WORKERS IN NUTMEG PLANTATIONS AND THE TOWN OF NEIRA IN THE BANDA ISLANDS DURING THE 17-19TH CENTURY (A DISCIPLINARY PANOPTICON MODEL)

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ABSTRACT

Nutmeg plantations in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku, had an important value in the early history of industrial development in Indonesia. The operational management of planting, maintaining, picking, processing, distribution and exercising power are some lessons learned. Plantations at that time also required various forms of human resource management, ranging from recruitment, division of labor, supervision and discipline of its workers. In this case the material culture reflects the mindset of the builders and managers of the time. Through descriptive qualitative methods, disciplinary problems related to the management of the nutmeg plantations are discussed by linking the concepts of technofact, sociofacts, ideofacts in archeology with the concept of panopticon as a disciplinary model proposed by Foucault. The goal is to explore the values that can be applied to the present from the remnants associated with the nutmeg plantations of the Banda Islands. The results obtained are related to the discipline model with archeological remains related to the management of nutmeg plantations. The concept of panopticon is still relevant today, with necessary modifications in the form of cultural products, and adjustments in the development of technology and information.

KEYWORDS: workers, plantations, nutmeg, panopticon, Neira, Banda

INTRODUCTION

There are various sources written in Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch and various local languages which show that Banda and its natural products, especially nutmeg, have already been known for hundreds of years. It is undeniable that nutmeg acted as a very strong magnet that attracted Arab and European traders to visit its source, namely the Banda Islands. The study of the Banda Islands was initiated, among others by the Dutch, who from the very beginning had recorded various matters about Banda. The Dutch account of Banda's history was written by Francois Valentijn in Oud en Nieuw Oost Indie Derde Deel II. It provided interesting albeit limited information about the social situation of the government, slavery activities, and nutmeg plantation owners in Banda (Keijzer, 1858, pp. 1-107).
Peter V. Lape is one of the researchers who conducted quite intensive research on Banda. His dissertation on Banda focused on an observation of political and social dynamics prior to the entry of Islamic and European influences, until the early development of these two influences. Although it does not focus on the community aspects of the nutmeg plantations and the smokery buildings to process the nutmeg, Lape touches on nutmeg as a crop and spice. His use of several old maps as source material about Banda will greatly help further research. The nutmeg trade in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku, developed before the arrival of the Europeans, especially the Dutch. Historical documents pertaining to the position of Banda and foreign traders include Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, English and Malay texts, and perhaps even Javanese documents in the Negarakertagama manuscript (Lape, 2000a, pp. 35-76, 2000b, pp. 138-155).

Another article about the situation of the island was written by Pieter Arend Leupe in *Beschrijving der Eilanden Banda* in *Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut* in 1855. This article tells about the slaves who were employed in nutmeg plantations. Most of the slaves employed in the Banda nutmeg plantations were owned by a *perkenier* or plantation owner. The population of the Banda islands was marked by its ethnic diversity consisting of indigenous peoples from Papua, Alifuru, Flores, Makassar, Buton, Bugis, Java, Sumatra and others. Being considered as possessions of these plantation owners, the slaves were often treated inhumanely. Those slaves were not as fortunate as the free people called Mardijcker (Goldman, 1864, p. 19). The study of nutmeg plantations managed by the *perkeniers* employing slaves is also discussed in Willard A. Hanna's book, *Indonesian Banda Colonialism and its Aftermath in the Nutmeg Island*, which has been translated into Indonesian. This book specifically, although not thoroughly discusses nutmeg plantations, *perkeniers*, slavery, and the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or better known as the VOC. Before the location of the Banda islands became known to the European people, they carried out trade transactions with Arab and Javanese traders who marketed these nutmeg products at high prices. This gave rise to the desire of those Europeans to look for the sources of nutmeg production. Beginning with the Portuguese, the Banda Islands began to be touched by foreign influences. The strength of trade carried out by Portuguese traders had induced the Portuguese to colonize the island of Neira by establishing a fort, which was located at the present site of Fort Nassau. Portuguese efforts to control this area were discontinued because they became more interested in moving to Ternate to become involved in the clove trade (Hanna, 1983, pp. 1–150).

