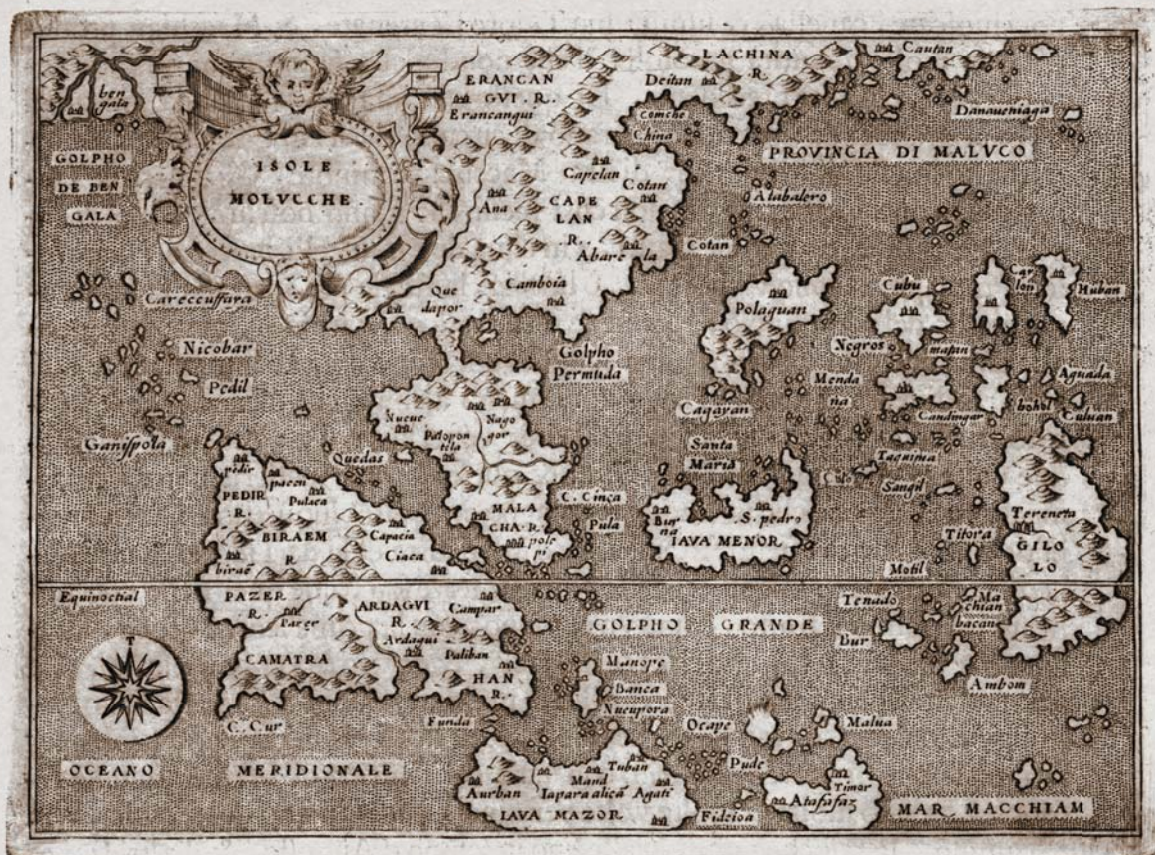




# DESCRITTIONE DELL'ISOLE MOLVCHE.



**L** quel mare così vasto dell'Indie Occidentali, che da Ferdinando Magaglianes con tanto rischio & valore fu solcato l'anno MDXIX, cominciando dal capo di San Vincentio, che è lontano dall'Equinottiale xxxvii gradi, & passando fra Capo verde d'Africa & l'Isole, che gli sono all'incontro, lontane xiiii gradi & mezzo dall'Equinottiale, & indi nauigando a uista della costa di Guinea dell'Ethiopia, ou'è la montagna di Serra Liona, otto gradi sopra la linea, & appresso passando detta Linea dell'Equinottiale; là doue gli Spagnuoli dal numero grande delle Isole chiamarono Arcipelago, pieno (come dicono di 7448. Isole; son poste drittamente a Ponēte le Molucche, Isole tanto presso noi famose, & per la copia grande delle Speziarie, che ci mandano, hauute in consideratione. Queste in tutto son cinque, Tarenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, e Bacchian: benchè in questi nomi trouo qualche alteratione, così presso color c'hanno scrit



# Sultans, Rajas, *Sangaji* and *Khimalaha* Culture and Power in the Maluku Islands According to the Early Portuguese and Spanish Sources

MANUEL LOBATO\*

## INTRODUCTION

The opening of the Maluku Archipelago to the outside world started in a very remote distant. Javanese, Chinese and Malay influences preceded the arrival of Europeans, i.e., the Portuguese and the Spaniards, which occurred in 1512 and 1521 respectively. It is consensual that the Iberians created a political rupture and brought intense and profound transformation to different areas of the natives' lives which had left traces in the historical sources.

