, on the occasion of a wedding, goods are exchanged between the families of the bride and groom, on the bride’s side the most important presents to the groom’s family are handwoven textiles. The same is true at funeral ceremonies. This makes ikat textiles prestigious ritual objects and their creators distinguished artists (de Jong 2011).

Ikat Art

While Alfred Bühler (1943: IX) still speaks of “nameless artisans”, we take another stance. The importance and constant demand for handwoven textiles in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste make the production of a textile anything but an anonymous act of an anonymous craftswoman. Ikat tying and weaving are personal acts of creation, and the weavers are known in their communities and are judged by their individual skills. People everywhere are able to name especially gifted weavers in their communities and can readily recognize their work. Moreover, the most gifted weavers stand out because they constantly vary or invent motifs, patterns and complete designs; they do not only copy patterns from old cloths (de Jong 2011: 58–62; Hamilton 2012: 9 ff.). Or as master weaver Mama Ango from the Lio village Nggela in Central Flores puts it: “Every pictorial sarong is unique, I use new motifs or arrangements every time, I must always continue to develop this. As long as I can think and work, I want to make use of my gift and always create new things”.¹ Master weavers like Mama Ango are in a position to get markedly higher prices for their textiles, which are known to be of high quality and expensive; thus their wearers

are seen as affluent women with good taste. For these reasons we are not guided by Western categories of "art" and "handicraft" (Howard 2006), rather we use, following Alfred Gell (1992; 1996; 1998), the terms "artist", "art" and "master weaver" for qualitatively, aesthetically and intentionally compelling ikat textiles and their makers (see in particular de Jong 2011; also Hamilton 2012: 9 ff.). We present six master weavers from Nggela in Central Flores in word and image (pp. 115–127).

Ikat Patterns

Master weavers have always assimilated foreign influences in their patterns, thus they actively take part in processes of globalization, modernity and fashion. At the same time we do not mean—in the context of the exhibition and this publication—"globalization" in the sense of a multinational textile industry with cheap clothing, produced under dubious conditions in low-wage countries. For us, what is central is the cultural exchange, the acquisition and incorporation of the other into one's own. This, too, we consider a form of globalization. With reference to ikat textiles, we focus on the flow of textiles, textile patterns and knowledge across vast geographical regions, especially that prompted by maritime trade, which increased markedly from the sixteenth century on when the Portuguese and Dutch began trading seriously in the area. Since the 1970s it has been above all the travels of Western tourists, who form an inspiration for many weavers.²

Starting at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Portuguese, Malay and Dutch sources³ reported on textiles traded from India to Malaysia and Indonesia, textiles that were highly prized as objects of value, bestowing prestige. In many cases they were silk double ikat cloths, called *patola*,⁴ produced in Gujarat. Old Javanese tax-grant inscriptions from the ninth century suggest that textile imports from India were already very important in Central and East Java at that time (Guy 1998: 59 f.), and it is possible that the Arab traveller Ibn Battuta took *patola* as well as other presents from the Sultan of India (Delhi) to the Chinese court in 1342 (Bühler 1959: 2 ff.).

Scientific investigations of cloths of Indian origin from Indonesia and Timor-Leste confirm this early trade in Indian textiles. We have carbon-14 dating of various, mostly cotton cloths, with patterns using block print or mordant and reserve dye processes, respectively, produced in India that have come to have the status of important heirlooms in Indonesia and Timor-Leste (Barnes et al. 2002: 16 ff.; Khan Majlis 2006: 118; see Fig. 1, p. 10).

The findings substantiate the fact that when Europeans arrived in Southeast Asia, they encountered a flourishing maritime trade in textiles, among which the silk double ikat cloths from Gujarat played an important role. The Dutch in particular recognized the commercial potential of Indian *patola* in the spice trade and estab-



lished their own trading posts, among others in Surat and Ahmedabad (Gujarat). Within a short time the Dutch East India Company VOC nearly managed to monopolize the trade in *patola* between India and the Southeast Asian archipelago (Guy 1998: 87).

The Dutch cleverly used the technically and aesthetically perfect silk *patola* in exchange for trading concessions with local rulers. As rare and unusual goods, they came to be of paramount importance, were regarded as an indication of authority and influence and were claimed as a prerogative by the aristocracy (Guy 1998: 87f.; Barnes et al. 2002: 38). Shipload records of the VOC document this trade, and also document the exclusivity of the silk double ikat cloths. For example, on a typical shipload to Batavia, today's Jakarta, among a thousand textiles from Gujarat only about five were *patola* (ten Hoopen 2014: 15).