Subsequently, the Dutch took control of the Banda Islands and made Neira Island the seat of the VOC. The town of Neira was built thanks to the nutmeg that was sold at high prices in the European market. Neira Island also became the headquarters of the VOC trade office and for three terms served as the seat of the Governor-General in eastern Indonesia. These archaeological traces are scattered throughout the Banda Islands. The Dutch and the English built facilities and infrastructure to increase the nutmeg production. These buildings include defense buildings (forts), nutmeg plantations, nutmeg smokeries, warehouses, ports, government centers, residences and churches. The Dutch through their trade organization VOC dominated the region and became very rich because of this spice. Evidence of prosperity and progress can still be seen in the many archeological remains that exist in this region. Although the area was not that extensive, many buildings showing the European influence were built turning it into a busy settlement in this region. The Banda Islands were once a major producer of nutmeg, which formed the main economic
foundation for the construction of Amsterdam in the Netherlands and the town of Neira in the Banda Islands. A discussion on the community of nutmeg plantation workers is closely related to the internal power relations between workers or slaves and their masters and owners of the plantations. The clear social differences between slaves and their masters are interesting to study further. An understanding of the internal relationships of power between master and slave is important. A means of understanding this power relationship must be developed if archaeologists are to produce something meaningful from the material culture of the plantation community (Orser, Jr., 1988, p. 735). The archeological point of view can be used to discover the different traces left by the two groups that can be seen from the remnants of material culture found in the nutmeg plantations of the Banda Islands. In terms of the selected theme of this paper, the problem is how the panopticon model can be utilized to analyze the nutmeg plantation site in Banda? What empirical evidence can be found in the nutmeg plantation area of this form of supervision as a disciplinary measures and social control according to the concept of panopticism? This knowledge will be able to inspire the development of regulations in the future. In addition, it will also be possible to preserve the remnants of the material culture associated with the behavior of the community of workers and owners of the nutmeg plantations.

METHODOLOGY

This paper uses using qualitative research methods to collect and analyze data.

"Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex holistic picture, analyzes words, report detail views, of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting”.

Creswell emphasizes "complex and holistic images," referring to those complex narratives. (Creswell, 2007, p. 15). The material culture that fits the context of the plantation community is the component that is observed and is the object of the analysis of this study. The source of data is obtained from historical data in the form of pictorial data (photos, maps, sketches, etc.). Other sources are archaeological remains including perk buildings where the nutmeg was processed, including physical buildings, perk building plans, guard buildings or surveillance posts, bells used for an indication of time, etc. Oral data on information about population is also part of the supporting data.

Next, an analysis of the archeological material remains was carried out, scrutinizing both the historical and the spatial context. After the context of an object is known, the object is no longer completely mute as the context presents clues about its meaning. The context itself must be interpreted through the data, and the definition of the context is thus still debatable. An interpretive analysis is used to reconstruct and understand the behavior, mindset of makers and users. We cannot generalize one culture over another, even though there are some general propositions that we need to use to interpret the past. Material culture doesn't just happen. It was made and produced by someone to do something with a specific purpose. Therefore material culture does not passively reflect society; however, it creates society through the actions of social agents. (Hodder & Hutson,
The results of the analysis of material cultural evidence in context are linked to the concept of the panopticon as a disciplinary model proposed by Foucault. In his book, Discipline and Punish, Michel Foucault tries to analyze changes and shifts in punitive strategies that occurred in the beginning in the second half of the 19th century, the effects of which are felt even today. Foucault indicated that this was the period when humanitarian aspects were beginning to be considered in punitive practices in Europe and America, which was marked by a shift from public torture to reform. Prison became an active form of punishment. Prisons were introduced throughout Europe and the US to punish criminals which made power operate more efficiently. (Foucault, 1977, p. 7). According to Foucault, strict discipline is essential for criminals to be corrected properly. Prisons must function like disciplinary barracks where prisoners' bodies are properly trained using schedules to regulate their behavior both while they are awake and at rest, the number and quantity and duration of meals and so on (Foucault, 1977, p. 233).

