

MAP A:

TANAH DATAR and the Minangkabau gold trade

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN MINANGKABAU AS A FACTOR IN
THE RISE OF THE PADRI MOVEMENT, 1784-1830*

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Towards the end of the eighteenth century the heartland of the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra experienced a large-scale commercial revival, bringing not only new prosperity to the area but also markedly altering its previous pattern of trade. There can be little doubt that this economic transformation was closely connected with the Minangkabau Islamic revivalist movement of the same period; as Geertz has noted in *Islam Observed*, "Mosque and market have been a natural pair over much of the Islamic world, paving one another's way in the spread of a civilization interested equally in this world and the next."¹ In the case of late eighteenth century Minangkabau one member of this partnership, the market, underwent a drastic alteration: the gold which had been the region's chief item of external trade gave way to an entirely new export commodity, coffee, while at the same time an old trading partner, the Netherlands, was exchanged for new customers in the form of Britain and America. These changes did not affect Minangkabau in a uniform fashion. Just as the Islamic revivalist movement, known in its later phase as the Padri movement, arose initially in one particular locality, and assumed varying characteristics in the different areas to which it spread, so too the economic changes in late eighteenth century Minangkabau differed from area to area.²

The purpose of this paper is to investigate those areas and groups which were benefiting from the commercial revival and to correlate this with the part they played in the Islamic revival. In addition, of course, areas and groups experiencing disadvantages from economic change require consideration in the same light. For this reason the paper will be confined to that region of Minangkabau where the religious revival first arose and prospered. This was the Minangkabau heartland, the three large rice plains and their surrounding mountains situated in the uplands of West Sumatra with the respective names of Tanah Datar, Agam, and Limapuluh Kota, known collectively as the *luak yang tiga* (the three districts).

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¹Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed. Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 68.

²For a detailed survey of the character and tenets of the movement, which can not be discussed here, see Christine Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism in Minangkabau at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Asian Studies*, VIII, 3 (1974), pp. 319-56.

The Minangkabau Gold Trade and Its Social
and Political Significance

The Apogee of the Gold Trade, 1660-1760

The commercial changes in the period under review can only be seen against the background of the historical development of Minangkabau's external trade. The gold found in the interior of their country had given the Minangkabau value to the outside world as trading partners from at least the eleventh century. Because the interior could export both through the ports of the west coast and via the rivers which rose within the Minangkabau heartland and flowed eastwards to the Straits of Malacca, Minangkabau was not overly affected by political disruptions which might close one route. Initially South Indians were the major traders; by the fifteenth century they were joined by Gujarati competitors also eager to profit from the two export routes.³ In the following century the Portuguese at Malacca proved eager for Minangkabau gold to pay for Malabar pepper, and the Acehnese gradually occupied Minangkabau's west coast port outlets in order to acquire gold for their India and China trades.⁴

But it was not until the establishment of the Dutch in Sumatra that the demand for Minangkabau gold became almost insatiable; nor are there anything like adequate statistics in the period before Dutch involvement from which to draw conclusions about the trade. For the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the seventeenth century Minangkabau gold soon became part of the lifeblood required for the continued circulation of their Asian trade. It is well known that the VOC from the start experienced difficulties in paying in money for the pepper and spices it sought in the Indies. The solution was to acquire factories on the Coromandel and western coasts of India, the source of the cotton goods required by the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago in exchange for their products. However, the cotton piece goods themselves could not be obtained without access to a supply of gold. This problem the availability of gold in Minangkabau went a considerable way to solving. By transporting Minangkabau gold to the Coromandel coast the Company was able to coin its own highly desirable gold coins and thus pay for its exports.⁵

³M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962), pp. 22-23, 92-93. There is considerable evidence that Minangkabau gold was sought much earlier; see W. J. van der Meulen, "Suvarṇadvīpa and the Chrysē Chersonēsos," *Indonesia*, 18 (October 1974), pp. 28-29.

⁴A. Cortesão (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London: The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXXIX and XC, 1944), I, pp. 152-53; C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), pp. 51, 60; pepper growing was only established in the Tiku-Pariaman area in the mid-sixteenth century--see Anthony Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (hereafter *JSEAH*), X, 3 (1969), p. 403; Hendrik Kroeskamp, *De Westkust en Minangkabau (1665-1668)* (Utrecht: Schotanus en Jens, 1931), pp. 11-13; W. J. A. De Leeuw, *Het Painanssch Contract* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1926), pp. 30-31.

⁵Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, p. 45; Brouwer et al. to Heren XVII, December 27, 1634, in W. Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Vol. I (The Hague: Rijks Geschiedkundige

Key to villages

Tanah Datar

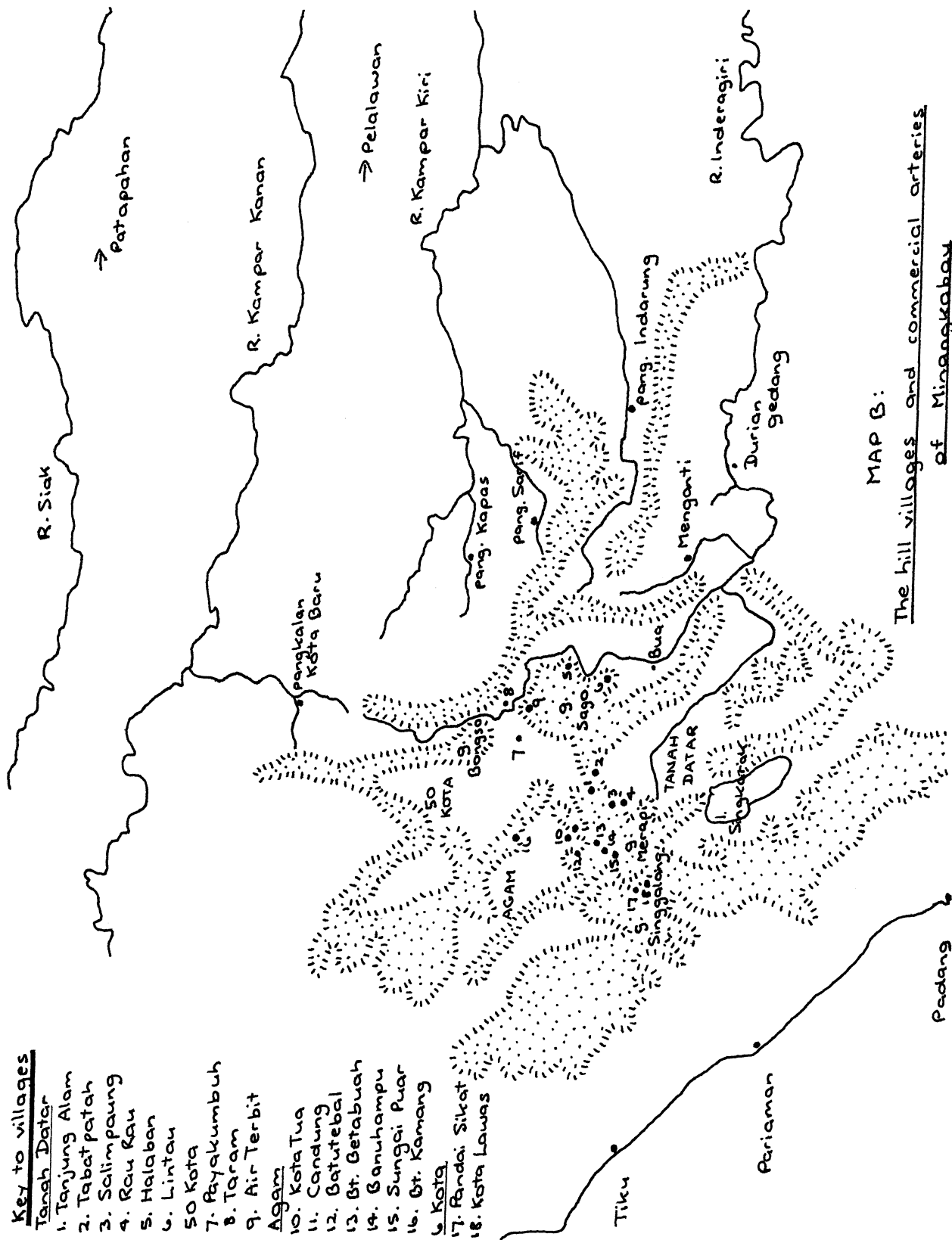
1. Tanjung Alam
2. Tabat patah
3. Salimpaung
4. Rau Rau
5. Halaban
6. Lintau
- 50 Kota
7. Payakumbuh
8. Taram
9. Air Terbit

Agam

10. Kota Tua
11. Candung
12. Batutebal
13. Bt. Getabuah
14. Banuhampu
15. Sungai Puar
16. Bt. Kamang

Kota

17. Pandoi Sikat
18. Kota Lawas



MAP B:
The hill villages and commercial arteries
of Minangkabau

The Dutch, who arrived on the west coast of Sumatra in search of pepper, soon became aware of the existence of the gold trade, and they followed earlier traders in attempting to acquire Minangkabau gold on both the west and the east coasts of Sumatra. Like their English competitors, their first successes were with gold coming down to the west coast ports of Tiku and Pariaman.⁶ Gold was first acquired officially on behalf of the VOC at Pariaman in 1651,⁷ but Acehnese insistence on maintaining a monopoly at these ports pushed the Dutch further south to Padang, where in 1663 a factory was established with the intention of cultivating an already existing gold route from the uplands.⁸ After their arrival in the Straits of Malacca the Dutch also began to interest themselves in the eastern route by which the Minangkabau exported their gold. They verified Portuguese accounts that the Inderagiri river, the most easterly of the three great rivers rising in the Minangkabau heartland, was the "chief port" for Minangkabau gold,⁹ but foreign competition prevented success in the trade. Not until the VOC made important acquisitions in Coromandel was a serious effort set on foot to acquire gold by this route. In 1658 an emissary was sent to the Inderagiri to see if "it would be possible to acquire there a good supply of gold for trade on the Coromandel coast,"¹⁰ and in 1664 the Company established a "residency" at the river mouth "in the hope that by this means it will in future be able to acquire control of the gold available there."¹¹

From now on, with varying degrees of success, the Dutch attempted to make themselves the sole trading partner of the gold-producing interior. Gold exports were declared a Company monopoly, and strenuous attempts were made in the west to keep the gold routes over the mountains open,¹² while in the east Dutch representatives at the mouth of

Publicatiën, Grote Serie 104, 1960), p. 454 (hereafter *GM*); Maetsuyker et al. to Heren XVII, December 16, 1660, in *GM*, III (The Hague: RGP, Grote Serie 125, 1968), p. 323. Of course the Coromandel gold *pagoda* was not made exclusively from Minangkabau gold; the VOC imported gold from wherever it could.

⁶William Foster (ed.), *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies 1591-1603* (London: The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, LXXXV, 1940), p. 113; William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Sir Thomas Best to the East Indies 1612-14* (London: The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, LXXV, 1934), p. 271; Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, pp. 22-23, 92-93.

⁷Reniers et al. to Heren XVII, December 19, 1651, *GM*, II (The Hague: RGP, Grote Serie 112, 1964), p. 521; *idem*, December 24, 1652, *GM*, II, p. 604. Of course individuals acquired gold much earlier; see Speck et al. to Heren XVII, January 6, 1632, *GM*, I, p. 305.

⁸Maetsuyker et al., December 24, 1655, *GM*, III, p. 22; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Acehnese Control over West Sumatra up to the Treaty of Painan of 1663," *JSEAH*, X, 3 (1969), p. 473. This article is correct in locating Minangkabau gold "in the heart of the country," but incorrect in locating it in the district of Agam.

⁹Cortezão (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, I, p. 153; see also Mark Dion, "Sumatra Through Portuguese Eyes: Excerpts from João de Barros' *Decadas da Asia*," *Indonesia*, 9 (April 1970), p. 141, n. 19.

¹⁰Maetsuyker et al., December 14, 1658, *GM*, III, p. 219.

¹¹Maetsuyker et al., January 30, 1665, *GM*, III, p. 476.

¹²Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, pp. 43-44; de Leeuw, *Painansch Contract*, p. 44.

the Inderagiri issued orders forbidding foreign traders access to the river.¹³ Gold became the only medium of exchange accepted from the Minangkabau. An official investigator reporting from Padang in 1761 pointed out: "The necessity of Gold for the continuation of the Cloth trade is one of the chief reasons we established ourselves here, and because of this reason it is expressly forbidden to Sell Cloth for anything other than Gold. . . ."¹⁴

The first point of importance here is to estimate the quantities of gold exported from Minangkabau in the heyday of the trade, in order to discern to what extent the amount fluctuated in later decades. Unfortunately there can be no really satisfactory figures because, although the Dutch were theoretically monopoly traders, much gold found its way into the hands of other traders by way of the west coast ports and, more important, down the east coast rivers. Nevertheless, Dutch export figures and gold prices do give some indication of the availability of gold in the interior, and of how the situation changed. Beginning with west coast evidence, what can fairly be said is that the gold trade via Padang in the late seventeenth century was in a flourishing state, indicating a plentiful supply of gold at its source. The following list gives the amount of guilders' worth, the price of gold at Padang during these years being stable at f.50 per *tahil*.¹⁵

1666 & 1667	f.100,000	1671	f.163,300
1668	f. 53,824	1672	f.104,800
1669	f.200,000	1683	f.116,200

¹³Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor 1641-1728* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 75-76.

¹⁴"De Radicaale Beschrijving van Sumatra's West Kust D.A°. 1761" (hereafter *Beschrijving*), ch. 3, p. 217, par. 16, mss H. 167, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (hereafter KI).

