


 هـ مـ و ن تانم کارن ای در ملا ن دانخ ایستو کسدهن بغش امبون  
 الکیض و محتان بغش جان مک دچتر کن اولر یخ امبون چتر تنکال  
 راج توین دنا یکن کر جان مک تیا دای بر ستیادان مو فقت دغن کاوم  
 کول و رکان مک سوات کاوم دون بر شو دار سو یخ کیای تو لی مات  
 دان سو یخ کیای دای نهان دان سو یخ شو دران مو مئون پای مس  
 همان ای نایک سره کلک کلک مباحه دریا منجاری تمقت کد و دکنی حتی  
 دغن کهندق تو هریخ مفا تکل دباوه اولر اغن آرس دان کثانم هیسو  
 ای ماسق دالم لبون هو سیکا آکمان مک تیا دملیه نکر ی دان تیا د  
 منو شی کالو توین در و دکلک کلک نایک کد ار ت مبول نکر ی  
 ار کالو دکنی حتی دملی ایست کلور سیکل انجج مک او ر غ ایست دنا کن  
 ادا انجج ادا ر لکی مانشی جکلو ادا مانشی ادا جوا نکر ی کالو دتکلو  
 انجج ایست دکنج کن سو یخ یخ کلو سن دیانسی لیهر انجج ایست دغن  
 دالم بکلو سن ایست سرب سدیکت در و د علامه نکر ی کالو دلفس  
 کن انجج ایست قو یخ کنکر ی کقد توین مک اولر دلیه ت توین بکلو سن  
 ایست مک ای ملیه ت علامه سرب سدیکت ایست مک ای برکاة  
 کقد او ر غ کلکی ادا جوا مانشی دقنی ایست مک ای مجبل  
 باوه بواهن کن تدا علامه نکر ی کالو دکنج کقد لیهر انجج ایست





## *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* A Rare Local Source of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century Moluccan History

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### SOURCES OF MOLUCCAN HISTORY

For those who are interested in the world of the Moluccas in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, there is luckily no scarcity of sources. These begin with Varthema's travelogue, Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (1512), the diary Antonio Pigafetta kept while he accompanied Fernão Magalhães on the first circumnavigation of the globe (1519-21), and the information about the region that can be gathered from the reconstruction made of that voyage by Maximilianus Transsylvanus who interviewed those crewmembers of Magalhães' expedition who had made it back alive to Spain.

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Also using local oral traditions and showing more understanding for cultural differences, there are the treatises on the Moluccas by António Galvão, who served as Governor and Captain of the Portuguese fort in Ternate (1536-9) and by Gabriel Rebelo who later (1539-1570) also served in Ternate. The chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who served in India for ten years, possibly visited the Moluccas, and using information from captains and officers wrote about this region in his history of the Portuguese discoveries and the conquest of India (1551).

The court historian João de Barros, who had access to the secret documents in the Lisbon archives – including descriptions of the first circumnavigation, Varthema's travels and Galvão's treatise – wrote about the Moluccas in *Da Asia* (first volume published 1526). This was also done by *Da Asia*'s continuators, first Diogo de Couto, who as keeper of the records at Goa (1594) had access to among others Rebelo's work, and then that of António Bocarro, who was subsequently also appointed as keeper of the records at Goa (1631) and wrote *Da Asia*'s last decade, covering 1612-17.

There are also many Spanish sources, which are found in the reports and letters kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and in the voluminous histories written in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and into the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by successively Andres de Urdaneta, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, and Lorenzo Peres OFM, as well as the account of the Spanish conquest of the Moluccas by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1606).

Because the Portuguese on arrival in the Moluccas did not just try to gain mastery of the trade in cloves but – desiring to stem the rising tide of Islamisation – also made strong efforts to Christianize the local population, we also have a rich body of letters and reports from the Jesuit fathers, among which are the letters of Saint Francis Xavier, who worked in the Moluccas from July 1546 to June 1547.