Subsequently, a panopticon (panopticism) system was developed. This panopticon mechanism is based on the architecture of a prison building, where all the movements of the inmates can be clearly monitored from the watch tower. The supervised subjects did not know who and how many guards were watching them. They only knew that they were being watched. The panopticon system became a form of supervision that allowed compliance and regularity by minimizing actions that are difficult to predict. In principle, supervision can be carried out in a discontinuous manner, but it creates an awareness that one is being monitored continuously. With the panopticon system, supervision can be comprehensive and discipline is easier. This mechanism is indeed an efficient way to operate power. Thus the panopticon power system is not just confined to prison. Discipline imposed through this special system can even be applied to an entire social system. In any society, there must be a properly defined disciplinary code for controlling society. Discipline, as Foucault asserted, is a type of power that can be applied to various social structures with specific purposes such as schools, hospitals, administrative and government apparatuses, and various other workplaces (Calhoun, C, Gerteis, J, Moody, J, 2002, p 213; Foucault, 1977, p. 242).

In disciplinary practice, the technique can be applied through the establishment of rules and various procedures for activities, schedules, implementation, and objectives of activities that produce order.

APPLICATION OF PANOPTICON IN THE NUTMEG PLANTATION COMMUNITIES IN THE BANDA ISLANDS

The Banda Islands are now included in the administrative area of Central Maluku Regency, Maluku Province. In the mid-17th century, the region was ruled by Yacob De Biter as the First Governor General, Hendrik Van Bergel as the second governor, and Jan Pieterszoon Coen as the third Governor General. The trade-oriented J.P. Coen took the initiative to develop nutmeg cultivation by bringing in free Europeans (vrijburgers) to work on the nutmeg plantations. The vrijburgers received a large plot of land called perk and thus the owners were called perkeniers. A perkenier's status was tenant or leenman and the Company was landlord or leenhier. According to the Resolutie Gouverneur Generaal en Raad van Indië which was issued on April 5, 1621, the Banda Islands were divided among 68 perkeniers (nutmeg planters) with the following details: 3
in Neira, 34 in Lontoir, and 31 in Ay. The size of the plantations (plantation land) ranged from 625 square roeden, which is between 12 to 30 hectares (Hanna, 2007, pp. 1–176; Wall, 1928, pp. 534-544). This was the starting point for the implementation of the rules and laws for the nutmeg plantations. The perkeniers were not able to work efficiently if they were not assisted by slaves and outcasts. These outcasts were people who had been arrested because of their involvement in criminal cases or violation of rules set by the Government. In addition there were also political prisoners of the VOC, or people who had opposed the government to defend their ancestral lands taken by the VOC. They were often considered to be terrorists who were punished by putting them in exile in places far from their origins. Among these captives there were also criminals, robbers who had been caught red-handed. These people were employed on the plantations to do all types of work, from planting to harvesting and transportation. The deployment of convicts as labor on the plantations had to be done with utmost care. The National Archive collection No. 12, the Banda Resolutie, also notes that due to violations committed by the slaves and convicts, the Perkeniers placed military supervisors to guard them. When carrying out their work, the plantation workers, who were slaves and convicts, needed to be monitored so they would not escape. The plantation supervisors were brought in from Java, and there were even Javanese who had joined the military and were stationed in Maluku as estate inspectors (Barjiyah, 2010, pp. 4–6).

Thus the nutmeg plantations in the Banda Islands became multi-racial and multicultural consisting of Europeans, Chinese and Javanese or other indigenous people who were prone to conflict. Each group had been uprooted from their cultural roots. Subsequently groups were formed within the new community which had not yet bonded in a new solidarity. Isolation and alienation caused crises at both personal and collective levels. The crisis was sometimes accompanied by conflicts and violence. Collectivity could only function if the power of strong work discipline could be institutionalized. This was an essential element in the infrastructure of the production system. The application of discipline was also based on the fact that the workers of the nutmeg plantations were generally slaves and convicts as mentioned earlier, who sometimes committed crimes and other criminal activities. On January 25, 1806, the perkeniers drew up a joint resolution in response to the increase in the occurrence of murders, violence and theft. The lack of basic necessities of life and bad treatment from the perkeniers, as well as the uncomfortable atmosphere on the plantation often cases the slaves and convicts to escape. In the June 1807 report it was stated that in Banko Batoe Plantation there were 5 escaped slaves, in Rainingen there were a convict and 2 slaves, 1 in Takkermoro, 1 in Spantjebij, 1 in Simon Wall, 2 in Herstelder, 1 in Diependeel, and 1 in Klein Walingen. This was not the only perkenier report to the government in Batavia that month. Violations continued to occur in the following months. Justice for slaves and convicts was carried out by the Raad van Justitie (Council of Justice). This institution prosecuted violations of regulations by slaves and convicts, as well as traders who were considered to have violated established trade rules by the VOC. Working closely with the military, the perkeniers and foreman, pursued and captured slaves and convicts who committed violations, were involved in upheavals or other crimes. This practice of slavery only ended in 1860 (Barjiyah, 2010, pp. 6-10).