Although we know little about the use of *patola* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ethnological sources verify their more recent use. In Java the cloths from India were, for instance, made into trousers that only high dignitaries of the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta had the right to wear. They were also a component of the ceremonial clothing of bride and groom (Dumont 1916: Fig. 7;

Bühler 1959: 4f.). In East Indonesia *patola* have chiefly survived as ritual objects and highly-prized and valuable family heirlooms (Hamilton 1994c: 48f.; Graham 1994: 192). Many of these heirlooms appeared on the international art and antique markets in the second half of the twentieth century; they can be found today in museums or in private collections.

From Sumatra to Timor, the silk double ikat cloths exercised the biggest influence on local textile production. Weavers in nearly all of Indonesia have adopted the motifs and patterns of the highly treasured *patola* and have assimilated them into their own textiles (Bühler 1959; Gittinger 1982; Guy 1998; Barnes et al. 2002; Maxwell 2003; Shah 2005; Crill 2006). Weavers, in particular those from aristocratic families, corroborated with this integration of *patola* patterns the high status and prestige that was connected with these textiles. One pattern especially — called eight-pointed

Ceremonial hanging (*lao sarapika*, Fataluku), detail

With a probability of 94.5% the ceremonial cloth from the estate of the Raja of Los Palos, East Timor, dates back to the time between 1420 and 1530 or between 1560 and 1630. Based on radiocarbon dating the first period seems the more probable. The Portuguese brought it to East Timor from India. Here it was held by the family of the Raja of Los Palos well into the 1980s, before they sold it to a dealer. Produced prob. in southern India, acquired in Los Palos, Lautem District, Timor-Leste; 15th/16th c.; cotton, mordant print and hand painted, indigo, prob. morinda and turmeric; 537 × 81 cm; MKB IIc 21178 (Acquisition 1984)

Fig. 1

flowers, in India *chhabadi bhat*, and in Indonesia frequently *jilamprang*—has spread widely (see Fig. 8, p. 34; for photographic impressions of this classical motif in different regional adaptations see pp. 34–59).

Patola depicting elephants were also popular in Indonesia—the textile producers in Gujarat were adept at adapting their production to the tastes and needs of the target region (Barnes et al. 2002: 38; see Fig. 51, p. 94/95; Fig. 57, p. 103). The motifs and patterns that the *patola* weavers adopted are today a fixed component of the local textile tradition and considered their own patterns. For the weavers, local knowledge of the Indian origin has been superimposed in many places by their own interpretations.

Today there are other things, outside influences as well, that inspire weavers to absorb new patterns and motifs into their repertoires. We regard tourism from the 1970s and 1980s on as an important influence. Weavers had an additional marketing opportunity with the advent of individual tourism in those years, as many travellers took textiles home as souvenirs.

In this regard, a unique development can be observed in the Lio region of Central Flores. A special combination of tourism, the Catholic Church and the creativity of the weavers there has led to the creation of a new type of sarong. Whereas up to the 1980s geometric and floral, and occasionally stylized zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs were almost exclusively designed, afterwards the weavers started making pictorial sarongs, called *lawo gamba*. This development was fostered on the one hand by the Catholic Church in the person of Father Piet Petu (de Jong 2011: 64; von Wyss-Giacosa, p. 75). Growing tourism in East Indonesia and the new marketing opportunities connected to it, as well as the creativity and the eagerness to innovate of some master weavers, contributed to the emergence of the *lawo gamba*. Today pictorial sarongs are an integral part of ceremonial garb in the Lio area and are worn proudly (de Jong 2011; see Fig. 38, p. 77; Fig. 89, p. 158; Fig. 91, p. 160).

Different regions take up other outside influences. The Timor-Leste enclave Oecusse is, for example, known for the Portuguese cross-stitch patterns that are frequently adapted in ikat technique on men's cloths (Barrkman 2014a: 17 ff.; see Fig. 6, p. 25; Fig. 84, p. 153; for photographic impressions of contemporary motifs see pp. 142–167).