Besides Portuguese and Spanish sources on the Moluccas, there are also many Dutch ones, beginning with what is told about the region in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, a book which he wrote on the basis of information he managed to collect while serving as secretary of the Bishop of Goa. For the 17<sup>th</sup> century – and also for the 18<sup>th</sup> – the Dutch

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sources mainly consist of the official records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) kept in the General State Archives in The Hague<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, special mention must be made of Georg Rumphius, a German VOC official who from 1654 until his death in 1702 worked on Ambon and in beautiful Dutch wrote several carefully detailed and researched monographs on the geography, ethnology, botany and history of Ambon and the area surrounding it. François Valentijn, who worked on Ambon from 1686-95 and 1707-15 as a minister and inherited Rumphius' writings and library, used his materials and cribbed his writings for his description of the Moluccas in his *Old and New East Indies* (published between 1724-6)<sup>2</sup>.

## A RARE LOCAL SOURCE PUBLISHED

What the researcher sorely misses amidst this wealth of sources are contemporary local writings, which can provide non-European perspectives on the history of the region. A rare sample of just such a text is the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* or 'History of the Land of Hitu', of which a thoroughly researched edition in Dutch was recently published by Hans Stravers, Chris van Fraassen and Jan van der Putten.<sup>3</sup>

The Land of Hitu was a union of originally seven (*hitu*) recently converted Muslim villages which in the early years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had formed a state which occupied the northern part of Ambon island. Hitu's founder, Jamilu, was the oldest of the heads of the four immigrant groups who had formed the state and together ruled the land in collegiality. The *hikayat* sets forth the history of Hitu from its founding until its enforced demise by the VOC, when the Dutch put an end to its independence as a clove growing and trading state.

According to its three editors the *hikayat* was written by Jamilu's great-grandson, the *imam* (religious leader) (Sifa)rijali (born ca. 1590). He wrote it while he was in exile in Macassar during the years 1647-53. Rijali had fled to Macassar to stay out of the hands of the Dutch and hoped that he might in that kingdom—the last in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago which could still resist the mighty VOC—find support for Hitu's cause. He composed it at the instigation of his host there, Macassar's regent Karaeng Patinggaloang, who is known to have had a library with Western

scholarly books, maps and globes, and among many other languages also to have spoken Portuguese fluently.<sup>4</sup>

According to the reconstruction the three editors have made of the history of the *hikayat*'s various manuscripts Rumphius had owned a manuscript of it, which had been acquired as booty by the VOC and he had used it for his *Description of the Land of Ambon* and *History of Ambon*. Valentijn, too, had a copy of the *hikayat*, either a manuscript he had inherited from Rumphius, or a copy acquired in some other way. Unfortunately, however, it has been impossible ever since to trace with certainty the whereabouts of both these manuscripts.

In the 1920s a colonial official, H. J. Jansen, pieced together the text of a variant of the *hikayat* from manuscripts circulating on the north coast of Hitu, which had all been copied from an original in the possession of the Regent of Seit. That reconstituted text is now kept in Leiden University Library's Oriental Manuscript Department as Cod. Or. 8756. The text of the *hikayat* as reconstructed by Jansen was even made known by him to the public by his reading it out to large native audiences, and the text was also published serially in an Ambonese Malay-language newspaper.

In 1906 a manuscript of the *hikayat* originating from the north Ambonese village of Hila surfaced among the inheritance of the late G.K. Niemann, professor of the East-Indies Institute at Delft and was registered as manuscript Cod. Or. 5448 of the Leiden Oriental Manuscript Department. Not recognizing it as a manuscript of Ridjali's *hikayat* Van Ronkel in his 1921 supplement catalogue of the Malay and Minangkabau manuscripts in Leiden classified it as a fragmentary, not very well-written chronicle of the Moluccas.

The *hikayat* first became more accessible when Z.J. Manusama in his 1977 Leiden University Ph. D. dissertation on Hitu's history and social structure published in the Netherlands the entire Malay text of the Hila manuscript (Cod. Or. 5448) and provided a full translation of it into Dutch.<sup>5</sup> Like Manusama's edition, the new one published by the three editors is based on the manuscript from Hila (Cod. Or. 5448). In this way they hope to come as close as possible to the original *hikayat* as it was once first put on paper in Macassar by Rijali.