The implementation of discipline is closely related to power that controls. Foucault asserted that the phenomenon of physical discipline is always controlled using two disciplinary instruments taken from military discipline and applied in society, namely hierarchical observation or the ability of the apparatus to oversee all that are in a subservient position. This awareness gave birth to the
use power for the benefit of others. Power thus far tended to have a strong connotation of violence and the abuse of power is changed into disciplinary action. Discipline can be exercised through the establishment of rules and various procedures for activities, schedules, and implementation of activities that produce regularity.

DISCIPLINE IN THE NUTMEG PLANTATION MANAGEMENT AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Forms of discipline are represented through material culture. When connected to the panopticon system, the model in this analysis is grouped into several aspects. Based on Foucault's assertions, scheduling can regulate the lives of prisoners. However, the schedules alone are not enough to discipline the people implementing them. Therefore, supervision and checks are important to applied in a hierarchical manner (Foucault, 1977, p. 242). In the context of plantations in this case, the workers are regulated accordingly through certain regulations.

First, through time management; plantation slaves or workers are regulated through their working hours. Working hours were indicated by the sounding of a bell. The owners of the nutmeg processing plants had bells of different shapes, sizes and specifications which were rung to regulate working hours, to indicate the shift of morning workers, resting time or time to go to nutmeg processing areas and to leave the perk. Each perk had specifications of size and shape for their bells, to produce sound differentiation. The difference in sound distinguished one perk from the other and was instrumental in regulating their workforce.

Figure 1
Berneden Dender bell (left) and Drie Gebroeders perk bell, dated 1883 (right), used as an instrument for time management in the nutmeg plantations (Tim-Research, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2012)
Second activity monitoring. Discipline is carried out by monitoring or supervision. Supervision of plantation workers was carried out during the time the nutmeg was harvested on the plantation and when it was processed in the *perk*. Supervision was carried out by the *Perkeniers* as owners or managers of the nutmeg plantations to prevent the workers, who were convicts and slaves, from escaping. One of the measures was by building surveillance posts. These posts were generally built along the coast line so that they had two functions. Besides overseeing the situation along the coast, they also enabled the guards to oversee the plantation. These surveillance or security posts were called *redoutes*. The shape and size of these redoutes varied depending on the number of security personnel available. At present many of the redoutes have been damaged, but you can still get a fairly clear idea of their original shape and size.

![Redoutes or surveillance posts, 1651 repro Krt. No 1369, Inv, Kaartenvers. Algem. Rijksarch’s-Gravenhage. (Source: Victor Ido van de Wall, 1928, P. 27)](image)

**Figure 2**

*Redoutes* or surveillance posts, 1651 repro Krt. No 1369, Inv, Kaartenvers. Algem. Rijksarch’s-Gravenhage. *(Source: Victor Ido van de Wall, 1928, P. 27)*

![The current conditions of the redoutes or surveillance posts (from left to right), Redoute Ourien, Redoute Dender, and Redoute Culeburg (Team-Research, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2011)](image)

**Figure 3**

The current conditions of the redoutes or surveillance posts (from left to right), Redoute Ourien, Redoute Dender, and Redoute Culeburg *(Team-Research, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2011)*
Worker supervision was also carried out in the nutmeg processing area. Guarding and supervision was carried out by placing workers in an enclosed area surrounded by high walls. This was called the perk area. The house of the plantation owner or factory owner, was built with a floor higher than other buildings in the factory area. The height of the elevation reached up to 100 cm, so stairs were required to climb up. Indirectly, its position made it easy to supervise workers. This was also used to show class differences among building owners, construction workers, building supervisors and others.