It is surprising the abundance of narrative and primary sources dealing with Maluku despite its peripheral location. This can be explained by a combination of different reasons. The primary one concerns the island's location in the border zone between the Spanish and the Portuguese empires which was intensely disputed by both Iberian crowns until the late 1560s. The administrations of both empires felt the need to publicise their activities and achievements in the region as a means to assert their ownership rights

in the so-called 'Question of the Moluccas', which, contrary to what is usually assumed, was not entirely solved by the 1529 Treaty of Zaragoza. From New Spain, the Spaniards continued to send expeditions to the Spice Islands during a few decades until they finally settled in the Philippines. The 'Question of the Moluccas', triggered by the circumnavigation of the Magellan-Delcano fleet, was continually a motive for dispute while the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas omitted a bordering line in the antipodes corresponding to the Atlantic partition. Given the inability to accurately determine the location of the anti-meridian separating the Portuguese and the Spanish overseas spheres of influence, this dispute eventually provided the 'Spice Islands' a certain notoriety in some learned European circles.

Paradoxically, the remoteness of these islands seems to have contributed to Maluku's fame. The islands were visited by a large number of merchants, missionaries and agents of both the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns. Moved by either itinerant or travelogue reasons, some of the Portuguese visitors decided to write about Maluku as a region requiring a longer time to be reached sailing from Goa than the time elapsed to accomplish the ordinary route from Goa to Lisbon by the Cape of the Good Hope.<sup>2</sup> There was thus an additional incentive to write about regions that only a few people had the opportunity to visit.

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'Isola Molucche', from Thomaso Porcacchi's, *L'isola piu famosa del mondo* (Venice, 1576?).

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However, the Portuguese travelling literature cannot be equated quantitatively and qualitatively to the English, Dutch, French, Italian, and even the Spanish travelogue production. Unlike the Portuguese, the Spaniards used to report their expeditionary maritime enterprises extensively and exhaustively: each officer was required to make a detailed report on every relevant fact either on board or on land, which resulted in a number of sailing journals or accounts for each expedition and even for a single sailing journey. The most significant example for our purposes is the striking contrast between the only known account of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama against the 36 different narratives of the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan-Delcano, an expedition primarily headed to the Maluku Islands. The most comprehensive of such accounts was written by the Italian Antonio Pigafetta, who joined the fleet as a mere 17-year-old unskilled *criado* or *sobresaliente*.<sup>3</sup>

## PORTUGUESE, SPANISH AND MISSIONARY SOURCES

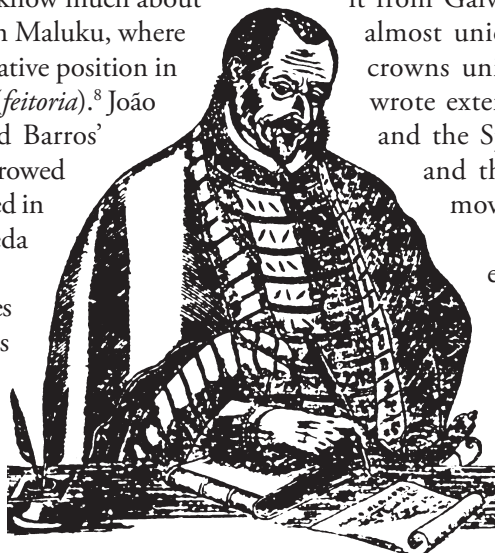
Some of the best histories, however, came from the pen of writers such as João de Barros who certainly did not visit Asia.<sup>4</sup> Some other major chroniclers, such as Gaspar Correia or Diogo do Couto,<sup>5</sup> only sailed to India or Melaka. The *Historia* by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda is undoubtedly the best source book dealing with Maluku among the general chronicles concerning the Portuguese in Asia.<sup>6</sup> He is also the most reputed Portuguese author who ever visited the Maluku Islands. Unfortunately we do not know much about his Asian career<sup>7</sup> and his sojourn in Maluku, where he possibly occupied an administrative position in the fort or in the local trading post (*feitoria*).<sup>8</sup> João Baptista Lavanha, who published Barros' fourth and unfinished *Década*, borrowed several chapters on Maluku included in bk. II and bk. VII from Castanheda and Couto.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to the missionaries who worked in Maluku, like Francis Xavier, the founder of the Jesuit mission in those islands, there are some other authors who visited and stopped there for a few years or even for most