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As they point out, the manuscript from Hila can be dated to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of a variety of criteria (watermarks, contra-marks, the owner's name, Nusatapi, i.e. an uncle of Rijali's). The manuscript from Seit must in their opinion, on the basis of genealogical information mentioned in it, date from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They consider it possible that Rumphius, who knew Nusatapi well and worked in Hila from 1660-70, brought the manuscript – probably a copy of an older original – to Ambon and that it was thus later passed on to Valentijn and Niemann.<sup>6</sup>

## STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK AND SUMMARY OF ITS INTRODUCTORY PART

The new edition of Rijali's *History of Hitu* consists of two parts. Its main part is formed by an annotated edition of Rijali's Malay text, with a translation into Dutch. This text edition cum translation is preceded by an introductory part which provides the reader with the necessary philological, literary, linguistic and historical information for 'placing' and understanding the text of the *hikayat* and elucidates what perspective of events the author tries to express through his work; this introductory part closes with genealogical overviews and maps. At the end of the book follow a bibliography of sources/publications which have been consulted or are recommended for further reading and indexes of personal names and place names occurring in the *hikayat*.

In the introductory part the editors first establish the authorship of the *History of Hitu* and the history of and relation between its several manuscripts (see above), and argue why they have chosen to base their edition on the Hila manuscript. Subsequently they discuss the work's genre—that of the Malay *hikayat*—and the language it uses. They describe its language, in which they identify many Arabic and Portuguese loanwords, as a form of *hikayat*-Malay, but one which remarkably does not show features of the Moluccan forms of Malay that developed in the region.

They suggest that the genre *hikayat*, which also made use of oral traditions, was not tied to particular conventions and suggest that it may be interesting to compare the *History of Hitu* with histories such as the *Sulalatu's-Salatin* (better known as the *Sejarah Melayu* or the *Malay Annals*, MS. Raffles dated 1612) and

the *Hikayat Aceh* (*History of Aceh*, composed between 1607-1637).<sup>7</sup>

In their elucidation of the historical background of the *History of Hitu* five parts are roughly distinguished in its narrative, the first of which opens with telling from where and how the four immigrant groups came to establish themselves on Hitu and then describes the process of state-formation on Hitu (ca. 1500-1538), the rise of the cloves economy, the creation of a joint government by equals, and the Islamisation of the region.

The second part is mainly concerned with the Holy Wars Hitu fought with the Christian infidels (1538-1605) but opens with the story of the arrival (in 1512) on Hitu of the Portuguese – described as 'men with eyes like cats' – who were initially welcomed as trading partners and allowed to settle there. After a series of incidents and because of Portuguese meddling, relations turned sour and they were forced to relocate from the north coast of Hitu to a non-Muslim area on its south coast where, so the *hikayat* tells us, the offensive Portuguese custom of drinking liquor was no problem, 'because the settlements there had no religion', (i.e. presumably: because they were animists) and had lots of liquor.

Then follows a string of stories about how in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a Holy War developed in the region, in which not only Hitu fought the Portuguese, but the Islamic kingdoms of the north coast of Java (especially Japara), Banda, and the rapidly rising kingdom of Ternate did so as well, involved in the fighting as Hitu's allies. As the editors explain, among the local communities on Ambon island the decision whether to fight or support the Portuguese and whether to embrace Islam or to convert to Christianity were also very much decided by the traditional oppositions between the Ulilima (Union of Five Villages, anti-Portuguese, pro-Islam) and the Ulisiwa (Union of Nine Villages, pro-Portuguese, pro-Christianity), that were everywhere in the Moluccas decisive for the relations between the settlements.

Hitu fought its Holy War against the Portuguese to defend its autonomy as a clove growing and trading state, and it succeeded in doing so, in spite of suffering heavy losses when it was attacked by the fleets of Diogo Lopes de Azevedo (1538), Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque (1569) and Furtado de Mendonça (1602). As a result, in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Hitu



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the Portuguese were only tolerated as visiting buyers of cloves but were not allowed to obtain a foothold and establish themselves.