¹⁵The sources for these figures are: for 1666-67, "*Beschrijving*," ch. 2, p. 86, par. 34; for 1668, *GM*, III, p. 646; for 1669, *GM*, III, p. 687; for 1671, *GM*, III, p. 760; for 1672, *GM*, III, p. 849; and for 1683, *GM*, IV (The Hague: RGP, Grote Serie 134, 1971), p. 620. There can be no pretense that these figures are satisfactory. The sources refer to gold exports in guilders' worth in some years and in weight (one *tahil* equals $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. avoirdupois) in others. Since gold prices at Padang throughout the late seventeenth century remained stable, those figures in the sources which refer only to weight have been converted into guilders' worth on the basis of a price of f.50 per *tahil*. Calculation on the basis of guilders' worth in the seventeenth century provides continuity with the eighteenth century, when this was the usual mode of expressing quantities of gold exported; to have attempted to convert eighteenth century figures into *tahil* would have been even more unreliable because of later price fluctuations. Of course, these later price fluctuations make comparisons difficult, and therefore the testimony of local Residents on the subject of the gold supply must be relied upon more than would be the case were the figures themselves satisfactory. An additional element of unreliability is introduced into the "yearly totals" because Padang officials in the late seventeenth century ceased to make their calculations on the basis of a calendar year and adopted instead the "trading year" system (September 1-August 31). Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, p. 145, states that by the late 1660s gold worth between f.100,000 and f.150,000 was exported annually; for prices see *ibid.*, p. 82. The whole subject of Minangkabau economic history from 1663 to 1784 requires a definitive study using the ample material contained in the annual *Inkomend Briefboek van Sumatras Westkust*, available in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (hereafter ARA), The Hague.

Of course the trade fluctuated, but the Company's representatives explained this not by any lack of gold in the interior but by internal disturbances which tended to close the roads, and by the perennial problem of gold exports evading the Dutch net on the west coast.¹⁶ Apart from this, the Dutch showed themselves content with their trading partners. In 1674 the gold trade was reported to be progressing advantageously,¹⁷ in the late 1680s it was said to be flourishing,¹⁸ and in 1697 and 1698 the gold supply was even said to be increasing.¹⁹ Of course the enormous quantities of gold which the Dutch had hoped would fall into their hands never did materialize.²⁰ Nevertheless, even in the early and mid-eighteenth century, when the Dutch had to put up with considerable Acehnese and British competition on the coast and when there were constant complaints about the sorry state of the cloth trade, gold exports climbed even higher than before, averaging a figure of f.299,533 a year between 1750 and 1760.²¹

Dutch figures for gold exports from the east coast are even less reliable than those for the west, but they tell a similar story. The flow of gold via the Inderagiri was always at the mercy of disputes which could break out higher up the river or even between the Minangkabau heartland and Inderagiri itself, and then the gold trade would have to be diverted, at great inconvenience, to the Siak river.²² More significant in terms of the reliability of the figures, competition for the Inderagiri gold trade was far fiercer than on the west coast. In the late seventeenth century the ports of the kingdom of Johor, particularly Riau after 1673, attracted a wide variety of European and Asian traders. Indian Muslims came well supplied with the cloths desired by the Minangkabau, and were able to make them available far more cheaply than could the Dutch; they traded actively at the mouth of the Inderagiri, competing with the Dutch for Minangkabau gold.²³ For this reason,

¹⁶Maetsuyker et al. to Heren XVII, January 31, 1675, *GM*, IV, p. 5; *ibid.*, February 7, 1676, *GM*, IV, p. 90; Van Goens et al., December 11, 1679, *GM*, IV, p. 350; *ibid.*, March 13, 1680, *GM*, IV, p. 387.

¹⁷Maetsuyker et al., November 17, 1674, *GM*, III, p. 943.

¹⁸Camphuys et al., December 27, 1688, *GM*, V (The Hague: RGP, Grote Serie 150, 1975), p. 227.

¹⁹Van Outhoorn et al., November 30, 1697, *GM*, V, p. 843.

²⁰Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, pp. 111-12.

²¹"Beschrijving," ch. 2, pp. 130-39, pars. 68-76, and pp. 170-72, pars. 98-99. Prices were somewhat lower and fluctuated more than in the late seventeenth century, indicating a growth in the quantities exported greater than the figures in guilders by themselves reveal. The annual figures, given in "Beschrijving," ch. 3, p. 218, par. 17, are:

1750/51	f.222,428	1753/54	f.454,715	1757/58	f.180,933
1751/52	f.288,780	1755/56	f.226,303	1758/59	f.312,875
1752/53	f.381,223	1756/57	f.255,481	1759/60	f.325,149

²²Maetsuyker et al., January 30, 1666, *GM*, III, p. 496; *ibid.*, January 25, 1667, *GM*, III, p. 544; Speelman et al., March 19, 1683, *GM*, IV, pp. 535, 553.

²³Maetsuyker et al., December 16, 1660, *GM*, III, pp. 322-23; *ibid.*, December 26, 1662, *GM*, III, p. 417; *ibid.*, January 30, 1666, *GM*, III, p. 524; *ibid.*, November 13, 1673, *GM*, III, p. 883; Van Goens et al., November 29, 1680, *GM*, IV, p. 301; Andaya, *Johor*, pp. 75-76, 128, 147, 174-75.

Dutch figures for gold exports via the Inderagiri cannot hope to give a true picture of the quantities of gold being offered; nevertheless, they indicate that a considerable amount must have been available for the Company to have acquired the share that fell to it. In 1667 the Dutch at the mouth of the Inderagiri exported gold worth f.90,000; in the first ten months of the following year the sum was f.144,562; in 1676 gold worth f.100,000 was acquired, and in 1678 an amount worth f.161,235. Although east coast gold prices were on average f.6 per tahl higher than in the west, export figures were certainly comparable with those for Padang, and of course represent a far smaller share of the entire trade than those from the other side of the island.²⁴ From what little we know, gold exported by other traders in the 1680s was estimated at three to four times that exported by the Dutch.²⁵

Gold and the Minangkabau Districts

The chief point of interest in connection with the gold trade is the effect it had on the internal balance of power inside Minangkabau. The first important question that arises is, therefore, which areas benefited from the location of the gold? It has already been pointed out that the Minangkabau heartland or *darat* consisted of three large, well-watered rice-plains surrounded by mountains and their foothills and called respectively Tanah Datar, Agam, and Limapuluh (50) Kota. There were in addition other smaller areas, geographically located on the fringes of these three but linked with them economically and politically: in such a way were the regions called Duapuluh Kota and Bati-puh linked with Tanah Datar, and Enam Kota with Agam. Outside this heartland lay the *rantau* or frontier areas of the Minangkabau world. It is well known that the Islamic revivalist movement of the late eighteenth century was an affair of the *darat*, that it first arose in Agam, that it spread relatively effortlessly to Limapuluh Kota, but that it only penetrated Tanah Datar after considerable slaughter.²⁶ For present purposes, what needs to be examined is the relationship of each of these three districts to the gold trade.²⁷

It is clear from contemporary evidence that Tanah Datar alone of the three districts was producing gold in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The chief evidence for the period before 1818 comes from an emissary with a Portuguese name sent to Tanah Datar in 1684 by Dutch

²⁴The sources for these figures are: for 1667, *GM*, III, p. 605; for 1668, *GM*, III, p. 626; for 1676, *GM*, IV, p. 145; and for 1678, *GM*, IV, p. 301. Conversion has been made on the basis of a price of f.56 per tahl; for east coast prices at this time, see B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, I (The Hague: van Hoeve, 1966), p. 259, n. 403.

²⁵Andaya, *Johor*, p. 146. The figures given by Andaya relate to gold coming down the Siak in the mid-1680s, at a time when a dispute closed the Inderagiri, and must therefore include gold from the Rau area in the northern *rantau* (frontier) of Minangkabau.

²⁶Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism," pp. 319-56.

²⁷This is, of course, not to overlook the fact that an unquantifiable amount of gold for trade had its source at a considerable distance from the heartland, originating in the *rantau* at places such as Sungai Pagu and Sungai Abu in the southwest, and Rau in the north.

officials at Malacca for the very purpose of stimulating gold exports. The emissary reported that the gold was panned chiefly on the eastern hilly fringes of the Tanah Datar plain, in two narrow longitudinal river valleys dominated respectively by the villages of Bua and Sumpur Kudus. In the valley dominated by Bua, gold was panned in the area surrounding the royal capital of Pagarruyung, which at that time was just next to Kumanis, while in the adjacent valley nearly all the main villages seem to have had access to gold.²⁸ The places he mentions include Siluka where, apart from agriculture, the chief occupation of the 400 inhabitants was "searching for gold"; Menganti and Sumpur Kudus, which were also stated to be "rich in gold"; Ungan and the mountain of Mandi Angin.²⁹ He reported that "from the first mentioned Luca [Siluka] right up to this mountain is gold bearing land, the gold occurring naturally."³⁰

Apart from this direct evidence, the importance of eastern Tanah Datar as the Minangkabau gold-bearing region par excellence is attested to by the nature of the east coast trade route. It has already been pointed out that the Inderagiri river was the chief outlet for Minangkabau gold. Several of the gold-rich villages visited in 1684 were connected to an upper tributary of the Inderagiri by trade paths, and it took only one day to reach the river by means of them.³¹ Whenever the trade had to be diverted to the Siak for political reasons, it was reported that the river was so far away from the gold centers that it took eight full days to arrive at one of its tributaries with gold.³² The Siak itself, before the commencement of the tin trade, was said by the Governor of Malacca to carry "little of importance."³³

The other main gold-bearing region of the darat in the seventeenth century was investigated from Padang and found to be the southwestern part of Tanah Datar and adjacent areas, comprising the hills around

²⁸F. de Haan, "Naar Midden Sumatra in 1684," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (hereafter *TBG*), XXXIX (1897), pp. 327-66. The exact location of the royal capital in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is extremely important; see L. C. Westenenk, "Opstellen over Minangkabau. I," *TBG*, LV (1913), p. 237, and also L. C. Westenenk MSS, no. H803a (KI). Westenenk shows that seventeenth century Pagarruyung was a village near Kumanis, south of Bua (see Map A), and was only abandoned some time after 1684 for the well-known site further west. This clears up some of the difficulties encountered by de Haan, "Naar Midden Sumatra," pp. 360-61, in elucidating the route of the 1684 mission. An indication that the site of Pagarruyung was moved westwards some time in the eighteenth century is also to be found in S. Raffles (ed.), *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London: Duncan, 1835, new ed.), I, p. 426.

²⁹De Haan, "Naar Midden Sumatra," p. 355.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 353.

³¹Camphuys et al., December 11, 1685, *GM*, IV, p. 807; S. Müller, *Berigten over Sumatra* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1837), p. 33. Müller's investigations took place in 1834, but he reported that the trade paths were very old.

³²Camphuys et al., December 11, 1685, *GM*, IV, p. 807. The route involved a voyage partway down the river Kampar, followed by a journey overland to the Siak. The Kampar mouth was avoided because its tidal currents and shifting channel made navigation difficult. Only later, when the export of bulky goods (e.g., coffee) made the overland route difficult, did the Kampar come into its own.

³³De Haan, "Naar Midden Sumatra," p. 329.

Suruaso, parts of 20 Kota around Lake Singkarak, and Batipuh.³⁴ It was separated from the Bua gold region by a mountain ridge, though the gold of both areas had a common origin. The gold in the vicinity of Suruaso and 20 Kota was the product of geological formations and was actually mined from the hills. Through these hills flowed the river Selo, bearing at Suruaso the apt title Sungai Emas (Gold River). Considerably south of Suruaso, this river joined the Umbilan and flowed north and then eastwards into the Bua region, and finally emptied into a tributary of the Kuantan or upper Inderagiri; in its course through Bua it carried with it alluvial gold from the western hills.³⁵ It was largely gold from the Suruaso region which was traded with merchants on the west coast, there being routes from Suruaso to both Pariaman and Padang.³⁶

Of exportable quantities of gold in parts of the Minangkabau darat other than Tanah Datar there is no evidence at all in the entire period spanned by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1684 when the Malaccan emissary passed through the rim of 50 Kota, he found no gold there.³⁷ An investigation of the possibility of gold in Agam and 50 Kota made in 1856 noted that the metal, if it existed at all in either area, "is of such little significance . . . that no reports concerning it have been able to be obtained."³⁸

The Influence of Gold on Minangkabau's Social and Political Development

The fact that gold was found in Tanah Datar alone of the three districts, and also in its related fringe areas, leads to some important reflections. In particular, the question arises of who profited

³⁴Van Goens et al., December 11, 1679, *GM*, IV, p. 349; Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, p. 101; "Consideratie, Nopens den Handel, Padang," December 22, 1789 (hereafter "Consideratie"), pars. 12 and 70-75, *ARA*, Koloniaal Archief (hereafter *KA*) 3800; von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 20, 1790, par. 187, *KA* 3800.

³⁵P. W. Korthals, *Topographische Schets van een Gedeelte van Sumatra* (Leiden: Hazenberg, 1847), pp. 9, 17, 23-24, 49, 54-55. The researches published here were made on a journey in 1833-34. Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 420-21; Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, pp. 44, 101.

³⁶See Map A. The route from Batipuh to Pariaman--the so-called Jalan Jawi--was originally the main gold route from the uplands, but it fell into disuse after the Dutch centralized their activities on Padang; see Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, p. 88; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 9. The route which gradually came to take precedence was that from Suruaso to Padang, which involved the crossing of lake Singkarak; see von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 20, 1790, par. 187, *KA* 3800.

³⁷Cf. David S. Sjafiroeddin, "Pre-Islamic Minangkabau," *Sumatra Research Bulletin*, IV, 1 (1974), pp. 31-57. This article erroneously locates the eleventh and twelfth century ruins of Muaro Takus in 50 Kota, and concludes, without offering any evidence, that 50 Kota must have been "the most important source of revenue for the central government in Tanah Datar . . ." (p. 38). Actually, the ruins of Muaro Takus are considerably to the northeast of 50 Kota, over the mountains on the river Kampar Kanan, and represent a settlement ideally situated for controlling the northern gold trade with Rau.