*Figure 4*

The home of a nutmeg plantation owner with an elevated floor which provided the building with a monitoring function in Perk Matalenco area, Ay Island (*Source: KITLV, 1920*)
The home of a nutmeg plantation owner with an elevated floor which provides the building with a monitoring function in Perk Mangkobatu area, Neira Island.  
(Source: Research Team, Sarjyanto, et al., 2012)

Figure 5

The logic behind the panopticon concept is the structure or layout of the buildings. Therefore, buildings in a certain space become a medium to carry out control. Historical archeologists James Delle, Terrence Epperson, Theresa Singleton, and architectural historian Dell Upton have applied the panopticon model to explain how planters used their power spatially to achieve dominance over their slaves. The Clydesdale plantation in Jamaica, for example, shows how the ruling elite manipulated the landscape which allowed landowners to be in one visual line, and possibly in oral communication, with one another. This was an effort to control the laborers. The placement of the watch house functions as a central point in supervision just like a watchtower (Randle, 2011, pp. 105-106). This description seems to fit the nutmeg processing area. Observing the case of the Grote Walling nutmeg processing area, it is also evident that layout played an important role in the application of control and supervision the plantations owners had over their workers or the slaves they own (Carlson & Jordan, 2014, pp. 221-238).

Third, circulation of people. After the nutmeg fruit had been picked from the trees in the plantation, they were deposited in one place. The fruit would then be stripped of the skin and flesh and then dried in the perk area. Generally people or traffic had limited access to the perk areas. The workers could access the area by using a special lane, generally located at the back or side that leads to the plantation. The main door was intended for owners or workers with higher status. There were certain positions that made it possible to monitor other buildings and the movement of workers in and out the plantation. Differentiation of access in and out of the perk area, was supported by information obtained from the generation of the heirs of perkeniers, Perk Grote Waling namely Pongky van de Broeke (personal communication) (Research Team, 2013). Of course, indirectly, efforts to regulate people's access into the area or buildings of the perk function to facilitate control, supervision, and security. All workers entered the area to start the process by sorting, weighing and then drying the nutmeg in the smokeries. Only then is the nutmeg ready to be taken to the port to be shipped either to Batavia or to Europe, especially to Amsterdam, to other European cities at very high prices.
Figure 6:
The floor plan of Grote Waling Perk, on Lonthor Island with two accesses in and out for people. 1) The main door is a larger sized door positioned in front; 2) The back door is smaller and is positioned at the back of the building leading towards the plantation; 3) The main building owned by a *perkenier*, or the owner of the plantation is elevated and positioned for the function of overseeing the plantation (Source: Research Team, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2013)

Figure 7
The main gate of Grote Waling Perk, on Lonthor Island with an additional curved decorations at the top (Source: Research Team, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2013)
Figure 8:
A door that is smaller and simpler in shape and positioned at the back leading to the plantation
(Source: Research Team, Sarjiyanto, et al, 2013)

Figure 9
Nutmeg plantation workers, leaving the Perk area
(Source: Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Nederland, 1925)
THE INDIRECT IMPACT OF DISCIPLINE IN THE NUTMEG PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUILDINGS

The Banda Islands were once the center of nutmeg production, which was the main pillar of the development of the city of Amsterdam in the Netherlands and the town of Neira in the Banda Islands. The economy of Banda Islands under the Dutch colonial control, through the management of nutmeg plantations, began to flourish in the 18th century and reached its peak around the 19-20th centuries. Gradually foreign traders began to build permanent trading posts. Because of the abundance of production, they also built warehouses. Trading posts were later extended into housing areas, warehouses and locations for trade transactions. The buildings became increasingly permanent in terms of construction materials used. Maps provide significant information on the use of space on the islands in Banda for facilities and defense (Lape, 2002, pp. 43-64).