The third part of the *hikayat*, which covers the years 1605-1643, according to the editors, is mainly concerned with telling how Hitu's relations with the new power in the region, the Dutch VOC, developed. It describes the visits by a succession of Dutch fleets (1599 Admiral Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck, Wijbrand van Warwijk; 1600 Steven van der Haghen, Cornelis van Heemskerck) to Hitu, where they were not only promised a monopoly in buying up cloves in return for help in driving off the Portuguese, but were even allowed to build a fort at Cape Hatunuku. These developments so much alarmed Goa that it sent a big war fleet, commanded by André Furtado de Mendonça, to try and intimidate the Hituese.

Repeatedly contacting the Dutch from the nearby island of Hoamoal, where they had fled, Hitu's leaders with some difficulty persuaded them to come to their help as they had promised. In 1605 Admiral Steven van der Haghen finally arrived with a fleet from Banten in West Java, and forced the commander of the Portuguese fort on the island of Ambon, Gaspar de Melo, to surrender it to him. In the name of the States General and the then Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, Prince Maurits van Nassau, he concluded an alliance with Hitu, with Hitu swearing its allegiance to the States General and the Dutch receiving the sole right to buy up the cloves.

Once the Dutch had established themselves on Ambon, so the *hikayat* tells, their governors frequently meddled in Hituese affairs and more and more tried to strengthen their grip on the trade in cloves in the wider region, which also led to the infamous deportation of Banda's population and the execution of its leaders (*orangkayas*) in 1621 at the orders of Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen. Nevertheless, as the *hikayat* shows, until 1633, when Tepil, the *Kapitan Hitu* at that time and an uncle of Rijali's, died, a good measure of friendliness and goodwill remained dominant in the relations between Hitu and the VOC.

What changed the situation, so the editors indicate, was that at the initiative of Tepil's successor, Kakiali, part of Hitu's settlements opted for following

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a hard line of confrontation against the ever-increasing pressure from the Dutch. It was from that moment onward that Ridjali, as the *hikayat* also shows, developed into one of the most prominent leaders in the struggle against the VOC. The *hikayat* tells that he led a mission to Macassar (in 1639) to request the Sultan and the Regent for military aid, and also led several military expeditions, mainly aimed at enforcing loyalty and unity among the Hituese.

In the fourth part of the *hikayat*, which tells of the last phase of Hitu's struggle with the VOC (1643-1646) Rijali appears fighting in the front ranks and playing a leading role in the unsuccessful defense of the fort at Wawani which led to the demise of Hituese self-government and the heroic last stand which was made in vain at the fort of Kapahaha. The fifth part of the *hikayat*—its epilogue—covers the period from 1646 to 1667. In this part we are given Rijali's account of his vicissitudes after he had fled Hitu and of the painfulness of his exile, no matter how well he was received by his Macassarese host.

The introduction is closed off by a consideration of what the editors call the 'perspective of the author', by which they presumably mean the convictions of Rijali which colour his narrative and motivate the points he tries to make in its course. According to them the *hikayat* was written in Macassar for a public of relative outsiders, in the hope that it might bring about a revolt on Ternate and/or a restoration of Hitu's government, under the protection of Macassar. They identify four convictions which underlie the narrative of the *hikayat*. The first of these is that the Hituese must loyally defend the political principle of Hitu's joint government in collegiality by the heads of its four great families as part of Hitu's customs (*adat*).

Another conviction they mention is that of the necessity to remain loyal to Islam. The struggle against the Portuguese is seen as a Holy War, which is part of a confrontation going on on a much wider scale between infidels and true believers, and whoever dies in battle for the Faith is believed to immediately gain entrance to Paradise. Though deeply convinced that fighting for the Faith was a sacred duty, Rijali took a tolerant attitude towards other faiths and personally adhered to a not too dogmatic form of Islam pursuing mystical gnosis. Being the pragmatic man he was, he never fell for the seduction to simply condemn one and all policies of the VOC and their allies as an

attack on Islam and he was well aware that between the Muslims, too, there were conflicting interests and dissensions.