of their lives. However, texts on Maluku written by merchants during the 16<sup>th</sup> century have not been found so far. All laic authors were military or administrative officials: captains of fortresses and ships, clerks, accountants, etc., most of them of aristocratic descent and having had a fairly good education, though all of them also traded in spices.

Besides the chapters on Maluku included in the general chronicles, there are several other histories focusing specifically on these islands. The most widely known and often quoted was written by António Galvão (c.1490-1557), captain of the Portuguese fortress in Ternate from 1536 to 1539, an author who achieved wide recognition in Portugal and abroad. Son of Duarte Galvão, the most significant imperial ideologist in the service of King Manuel (r.1495-1521), António Galvão is the author of the famous *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*,<sup>10</sup> a major source for Diogo do Couto's *Década Quarta*.<sup>11</sup> Another importante writing of Galvão is *A Treatise on the Moluccas Islands*. This text remained supposedly lost until the Jesuit Hubert Jacobs ascribed it to Galvão and published it in the early 1970s along with a profusely annotated English translation from an anonymous copy existing in the *Archivo General de Indias*. It is an unfinished manuscript with the Spanish title *Descripción de las Islas del Maluco y de las Costumbres de sus Indios*<sup>12</sup> with a preamble in the same language. According to the editor,<sup>13</sup> the Portuguese text could be a draft obtained by the Spanish cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz during a short visit to Lisbon in 1545, not discarding the possibility that Santa Cruz obtained it from Galvão himself.<sup>14</sup> The author offers an almost unique example, prior to the Iberian crowns union in 1581, of a chronicler who wrote extensively about both the Portuguese and the Spanish navigations in the Atlantic and the Asian seas 'as part of the same movement'.<sup>15</sup>

Another chronicler focusing exclusively on the Maluku islands, though lesser known than the previous one, is Gabriel Rebelo, who was a *casado* in Ternate, where he held several public positions, as interim keeper of the local fortress (*alcaide*), factor (*feitor*, who had similar functions to a Spanish





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contador or accountant), and clerk of the Judicial Court and Public House. He wrote the *Informaçam das Cousas de Maluco* known in two different autographed versions written in 1561 and 1569, both dedicated to the viceroy Constantino de Bragança (1558-1561).<sup>16</sup> Rebelo was an enquiring personality who climbed Mount Gamalama (1715 m), the volcano of Ternate, making observations and measurements in its crater by using fishing lines.<sup>17</sup> In his history he also provides extensive ethnographic and political information on major Malukan kingdoms. In his *Década Quarta*, Diogo do Couto used Rebelo—whom he excels as a remarkable person and a natural philosopher—to compose most of his description of the Luso-Castilian rivalry in Maluku, reproducing *verbatim* Rebelo's abbreviated version of the Treaty of Saragoça (1529).<sup>18</sup> Written in 1569, the *Informaçam* by Gabriel Rebelo narrates a complete cycle in the history of Maluku, as the great sultan Hairun would be murdered in the following year by the Portuguese captain of Ternate, Diogo Lopes de Mesquita,



opening a lasting period of major difficulties to the Portuguese that they would never overcome without Spanish assistance after 1582.

Another prominent author, who lived for some years in the Maluku, is the humanist Duarte de Resende, a learned Latinist and a 'student of geography and of the things concerning to the sea', according to João de Barros, who was his cousin and to whom Barros dedicated his *Ropica Pnema*.<sup>19</sup> He was captain of several ships in the sea-route linking Melaka to Maluku and also an accountant in Ternate, a position he served under the command of António de Brito, the first Portuguese governor and founder of the

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*.





# CONQVISTA DE LAS

ISLAS MALVCAS  
ALREY FELIPE III.<sup>O</sup> N. S.  
Escrita por el Licen.<sup>do</sup> Bartolome  
Leonardo de Argensola capellan  
de la Magestad de la Emperatriz  
y Retor de Villahermosa.