E. Charles Orser, Jr. stated that a plantation has an economic function. A plantation is an economic institution whose main function is to increase the wealth of this estate. The planters are given some measure of prestige. In plantation communities in South America, prestige was based on the number of slaves and the amount of land they owned. The plantation owner or planter had a "domain of power" on the estate including making decisions about plantation operations, empowering supervisors and overseers to act on their behalf, buy and sell slaves and use their labor, and control the introduction, maintenance and use of objects on the plantation. However, the use of force by the plantation owners was not always easily accepted by the slaves. The worker slaves had their own reaction to the pressure of the power of the plantation owners. He slaves actually had real power on plantations. The plantation owners depended on their work. They could not achieve their luxurious lives without their slaves. Slaves could exert their power by pretending to be sick or ignorant, sabotaging machines or tools, escaping, or engaging in direct rebellions etc. (Orser. Jr., 1988, pp. 740-742) (Orser, Jr., 1988, 741-742).

By laying down regulations, the discipline imposed by the owners or managers of the plantations would certainly have an impact on increasing production. The benefits were of course enjoyed by the owners of the nutmeg plantations, who later built their large houses on Neira Island, which grew into a prominent town in the Banda Islands. With money coming from the income gained from the nutmeg trade, a trade center and a government center were built. Various public facilities were constructed, especially on Neira Island. The establishment of occupational specializations led to real development in the urban economic sector. Shipbuilders, blacksmiths, bakers, etc., were examples of the new forms of occupations that were developing rapidly. Permanent houses were mostly for the perkeniers who had most certainly build these houses from the big profits made by the nutmeg plantations which were run using cheap labor from local residents and plantation workers with special expertise. The application of the panopticon system met with resistance as well as acceptance. Various acts of resistance such as the many violations and criminal actions on the plantations, have been mentioned earlier.

On the other hand, there were also many plantation workers who accepted the implementation of the panopticon system. The natural and basic knowledge of the Banda people was cultivating nutmeg trees. However, they were also excellent inter-island traders and this expertise was recognized and utilized by the VOC. The basic economic abilities and knowledge of the slaves and local population of Banda were used and had influence on the Europeans. The
productive activities of the slaves emerged again when a rice crisis occurred in 1796. To overcome this crisis, they were advised to grow food crops such as plantains, cassava, sweet potatoes, nuts and other food crops to meet their daily needs. They were also directed to fish, grow vegetables and other fruit crops. Other slaves were made to work as domestic servants or join the crews of merchant ships owned by the plantation owners. This also meant that those slaves and workers revived local inter-island trade networks that the people had established previously (Winn, 2010, pp. 368–374).

Changes in the physical space of the Banda Islands comprised many aspects. The main trigger, of course, was the deforestation of large areas to meet the growing needs for expanding the nutmeg production. In addition, the growing population due to an increase in the workforce and the arrival of foreigners required more space to build settlements. Neira town planning shows the high complexity of buildings such as the Governor-General Building, the VOC trading office, housing for VOC employees, churches, temples, mosques, controleur's house. All these were built not far from the coastline. The inland area was used for other functions such as the plantations and cemeteries

![Figure 10](image1.png)

**Figure 10**
Naira town plan: Objective map of the town which is so complex and crowded with ancient buildings (*Source: National Library of Australia, 1944-1945*)

The cluster of settlements indicate that the center of European settlements was in the center of the town. This included the houses of the plantation managers or *perkeniers*. The Chinese occupied the downtown area. Meanwhile the houses of the Muslim communities of Arab descent were located in the southern part of the city. Housing clusters for indigenous residents were found in Ratoe Village, Banda Neira, but were not very visible. Convicts or slaves who were employed in nutmeg plantations initially had no power and were treated like property and not given any comfort or freedom. Their new identities as plantation laborers or workers were under the authority of the *perkeniers*, who applied the Panopticon system. The issues of different languages, classes, freedom among these workers became obstacles. They could not express or articulate their whole
cultural identity. This was greatly influenced by factors such as colonial power, oppression, time, and geographic location of their different places of origin (Li, 2000). The change in the identity of the plantation workers developed when the nutmeg plantation perkeniers transferred the best slaves and workers from plantation labor to join the crews of their merchant ships in the late 17th century. The offer to former slaves and plantation workers to participate in inter-island trade provided direct benefits to those workers, including the opportunity to free themselves from slavery. Slaves were given the opportunity to acquire both prosperity and freedom, and the slave-sailors-traders immediately gained their freedom or freed themselves. Reid noted that slaves often managed to buy themselves out of slavery with the money they accumulated. Sociologically, mixed marriages that became a common practice are also interesting. Initially, Dutch perkeniers or planters were prohibited from marrying non-Europeans. In 1633, the VOC encouraged mixed marriages after canceling plans to bring in Dutch women to Batavia. Hanna and Lasker provide a description of households on Banda Island that led to a unique level of 'hybridity'. Many perkenier or Dutch settlers in the Banda islands were married to indigenous women (Winn, 2010, p. 378).