As a third conviction colouring Rijali's narrative they identify the necessity for Hitu to remain loyal to its allies, a necessity very much dictated by pragmatism, because Hitu could in the long run only maintain its autonomy by maneuvering very cautiously between the VOC, the sultanate of Ternate and the Macassarese. In his personal opinion, when Kakiali took over as Kapitan Hitu, the Hituese should not have impulsively decided to wage a Holy War on the Dutch, but should have looked ahead and considered matters very carefully from the point of view of strategy.

Finally, when facing the reality that in spite of all these ideals Hitu proved unable to stand united and lost its autonomy, subjected by the Dutch, Rijali could only explain this to himself—and thus also to his public—by taking recourse to another conviction: that God's Will, which could not be gainsaid, had visited this incomprehensible affliction on him to put his faith to the test, so that all he should do, as a pious Muslim, was to bear his fate, in the firm belief that God knows best.

## AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BOOK

There need be no doubt that the new edition of the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* is based on solid philology and that the editors' choice for publishing Ms. Cod Or. 5448 as closest to the time when the *hikayat* was composed is a well-founded one. Its manner of presentation of the Malay text is scholarly and its translation of the *hikayat* into Dutch is reliable. In the elucidations in its introductory part and in its copious annotations the book also demonstrates a firm grasp of the very complex history of the Moluccas and an intimate knowledge of the region's languages and cultures. What further enhances its quality is that it has been provided with detailed registers, maps and genealogies, which efficiently and reliably provide the necessary help to readers in finding their way. In short, a strength of the book is that it makes much work of reconstructing the referential (historical, anthropological, geographical, etc.) background for understanding the *hikayat*.

The book is much less strong where it has to deal with understanding the *hikayat* as literature, because it does not put in as much effort to reconstruct



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its rhetorical background. By dealing with a text as literature I do not mean the identification of a text's strengths and deficiencies as an aesthetic artifact but the study of the way in which its signs are made to interact amongst each other in the process of reading and, by the structures and forms they thus create, contribute to the production of its meaning. It is true that the editors go some way towards establishing how the *hikayat* tries to inculcate certain lessons and make certain points by the way in which it describes events and persons. They do so when they discuss the "perspective of the author" but one may wonder whether, if more systematically approached, the text could not have yielded far more insights into what Rijali wanted to convey to his readers.

Western literary theory teaches that all reading and interpretation are guided by rules and conventions, such as those of genre. The editors of the *hikayat* posit that, "historians [writing in this genre, G.L.K.] were not tied to strict rules or conventions; they adapted the form and contents to their needs."<sup>8</sup> That may be partly<sup>9</sup> true, but it does not mean that a more systematic effort should not be made to identify those Malay or Moluccan literary conventions which were relied upon by Rijali in his composition of *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*. The problem for the editors has of course been – as they themselves indicate – that the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, does not really seem to follow Malay conventions of historiographical narrative and is also quite different from the Moluccan oral sources, on the basis of which it was partly written.



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As a result, the *hikayat* may, from a literary point of view, very much seem to be a monolith without context, and therefore quite difficult to deal with as literature. Nevertheless one wonders whether, if more carefully scrutinized, it may perhaps prove not completely impossible to place it within a context of Malay conventions of historiography.

One convention of Malay historiography—which it shares with most other genres of Malay narrative—is the construction of its stories by the repetitious yet ever-varied use of traditionally hallowed formulaic language (e.g. the king said with a sweet voice) and familiar type-scenes (in the Malay heroic epic: council of the noblemen with the ruler, preparation for battle, departure for battle in a glorious blaze, the melee and din of the battle, etc. etc.) For some of us, attending to these features in works of historiography—Malay or otherwise—may perhaps seem a mere useless formalist exercise because it does not seem to teach us much about its meaning. In fact, however, the study of these formulae and type-scenes provides us, among others, with an insight into the value system and the models of reality which underlie its narrative, and is therefore not only quite useful, but very important.