³⁸P. Th. Couperus, "Eenige Anteekeningen Betreffende de Goudproduktie in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," *TBG*, V (1856), p. 122.

from the existence of the gold trade. It is important to attempt an answer, because Tanah Datar exhibited singular characteristics throughout the heyday of the Padri movement. It experienced destruction and bloodshed unparalleled elsewhere, and since most of this violence was directed against representatives of traditional authority in Tanah Datar, some writers have mistakenly characterized the entire Padri movement as one of rejection of this authority. In fact, because of its economic singularity, Tanah Datar had quite distinctive social and political characteristics compared to the other two districts, and it was these which shaped the nature of Padri activities in the area.

It is well known that Minangkabau society was fundamentally a peasant one, based on agriculture and on limited service industries of the artisan type. The villages dotting the landscape were inhabited by matrilineal lineage groups called *suku*, each headed by a chief entitled *penghulu suku*. These chiefs acting in concert constituted the village administration. However, as far as Tanah Datar was concerned, there existed also a form of supravillage authority in the shape of a royal family and its attendant ministers. This royal family, despite its claims to suzerainty over a much wider area, was effectively limited to Tanah Datar, and it was there, in approximately 1815, that many of its members were slaughtered by a group of Padri. The rise and fall of Minangkabau royalty is intimately associated with the gold trade. What is usually considered to be the seventeenth and eighteenth century Minangkabau political system, which could be more correctly labeled the "Tanah Datar system," owed its origin to gold, endured only so long as this precious metal lasted, and thereafter was replaced by an entirely new political structure.³⁹

To substantiate this claim a brief historical survey is necessary. It has been noted that there were two important gold-producing regions in Tanah Datar in the late seventeenth century: one in the Bua area near the headwaters of the Inderagiri, and the other in the hilly region of southwestern Tanah Datar, centered on Suruaso. Archaeological finds and Minangkabau *tambo* (story, legend) link the first *raja* of Minangkabau, Adityawarman, with both these localities. Stone inscriptions favor the Suruaso area, while the *tambo* indicate that the *raja* and his entourage entered Minangkabau by way of the Inderagiri and settled in the adjacent Bua area.⁴⁰ Whatever the case, gold seems to have provided the initial impetus for the intrusion into the Minangkabau polity of a family and a system from outside. Adityawarman appears to have been of mixed Javanese-Sumatran parentage, related to the royal house of Majapahit and brought up in that kingdom's *kraton*. He came

³⁹Cf. Christine Dobbin, "The Exercise of Authority in Minangkabau in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Anthony Reid and Lance Castles (eds.), *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 6, 1975), pp. 77-89. This article, written in 1973, is extremely weak in its appreciation of the economic basis of the position of the Minangkabau Raja.

⁴⁰H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VI (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1917), pp. 251-62, 267-73. Westenank, "Opstellen. I," pp. 234-39, 250-51; Ahmad Dt. Batuah and A. Dt. Madjoindo, *Tambo Minangkabau dan Adatnija* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1965), pp. 25, 28. Batuah and Madjoindo favor Pariangan Padang Panjang, the traditional mother-*negeri* of the Minangkabau, as Adityawarman's first place of settlement. However, my own interpretation rests on the earlier collection of *tambo* made by Westenank.

to Sumatra in the 1340s to take control of the region of the upper Batang Hari river, an area which had already submitted to a Javanese expedition from Singasari in the 1270s and which, because of its riverine communications, exported gold from the southern rantau (Sungai Abu) of Minangkabau. The Tanah Datar stone inscriptions indicate that in about 1347 Adityawarman transferred the center of his kingdom from the Batang Hari to Tanah Datar. There can be little doubt that the motive for this change was economic.⁴¹ On his gravestone Adityawarman is described as *Kaṇakamedinīndra*, "sovereign of the land of gold." The word used here for "land of gold" is synonymous with the Sanskrit word *Suvarṇabhūmi*, a common designation for Sumatra in this period. However, the inscription can also be interpreted in the more precise sense of "sovereign of the gold-bearing ground," implying not that Adityawarman claimed to be ruler of Sumatra but rather that he could now assert his control over a supply of gold at its source.⁴² Furthermore, in an inscription of 1347, Adityawarman's *patih*, Dewa Tuhan, is described significantly as "having acquired riches and gold,"⁴³ indicating that it was indeed the acquisition of such resources that prompted Adityawarman's move to Tanah Datar.

The method used by Adityawarman in his "acquisition" of Minangkabau's gold introduced, as far as can be ascertained, another striking feature into the political and social system of Tanah Datar and subsequently of all Minangkabau. Like the royal system itself, this feature was seen by the later Padri movement as undesirable and requiring eradication. Not surprisingly, the fourteenth century intruders do not seem to have been able to establish themselves without a struggle; the inscriptions show that force was necessary. The 1347 inscription refers to Adityawarman's victories over his "opponents,"⁴⁴ while two things are said of his *patih*, Dewa Tuhan: first, "may he enjoy the treasure which he has amassed for himself by his conduct on the warrior's path of the *Ṛsatriyas*," and second, that he "has acquired fame by conquering enemy princes. . . ."⁴⁵ Using the Minangkabau *tambo* as corroborative evidence, it is clear that there was bitter dispute over the intrusion into the polity of a royal system.⁴⁶ The result of this

⁴¹H. Kern, "Het zoogenaamde rotsinschrift van 'Batu Bëragung' in Mëngkabau (1269 en 1297 Çāka)," in Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VI, p. 260; D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1966), p. 84; G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Cambera: Australian National University Press, 1968), pp. 232, 235; for economic motivation, see M. D. Mansoer et al., *Sedjarah Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1970), pp. 54-56, 58. The authors attribute Adityawarman's move to a desire for pepper from Tanah Datar. However, their contention that pepper was grown in the Minangkabau mountains at this date is untenable; see Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, pp. 90-92. Moreover, the cultivation of pepper in the Minangkabau uplands is never mentioned in later Dutch records.

⁴²H. Kern, "Het Sanskrit-inschrift op den grafsteen van Vorst Ādityawarman te Kubur Raja (Mëngkabau; ±1300 Çāka)," in Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1917), p. 219. I am grateful to Dr. Joseph Jordens of the Department of Asian Civilizations, Australian National University, for elucidating this point for me.

⁴³H. Kern, "De wij-inscriptie op het Amoghapāçabeeld van Padang Candi (Midden-Sumatra); 1269 Çāka," *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, p. 169.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 173 and 174.

⁴⁶Batuah and Madjoindo, *Tambo*, pp. 24-28. Of course there are earlier

conflict, which one writer has described as a civil war, was the gradual division of all villages in the central Minangkabau cultural area into two groupings, only one of which gave its overt allegiance to the royal intruders. Each was distinguished by adherence to a different form of *adat* or custom, and they became referred to as *laras*, under the names *laras Bodi Caniago* and *laras Kota Piliang*, the latter firmly identified with the new raja. Mirroring the place of origin of the conflict, division between Koto Piliang and Bodi Caniago villages remained for centuries most marked in Tanah Datar, where whole blocks of contiguous villages adhered to one system or the other, the seats of the Minangkabau raja and their ministers forming a solid block of Koto Piliang *adat* in eastern and southern Tanah Datar, in contrast to the Bodi Caniago areas of northern Tanah Datar. The villages of Agam to the west were chiefly Bodi Caniago, while 50 Kota exhibited a mixed arrangement.⁴⁷

Of course, by the time of the Padri, internal migration had softened some of the outlines of the system; but not all. The significant point is that the villages of the Tanah Datar gold areas and of the areas straddling the gold export routes to the Inderagiri and to the west coast, bound as they were to the royal system by the victories of the early royal intruders, were firmly Koto Piliang, the *laras* system associated with royalty. For example, Koto Piliang villages in six areas on the routes to the west coast were linked together with the Tanah Datar heartland under the designation *Langgam nan Tujuh*, and each possessed a descriptive and resonant Koto Piliang title.⁴⁸ Moreover, right up to the time of the Padri, these Koto Piliang villages preserved their identity "with indescribable jealousy."⁴⁹ At the time the Padri movement arose, villages belonging to *laras Koto Piliang* were regarded as having far more prestige than those belonging to *laras Bodi Caniago*. The Minangkabau chronicler of the rise of the Padri movement notes the dislike engendered in many of its protagonists by the "exalted position" of Koto Piliang villages, which they had had to accept in their youth. The vast majority of Padri in fact came from Bodi Caniago areas, and one of the chief aims of the movement was to blot out past prestige systems, reorganize village groupings and equal-

references to "raja" in the Minangkabau *tambo*, but without archaeological corroboration these must be regarded as equivocal; cf. Sjaafiroeddin, "Pre-Islamic Minangkabau," pp. 31ff.

⁴⁷W. J. Leyds, "Larassen in Minangkabau," *Koloniale Studiën*, X, 1 (1926), pp. 395-96 and map on p. 393. For a discussion of Leyds' evidence, see Dobbin, "Authority in Minangkabau," p. 84.

⁴⁸Leyds, "Larassen," p. 393; Batuah and Madjoindo, *Tambo*, pp. 34-35; Sjaafiroeddin, "Pre-Islamic Minangkabau," pp. 51-52. For example, Saningbakar, near the shores of the lake Singkarak, which controlled the main pass into Minangkabau proper from the coast at Padang, was called *seri menanti* (entrance-chamber to the palace). Between Saningbakar and the coast the route passed through an "independent" federation, 13 Kota, where Koto Piliang and Bodi Caniago villages existed side by side; however the Koto Piliang village of Gantong Ciri dominated the path most favored by late eighteenth century gold traders: see Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 389-427; "Consideratie," par. 12.

⁴⁹De Stuers and Verploegh to van der Capellen, August 30, 1825, L^a E no. 20 in Exh[ibitum] August 24, 1826, no. 41, Ministerie van Koloniën (hereafter MK) 513, ARA.

ize the balance of power inside Minangkabau.⁵⁰ In this respect they were so successful that Dutch anthropologists working in the area after the end of the Padri war found few differences that were significant in the systems of the two *laras*.

After the death of Adityawarman the Minangkabau royal system based on Tanah Datar continued to develop, although virtually nothing further is known of its details until the seventeenth century. By the time of the 1684 Dutch-initiated mission the Raja Alam of Minangkabau was living in the Bua region of eastern Tanah Datar, his capital Pagarruyung being close to the Inderagiri gold export route. Sometime during the previous century the raja and his family had been converted to Islam, resulting in the evolution of a royal triumvirate known as the Raja nan Tiga Sila; the holders of the two new dignities of Raja Adat and Raja Ibadat also had their seats in the Bua region, at Bua and Sumpur Kudus respectively, indicating the primacy of the Inderagiri gold export route for the greater part of the seventeenth century.⁵¹ While the royal family confined itself to the east, a system of ministers was allowed to develop in the gold areas of southwestern Tanah Datar. Adityawarman's original patih evolved into a quadrumvirate known as the Besar Empat Balai, of whom two--the Bendahara of Sungai Tarab and the Indomo of Suruaso--were particularly important, due to their connection with the gold trade. When the Dutch began to trade for gold in earnest at Padang, they found it was with the Bendahara, the Raja Alam's "absolute *wakil*," that they had to deal; a Malay emissary sent by the Company to the darat in 1668 found the Bendahara to have more influence than the Raja Alam in southwestern Tanah Datar.⁵²

What follows is the gradual increase of the influence of the royal family in the west as a result of Dutch policy, culminating in the settlement of the 1674-1683 succession dispute when the western ministers were pushed decisively into the background. The family of the Raja Alam, while retaining control of Pagarruyung in the east, also obtained Suruaso, and a new triumvirate arose based on these two centers but retaining the old titles of Raja Alam, Raja Adat, and Raja Ibadat. It was with the holder of this new position of Raja Suruaso, also known as Raja Ibadat, that the Dutch at Padang dealt for the remainder of the period of the gold trade.⁵³

The foregoing discussion of the economic implications of the development of the royal "Tanah Datar system" has already raised the

⁵⁰J. J. de Hollander (ed.), *Sjeh Džilâl Eddîn: Verhaal van den Aanvang der Padri-Onlusten op Sumatra* (hereafter *Hikayat Jalaluddin*) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1857), p. 41.

⁵¹Mansoer et al., *Sedjarah Minangkabau*, p. 63; Cortesão (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, I, p. 164, mentions three "kings" of Minangkabau in the early sixteenth century, but it is apparent from what he says that one of these was the raja's patih, already metamorphosed into the Bendahara of Sungai Tarab.

⁵²Maetsuyker et al., September 2, 1671, *GM*, III, p. 742; *ibid.*, January 31, 1675, *GM*, IV, p. 7; Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, pp. 46-47, 96. Sungai Tarab was regarded as one of the oldest villages in Minangkabau; Batuah and Madjoindo, *Tambo*, p. 34.