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local fortress.<sup>20</sup> Based on documents seized in Tidore aboard the ship *Trinidad*, Resende wrote a *Tratado* on the voyage of Magellan as referred to by Barros, a text unfortunately lost.<sup>21</sup> Some other highly learned men and scholars have passed through the Maluku Islands, such as António Pereira Marramaque, Captain General of the Sea of Maluku and the founder of the first Portuguese fortress in Hitu, in the Ambon Island. Son of a well-known poet of the new Italian style, he preferred, however, to use his literary talents in courtly pleasantries than to write about Asian matters.

Some 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Portuguese chroniclers, while having witnessed the events they described, remained in the shadow of anonymity, such as the author of the chronicle known as *Capitania de Amboino*,<sup>22</sup> sometimes erroneously ascribed to the official chronicler and guardian of the royal archives in Goa, António Bocarro.<sup>23</sup> To some extent, the major works by Galvão and Rebelo and the anonymous *Capitania de Amboino* form a quite perfect sequence: Galvão describes the Iberian interference in Maluku until the end of his governance, in 1539; Rebelo only goes into a detailed account after this precise date, most likely because he was aware of both Spanish and Portuguese previous accounts; finally, the text of the *Capitania de Amboino* brings the narrative to 1579 in the early days of Sancho de Vasconcelos governing at Ambon.

A text also deserving to be mentioned is the chronicle by António Pinto Pereira on the first government of the viceroy D. Luís de Ataíde (1568-1571), which contains a number of chapters on Maluku up to 1575. It was first printed in Lisbon in 1586, but was only published in 1617, despite some parts having been circulated previously.<sup>24</sup>

Spanish authors who sojourned in or wrote about Maluku are very important. Inherently relevant, the Spanish writings and documents offer information often omitted in the Portuguese sources and vice-versa. Inter-textual references are usually featured in a number of these texts, some of which enter into dialogue with earlier writers, sometimes polemicising against them. G. Freire, in her unpublished master's thesis dedicated to the texts of Gabriel Rebelo, maintains that, among



Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.

other reasons, the text of his second version 'seems to have been designed to refute the disclosure of the same events by Spanish authors'.<sup>25</sup> Regardless of the dedication of his text to the viceroy and the extensive accounts on the rivalry between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, Rebelo cannot be included in the series of official chroniclers. He was committed to offer a rather local perspective on Maluku as a man of great experience and authority, who had witnessed some of the events he described and who personally met some of the protagonists he deals with in his account.

Although a few scholars have contended that there is a greater amount of available 16<sup>th</sup> century information on the Sultanate of Ternate than on Tidore,<sup>26</sup> this is only an accurate conclusion regarding the writings of the Portuguese and the Jesuits. Considering the materials held in the Spanish archives, a major part of them remaining unpublished so far,<sup>27</sup> a rather different assessment emerges. To some extent, the Spaniards left us probably a greater amount of information on Tidore than the Portuguese did on the Malukan Archipelago as a whole. We have in mind, amidst reports of the expeditions sent from various ports in Spain, Mexico and Peru, and some private and religious chronicles, the rather official *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, published in 1609 and dedicated to the King Philip III.<sup>28</sup> The five-year correspondence exchanged between the governor of Maluku, Gerónimo de Silva, who was the head commander of the Spanish forces in Tidore from 1612 to 1617, and several important personalities, including the Sultan of Tidore, Mole Majimu (r.1599-1627),<sup>29</sup> should also be noted. Focusing on the military information gathered through the Spanish intelligence in Maluku, most of these letters reflect the political intrigue at the court of Tidore offering a few insights into its internal life, the figures of the Sultan, the crown prince and future sultan, *kaicil* Naro (r.1627-1635), and a few other Tidoran personalities in Soasio, the sultanate court.

Frontispiece of Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 1609.

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There is a third group of writings formed by the letters and reports of the Jesuit missionaries, mostly written in Portuguese and Spanish. Among these letters the report entitled *Informação da cristandade de Maluco no anno 1588*, by the visiting superior, the Italian Antonio Marta, deserves special mention. This small but invaluable treatise offers a great quality of detailed information and a systematised approach on various aspects of political and cultural life of different North and Central Malukan groups, even on some people far from the immediate areas surrounding the Portuguese settlements and strongholds.<sup>30</sup> Most of the Jesuit letters describing the activities of the Maluku's mission were extensively collected and published by Father Hubert Jacobs in the afore-mentioned *Documenta Malucensia*.<sup>31</sup> Actually, they were primarily written to serve the Jesuit propaganda, once inserted in full or in abridged, shortened, curtailed or paraphrased versions, either in books or pamphlets, in Latin or in other languages,

all to be widely circulated among the learned circles in Europe.