It is true that one needs to have a fund of other similar texts – a background of intertextuality – in order to be able with certainty to identify such formulae and type-scenes as manifestations of a communally sanctioned traditional apparatus of story-telling, and not of an individual style. That background is unfortunately very difficult to obtain so that we seem to have only the *hikayat's* intratextual dimension to go on. Even within that limited scope, however, we may find indications that Rijali might, to a greater or lesser extent, have relied on formulae and type-scenes for constructing his narrative.

An example of a formula—used not only by the Hituese, but at least on one occasion also by the Dutch—is the following one which is time and again employed to clinch a deliberation on what choice to make or action to take and is quite typical of a merchant community with its particular ideology and values: “So long as it brings benefit (*faedah*, *manfaat*) why should we not do it?”<sup>10</sup> An example of a type-scene we find littered throughout the *hikayat* in more or less elaborated samples, is the description in the manner of heroic epic of the victorious return from battle. Thus we are told how Jamilu, having by the Will of God succeeded in killing the commander of a settlement of unbelievers, returned home victoriously, to eat, to drink

and to celebrate.<sup>11</sup> And elsewhere we hear that the champion, Tahalele, who like a tiger threw himself in the midst of the unbelievers and killed many, returned in triumph to celebrate in his own settlement, to eat and to drink. He was given costly gifts, and was granted the title of ‘the hero Tubanbesi’ and his sword that of Lukululi, meaning the Bone-Smasher<sup>12</sup>

Another flaw of the book is the overall

way in which it visually and compositionally presents its materials. It seems to have its roots in an inability of the editors to make up their minds whether to write for an academic readership or to address a public of laymen. Although their stated aim is to write for the general public – and apparently especially for those South Moluccans in the Netherlands who wish to learn about their historical and cultural roots – they nevertheless prove unable to avoid giving in too much to their first love, namely that of scholarship. As a result the book’s introduction tries to maneuver somewhat uneasily between serving these two different readerships.

Whereas the book’s Malay text and translation, the latter of which the editors explicitly say they have



Dutch trading post on the Maluco Islands, 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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devised to attract the interest of the general public, are presented in an inviting, pleasantly readable font, its introductory part, though produced with partly similar intent, has been printed in a much smaller type size. And an even smaller font has been used for the boxes of text which are here and there inserted into the introduction's pages, to provide excursions into topics of special interest. Then there is the outsize format of the book's pages, which would be more suitable for a presentation of large photographs or pictures.

The impression one gets here is that the editors, under the spell of their scholarly urges, have been reluctant to give up more detailed knowledge, and have tried to cram in as much information as possible without producing an inordinately thick, perhaps too academic-looking or intractable volume. The manner in which the introduction presents Hitu's history and its wider context to its intended amateur public is indeed quite dense, and may therefore make quite heavy going, and not only for the non-academic reader. Part of the difficulty in following it also lies in the at times paratactic, rather than synthetic or synoptic, way in which the complex tapestry, woven by the many factors and powers shaping Hitu's history, such as the Javanese kingdoms of the *pasisir*, the Banda archipelago, Ternate, and Makassar, is discussed.

Where the academic reader really feels uneasy is when the introduction abandons its genre of the purposive monograph, namely in the inset boxes, which, so the editors say, serve to provide the modern reader with explanations for passages in the *History of Hitu*. In the boxes we get information about such a hotchpotch of topics as: 17<sup>th</sup> century seals on letters from the Moluccas: a copy of the Koran from the island of Manipa near Hitu; Banda's destruction by the VOC in 1621; lists of the governors-general at Batavia, the Portuguese commanders of the fort at Ambon, the sultans and governors of Ternate, and the regents of Makassar; the treatment by a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Dutch novelist of a person who also appears in the *History of Hitu*; and the shifts that occurred in the historical development of the production of cloves.