⁵³The confused question of the Minangkabau succession dispute, and its relationship to the Dutch recognition of the Raja Alam as "overlord" of the ports of the west coast, has been admirably investigated by Andaya, *Johor*, pp. 329-31; see also von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 30, 1788, par. 138, KA 3752.

question of royal and ministerial control of the gold trade. The extent of this control, and the profit to which it gave rise, remain to be discussed. Unfortunately much of the evidence comes either from the period when the trade had already declined, or from the rantau. However, pertinent evidence indicates that the royal family throughout remained only the final link in a chain of control and profit, rather than the economic apex of a system under its complete regulation. Tomé Pires in the early sixteenth century appears to have been right when he states that the gold mines or deposits were under the immediate control of the *penghulu* ("the heathen lords") of the villages near which the gold occurred; once extracted, an unknown percentage of the gold was passed on to members of the royal family and their ministers. This would indicate more a system of tribute than of royal prerogative. However, Pires does go on to say that the royal recipients did have the right to determine the distribution of the gold to the actual traders, so that although they did not control the deposits, they controlled the trade itself.⁵⁴

Dutch observations on entering Tanah Datar shortly after the removal of most royal family members by the Padri confirm that, three centuries later, the deposits were still controlled by *penghulu*, being the property of the village in or near which they occurred.⁵⁵ Corroborative evidence for the intermediate period comes from Dutch Residents at Padang in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They too state that the actual controllers of the deposits were *penghulu*, the raja only acquiring a certain percentage of what was produced.⁵⁶ Here a distinction needs to be drawn between the activities of mining and panning for gold. Where gold mines were concerned, one of the great difficulties in a decentralized society without a regular supply of slave or bonded labor was finding men willing to work underground. Even the Dutch in the late seventeenth century were only able to solve this problem by importing German mineworkers for a mine they tried to exploit south of Padang. In general, in Minangkabau society work in the gold mines was regarded with abhorrence and only undertaken by individuals in times of economic hardship. The earliest account of the economics of a Minangkabau gold mine dates from 1688 and refers to a mine in Sungai Abu in the rantau southeast of Tanah Datar. The mine was controlled by two brothers, one a *penghulu*, and was worked by "many thousands of poor people" who flocked there during the rainy season to pan gold for their own benefit. Of each *tahil* collected, the two brothers claimed two *maas* or one-eighth.⁵⁷ In 1696 a general description was given of all the rantau mines with which the Dutch were familiar.

The workers . . . pay not more than one-sixteenth of all they hew or dig out to the lord or owners of the mines and keep the remaining fifteen parts for themselves, the mineowners doubtless having found this method to be far more advantageous than letting hired labourers do the mining, and . . . it must be accepted, that the lord of the

⁵⁴Cortese (ed.), *Suma Oriental*, I, p. 165.

⁵⁵De Stuers to Elout, September 6, 1828, no. 9, Exh. December 29, 1828, no. 30, MK 652.

⁵⁶Van Outhoorn et al., November 30, 1697, *GM*, V, p. 844.

⁵⁷Camphuys et al., December 27, 1688, *GM*, V, p. 229.

mine would not be contented with so small a share if experience had not assured him, that the workers could not subsist without enjoying fifteen-sixteenth for their pains. . . .⁵⁸

An identical system was operating over a century later in mines visited for the first time by Dutch investigators in the 1830s.⁵⁹

As far as panning for gold was concerned, this seems to have been an acceptable form of supplementary work for individuals, especially women and children. It did not require the supervision and organizational intervention of a specialist, the *tambang tua*, who in the case of the mines was responsible for finding, maintaining, and organizing workers. After payment of the specialist and workers, a certain percentage of the gold extracted was paid to the village penghulu concerned, making it apparent that the royal share must have been relatively small. Nevertheless, Dutch reports confirmed Tomé Pires' view that the royal family exercised some form of control over the trade itself; however, the organization of the gold trade after the extraction stage is a subject awaiting further research. It appears that the individuals who were forced by poverty to work in the mines were also used by "trading captains" as carriers, each bearing a portion of gold to the coast and traveling in organized caravans of over one hundred people for security purposes. However, on the west coast route in the seventeenth century it was the Raja Alam's wakil, the Bendahara, who actually had the right to decide when and in what quantities gold could be sent down, and also to tax traders.⁶⁰ After 1683, as has been noted, this role was assumed by a member of the royal family. As far as the eastern route is concerned, the Raja Alam's position in the seventeenth century seems to have been similar to that of the Bendahara in the west. The Malaccan emissary of 1684 reported that the raja exerted considerable control over both gold seeking and trading in his area, regulating the supply in any one year.⁶¹ Even a good hundred years later, when gold had become much scarcer in Tanah Datar, the Raja Alam still clothed himself with those attributes in which the royal authority in Minangkabau had originated, claiming in a letter that he was "possessor of the gold mine named *kudarat-kudarati*, which yields pure gold of twelve carats, and of the gold named *jati-jati* which snaps the *dalik* wood" and describing himself as "the sultan who receives his taxes in gold by the *lessong* measure. . . ."⁶²

This connection with gold working and trading need not imply that the royal families and their ministers possessed fabulous riches; indeed, we know from Dutch accounts of his dwelling that, at least as far as the Raja Alam was concerned, this was far from the case.⁶³ But

⁵⁸Van Outhoorn et al., February 8, 1696, *GM*, V, p. 758.

⁵⁹S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Sumatra* (The Hague: Fuhri, 1855), p. 153; Couperus, "Goudproduktie," p. 128.

⁶⁰Kroeskamp, *Westkust*, pp. 44-47, 96; De Stuers and Verploegh to van der Capellen, August 30, 1825, L^a E no. 20 in Exh. August 24, 1826, no. 41, MK 513.

⁶¹De Haan, "Naar Midden Sumatra," p. 355.

⁶²W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, 3rd ed. (London: J. McCreery, 1811), p. 338.

⁶³Camphuys et al., March 14, 1690, *GM*, V, p. 364.

the very fact that they exercised some form of control over what was both the country's chief medium of exchange⁶⁴ and its leading export helps to provide an explanation of why Tanah Datar royalty survived so long. It had no other economic base, coming as it did from outside and having been unable to acquire more than inadequate hereditary lands;⁶⁵ nor did it ever acquire much authority over the conduct of village affairs, which continued to be regulated by the penghulu as they had been before the royal intrusion.⁶⁶ Since the fortunes of the descendants of Adityawarman were linked to the gold supply, when it faltered so did they.⁶⁷

The Decline of the Gold Trade

It was not until the late eighteenth century that Minangkabau royalty began to lose its economic base. The catastrophe was that the Tanah Datar gold supply was beginning to dry up. Evidence for this decline in the availability of gold in the darat dates from approximately the 1760s, but it only became serious in the 1780s.⁶⁸ As far as the west coast outlets were concerned, gold remittances were markedly down in the period 1785-92 when compared to the decade 1750-60. With prices rising from their early eighteenth century level, the average amount exported by worth in this period was f.75,292 per year, in contrast with f.299,533 per year in the decade 1750-60.⁶⁹ In the whole of the calendar year 1788, the worst year on record, not even 200 tahlil of gold came down to Padang from Tanah Datar by the usual route.⁷⁰ Throughout the 1780s gold prices moved up, reaching f.56 per tahlil in 1781 and f.65.50 and more by 1789.⁷¹ An even worse situation prevailed on the east coast, where the trade had decisively moved from

⁶⁴H. G. Nahuijs, *Brieven over Bencoolen, Padang, het Rijk van Menangkabau, Rhiouw, Sincapoera en Poelo-Pinang* (Breda: Hollingérus Pijpers, 1826), p. 76.

⁶⁵Westenenk, "Opstellen I," p. 248; E. Francis, "Korte beschrijving van het Nederlandsch grondgebied ter Westkust Sumatra, 1837," *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië*, II, 1 (1839), pp. 136-37.

⁶⁶Maetsuyker et al., January 31, 1670, *GM*, III, p. 727; Westenenk, "Opstellen. I," p. 249.

⁶⁷As Richard FitzNeale wrote at the court of Henry II of England, ca. 1180: "The power of princes rises and falls as their portable wealth ebbs and flows"; see Maurice Keen, *The Pelican History of Medieval Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 93.

⁶⁸"Beschrijving," ch. 1, pp. 33-34, par. 24.

⁶⁹There are no figures for 1781-84, the period of the English occupation of Padang; after that the figures are:

1785/86	f.29,572	1787/88	f.88,091	1789/90	f.82,386	1791/92	f.108,503
1786/87	f.77,503	1788/89	f.71,654	1790/91	f.69,334		

The source used here is E. Netscher, *Padang in het laatst der XVIIIe eeuw* (Batavia/The Hague: Verhandeligen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, XLI, 1881), pp. 52-53. Netscher claims that gold throughout this period stood at f.49.50 per tahlil, a lower figure than that quoted by the Padang servants of the VOC.

⁷⁰Van Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 17, 1789, par. 20, KA 3800.

⁷¹"Consideratie," par. 122.

the Inderagiri to the Siak, indicating difficulties with the Tanah Datar supply. Even by this route supplies were already very small in 1750, and by the 1770s the Dutch east coast gold trade had completely collapsed.⁷² This time it does not seem so likely that gold was going to other buyers; a report of 1785 on the flourishing trade of Riau under the Bugis does not mention Minangkabau gold at all as an item of trade.⁷³

There is no doubt that it was Tanah Datar rather than rantau gold which was becoming exhausted; Dutch and English reports, particularly after the opening up of Minangkabau to foreigners, are clear on this point. It was specifically stated in a report of 1789, and was confirmed by the first Europeans to investigate Minangkabau's natural products from 1818.⁷⁴ The early Dutch Residents after the conquest were of the same opinion,⁷⁵ and in 1829 a Batavia newspaper, speaking of central Minangkabau, stated quite plainly that "the amount of gold mined in these districts has sharply declined."⁷⁶ When the Dutch scientist Korthals investigated Minangkabau's natural products in 1834 he too found little gold being mined and panned in Tanah Datar.⁷⁷ It would seem that the fortunes of the royal family in the east were affected first; sometime in the eighteenth century the Raja Alam moved his seat from Pagarruyung in the Bua region to a village on the river Selo near Suruaso, which was ultimately given by outsiders the same name as the former eastern capital. What remained of the gold trade was carried on from the Suruaso-20 Kota area until the mines gradually became exhausted.⁷⁸ With the decline of the trade it can be assumed that the *raison d'être* for an elaborate system of raja and ministers was thrown open to question for perhaps the first time in hundreds of years.

⁷²Dianne Lewis, "The Dutch East India Company and the Straits of Malacca, 1700-1784; Trade and Politics in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1970), pp. 40-44; "Malacca in the Eighteenth Century. Two Dutch Governors' Reports," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (hereafter *JMBRAS*), XXVII, 1 (1954), pp. 28-29, 31.

⁷³"Trade in the Straits of Malacca in 1785. A memorandum by P. G. de Bruijn, Governor of Malacca," *JMBRAS*, XXVI, 1 (1953), pp. 55 ff.

⁷⁴"Consideratie," par. 76. The surmise in this report that Tanah Datar gold may have been going to the new port of Penang is belied by the Penang records; see, e.g., "Imports Since August Last," Appendix to Con[sultation] February 13, 1788, Straits Settlements Factory Records (hereafter SSFR) 3, India office Library (hereafter IOL). These records make it clear that gold brought to Penang came from Borneo. For later evidence, see Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 76; Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 407, 420, 477.

⁷⁵De Stuers to Elout, July 10, 1829, no. 1, Exh. December 29, 1829, no. 53, MK 721; "Sumatra's Westkust. Rapport omtrent den staat van den handel" (hereafter "Rapport omtrent den handel"), April 21, 1830, no. 315, Exh. September 15, 1830, no. 6/A, MK 767.

⁷⁶*Courant*, November 5, 1829 in *Indisch Magazijn*, II, 2 (1845), p. 82; Couperus, "Goudproductie," p. 124.

⁷⁷Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 24.

⁷⁸Westenenk, "Opstellen. I," p. 237; Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 420, 426; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 14, 23.

New Commercial Openings, 1784-90

New Trading Partners

The decline of the gold trade by the 1780s was contemporaneous with the opening of new directions for Minangkabau external trade which were to bring with them the end of Tanah Datar commercial dominance and the "Tanah Datar system," and to open up possibilities of wider trade to other areas of Minangkabau. At first these beginnings were small and consisted only of an alteration of emphasis. The first change was the marked decrease in the commercial strength of the outside partner in the Tanah Datar system, the VOC. During the eighteenth century the VOC's main rival, the English East India Company, acquired a foothold on the west coast of Sumatra, and in 1751 and 1755 the English were able to establish themselves at Natal and Tapanuli respectively; Natal was a magnet for the *prahu* of coastal traders, being only a day's journey by sea from Air Bangis, and Coromandel cloths were available there far more cheaply than at Padang.⁷⁹

The English acquired even greater significance as trading partners for the Minangkabau in the period 1781-84, when war in Europe led first to the English company taking over Padang for these years and then to the permanent acquisition by the English of the main Dutch factory in Coromandel. As far as Minangkabau was concerned, this short interregnum gave its people the experience of being able to acquire a much greater variety of Indian cottons at far cheaper prices than the Dutch had ever offered; the Dutch return, with high prices, an even more limited supply of cottons than before, and a refusal to accept anything other than gold in payment, gave impetus to Minangkabau areas other than Tanah Datar to search for a way of escaping the traditional trading system.⁸⁰

Agam: Cotton and Salt

One way, other than making the journey to the English at Natal, was the encouragement of internal industry and hence trade. It was in the mid-eighteenth century that the Minangkabau cloth-weaving industry markedly revived, lessening dependence on the Dutch and bringing increased prosperity to the two luak other than Tanah Datar. Cotton-planting had reportedly begun on the coast, particularly south of Padang, in the mid-seventeenth century, and the Dutch had long attempted to stamp it out.⁸¹ In 1761 it was reported that, as far as the interior was concerned, coastal cotton-planting allowed upland weavers "to be able to supply a considerable quantity of cloths at moderate prices."⁸² Modest beginnings burgeoned as a direct result of the VOC's supply problems in the 1780s, and by 1789 cotton-planting was in progress along the whole coast; the cotton was then taken up to the darat and woven, resulting in the manufacture of cloths far cheaper than the Dutch could supply.⁸³ The upland Minangkabau were prepared to pay a high price for this cotton, even though it was not of the quality of

⁷⁹"Consideratie," pars. 243-46.

⁸⁰Netscher, *Padang*, pp. 26, 36.

⁸¹"Beschrijving," ch. 2, p. 92, par. 38.

⁸²*Ibid.*, ch. 3, pp. 190-91, par. 5.