## A REPRESENTATION OF THE NATIVE WORLD IN THE IBERIAN SOURCES: VALUE AND LIMITATIONS

In the same way, and despite the fact that the Iberians are counted among the early Europeans to describe the Malay Archipelago, their descriptions of the indigenous realities are generally rather superficial, advancing political, economic or religious principles. Obviously, there are some descriptions of the uses and customs of the indigenous that offer a rather unbiased and uncommitted view. However, by and large, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, too focused on issues most directly affecting them, were only marginally able to nurture a genuine interest in describing the native people as such. Indeed, the nature of the information conveyed by the European sources is only partial, focusing on a small number of islands and islander communities. It is sufficiently clarifying to look for the studies on the evolution of the geographic and cartographical European knowledge of the Malay Archipelago during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries to become aware of how narrowed the European perspective was.<sup>32</sup> Fortunately, the Malukan people have not failed to challenge politically and economically the Portuguese settlers and visitors, otherwise they would have been almost missing from the writings available to us.

Because of the very nature of most of these historical sources, we are well-informed about military events, but we know much less about political and social life. Though we can reconstruct essential features of the Malukan social and cultural life from materials recently collected by the anthropologists, we continue to ignore a substantial part of the long-vanished political institutions, as we still do not know much about the social practices related to specific social segments belonging to the elites and the ordinary people.

After some highly documented work accomplished prior to World War II by C. Wessels, the pioneer who wrote the *History of the Mission of Ambon*,<sup>33</sup> and the contribution of the Jesuit



Philip III (1578-1621) King of Spain and Portugal from 1598 until his death.

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scholar Georg Schurhammer,<sup>34</sup> the early articles on a 'comprehensive history' of the Portuguese period in Maluku and in the Lesser Sunda Islands from an Asian perspective only appeared in the final 1970s due to the not yet superseded work of the late Paramita A. Abdurachman.<sup>35</sup> She highlighted both the cooperative attitude of the local rulers and their strategies *vis-à-vis* the European intrusion, as well as the changes that the political organisation of each state suffered on account of it. Human groups and the ancestral conflict dividing them were also addressed by Abdurachman, based on the Iberian sources. With the tools provided by the anthropology of the Malay-Polynesian peoples, she was the first scholar who explained the success of Islam and the setbacks of Christianity by mapping opposing groups throughout the east Indonesian archipelago. The scope of a genuine political anthropology of social changes according to very particular historical circumstances could be outlined. The author also paid attention to the ecological conditions of each island articulating the dispute on the ownership of exporting food areas and the violent behaviour pattern exhibited by groups from villages located in poor harvesting areas. Defining the relevant issues, Abdurachman and other Indonesian historians, for example Adriaan Lapien and Richard Z. Leirissa, working on the Dutch colonial period, developed a historiographical field of their own for the Modern and Early Modern Age, mostly based on the European sources.<sup>36</sup>

The Portuguese period in Maluku also attracted the attention of non-Indonesian researchers with sufficient language skills to work directly from the sources. This is the case of the Sinhalese Chandra de Silva, who continued in the English language the studies by V. M. Godinho and L. F. Thomaz on inter-Asian and Asian-European trade in cloves.<sup>37</sup> The efforts developed by John Villiers in achieving a partial synthesis also proved to be well-succeeded. In a fine documented series of articles, he provided a general overview of the Portuguese presence in Maluku, Banda and the Lesser Sunda Islands, in the political, religious and economic domains, also drawing a fairly complete picture of the historical regional framework and its evolution throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, Leonard Y. Andaya, sometimes considered 'the historian' of Maluku, followed the method of dismantling cultural assumptions in which the Europeans perceived the Eastern Indonesian realities