Globalization

Looking at ikat textiles from East Indonesia and Timor-Leste in connection with globalization, modernity and fashion is unusual, for they are mostly presented as being local, traditional and unfashionable. We shall explain these terms and our *inclusive* view of textiles and their makers. With inclusive we mean that we regard the weavers and their cloths as being similar to urban fabric designers and clothing. That is, as agents and in part influential persons involved in processes of globalization, moder-



nity and fashion. As a rule the terms global-local, modern-traditional, fashionable-unfashionable are thought of as oppositional and separate. We would like to show that in practice they often interpenetrate one another and are to be thought of accordingly. In this way we discover new aspects of textiles and see the weavers in a new light.

Unlike batik from Java, ikat from East Indonesia and Timor-Leste is less known nationally and internationally. One reason for this is that ikat textiles are above all made and used in Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT),⁵ a province on the periphery, considered to be poor and underdeveloped, whose popula-

tion is even regarded as primitive in the view of the centre — ergo all of their cultural achievements are also of slight interest (de Jong 2006). Something similar can be said about Timor-Leste. Moreover, at the time of the Indonesian occupation (1976–2001), after Portuguese colonial rule and before independence in 2002, the region suffered heavily under armed conflict (Antoulas & Antoulas 2015; McWilliam & Traube 2011).

With the present exhibition and volume we would like to make the wealth of ikat textiles and the weavers who make them visible and tangible by means of textile objects, pictures and stories. We continue the concept of “cloth wealth”, which Annette Weiner developed for fabrics in the Pacific region. It means that giving, selling, keeping and/or wearing certain cloths has important social ramifications and bestows local prestige and power upon the makers (Weiner 1989; de Jong 1998). Furthermore, we would like to convey our conviction that weavers have at their command fascinating craftsmanship and cultural knowledge.

The most qualified among them do not just create handcrafted artefacts, but rather textile objects that because of their technological qualities and their polysemous intentionality are astounding. This makes them art according to Gell (1992; 1996). However, we do not want to gloss over the living conditions of the weavers, but rather to be mindful that they are in part economically and politically precarious and thorny. Craftsmanship takes place within the framework of a global hierarchy of values (Herzfeld 2004), and therefore within the framework of transnational power structures. In this hierarchy of values craftspeople are, as a rule, positioned marginally. At the same time their work and its products are not uncommonly idealized and instrumentalized by the state as a stronghold of tradition.

The production of ikat textiles in NTT and Timor-Leste takes place in the context of global and local processes. Susan Rogers, therefore, named her exhibition of fabrics

Shoulder cloth (*luka kapa*, Lio), detail

The shoulder cloth's ship motif *kapa* is believed to be a reference to the arrival of the people of southern Lio, Central Flores, from overseas, thus indicating early trans-regional migration movements. The long production process from 1967–1997 using natural dyes has produced a dark red hue considered to be outstanding. Anastasia Uta Neta and Petronela Ji'e; Lio, Nggela, Flores, Indonesia; cotton (commercial yarns), warp ikat, indigo, morinda, naphthol (yellow); 182×78 cm; de Jong 2007.07.10.1

Fig. 2

from Indonesia and Malaysia “Transnational Ikat: An Asian Textile on the Move” (Rogers 2013). This implies for us that the women with their textile wealth are important players in negotiating and establishing not only local, but also global cultural processes. This is evident with the cloths from Flores depicting ships, which point to earlier migratory and globalization processes, or depicting aeroplanes, which address the travels of tourists and our present globalization (see Fig. 2, p. 12, Fig. 3 and Fig. 94, p. 164/165).

The terms *glocalization* and *translocal culture* have been coined to describe the dynamic intertwining of local and global processes (Robertson 1995; Nederveen Pieterse 1995). Studies on globalization and glocalization in Indonesia and Southeast Asia show that this phenomenon focuses on certain groups, institutions—and things. At the same time “Indonesianization” plays an important role, namely the introduction of politically important Pan-Indonesian elements into the many local cultures, especially since independence in 1945 (Nas 1998; Yamashita 2003).

Although global influences go along with new power structures, quite often with negative consequences for the local populace, they can also unleash creative processes (Friedman 1990). With the producers of ikat textiles, we can see the ambivalence of dependence and inventiveness. This is not a unique regional phenomenon. All over Indonesia and across the centuries, weavers have chosen aspects of outside influences that they have transformed for their own cloths (Maxwell 1990). Sandra Niessen points out that this is primarily materialized by the technical knowledge of the weavers: “Their ability to translate social categories and trends into cloth is key to the viability of the textiles and thus the economic survival of weavers” (Niessen 2003a: 65).