The effect of all these boxes with their excursions is that the introductory part of the book from a purposive monograph turns into something of an 18<sup>th</sup>-century style Dutch 'Rariteyten Cabinet' (an Exhibition

of a Collection of Curiosities). One wonders whether all the information in these boxes is really all that indispensable in the place where it is given or, indeed, whether it should be provided at all. Would the reader not have been better served if the editors had taken up, for instance, the topics of the seals and the Koran in the annotations to the *hikayat*'s text and translation and had placed the many lists at the end of the book, with its indexes, rather than dispersing all this information in boxes through the book's introductory part, as little tidbits for diversion and amusement?

Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of the book—at least, if we may look at it from the perspective of the genre of the academic monograph and not limit ourselves to seeing it as a publication for the general reader—is the minimal amount of references which are provided to the sources which have been used for writing its introductory part. On the basis of the mere 49 footnotes that are given<sup>13</sup>, it is impossible to decide whether a sufficiently full, direct and balanced use has been made of the rich store-house of Moluccan history's European sources, in which attention is not slanted in favor of the Dutch sources or too much focused on the period of the dominance of the VOC in the region. From the bibliography/selected reading list provided at the end of the book one might get the latter impression.

One of the tasks of the writer of a review article is to try to be as critical as possible. Having performed that task, I would like to conclude by emphasizing that, whatever its shortcomings may be, the new book has many excellences, not the least of which is that it provides us with valuable new insights into how issues and events were seen locally. It offers a counterpoint to Dutch and other Western historiography concerning the Moluccas, and provides rare, sometimes even unique, information from the other side of the divide: about the formation of the Hituese state, the development of its relations with the Portuguese into a Holy War, the internal relations that prevailed on Hitu and the complex networks Hitu maintained with its allies such as Banda, Ternate and Macassar. As such it is a major contribution to the history of the Moluccas, which deserves to get the full attention of those historians who do not want to limit themselves to looking at the region's past just from the perspective of the decks of the European ships. **RC**



## CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

## NOTES

- 1 Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, pp. 9-20.
- 2 About Rumphius and Valentijn, see E. M. Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures. Dutch Colonial Literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950*, pp. 80-116 and pp. 119-144. For those interested in Rumphius who read Dutch I also refer to the fine edition of his *History of Ambon under the VOC*, which was published by Chris van Fraassen and Hans Stavers as G. E. Rumphius, *De Ambonse Eilanden onder de VOC, Zoals Opgetekend in de Ambonse Landbeschrijving*.
- 3 Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu. Een Ambonse geschiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*. Bezorgd en ingeleid door Hans Stravers, Chris van Fraassen en Jan van der Putten.
- 4 Rijali, *Historie*, pp. 13-15. About Keraeng Patinggaloang, see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka. A history of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century*, p. 39.
- 5 Z. J. Manusama, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu. Historie en sociale structuur van de Ambonsche eilanden in het algemeen en van Uli Hitu in het bijzonder tot het midden der zeventiende eeuw*. Dissertatie Leiden 1977.
- 6 Rijali, *Historie*, pp. 15-19.
- 7 For editions of these histories, see: Cheah Boon Kheng (ed.), *Sejarah Melayu. The Malay Annals*. Ms. Raffles No. 18; C. C. Brown (transl.), *Sejarah Melayu or 'Malay Annals'* [repr.]; Teuku Iskandar (ed.), *De Hikayat Atjeh*. For useful introductions, see V. I Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* pp. 183-198.
- 8 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 25.
- 9 For my qualification of this opinion as only partly true, see G. L. Koster, *Roaming Through Seductive Gardens: Readings in Malay Narrative*, especially the chapters on the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (Poem on the Macassar War, pp. 97-125) and the *Syair Perang Siak* (Poem on the Siak War, pp. 127-159; also see A. Teeuw, *Indonesia as a field of literary study. A case study: Genealogical narrative texts as an Indonesian literary genre*, in P. E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Unity in diversity: Indonesia as a field of anthropological study*, pp. 38-59.
- 10 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, pp. 95, 99, 107, 137
- 11 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 109.
- 12 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 115. For some other examples, see pp. 113, 173-174, 197.
- 13 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 79

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- Braginsky, V. I., *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004, pp. 183-198.
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