and produced their records. In the case of the Iberian nations, and Portugal in particular, he considers a sampling of most representative *items* collected in specialised literature on the Portuguese medieval culture and in the Mediterranean and Arabic influences that the Portuguese would have accommodated. The results of this unconvincing method never did appear and so his effort was rather fruitless. However, the same cannot be said on the way Andaya (re)constructed the Asian cultural realities which, according to his 'cultural' and innovative 'thesis', determines the entire history and the collective experience of the peoples of Maluku from their inception by sharing the belief in the *Bikusigara* myth. This creed provides a supposed 'ideology' concerning the primordial unity of that region, whose roots are believed to be found in the cosmic order. Andaya approaches the myth based in Mircea Eliade, establishing geographical locations corresponding to the upper world and the underworld. So Loloda, in Northwestern Central Halmahera, would be the door to the upper world, while Bacan refers to the limits of the underworld; Jailolo, Ternate and Tidore would represent different aspects of the earthly world. This regional topography would be designed to reaffirm the unity of the archipelago and the dominance of its centre—Ternate—over the entire region.<sup>39</sup>

Mentioned in early accounts, a version of this myth would probably have been collected on the first hand by members of António de Brito's fleet of 1522, but no reference to it was kept in the records concerning this expedition. It was collected once again between 1536 and 1539 by António Galvão, who recorded it c. 1544 in his above-mentioned *Treatise* on Maluku. As this text remained unpublished until recently, the myth was first released, with minor additions, by João de Barros, who clearly relied on Galvão. However, despite the sacred nature of the founding myths on which Andaya relied, he perhaps exaggerated such influences, as the primordial unity of all the four Malukan kingdoms was not meant to survive to the European interference. Around 1516, the kingdom of Makian, located on the island of the same name, was already occupied and divided between Tidore and Ternate. Thus, as an independent state, this kingdom disappeared when its ruler, Raja Baab Husein (Lebechucem), was banished from the island and sentenced to a humiliating exile, as he declares in a letter to King Manuel.<sup>40</sup>



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Several authors had already mentioned the role played by this myth as a common belief of the peoples of the region. Certainly Andaya suggests that his experience of working with Melanesian societies was a source of inspiration for his theoretical option. The definition of cultural areas was formerly set according to linguistic criteria: people of North Maluku belong to the same Ternatan-Halmaheran linguistic group inhabiting the central-northern part of Halmahera and the adjacent islands. Speaking different variants, linguistically interrelated, to communicate to each other these neighbouring communities had been forced to resort to the Papuan language previously spoken in Ternate as a *lingua franca*, progressively replaced since the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Malay language brought from Melaka, the *lingua franca* already spoken at the time in most interregional ports of the Island Southeast Asia. Adriaan Lapien, in particular, finds it curious that three out of four main North Malukan political entities—Ternate, Tidore and Jeilolo—belong to the non-Austronesian group of languages, while the language of Bacan—the fourth political entity—is closely related to the western Malay languages belonging to the Austronesian family. This author also believes that the ethnic unity in Maluku, despite the language differences, shows that ‘the convergence of these contrasting elements’ must be very old, in any case several centuries older than the ‘linguistic convergence’. Lapien also suggests that such a process would have occurred during the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>41</sup> However, Bausani had demonstrated, based on the famous vocabulary collected in 1521 by Antonio Pigafetta in Tidore and other Eastern Indonesian ports, that the Malay language was already playing the role of *lingua franca* in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> From Ternate, the use of the Malay language radiated in several directions, reaching Manado in north Sulawesi, where it was introduced as a *lingua franca* developing into a local variant in use until today, though with plenty of numerous Papuan terms from the language originally spoken in Ternate.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the smallness of the islands, a distinction between coastal communities and those living inland existed until recently in Halmahera and other major islands. The cultural influence from abroad was felt sooner and more strongly by coastal communities, the first that embraced Islam and adopted the Malay language as a common language alongside the use

of writing. However, some primitive strata of the population already spoke a Proto-Malay-Polynesian variant back from about 4,500 years ago when they settled there from the Philippines, almost eradicating the primitive Papuan languages. Conversely, these languages survived until recently in Ternate and Tidore, as well as in Morotai and in northern regions of Halmahera, as languages of the same group that also survived in Timor, Alor and Pantar, or Nusa Tenggara.<sup>44</sup>