⁸³Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 15, 1789, pars. 166-71, KA 3800.

imported raw Surat cotton. The extent of the weaving industry by the late 1780s can be estimated from the Dutch assertion that 4,000 Dutch pounds of Surat cotton could be sold to weavers each year were it available.⁸⁴ The first Europeans to penetrate Minangkabau noted that the handloom cotton industry was one of the most flourishing branches of economic activity, leading to an "extensive interior trade."⁸⁵ Most important of all, this burgeoning industry and trade brought prosperity to areas which had been economically peripheral to the Tanah Datar system. Agam, for example, had long been the traditional center of Minangkabau weaving.⁸⁶ Now the region became much more economically active, not only due to weaving but also to the flourishing of ancillary industries such as indigo dyeing: Nahujs reported in 1824 that he had found in Agam "whole villages which made a living by dyeing with indigo."⁸⁷

Another branch of internal commerce which received a new impetus from Dutch problems was the salt trade. From the 1660s the sale of Java salt to the Minangkabau had been a profitable aspect of VOC commercial activity. For this reason the Dutch at Padang had always opposed local salt making, a particular industry of the people of Agam, who used salt pans rented to them by coastal villagers. Regular and systematic destruction of these salt pans by the Dutch increased both the price and scarcity of salt.⁸⁸ Now, as Dutch ability to survey the coast declined, the making of salt and its sale in the interior increased.⁸⁹ The great demand for this commodity made it another profitable item in internal trade, and since this trade was largely in the hands of certain Agam villages, further prosperity was brought to their district.

Limapuluh Kota: Gambier

While Agam was benefiting from trade in local cloth and salt, the third luak of Minangkabau, Limapuluh Kota, pushed back in the mountains closest to the east coast, also began to profit from a new opportunity. This was for external rather than internal trade, and resulted from the district's proximity to an important river system, the upper tributaries of the rivers Kampar and Siak. Unable to benefit earlier to any great extent from this strategic location due to the absence of a suitable trading partner, Limapuluh Kota came into its own with the founding of the free port of Penang in 1786 by the English East India Company. Penang quickly attracted traders from all over the Malay world, and was particularly well supplied with those Coromandel cloths which were in such demand among the Minangkabau.

⁸⁴"Consideratie," pars. 226-34.

⁸⁵De Stuers and Verploegh to van der Capellen, August 30, 1825, L^a E no. 20, Exh. August 24, 1826, no. 41, MK 513; see also Nahujs, *Brieven*, pp. 70-71, 82; Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, p. 417.

⁸⁶Camphuys et al., December 27, 1688, *GM*, V, p. 227.

⁸⁷Nahujs, *Brieven*, p. 70.

⁸⁸"Beschrijving," ch. 2, pp. 113-14, par. 54; p. 144, par. 79; pp. 148-49, pars. 83-84. This practice was on occasion forbidden by the Batavia government.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, ch. 3, pp. 205-9, par. 10; "Consideratie," pars. 215-17.

For some time prior to the founding of Penang, Minangkabau trading ventures to the east coast to acquire Indian cloths had declined, due to the lack of appropriate means of exchange;⁹⁰ now trade reopened on a new footing. Penang records make it quite clear that what the Minangkabau brought to trade was no longer gold, but gambier, an important product used in tanning and in dyeing military goods, and, more commonly at this period, as a medicine. The trade centered on an old commercial site, Patapahan, on the Siak River, and was initially carried on by the coastal Batubara people, who were of Minangkabau origin, on behalf of Minangkabau principals. They made the cross-Straits voyage in their prahu and returned with cloths and salt in quantities sufficient to flood the Minangkabau market.⁹¹ From the earliest days of Penang Batubara prahu took the lead among all east coast traders visiting the island and gambier appears from the beginning as one of the chief items carried.⁹² The first prahu direct from Siak is mentioned in July 1787, and in all subsequent Siak prahu gambier was recorded as the dominant trade article. The gambier carried on these cross-Straits enterprises originated chiefly in Limapuluh Kota.⁹³

As with the weaving industry and salt trade of Agam, the gambier trade distributed its benefits fairly equitably throughout the luak, particularly in areas not suited to rice growing. Salt making, weaving and gambier cultivation were all occupations less subject to penghulu economic control than either gold working or the cultivation of *sawah*; they were more open to individual initiative and depended less on the organization of wider groups of people.⁹⁴ Writing of Limapuluh Kota in 1834 when, of course, coffee had become such a lucrative crop, a Dutch scientist noted: "Where the coffee bush does not grow successfully, the cultivation of gambier is zealously pursued, which in the same manner places the cultivator in the position to acquire articles which improve his condition in life."⁹⁵ In general, gambier was grown in areas of hilly terrain not suitable for rice, and the trade gave rise to flourishing markets in localities which had previously been economically backward. The area on the mountain spurs west of mount Bongso, containing villages such as Monkar which were short of rice-fields, was brought to new life by gambier cultivation; the market of

⁹⁰Light to Cornwallis, January 6, 1790, Con., January 14, 1790, SSFR 4; "Consideratie," par. 194.

⁹¹Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 15, 1789, pars. 21-23, 32, KA 3800; John Anderson, *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra*, in MDCCCXXIII (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Cadell, 1826), pp. 310-12.

⁹²"A List of the Prows which have arrived at this Port, since the 22^d December Last," in "Con." April 11, 1787, SSFR 2.

⁹³"Account of Prows arrived at Prince of Wales Island between 1st April and 9th July 1787," in "Con." September 17, 1787, SSFR 2; "An Account of Goods etc. Imported into Prince of Wales's Island 1789," in "Con." January 14, 1790, SSFR 4. Regions of origin of goods imported ceased to be recorded at Penang after 1790, but the gambier trade continued to flourish. In 1833 it was estimated that 15,000 *pikul* (one *pikul* = 133 lbs.) of Limapuluh Kota gambier was exported every year via the east coast; van den Bosch to De Stuers, December 20, 1833, no. 467, Baud MSS 480, ARA.

⁹⁴See pp. 21 ff. on the coffee trade for a more extensive discussion of the economic and social variations within each district.

⁹⁵Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 37.

Monkar, prior to Dutch occupation, "was much frequented and previously realized considerable sums from sales."⁹⁶ This area was close to the main pass out of Limapuluh Kota, across to *pangkalan* (market) Kota Baru. At the same time, areas which could not move into the actual cultivation of gambier still participated in the general benefits of wider commercial development. For example, the passage of traders brought new wealth to the penghulu of the villages on the trade routes. In 1787 certain Limapuluh Kota penghulu, requested by the Dutch at Padang to close the route to Patapahan, alleged that the trade was so valuable that it was worth f.6,250 a year to them, this being their income from the tolls paid by merchants passing through their villages.⁹⁷ Also the penghulu of Payakumbuh, the leading market of the Limapuluh Kota plains, quickly became involved in the processing and shipment of gambier.⁹⁸

As time passed, the trade of Limapuluh Kota via the east coast grew to embrace an area wider than the original Patapahan-Penang axis. The existence of Penang attracted ships from as far away as Coromandel and Sulawesi to the shores of the Straits, and this traffic was still expanding in the early 1780s. Bugis prahu, which were one of the commercial mainstays of Penang, also visited the Siak and carried on a huge trade, to the benefit of Minangkabau using the Patapahan route.⁹⁹

The Coffee Trade, 1790-1830

These new commercial opportunities for Minangkabau living in areas other than Tanah Datar were magnified enormously in the 1790s. It was at this period that unparalleled economic development occurred in the Minangkabau heartland, but particularly in Agam and Limapuluh Kota, which, when added to their earlier economic revival, led them to outstrip Tanah Datar as the mercantile focus of the entire area. This economic growth was caused by external demand for the export of one of Minangkabau's agricultural products, coffee, and by the appearance of a new trading partner, the United States. The sudden arrival of American merchant ships in the port of Padang completely altered the economic balance of power within Minangkabau.

After the independence of the United States became a reality, many Americans who had become rich from speculation and profiteering during the War of Independence were eager to enter the world trading system, chiefly in order to acquire from their countries of origin those items which previously had been received by way of Britain. In 1784 the first American vessels left for China and India to open up direct trade, and in that same year a ship made the initial American voyage to Sumatra, calling at Aceh.¹⁰⁰ Among the products sought by these

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁷Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 15, 1789, Par. 26, KA 3800.

⁹⁸Plate, agent for the Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij, to NHM Batavia, April 23, 1835, Baud MSS 429, ARA.

⁹⁹Anderson, *Mission*, pp. 343, 347; Dundas et al. to Court, January 17, 1807, par. 48, SSFR 179.

¹⁰⁰G. Bhagat, *Americans in India 1784-1860* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), p. 4; James W. Gould, *Americans in Sumatra* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1961), p. 2.

American venturers was coffee, which was an important article of world trade, and in considerable demand in Europe. By the 1790s coffee had become even more attractive because of its profitability; disruptions caused by the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars were pushing up prices at the very time when production was ceasing in the French Caribbean colony of St. Dominigue, where about two-thirds of the world's coffee had been produced prior to the 1791 slave uprising.¹⁰¹

In the Indies, Java was initially the magnet which attracted American coffee traders, despite unwelcome Dutch supervision of the trade. However, the early ships' captains soon learned that coffee of a highly desirable variety was growing in the favorable climatic conditions of the uplands of West Sumatra. Arabica coffee was introduced into Minangkabau about the same time as into Java, though more probably by Muslim pilgrims returning home through the Yemen than by Dutch initiative. It gradually became an item of demand and sale at local markets, not in the form of beans but as bundles of leaf-covered branches which were brought to market and sold for their leaves, which were used to concoct a drink.¹⁰² The first mention of coffee in the VOC Padang records is of its availability in the Padang *pasar* of 1789, though not as an article for export, but merely as an item of internal trade, consumed locally.¹⁰³ In 1790, the first American ship in search of a cargo of coffee arrived at Padang, as part of a venture chiefly directed towards acquiring pepper in the Acehnese ports. However, after this initial success, eight to ten American ships called at Padang for coffee each year throughout the last decade of the eighteenth century. They were encouraged by the fact that, in the last days of the VOC, the Dutch opened up trade at Padang to foreigners due to their own economic difficulties, and this continued after the English company appropriated the port in 1795 during the revolutionary wars in Europe.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately there is no way of estimating coffee exports or prices for this period. Port statistics are lacking even in the English records and they do not become available again until the return of the Dutch to Padang in 1819. Nevertheless, to judge by what is known of the Java coffee trade, from the very beginning exports must have been quite considerable. Moreover, the Minangkabau soon found themselves with two customers instead of one when the English, having acquired the port of Padang, entered into competition with the Americans. English competition at this time, of course, was largely confined to Company servants trading on their own account and was never

¹⁰¹Bhagat, *Americans*, p. 14; Sharom Ahmat, "Some Problems of the Rhode Island Traders in Java, 1799-1836," *JSEAH*, VI, 1 (1965), pp. 95-96; Maurice de Young, *Man and Land in the Haitian Economy* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), pp. 16-17.

¹⁰²H. Burger, "Aanmerkingen Behouden op eene Reize door Eenige Districten der Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, XVI (1836), pp. 189-90.

¹⁰³"Consideratie," par. 278; De Stuers to Elout, May 17, 1826, no. 4, Exh. October 23, 1826, no. 48, MK 523. See also "Dagboek . . . 12 July 1832," Vermeulen Krieger MSS 3, ARA.

¹⁰⁴De Stuers to Elout, February 15, 1828, no. 3, Exh. July 11, 1828, no. 52, MK 625. Gould states that the first American ship called at Padang in February 1789; James W. Gould, "Sumatra--America's Peppercot 1784-1873. Part I: Background and Early Years to 1815," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCII, 2 (1956), pp. 96-98; Gould, *Americans*, p. 14.

great enough to deter American custom. However, the English too were a source of advantage to the Minangkabau. For example, the East India Company Resident at Padang from 1798 paid the equivalent of f.7 a pikul for the coffee beans he acquired for export, and in 1800 alone he exported 4,000 pikul on his own account.¹⁰⁵

Naturally both price and quantity exported fluctuated according to European demand and the state of the pepper trade. In the early 1800s the price was stable at between f.6 and f.7 per pikul, but thereafter it gradually rose to f.10 and subsequently to f.20 per pikul.¹⁰⁶ With the end of the Napoleonic wars, both British and American ships rushed to the Indies in search of coffee, pushing the prices to unprecedented heights in what became a veritable "coffee mania." An American captain writing from Batavia in 1818 referred to his fellow-countrymen as "'coffee mad; no price is too great for them.'"¹⁰⁷

By the time the Dutch returned to Padang in 1819 as part of the postwar settlement, coffee stood at f.40 per pikul.¹⁰⁸ A Dutch merchant sent from Batavia to investigate the trade reported that Americans at Padang were paying enormous prices for cargoes, transporting as much as 3,000 pikul on one single ship. The demand was so great and the Minangkabau so eager to participate in the trade that they were plucking the beans before they were ripe, knowing the anxious American buyers were prepared to purchase beans even in this condition. The amount exported annually was now 20,000 pikul, compared with 5,000 pikul a few years previously.¹⁰⁹ In response to this demand, the Minangkabau turned over more and more areas to coffee wherever this was possible.¹¹⁰

After their return to Padang, the Dutch for some years continued the policy of keeping the port open to foreign traders and coffee exports remained buoyant, rising from 16,000 pikul in 1821 to 33,000 pikul in 1825 and 49,000 pikul in 1826.¹¹¹ These figures by themselves,

¹⁰⁵De Stuers to Elout, February 15, 1828, no. 3, Exh. July 11, 1828, no. 52, MK 625; De Stuers to van den Bosch, n.d. March 1838, Exh. March 12, 1838, Kab. L^a X, MK 4417.

¹⁰⁶Ahmat, "Rhode Island Traders," p. 95, referring to Java, dates the most active periods for the coffee trade as 1799-1807 and ca. 1813-27; disruption followed the 1807 Embargo Act and the War of 1812.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁸De Stuers to Elout, February 15, 1828, no. 3, Exh. July 11, 1828, no. 52, MK 625.

¹⁰⁹"Rapport omtrent de handel in Koffie ter Padang door A. Bezemer," MK 3070.