Modernity

Modernity and tradition are ideologically loaded terms, especially in the context of the nation state. How should we use them? Adrian Vickers refers to the contradictions of modern conditions in Bali since the 1930s: “... modernity is a desire for change and the new, a sense of cutting oneself off from any roots or predecessors, and yet it involves turning back to the past, attempting to hold on to it with grim determination, and even to abstract or essentialize elements of the past as history and heritage” (Vickers 1996: 3). The term *moderen* is associated there with Euro-American modernity, but substantially it is related to other attributes. Vickers anticipates the concept



Women's sarong (*lawo kapa*, Lio), detail

The pattern of the central field of this cloth has a geometrical quality to it, like a reinterpretation of a diamond-patterned Indian silk *patola*. Yet, the weavers refer to the cloth as a “ship sarong” (*lawo kapa*) and associate the motif with the migration of their ancestors from overseas. The colours are the result of an initial indigo dye bath followed by further dips in synthetic dyes. Anastasia Bhoa; Lio, Nggela, Flores, Indonesia; 2006; rayon, cotton, warp ikat, indigo, skin of root (*wae*), synthetic dye; 179×78 cm; de Jong 2013.07.15.3

Fig. 3

of multiple modernities, that, namely, according to the formation of institutional and ideological patterns and according to social movements, widely varying forms of modernity are created (Eisenstadt 2000). Accordingly, we proceed from the assumption that NTT and Timor-Leste each has its own modernity. As suggested above, being modern can go hand in hand with being traditional. This consideration can aptly be applied to textiles.

This perspective is scarcely represented in textile research. We assume that it will be important in future, because as a consequence contemporary textile craftsmanship is more likely to be perceived and recognized. The anthropologist Teruo Sekimoto has made a study with a similar perspective on the production of batik in Java (2003). He postulates that tradition is modifiable and a matter of ongoing production. He criticizes in particular the "traditionalistic discourse" on batik, because it stresses the preservation of past tradition but blocks out the varied and interesting contemporary aspects. As a result the makers are conceived as passive and in need of protection, and the existing centres of power with their cultural hegemony are strengthened. He calls for us "... not to look for a preserved cultural asset in a fossilized form but to see the people who engage in batik-making as existing on the periphery of cultural hegemony" (Sekimoto 2003: 112). He further criticizes the fact that modernity in the case of batik is often equated with decline and tradition with blossoming. And yet batik became famous in the twentieth century precisely due to innovations. The fixation of culture and tradition thus marginalizes contemporary forms of expression of this artisanship. This topic has become more and more important since Indonesian batik was included on the World Heritage List in 2009 (Reichle 2012).

With regard to ikat textiles, we start from the premise that tradition is to be construed as a part of modernity and that we cannot simply speak of cultural loss. This opens up a new way of looking at the many innovations today as well as those created in past times as a reaction to different external influences. The result is a demarginalization and increased recognition of the work, the skills and the agency of the weavers. Such recognition could also be an influence on the assessment of their products on the different markets.

In connection with the meaning of textiles as intellectual and cultural property, the term tradition is likewise central. One speaks increasingly of traditional cultural expressions instead of folklore in international documents. Unfortunately, the complexity of this term is not adequately taken into account, and it is politically problematic. One suggestion would be to use, instead of the term tradition, the term *lore* for the informal domains of shared knowledge and ethical practice (Aragon 2014).

The term cultural heritage is similarly problematic, above all since the UNESCO Convention in connection with cultural property in 1970. Nation states or regional political communities often appropriate cultural and artistic products that originate from

shared processes in groups and that—as a utopian alternative—could also be considered as part of a global cultural commons (Geismar 2015; Hauser-Schäublin & Klenke 2010).

Since 2002 various laws and bills regarding intellectual and cultural property have been developed in Indonesia (Lorraine V. Aragon, pp. 168 ff., describes the experiences of weavers in Manggarai, Flores, with the Indonesian copyright law; Monique Bagal and Peter Damary, pp. 184 ff., report on the establishment of a protected geographical indication in Sikka, Flores). The effects are assessed in different ways. With the last two contributions of this volume, we would like to initiate a debate that could have important legal, economic and cultural consequences for future textile production as well as for research, for example, where textile collections are concerned.