16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SOURCES AND THE POLITICAL-ANTHROPOLOGY OF MALUKU

The scenario just sketched above was inhabited by populations with a strong sense of social hierarchy and group integration. The first Europeans who arrived there—namely, the Portuguese and the Spaniards—usually resorted to images taken from the European social structure to describe the local society. The heads—or *sangaji*—with greater or lesser autonomy *vis-à-vis* the kings, are described as dukes or earls, occupying the top of a blood aristocracy further comprising its ‘knights’ (*cavaleiros*) and ‘knaves’ (*valetes*). Slaves, occupying the bottom of society, were also labelled according to subgroups that can hardly be integrated into the European stereotypes for the captives and other dependent or non-free people. The earliest Iberian records on Moro describe its inhabitants as ‘slaves’ of the Sultan of Ternate,<sup>45</sup> an epithet not appropriate to their status, though founded in the fact that each year these populations were compelled to perform certain services and provide a few days of free labour to the kings of Ternate and Tidore, who some Moro communities acknowledged as their supreme rulers. Maluku being a region hastily changing during the period in question, in vain we find among the natives a mercantile class, although there is no doubt about the existence of individuals, especially among the elites, who were engaged in the marketing of cloves.

António Galvão, like other authors, has resorted to the European aristocratic system to describe the social hierarchy in Maluku: ‘The first and most important dignity is that of the king, whom they call *kolano*; the queen is called *radja*; and the dukes, the *sengadjis*; the knights, *mersaolis*’.<sup>46</sup> Fifty years later, the Italian priest Antonio Marta, Visitor of the Jesuit mission, will repeat: ‘In these islands of Maluku there

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are four kingdoms and seventeen *sangaji*, who are like dukes or earls in the European manner'.<sup>47</sup> According to his highly biased opinion, they were also rude headmen, poorly dressed and malnourished, unable to seek the means of becoming wealthy enough to be magnificently served by pageantry, whose humble religious ceremonies were not to be compared to those taking place among the Turks, as these rulers also had no shame to beg for whatever they wanted to own, 'as any poor man in Portugal'.<sup>48</sup>

However, while the small group of *sangaji* was considered as corresponding to the high ranking European noblemen, actually they were locally entitled 'raja' like any other Malukan ruler at the time, as they were sacred persons, a condition which the term itself expresses.<sup>49</sup> Their royal condition was reinforced through kinship ties, since they are said to marry among the ruling families. The kings and the *sangaji* were usually elected among the sons of the ruler with his main wife, locally named 'raja' and queen or princess in the European sources. Moreover, it is said that all rulers developed kinship ties with all the headmen under their allegiance, especially the *sangaji*, most of them acknowledging the pre-eminence of either the sultan of Ternate or the raja of Tidore, also entitled and recognised as a sultan since the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Some *sangaji*, however, particularly the raja of Jeilolo, behaved as an independent sovereign by temporarily rebelling against the authority of the sultan of Ternate.<sup>50</sup> In his *Historia da Índia*, Antonio Pinto Pereira left us one of the best definitions of the characteristic status common to the seventeen *sangaji*, also expressing slight distinctions among them. Referring to the *sangaji* yielding obedience to the sultan of Ternate, he states: 'the Sangajes ... are masters external to Ternate, because Sangaje is the highest title of all, except the royal dignity, and so are called the subjected princes and lords, and also some sovereigns whose states are not entitled to be kingdoms'.<sup>51</sup>

According to the customary usages in Ternate that regulate the ruler succession, only a princess being the daughter of a king was to be considered a 'queen' among the many wives of the sultan, and her eldest son should be chosen to inherit the throne. Twice throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century the figure of the 'queen mother' played an important role during the youth of the presumptive ruler. On both occasions, the queens were daughters of the raja of Tidore and they allowed

their fathers to retain some influence over Ternate, which could have proved crucial in times of crisis, but actually resulted in being rather thwarted by internal opponents grouped around other candidates said to be 'bastards' of the sultans of Ternate in the Iberian sources.<sup>52</sup>

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In the case studied by Paramita Abdurachman of a queen coming from Java, possibly from Japara or Grisek, she was entitled Niachile Boki Raga (raja), being *niachile* being the feminine of *kaicil*, a princely title exclusive to the sons and brothers 'of the major policies' rulers, as the sultans of Ternate and Tidore. She was the 'queen' (*rainha*) in the Portuguese sources, mother of Sultan Tabarija (r. 1533-1535), who was the only Ternatan ruler to convert to Christianity after being driven to Goa.<sup>53</sup> He died in Melaka while returning home, probably murdered by order of his substitute, Sultan Hairun (r. 1536-1570), who would become the great Ternatan ruler during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The sultans of Ternate and Tidore were also the only kings in Maluku who married with princesses coming from prestigious religious centres from outside the archipelago, such as the Philippine Islands, Sulawesi, Timor or the Raja Ampat Papuan archipelago. However, none of these wives acquired the status of a 'queen' or mother of the future heirs to the throne. Although such marriage alliances often sealed defensive agreements and reinforced friendly trading and warring connections, usually they also reflected the imposition of taxes and relations of political subjection in respect of which the head of a village or of a larger ethnic group paid tribute by handing over her sister or her daughter to the sultan.