¹¹⁰Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 65.

¹¹¹Official figures, in pikul, are:

1820	14,000	1822	24,000	1824	28,000	1826	49,000	1828	29,000
1821	16,000	1823	26,000	1825	33,000	1827	39,000	1829	39,000

Sources: De Stuers to Elout, May 14, 1826, no. 3, Exh. September 30, 1826, no. 79, MK 519; "Rapport omtrent den handel," MK 767. Prices per pikul paid at Padang were:

1821	f.25	1823	f.25	1825	f.12	1827	f.13	1829	f.12
1822	f.36	1824	f.18	1826	f.12	1828	f.13	1830	f.10

Sources: De Stuers to Elout, May 17, 1826, no. 4, Exh. October 23, 1826, no. 48,

of course, do not tell the whole story. As in the case of the gold trade, the Minangkabau were eager to make use of any avenue of export which promised profit, and a considerable amount of coffee in this period was also exported through small west coast ports north of Padang not yet subject to Dutch control.¹¹² In addition, areas nearest to the east coast rivers exported coffee to Singapore after 1819, and this trade was estimated to amount to 12,000 pikul per year by 1829.¹¹³

By 1827 the Padang trade, considered in isolation, had reached its peak and thereafter a decline set in, reflected in both the amount exported and prices paid.¹¹⁴ There were at least two reasons for this falling off. The most significant was the gradual Dutch retreat from a fairly open system to one of discriminatory duties on foreign shipping. This bore hardest on the American ships and on English ships from British India which had previously taken most of the coffee, so that gradually fewer and fewer of these vessels called at Padang.¹¹⁵ They were further discouraged by the low prices prevailing on the European market after 1827.¹¹⁶ It was reported from Padang in July 1829 that, since the start of the previous year, not a single pikul of coffee had been exported by Americans, while in the whole of 1830 only three American ships called at the port.¹¹⁷

The subsequent transformation of the coffee export trade after its passing into Dutch hands is an important subject of study in itself. The purpose here is to discuss the effect of the demand for their coffee on the Minangkabau. Before going on to investigate specific regional variations, it can be stated that, as far as Minangkabau as a whole was concerned, both internal and external trade were greatly stimulated. This stimulation operated to promote commerce along conventional lines, but it also opened up new techniques. The most significant innovation was the introduction of considerable quantities of coinage into the Minangkabau economy for the first time, offering an alternative to the traditional methods of barter and of exchange calculations based on a system of gold weights. Not until the very end of its control of Padang had the VOC agreed to pay for Minangkabau gold with anything other than cloth, payment in silver Spanish dollars being

MK 523; *ibid.*, December 28, 1828, no. 10, Exh. June 13, 1829, no. 133, MK 683; Elout to Clifford, May 6, 1831, no. 1/109, Exh. September 26, 1831, no. 28, MK 810.

¹¹²"Rapport omtrent den handel," MK 767.

¹¹³*Singapore Chronicle*, September 1829, in J. H. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries* (Singapore: n.p., 1837), p. 102; J. Anderson, *Acheen and the Ports on the North and East Coasts of Sumatra* (London: Allen and Co., 1840), p. 14.

¹¹⁴Of course this statement refers only to the period of most vigorous Padri activity, up to ca. 1830. After the Dutch completed their conquest of Minangkabau in 1837 and reorganized coffee production and export, far greater amounts of coffee were exported.

¹¹⁵"Rapport omtrent den handel," MK 767.

¹¹⁶De Stuers to Elout, May 17, 1828, no. 8, Exh. December 31, 1828, no. 47, MK 652.

¹¹⁷De Stuers to Elout, July 10, 1829, no. 1, Exh. December 29, 1829, no. 53, MK 721; Elout to Clifford, May 6, 1831, no. 1/109, Exh. September 26, 1831, no. 28, MK 810.

permitted by Batavia only in 1790.¹¹⁸ Even so, very little silver money was available to the VOC representatives, and it was only with the coming of the Americans that silver Spanish dollars entered Minangkabau in a veritable flood.

American ships engaged in the coffee trade were renowned for carrying little in their outward cargo other than the famous Spanish milled dollars so much in demand in Sumatra, which then moved into ordinary exchange in the country of trade.¹¹⁹ The coffee mania led to an influx of these coins into the Minangkabau heartland; conversely, the post-1827 decline caused a setback of great significance to the beneficiaries of the coffee trade, as the Americans had been the only buyers trading with money.¹²⁰ Fortunately a more traditional line of trade had continued alongside the American innovation; English ships concurrently imported the old staples of cotton piece goods and raw cotton, together with some of the newer manufactured cloths of England, taking in exchange mixed cargoes of coffee and specie.¹²¹

The Commercial and the Islamic Revivals

It is striking that the profound economic changes so far described were taking place in Minangkabau at the very time that the country was experiencing the birth of a movement of religious revivalism. The Minangkabau Islamic revival started in a particular locality in the late 1780s, became entrenched in that area in the 1790s, and expanded throughout the entire Alam Minangkabau from about 1803, becoming known after that date as the Padri movement.¹²² The particular locality in which this religious revival originated was the district of Agam, the very district which was the first to experience the effects of the trade revival of the 1780s and 1790s and to profit from the development of the weaving and salt-making industries. The movement spread with little resistance from Agam to the neighboring district of Limapuluh Kota, the recent beneficiary of the newly opened Penang trade. On the other hand, the revival had least success in Tanah Datar, a district whose external trade was in decline and which largely refused to accept the tenets of the movement until they were introduced by force.

What is required now is a more detailed investigation of the geographical origins of the Islamic revivalist movement, tracing where possible the villages of its genesis and expansion, with a view to discovering their peculiar economic characteristics and, in particular, what part they played in the new commercial opportunities. Of all these opportunities, that provided by the sale of coffee was the most

¹¹⁸"Consideratie," pars. 135-38; Netscher, *Padang*, p. 56.

¹¹⁹Bhagat, *Americans*, p. 11; Ahmat, "Rhode Island Traders," p. 96.

¹²⁰De Stuers to Elout, July 10, 1829, no. 1, Exh. December 29, 1829, no. 53, MK 721. Between 1822 and 1825, f.439,219 worth of silver was imported by Americans to pay for coffee, and f.476,318 between 1826 and 1829. Silver coinage imported by the Dutch to pay their troops also partly went into circulation.

¹²¹De Stuers to Elout, May 17, 1826, no. 4, Exh. October 23, 1826, no. 48, MK 523.

¹²²For a chronological study of the progress, character and doctrines of the movement, see Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism," *passim*.

outstanding, and the need to examine any connections between the protagonists of the revivalist movement and the newly-rich coffee villages is self-evident.

Coffee and the Hill Villages of Minangkabau

A topographical feature of the entire Minangkabau heartland should be noted: the three central districts are each composed of a rich rice plain surrounded and enclosed by hills and mountains which separate them from one another. Economically the villages of the plains differed considerably from those of the hills. The work of the inhabitants of the former revolved around wet rice cultivation and the production of a marketable surplus, giving them a distinctive lifestyle of which lineage control and transmission of rice fields was an essential feature. Villages located in the hills, however, were forced through lack of much suitable rice land to turn to handicraft or service industries, either in the form of manufactures such as weaving or by cultivating crops other than rice, the products of which could then be bartered for the surplus of the plains.¹²³ Certain villages would devote themselves entirely to some form of economic specialization such as indigo cultivation and dyeing, manufacture of iron implements, the making of pottery or the cultivation and manufacture of sugar.¹²⁴ The dominant lifestyle of the hill villages was therefore that of the artisan and the trader, occupations which provided opportunities for wealth to be acquired by individuals rather than by the lineage as a whole.

It is in relation to these hill villages that the commercial changes of the 1780s and 1790s must be seen. The burgeoning of the weaving industry and indigo dyeing in Agam, and of gambier cultivation in Limapuluh Kota, took place in villages in the hills which already had a long tradition of similar economic activity. It was they, rather than their plains brethren, who benefited from the new prosperity. This was equally true of the new crop, coffee. The coffee bush flourished best on the hill slopes, and it was there that it was found growing extensively by the first travelers in Minangkabau.¹²⁵ For hill villagers coffee had the added significance that it was not subject to lineage control, unlike the labor-intensive rice fields of the plains. Due to the shortage of land on the slopes, it was not cultivated in regularly laid out gardens but around the separate houses belonging to each extended family in a thick growth known as *pagar kopi* (hedge coffee). Such hedges required little care and maintenance and were under the exclusive control of the family which planted them.¹²⁶

¹²³For drawing my attention to the significance of these differences I am greatly indebted to Elizabeth Graves, "The Ever-Victorious Buffalo: How the Minangkabau of Indonesia Solved Their 'Colonial Question'" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971), pp. 32 ff. This work provided the stimulus for the argument which follows, although of course it bears no responsibility for the way in which I have applied the insight. The significance of coffee producing in relation to the Padri movement was suggested independently by Akira Oki in a paper presented for admission to the Australian National University, 1973. Raffles, of course, first noted the marked differences in relation to commerce between hill and plains villages: Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, p. 406.

¹²⁴Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 417-19, 432; Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 70.

¹²⁵Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, p. 406; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 12.

¹²⁶Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 65.

Coffee and other products were disposed of at the regular weekly markets for which Minangkabau was famous and which could attract up to 3,000 to 4,000 people to each village in which they took place.¹²⁷ The ultimate destination of the coffee was the coast, to which it was carried by troops or *orang bangsat* or carriers. However, because the roads to both the west coast and the eastern riverine market towns were so poor, the trade profited not only the growers, who generally merely brought their produce to the nearest market, but also numerous middlemen who assembled loads at various points in the interior, the coffee usually passing through several hands before it reached the coast.¹²⁸

Merchants and Islam: The Search for a System of Legality

As the volume of trade grew from small beginnings in Agam and Limapuluh Kota to encompass virtually all the hilly tracts of central Minangkabau, larger numbers of people came to have an interest in the smooth operation of trading ventures. The old Tanah Datar system, in which the main trade route had been secured by a string of Koto Piliang villages and traders had been subject to the security of supervision, was in decay; in any case, it was no longer relevant to the new areas and groups now involved in trade. The old gold routes from Batipuh and Suruaso across lake Singkarak to Padang by way of the passes in the 13 Kota were of no use to the major coffee traders, who instead revived part of a long-abandoned route to Pariaman. They brought their product through Agam and the 6 Kota to an assembly point near Kota Lawas, and then transported it through the mountains down to Pariaman, whence it was taken by water to Padang. The interest of these new traders was quite simple: they wanted to be able to carry on their commerce in security and with ease of movement. This, however, was far from being possible in Minangkabau in the 1780s and 1790s; in every area robbery of traders and demands for exorbitant tolls were common, while the execrable roads made trading journeys hazardous.¹²⁹ But as the volume of trade grew, merchants became conscious that not all these impediments to commerce need be inevitable. Within their society there already existed prescriptions for a better and more rational conduct of both mercantile and community activities.

There was a precedent for Minangkabau merchants resolving their own difficulties. Traditionally, they were accustomed as a group to settle their affairs among themselves in accordance with their own adat, without involving the village authorities.¹³⁰ Now, with the increase in both their activities and their prosperity, they desired a set of guidelines of broader range and applicability, and providing

¹²⁷J. C. Boelhouwer, *Herinneringen van Mijn Verblijf op Sumatra's Westkust, Gedurende de Jaren 1831-1834* (The Hague: De Eerven Doorman, 1841), pp. 27-28.

¹²⁸"Memorie van toelichting . . . ," October 11, 1833, no. 311, Exh. April 9, 1834, no. 74^k Geh[eim], MK 4233.

¹²⁹Von Erath and van der Stengh to Alting, January 30, 1791, pars. 188-89, KA 3853; Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, pp. 392-93; 429.

¹³⁰A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leiden: Brill, 1882), p. 362.

more easily enforceable sanctions, than those of traditional adat. They wished both themselves and those with whom they dealt to be subject to the rule of law. Islam, the nominal religion of Minangkabau, was ideally suited to their needs; the Kur'an itself enjoined strict protection of the merchant. Moreover Islam was, par excellence, a religion based on careful observation of the law and its code of law, the *syariat*, provided numerous prescriptions for commercial dealings and also for the rational conduct of wider community affairs in such a way as to promote common benefit. Moreover, Islamic law paid greater attention than did adat to the rights of the individual as opposed to the lineage in respect to property, a matter of some concern to the successful merchant.

The study of Islamic law in Minangkabau was not originally confined to any one district, and the *syariat* had its exponents throughout the *darat*. However, in the light of what has been said about its commercial position, it is hardly surprising that the district of Agam had become the leading center in Minangkabau for the study of *fikh* or Islamic jurisprudence, and especially of that branch of jurisprudence dealing with commerce.¹³¹ The study of *fikh* took place in the Islamic schools or *surau* of the leading Sufi brotherhood in Agam, the Syattariah, and was accepted as part of the course of instruction side by side with the traditional emphasis on mystical knowledge and devotion. One reason for this was that the main *surau* were never cut off from the life of the society around them. With the general increase in prosperity they began to attract far greater numbers of students, all of whom were required to finance what was often a very protracted period of learning. To maintain their growth the big *surau* participated in the wider economy, functioning as economic units so that they and the students who visited them might be self-supporting.¹³² *Surau* students would either trade in whatever crops could be grown in the vicinity of their *surau* or, if they planned to stay there for a longer time, engage in a craft and sell what they produced.¹³³ Thus it is not surprising that the largest *surau* about which we have information from the late eighteenth century were in Agam and Limapuluh Kota, where they were able to benefit from the trade revival. Their students were particularly concerned to introduce reforms based on Islamic law into society at large, in the hope of facilitating all aspects of commercial activity.¹³⁴

Many of these *surau* students, after their days of instruction had passed, were able to amass considerable wealth, particularly after the start of the coffee boom. This led to increasing numbers making the *hajj*,¹³⁵ in the process of which they became even more aware of the

¹³¹*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, passim.