On the other hand, there were still many who were still not able to free themselves from their status as plantation workers, who were not yet economically independent. Their efforts to discipline themselves according to the principles of panoticon were largely ignored. Thus in general, the nutmeg production of the Banda Islands declined significantly in the past decades. This was also triggered by the reduced interest in working in nutmeg plantations among the
younger generation. The older generation of nutmeg plantation workers continued their efforts to send their children outside the Banda Islands to places such as Ambon, Sulawesi or Surabaya, which have become the destination for many younger generations of Banda plantation workers. They continued their education or worked in other fields to change their status and identity for the better. The generation of nutmeg plantation workers are now no longer outcasts or slaves who are disciplined under the pressure from the authorities. The efforts of generations of descendants of nutmeg plantation workers in the Banda Islands to reconstruct their identity need to be encouraged by the current government. The quantity and quality of nutmeg plantation production needs to be optimized again. History records that the Banda Islands have been the largest exporter of the highest quality nutmeg to Europe. The nutmeg plantation workers are part of the real history of the development of the town of Neira. The Neira Town area which was filled with ancient buildings is the history of nutmeg plantation workers as well. The past greatness of Banda is not only the history of the VOC rulers, the Dutch Company or the history of the perkeniers, the owners of the nutmeg plantations. As Stuart Hall puts it, the concept of cultural identity is a form of discourse between history and culture that prefers positioning rather than essence (Hall, 1990, pp. 222-237). The generation of nutmeg plantation workers must reposition themselves with an identity as independent human beings. Circumstances and situations have changed, the generation of nutmeg plantation workers must also change to become more advanced, more prosperous and have freedom. Nevertheless, it cannot be forgotten, the practice of discipline as established in Foucault's panopticon model can still be applied. Basically the establishment of rules, procedures, scheduling of activities, etc. gives rise to order and effectiveness of results.

CONCLUSION

By looking directly at the archeological heritage in the Banda Islands region, we get an idea of how much the nutmeg has changed the face of settlements in this region. Almost all the towns are filled with relatively large permanent buildings with large courtyards. This cannot be separated from the role of the plantation workers who have experienced discipline to produce quality nutmeg products which enabled the construction of the town of Neira. Thus there is a correlation between Foucault's disciplinary model and the archeological remains related to the management of the nutmeg plantations. In the case of the plantation locations in Banda, the exercise of disciplinary measures are reflected in the archaeological data found in the remains of the plantations, including in the layout and forms of buildings, and other supporting artifacts.

There were also forms of resistance to the application of the panopticon concept in the nutmeg plantations which is evidenced by the various violations and criminal acts. However, the concept of panopticon still seems to be relevant to be applied today with modifications to the form of cultural products that are adapted to current technological and information development. In the present context the establishment of a disciplinary society can be implemented by applying the Panopticon system which aims to make the exercise of power more economical, and politically, a form of control that may be more effective. It also optimizes the benefits of educational, military and industrial facilities, thereby increasing compliance and usefulness of all elements of the system. The awareness of being supervised and controlled results in compliance. This compliance effect is in accordance with the purpose of the panopticon, which is to create the awareness of an
individual or a group of people of being continuously monitored or watched.

Thus, the efforts to advance the town of Neira to its past glory should reflect on the history of the nutmeg plantation workers. The current generation of nutmeg plantation workers should have the power to channel all their aspirations to become dependent, advanced and prosperous under the authority of the Indonesian government.

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