Fashion

Textiles are considered today under the aspects of clothing and fashion (Hansen 2004). The following themes are important in the Indonesian context: the historical development of clothing (Schulte Nordholt 1997; Barnes 2005; 2010; 2011), textiles in transition (Hamilton & Barrkman 2014a; Yeager & Jacobson 2002), an explicit focus on the producers (de Jong 1998; 2005; Hamilton 2012; von Wyss-Giacosa 2013) and the young do-it-yourself fashions against the regime of global brands (Luvaas 2013). Because ikat textiles in NTT and Timor-Leste are mostly used as clothing—except when used as elements of decoration—it is essential to consider them under this aspect. Niessen's reflections are helpful here (Niessen 2003a; 2003b).

In the course of the Enlightenment the attire of people in Asian societies was classified as unalterable (Niessen et al. 2003). The Western system of clothing formed the starting point for fashion, "primitive", "tribal" and "rustic" systems of clothing together with Western streetwear anti-fashion (Polhemus & Proctor 1978). At the same time the term fashionization was coined to describe the change from anti-fashion to fashion. In the meantime history and art are considered universal or global, not only Western phenomena. Niessen urges that this view should also be utilized for fashion.

She regards the process of fashionization in a new, inclusive way and in connection with power relationships. She speaks of fashion globalization and fashion colonialism, which include both: the process, through which a form of clothing becomes a fashion; and the process through which it becomes anti-fashion. In the West anti-fashion is produced through the concept of tradition. In Asian contexts, like in Indonesia, the concept of traditional clothing is maintained in connection with national and local costumes. Niessen ascertains that "(...) ironically, the traditional is continually modernized/reinvented/updated so that its meaning remains pertinent to evolving social/historical circumstances" (Niessen 2003b: 257). She finds fault with

the fact that these changes are not made visible conceptually. At the same time a concept of modernity is expressed through fashion, especially through dress codes for civil servants, again with a mixture of Western and indigenous style elements (see Pollock 2012 for NTT).

Two of Niessen's examples can be applied to the conditions in East Indonesia and Timor-Leste. The first example shows how the local system of clothing of the Karo Batak has become more complex through the economic and political changes of colonization and independence: the colour of men's and women's hip cloths changed from blue to red, and Malaysian and European characteristics were adopted. The traditional, often ritual clothing of today is the modern clothing of yesterday. Moreover, different elements are used to constantly redetermine the boundaries between what is traditional and what is modern in the changing social space of the Karo Batak. In Central Flores the ritual shoulder cloth constitutes an important element of an earlier fashion (see Fig. 19, p. 46; Willemijn de Jong, pp. 104ff., presents a new way of seeing the ritual shoulder cloth *luka semba*).

The second example concerns a Toba Batak group that sees itself as being more modern than others. In the 1980s a women's tube skirt with a shoulder cloth made of fine yarn in vivid synthetic colours was created. In addition, the typical pattern was changed through additional weft decorations. Because the wife of Ex-President Suharto bought such an outfit, this type of garb increased in value and definitively qualified as modern. In Central Flores sarongs with figurative patterns are fashionable today (de Jong 2011; see Fig. 38, p. 77; Fig. 89, p. 158; Fig. 91, p. 160).

In a word, we are tracing global aspects in local ikat textiles in an inclusive way, between the ambivalent poles of wealth and marginalization. We would like to encourage thinking further about these reflections, and thus discovering new facets of this artistic craft and its makers, not least with regard to its contemporary and future expressions.

1 Personal communication 17 June 2015, translation from Indonesian to German by Richard Kunz and to English by the translator.

2 The fact that textile patterns from India reached Indonesia, were adapted there and then made their way to Europe is documented in pattern books of the Glarus textile industry, for example Pattern Number 7064 of the Blumer Company.

3 Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires; *Sejarah Melayu*; Memorandum of November 1603 (Rouffaer & Juynboll 1914: 171 and Bijlage III).

4 *Patolu* (singular) and *patola* are the names of silk fabrics with double ikat patterning in Gujarat.

5 The province of NTT encompasses the eastern Lesser Sunda Islands.

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