¹³²H. A. Steijn Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries (Padris) in de Bovenlanden van Sumatra," *TBG*, III (1855), p. 252; Christine Dobbin, "Tuanku Iman Bondjol (1772-1864)," *Indonesia*, 13 (April 1972), pp. 19-21; "De masjid's en inlandsche godsdienst-scholen in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," *De Indische Gids*, 1 (1888), p. 318.

¹³³"De masjid's," pp. 324-25; A. W. P. Verkerk Pistorius, *Studiën over de Inlandsche Huishouding in de Padangsche Bovenlanden* (Zaltbommel: Noman, 1871), pp. 208, 238-39, n. 10.

¹³⁴*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, passim.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; De Stuers to Elout, September 27, 1826, no. 4b, Exh. March 17, 1827, no. 41, MK 547.

prescriptions of the syariat concerning the right ordering of the community in matters such as commerce and inheritance. The proliferation of *haji* continued throughout the 1790s, until by 1803 a new group of Minangkabau arriving in Mecca encountered the Wahhabis from eastern Arabia; they returned home inspired by some of the tenets of these recent conquerors of the holy cities and revived the existing students of Islamic law, all henceforth becoming known by the epithet Padri or men of Pedir (i.e., those who had made the haj by way of the Acehese port of Pedir).

The Coffee Villages of Agam and the Islamic Revival

The connection between the surau of the reformers and the areas of economic growth now requires demonstration in greater detail. That great concern for the teachings of the syariat which marked the Islamic revival in Minangkabau was first manifested in Agam, in a region called Empat Angkat, which lay in a triangle bounded on the east by the slopes of mount Merapi and which contained the surau of four highly respected teachers.¹³⁶ Although they taught most branches of Islamic learning, the leading *syekh* of the four, Tuanku Nan Tua, was particularly noted for his alarm concerning the continuing danger to the lives and property of traders; his attempts to expound the syariat in the interests of their security led to his becoming known as "the patron of traders."¹³⁷ He impressed upon his pupils how essential it was for the Minangkabau to be welded into a community which based its actions on the will of God, the outward signs of which would be obedience to Kur'anic injunctions such as those regulating inheritance, divorce, and the buying and selling of goods. He himself drew up a code of rules for the correct treatment of traders, based on the syariat.¹³⁸

Tuanku Nan Tua's own surau was located in the plains village of Kota Tua, which was favorably situated for sawah cultivation. However, the region of Empat Angkat as a whole was dominated by the slopes of mount Merapi and its spurs. There was a symbiotic relationship between the rice-rich villages of the plains and the equally prosperous hill villages on the mountain. The slopes in Empat Angkat could be cultivated to a considerable height, and two of the leading villages of the area lay on these slopes. These hill villages had the typical characteristics of their kind, producing trade articles for internal consumption and also for export. One in particular, Candung, which was the largest village in Empat Angkat, was famous for the gunpowder made by its women, and for its cassia trees. From about 1790 the bark of the cassia tree was sold to American ships for export.¹³⁹ Most important of all, the hills were prolific in coffee; the leaf-covered branches were brought to market as part of internal trade until the external

¹³⁶In the following discussion of the characteristics of particular villages, it should be noted that not all the villages referred to are now in exactly the same position as they were in the period under discussion. Most were burned in the wars, and some were rebuilt in a slightly different position.

¹³⁷*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, p. 9.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

¹³⁹Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 70; Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 170; Gould, *Americans*, pp. 14-15. Cassia bark resembled Ceylonese cinnamon, and was used as a medicine.

demand for coffee set in. In 1824 H. G. Nahuijs, the first systematic Dutch investigator to visit Agam remarked upon the large amount of coffee growing in Candung,¹⁴⁰ and in 1834 a Dutch scientist noted: "Especially in *Tjandong* coffee grows very luxuriantly on the mountain-side; at the same time the *Cassia* trees prevalent here thrive extremely well in suitable soil."¹⁴¹ With the coming of the coffee boom the whole of Empat Angkat prospered. The systematic attention given to coffee cultivation in Empat Angkat and other parts of Agam was noted by one of the earliest European travelers in the Minangkabau heartland. It is significant that he thought the entire district where the revivalist movement had begun to be far richer and more prosperous than Tanah Datar, where coffee growing was comparatively neglected and where the movement too was an outside importation.¹⁴²

The prosperity of Empat Angkat did not only give rise to the initial "back to the syariat" movement. Three haji are associated with the introduction of Wahhabi ideas into the movement and the subsequent use of the epithet Padri to designate the reformers; the most famous of these three haji came from Empat Angkat. The wealth of Empat Angkat enabled a greater number of its inhabitants to make the haj than was common. Haji Miskin, who came from Batu Tebal in the Empat Angkat area, began by taking part in Tuanku Nan Tua's efforts to improve the conditions of traders, and then left for the haj about 1803.¹⁴³ He returned from Mecca with the idea that the complete reform of Minangkabau society in accordance with the precepts of the Kur'an could justifiably be achieved by the adoption of force similar to that used by the Wahhabis in Arabia. Being now somewhat out of sympathy with the methods of Tuanku Nan Tua he did not resettle in Empat Angkat, but went to an area called Enam (6) Kota which bordered Agam on the south.

Enam Kota comprised a loose federation of villages lying on the slopes of mounts Merapi and Singgalang, and in the narrow valley between. Even more than Empat Angkat its topography made it ideal for coffee cultivation, and this was indeed widespread. Haji Miskin settled in a hill village called Pandai Sikat which, before it experienced the benefits of the coffee boom, was a typical hill service village; its artisan inhabitants specialized in the making of harrows for breaking the soil after ploughing, a particularly important piece of equipment in less-favored areas, where ploughing alone was insufficient.¹⁴⁴ Haji Miskin began in the way typical of the reformers, by urging the betterment of such things as roads and transport facilities, so that it could be said that he "improved the state of the district."¹⁴⁵ However, he did not have overwhelming initial success and after some time was forced to leave Pandai Sikat and later Kota Lawas, another coffee-rich village in the area.¹⁴⁶ The fact that he burned down the *balai* (council hall) of Pandai Sikat to draw attention to his cause can hardly have mollified the opposition to him, but what the nature of

¹⁴⁰Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 170.

¹⁴¹Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 70.

¹⁴²Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 170.

¹⁴³*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴⁴Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 6; Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 253.

¹⁴⁵*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 7; Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," pp. 254-55.

the movement against him was is not known; certainly it came from only a portion of the inhabitants of the two villages in which he lived, and in both Haji Miskin acquired considerable support, including that of a number of penghulu.¹⁴⁷ After some difficulty the party wishing to see reforms introduced into the area was successful, and the whole of Enam Kota became a Padri stronghold. By the time the Dutch arrived, Pandai Sikat and Kota Lawas in particular were famous as zealously Padri villages.¹⁴⁸

Other hill villages prospering from coffee cultivation on the slopes of mount Merapi gradually joined the new movement; even where violence was used by the Padri side, their victories usually depended on the presence of a majority in each village espousing their cause, seeing the advantages of the new system of regulations. Typical examples of mount Merapi hill villages with a tradition of craftsmanship which were now able to enter the coffee-selling market, and which ultimately introduced Padri regulations, were Bukit Betabuah and Sungai Puar. Of them and their surroundings it was written in 1834: "This area is very well cultivated and extremely rich in coffee trees, which grow particularly well at this height. In addition potatoes do well here, providing a further source of income for the inhabitants, who over and above this make a living by manufacturing brass boxes and locks for guns."¹⁴⁹ Neither of these villages, however, came over without a struggle. Available evidence indicates that the Padri refused to introduce their reforms until a village had abandoned its *gelanggang* (cockfighting ring).¹⁵⁰ Cockfighting did not only have ritual significance; it was intimately associated with trade, gambling in the ring being an irresistible lure to traders who had just succeeded in a business venture.¹⁵¹ Indeed, in later years, when the Padri had become reconciled to other Minangkabau customs, they remained unshakably opposed to cockfighting and the gambling which was its by-product, and always mentioned it as the chief cause of taking up arms.¹⁵²

In addition to natural attachment to traditional customs, the slowness of some villages in joining the Padri cause can be attributed to the fact that the new wealth did not descend upon Agam all at once, but spread from village to village as the benefits of coffee cultivation became appreciated.¹⁵³ An example of this process is provided by that part of Agam which ultimately became famous for having the most thoroughgoing Padri administration in the whole district. This was the area of Bukit Kamang, consisting of seven villages which lay against the chain of mountains forming the northern boundary of Agam.

¹⁴⁷Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 254.

¹⁴⁸Nahuijs, *Brieven*, pp. 197, 201, 206.

¹⁴⁹Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁰*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, pp. 23, 25. ¹⁵¹Netscher, *Padang*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵²Towankoe Linto et al. to De Stuers, (n.d.) April 1826, Exh. October 23, 1826, no. 48, app. b, MK 523.

¹⁵³Cochius to De Eerens, April 29, 1837, no. 34/99, Exh. October 23, 1837, no. 250 Geh., MK 4247. It is impossible to pinpoint exactly which villages first began to grow and export coffee, but the earliest European travelers in Minangkabau make it clear that coffee growing was particularly a phenomenon of the Agam hills.

It was further away from the coffee trade routes than the more southerly hill regions but, even before the coffee boom, it had carried on important trade, partly as a result of its cassia trees.¹⁵⁴ It possessed all the characteristics of the more southerly hills; Bukit Kamang, "seen from on high, gave the appearance of a garden enclosed by small hills, on which lie houses shaded by fruit trees and *areng*-palms and surrounded by bananas and sugar-cane. . . . Its position on the slopes of the mountains with the river flowing through make this district a second Canaan, while the abundant coffee gardens yield considerable profits."¹⁵⁵

The area was the home of a student of Tuanku Nan Tua called Tuanku Nan Rinceh, who, like his master, first achieved fame for his efforts to redress the grievances of traders in the region.¹⁵⁶ About 1811 Haji Miskin arrived there from Kota Lawas and found his ideas were well received by Tuanku Nan Rinceh. The two set about planning a complete reform of society, a reform which would be characterized by the abolition of all customs not sanctioned in the Kur'an.¹⁵⁷ Unlike some of the earlier attempts elsewhere, little difficulty was experienced in converting the villages of Bukit Kamang; the entry of many individuals into trading ventures made them welcome the attempt to provide a commercial system based on Islamic law, facilitating mutual recognition and transactions between traders over greater distances.

From the foregoing survey it would appear that the first Islamic reformers of Minangkabau and their Padri successors owed their origin to the need to cope with the new prosperity experienced by the hill villages of Agam as a result of the turn of the century commercial expansion. The places of origin or of teaching of the early reformers all had some connection with hill villages. To give but one further example, the members of the so-called Tuanku Nan Selapan league that formed by Tuanku Nan Rinceh after 1811 to spread his teachings were almost exclusively from hill villages such as Sungai Puar, Banuhampu, and Candung.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, most of the violence in Agam occurred not within the hill villages, although there was initial internal fighting in some of them, but rather when the reformers descended from the hills to convert plains villages to the way of the syariat.¹⁵⁹

Limapuluh Kota and the Effects of General Commercial Prosperity

In Limapuluh Kota the sharp contrast between the hill and plains areas noted in Agam was not so significant from a commercial point of view. The hill villages were not set apart by their trading proclivities; the inhabitants of villages in the plain were equally zealous in the pursuit of trading opportunities, and Limapuluh Kota was noted as the luak in which even penghulu were eager to participate in trade. It was reported in 1834 that "nearly all the chiefs and other well-to-do

¹⁵⁴"Dagboek . . . 30 July 1832," Vermeulen Krieger MSS 3.

¹⁵⁵Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 66-68.

¹⁵⁶*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, pp. 25-27. ¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 35-36; Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," pp. 255-57.

¹⁵⁹*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, pp. 32-33.

inhabitants of the 50 Kota are traders and many of them, if not the majority, have maintained commercial relations for years, and still do so. . . ."160 This phenomenon requires further investigation, but it seems likely that it was connected with the growth of commerce by way of the Siak after the founding of Penang. Even areas such as those around Payakumbuh, which were predominantly rice producing, were devoted to trade, "so that the weekly markets exhibit great activity . . . on the part of the buyers and sellers, who market cotton piece goods, cattle, poultry, fresh and dried fish, fruit, salt and other products."161 Because concern for good trading conditions was so universal, Padri principles were accepted fairly readily and this little struggle in Limapuluh Kota, as being conducive to the district's interests.162

This does not mean that the importance of the coffee trade should be underestimated as far as this district is concerned, but only that involvement in trade of all types was more widespread here than in Agam. Coffee began to bring profits to the district in the early nineteenth century, when it was exported via Padang and also possibly followed gambier down the Siak to Penang.163 With the founding of Singapore a new outlet for coffee was now available in the east, and the coffee trade became centered on the Kampar river route. Limapuluh Kota was strategically placed across the paths leading to the main pangkalan or markets on the headwaters of the river Kampar and profited from the through traffic.164 In addition, the Kampar was far more accessible than was the route to the west coast for the chief coffee-producing regions of Limapuluh Kota, which lay against the northeast mountains hemming in the valley.165

The main center of trade by the mid-1820s was the market town of Pelalawan lower down the Kampar, which prospered with the rise of Singapore. Through Pelalawan the traders of Limapuluh Kota exported their coffee, gambier, and cassia, and in return the district was supplied with cotton piece goods, Siamese salt, and Chinese and English manufactured goods much cheaper than through Padang.166 The British investigator Anderson reported in 1826 that the quantity of coffee exported via the Kampar had for some time been increasing annually, and in 1829 it was stated that 800-1,000 pikul of Limapuluh Kota coffee were being brought every month from the Kampar to Singapore.167 Because parts of Limapuluh Kota not suited to coffee could produce the exportable crops gambier and cassia, a far greater proportion of the population was engaged in trade than was the case in Agam; large parties of men departed regularly for the Kampar, each bearing either half a pikul of coffee, or food and provisions for the journey.168 When

160Müller, *Berigten*, p. 27.

161Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 43.

162Ibid., p. 37.

163Macalister to Court, January 29, 1808, SSFR 179.

164Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 41; Anderson, *Mission*, p. 252.

165Müller, *Berigten*, p. 30; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 39.

166Moor, *Notices*, pp. 98, 101; Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 57-58; Anderson, *Acheen*, pp. 171-72.

167Moor, *Notices*, p. 102; Anderson, *Acheen*, p. 14.

168Moor, *Notices*, p. 102.

first visited by the Dutch, the entire district seemed to exude an air of prosperity far greater than that exhibited elsewhere in Minangkabau; it was reported that the whole population appeared to be engaged in trade, and showed marked concern for the maintenance of roads and bridges.¹⁶⁹

Unfortunately we have little information about the actual course of the introduction of Padri principles into Limapuluh Kota. The district's most famous surau were those of teachers of the Naksyabandiyah rather than the Syattariah order, and they had an independent tradition of concern for obedience to the syariat and the study of fikh which must have aided the spread of the movement.¹⁷⁰ The universally commercial character of the district has already been discussed but it does seem, from what evidence is available, that the initial impetus for reform came from the coffee-growing regions, although thereafter the movement spread fairly uniformly. About 1812 Haji Miskin, fresh from his successes in Bukit Kamang, moved to Limapuluh Kota and took up his residence by invitation at Air Terbit, a village which lay across the river from the leading Naksyabandiyah surau at Taram; after some time the village agreed to introduce the Padri reforms without force being needed.¹⁷¹ Air Terbit was a large place and a section of it lay against the slopes of mount Sago. This hilly portion was later described thus: "This latter area presents the appearance of a beautiful sloping ricefield that continues on down into the plain, with which the valleys all join in their gradual descent. The mountain spurs between the valleys are planted with coffee trees and afford the planter, who often places his dwelling house in the middle of these coffee gardens, very considerable profits."¹⁷²

Here again the conjunction of coffee prosperity and acceptance of Padri principles occurs. Unfortunately Air Terbit is the only village in Limapuluh Kota the details of whose conversion are known; the subsequent progress of Padri expansion can only be conjectured. However, Padri reforms and good order appear definitely to have reinforced the commercial prosperity of the district; one of the first Dutch visitors to the area in 1833 remarked of a market near Payakumbuh:

It was swarming with buyers and sellers; industry seemed to be very great here. In particular there were to be observed large amounts of cotton piece-goods, silk clothing, cotton yarn of a particularly good quality, rice, coffee, a considerable quantity of gambier, salt, sugar . . . together with cows, buffaloes, goats, a lot of fresh-water fish, etc., earthenware pots and pans, crucibles, copper, tin, smelted and unsmelted iron, guns, swords, pikes etc. The good order which reigned here and everywhere in the Padri lands was remarkable: no disputes could be heard among all these people at the passer [pasar]; each inquired the price and, if it satisfied him, paid without any bargaining.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹Burger, "Aanmerkingen," pp. 204, 208, 216.

¹⁷⁰*Hikayat Jalaluddin*, pp. 15, 47.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 14-19; Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," pp. 276-77.

¹⁷²Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 42.

¹⁷³Burger, "Aanmerkingen," pp. 215-16.

Tanah Datar: Hills against the Plain

So far the Padri movement has only been discussed in relation to the newly-rich coffee-growing districts of Agam and Limapuluh Kota. All that has been said of Tanah Datar would indicate that it was an economically declining district, having lost the benefits which previously accrued to it from the gold trade and, as such, not a likely candidate for the introduction of Padri reforms. Tanah Datar's decline would not have been so marked if it too had participated actively in the new coffee trade, but, by and large, this was not the case. Coffee growing in Tanah Datar was markedly a phenomenon of the fringe mountain areas lying to the north and east of the central rice plain, and of the slopes of mount Merapi in the west. The villages in which coffee grew were not well integrated into the economic life of the plains villages, unlike the situation in Agam and Limapuluh Kota. On the plain the villages were largely self-sufficient, with bountiful crops of rice, vegetables, and fruit, and so little attention was paid to coffee cultivation.¹⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, therefore, Padri teachings only found zealous adherents in the fringe mountain areas, and it required a considerable struggle before they were introduced elsewhere in Tanah Datar.

Only three areas of outer Tanah Datar were of any note in accepting Padri reforms voluntarily. To the northwest, sandwiched between Limapuluh Kota and Tanah Datar, lay Halaban which, under the influence of the well-known Tuanku di Luah, adopted Haji Miskin's teachings some time after they were introduced in Limapuluh Kota.¹⁷⁵ The western portion of Halaban lay on the slopes of mount Sago, particularly on the lower spurs. These spurs, it was reported in 1834, "are nearly all planted with coffee, while the valleys lying between them are filled with ricefields. On the highest point of these slopes lies the village *Alaban*. . . ."¹⁷⁶ Halaban was hemmed in on the east by the 3,000-foot mount Gabus, on the slopes of which lay the village which was Tuanku di Luah's headquarters. The whole area was renowned for its large and beautiful wooden mosques, newly built to replace the former insignificant bamboo structures as a sign of the region's recent prosperity, and of its tenacious adherence to Padri principles.¹⁷⁷

To the south of Halaban, and lying on the eastern rim of Tanah Datar, lay Lintau, home of one of the most renowned Padri, Tuanku Lintau. Like Halaban, Lintau was separated from the main Tanah Datar plain on the west by a spine of mountains which ran down through the region. Itself a mountain valley, with villages lying high up on the hill slopes, it was covered with coffee. Of the western mountainous section it was written in 1834:

The position of this area means that it is amply provided with the necessary mountain streams for the irrigation of the numerous ricefields which here constitute a gradually rising slope and which provide an abundant supply of food. Among these fields lie hamlets and

¹⁷⁴Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 21, 27; Nahuijs, *Brieven*, p. 170.

¹⁷⁵Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 277.

¹⁷⁶Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*; Müller, *Berigten*, pp. 21-22.

villages in the midst of considerable coffee gardens, which, to judge from the state in which we observed them, must provide considerable advantages to their owners in the form of not inconsiderable prosperity.¹⁷⁸

Tuanku Lintau was an extremely zealous convert to Padri principles, having fallen under the combined influence of Haji Miskin and Tuanku di Luah about 1813.¹⁷⁹ His efforts at improving and beautifying his home area were typical of those for which the Padri became renowned. He built one of the largest mosques in the uplands in his home village.¹⁸⁰

At the same time, he did not allow spiritual concerns to obliterate care for material improvements, particularly road building in the interests of trade.¹⁸¹ Both Halaban and Lintau had long had trading links with the east coast, possessing footpaths which connected them with the pangkalan on the upper tributaries of the Kampar Kiri and the Inderagiri. Tuanku Lintau made great efforts in the early 1820s to establish control of the upper Inderagiri, by way of which Lintau carried on an extensive trade, exchanging coffee for cotton goods and salt. The markets of Halaban and Lintau were reported to be always well stocked with cotton cloths, silk, and salt, all coming upriver from the east coast and beyond.¹⁸²

The only other area of Tanah Datar which became Padri out of conviction rather than conquest consisted of the coffee-producing villages on the northeast slopes of mount Merapi, villages such as Rau Rau which lay at a height of 2,400 feet and was regarded as the "forward line" of the Padri in Tanah Datar.¹⁸³ Behind Rau Rau and at higher elevations lay other strongly Padri villages such as Tabatpatah, Salimpaung, and Tanjung Alam.¹⁸⁴ All possessed the typical characteristics of hill service villages: Salimpaung was renowned for its iron smelting and gun making and Tanjung Alam for its sugar cultivation. All had now added coffee cultivation to their means of livelihood.¹⁸⁵

It should of course be noted that when Europeans first entered Tanah Datar they found the plains villages had also become at least nominally Padri. This was less from conviction than from necessity, the plains having suffered repeated Padri attacks, especially at the hands of Tuanku Lintau from the east. A particular target for these attacks was southwestern Tanah Datar and the seats of what remained of the Minangkabau royal and ministerial families; Pagarruyung and Suruaso, for example, were reduced to ashes several times.¹⁸⁶ About 1815 Tuanku Lintau's attacks culminated in the slaughter by himself and his follow-

¹⁷⁸Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 50.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*; Parvé, "De Secte der Padaries," p. 277.

¹⁸⁰Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 53. ¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁸²Müller, *Berigten*, pp. 32-34.

¹⁸³Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 28.

¹⁸⁴"Naamlijst der Towankos die uit den weg moeten worden geruimd." MK 4129.

¹⁸⁵Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁶Raffles (ed.), *Memoir*, I, p. 425.

ers of several of the remaining members of the royal family.¹⁸⁷ As a result the Tanah Datar plains came under Padri control; they were valuable not merely for reasons of prestige, but also for economic reasons, giving Tuanku Lintau's followers access to a large rice, fruit, and vegetable surplus which was disposed of at numerous busy markets.¹⁸⁸ The old gold-bearing fringe of Tanah Datar in the vicinity of Bua was by now so unimportant as to be virtually neglected by the Padri until the 1820s, when the Menganti route to the Inderagiri became coveted by Tuanku Lintau, with the results mentioned above.¹⁸⁹

It was at this point that the remaining adherents of the old Tanah Datar system, having now lost not only their economic but also their political base, turned to their old trading partners, the Dutch, to try to salvage something from the wreckage. The Dutch, as already noted, returned to Padang in 1819. Soon after, Dutch representatives were approached by members of the erstwhile royal families with the request that the "Company" assist their former partners to defeat and drive off the Padri. The result was a treaty signed on February 10, 1821, by which the Minangkabau signatories, as a *quid pro quo* for this help, ceded to the Netherlands Indies government three former royal and ministerial capitals, "together with the remaining lands of the State of *Maninkabo*."¹⁹⁰ The names of the home villages of the signatories to this document are highly significant. In addition to Pagarruyung and Suruaso, all the villages or areas represented are those which had been important staging-posts on the Koto Piliang gold routes to the west coast. They include three villages in 20 Kota on the shores of lake Singkarak, and also the zealously royal area of Batipuh.

By seeking a more formal alliance with the Dutch than they had ever had before, the representatives of the Tanah Datar system were trying to turn the tide of Minangkabau history. However, although some members of the royal family were able to return to their homes after Dutch troops had beaten back the Padri from the Tanah Datar plains by 1825, their European allies never allowed them to reestablish themselves. Their old sphere of interest--Tanah Datar, Batipuh, and 20 Kota--was consolidated by the Dutch to form the latter's first "regency" in Minangkabau; but the holder of the office of Regent, the nephew of the last Raja Alam, had no independent power base and relied solely on continued Dutch support. Although the Padri themselves were finally defeated by the Dutch in the late 1830s, the changed economic balance in Minangkabau persisted, marked by the development of Bukit Tinggi in Agam as the center of Dutch commercial activities in the highlands. After a period of 500 years the conquests of Adityawarman finally lost all significance; changed economic circumstances had given rise to well-organized rivals who challenged the Tanah Datar royal system, and even better organized rivals from outside, who were intent on securing their own commercial advantage.

¹⁸⁷For the controversy surrounding this incident, see Dobbin, "Islamic Revivalism," p. 340.

¹⁸⁸Korthals, *Topographische Schets*, pp. 24, 26-27.

¹⁸⁹Müller, *Berigten*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁹⁰"Contract gesloten tusschen den Resident van Padang, James Du Puy, . . . en de . . . Hoofden der Landen van het gewezen rijk van *Maninkabo* . . . February 10, 1821," art. 1, Exh. August 24, 1826, no. 41, Bijl. C, MK 513.

Conclusion

The aim of this article has been to examine some of the economic changes experienced by certain areas of Minangkabau at the time of the rise of the Padri movement. The article has concentrated on economic change brought about by developments in external or long-distance trade, and has only referred to internal or local trade and the domestic economy as they related to external trade. Developments in the Minangkabau domestic economy--the organization of labor and production, consumption patterns, the exchange relationships between differing ecological zones, and the mercantile networks connected with them are undoubtedly part of the story; but direct evidence concerning such questions is only available from the period 1818-19. Since the Islamic revivalist movement originated at least as early as the 1790s, it is the changes in Minangkabau external trade patterns, where data is available, to which the historian must first turn in seeking an explanation for the rise of the movement.

It would certainly seem that Islamic revivalism in Minangkabau owed much of its impetus to the beginning of an external demand for export crops which were already being cultivated in parts of the Minangkabau region, and to the consequent stimulation of trade in those areas. The phenomenon of the peasant producing export crops for the world market is well known in the tropical world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in many later developing regions movements analogous to the one discussed here took place. In Minangkabau, due to the concentration of sawah cultivation in certain valley floors well-favored for the growing of wet rice, it was generally those villages in areas of hilly terrain which most quickly adapted to the new opportunities. Their land was in any case better suited to the crops grown, and they learned to make intensive use of the relatively limited area at their disposal in order to expand their exports. These villages already had a tradition of specialization in artisan occupations, which required concentration on the market, ability to adapt to change and willingness to leave the village. Unlike participation in the trade in gold, which was a high-value, low-bulk commodity attracting high-status entrepreneurs and a limited number of ancillaries, the character of export-crop production and trade produced few barriers to entry and led to an increasing number of people participating in all stages of production and distribution. The physical task of transporting large quantities of low-value, bulky commodities led to the entry of many middlemen operating over a far wider geographical area than had been encompassed by the previous trade in gold.

Although this article does not attempt to classify these peasant traders by function nor discuss the organization of the trade in export crops, it can be seen that those engaging in a network of market relations far wider than the earlier exchange relationships among a group of villages required a mutually acceptable code of conduct which would facilitate business transactions and assist "mutual recognition." Islam and its legal system were at hand to provide the foundations of such a moral community, enabling commercial networks to function on the basis of both trust and law.