As Andaya figured out, in the royal marriages the role of Tidore seems to be 'wife-giver' regarding Ternate,



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the 'wife-taker'.<sup>54</sup> However, the rajas or sultans of Tidore occasionally took a Ternatan princess, though they used to take wives from major kingdoms of Maluku other than Ternate.<sup>55</sup> Reciprocal wife-exchanging usually did not occur, avoiding situations in which political hierarchies among rulers and the political effect intended to be achieved through royal unions would be partially lost. This practice particularly prevented a cloistered offspring resulting from excessive cross-cousin marriages. Thus, for the purpose of preserving self-identity, the relatively autonomous political entities should have taken into account the imperatives of royal blood exogamy.

Anthropological studies carried out in the field during the past 40 years showed that the political structures were based on consanguineous marriage between cross-cousins,<sup>56</sup> the kings and the heads of the villages being interconnected by family ties favoured by the practice of polygamy. In the Portuguese and Spanish sources, the sultans of Ternate and the raja of Jeilolo are said to have had more than 300 women. Despite the symbolic amplification of this number,<sup>57</sup> there is no doubt that the political system was found on the circulation of women. They played—and still play—in the Malay world a very important political role, even when they stay fairly invisible.

Being strongly effective at the level of royal kinship, the observance of non-reciprocal marriages and the adoption of wife-giver and wife-taker practices would also have taken place on a lower level, namely among the *sangaji* and the *khimalaha* families, although no Iberian evidence exists to support such a premise beyond a fair degree of reasonable doubt. Unfortunately, the Jesuit Marcos Prancudo failed to give positive examples:

In these parts is very common that relatives marry to relatives in such a way that sometimes a brother is found married to his sister, at least cousin to his cousin, uncle to his niece, brother-in-law to his sister-in-law. Neither have they found this extraordinary. Besides that, these honourable men take for a great insult by marrying lower women that they are. And the kings and the lords are so related and linked to each other, that they hardly find a woman who is not their close kin.<sup>58</sup>

A *khimalaha*<sup>59</sup> was often the head of a *kampung*, or *soa*, that is, one of the two or more segments in

which each village was divided,<sup>60</sup> consistent with the definition given in 1607 by the first Spanish governor of Maluku, Juan de Esquivel (1606-1608): '*guimala* is like a headman of a neighbourhood'.<sup>61</sup> The social status and the political power that were endowed to the *khimalaha* did not cease increasing until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the peripheral areas like Moro.<sup>62</sup> They appear in the oral narratives as playing an important role in extending the influence of the Sultan of Ternate to new areas as the Sula islands. Around 1618, the representatives of the Sultan of Ternate in Hitu, on the island of Ambon, were recruited among the leading Tomagola, one of the most important families in the sultanate whose members held the *kimalaha* title.<sup>63</sup> By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, they lead the opposition to the Dutch in Ambon, in close coordination with the Sultan of Makassar.<sup>64</sup> As a source of power, the use of this Ternatan title—'*guimalaes* are like [European] titled holders'<sup>65</sup>—expanded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century up to Mindanao along with the use of *sangaji*,<sup>66</sup> also attested in Timor during the same period.<sup>67</sup>

The local kingdoms having not evolved politically towards the creation of a single hegemonic state, the system of succession to the throne, which was regulated by a set of customary dispositions, would therefore find no response within the tradition. Probably, a king who would rule over the entire Maluku Islands should have to seek his 'queen' abroad, in a larger regional frame than the Malukan micro-states felt inclined to interact with, though one of the main wives of the Sultan of Ternate Abu Lais (r.1501-1521), sometimes erroneously believed to be the 'queen' in some Portuguese sources, has been registered as a Javanese princess.<sup>68</sup> Such episodes were quite rare despite the suitable conditions for navigation and maritime communications over long distances. These kingdoms sustained political relations excessively centred in the Maluku cultural area. However they also established diplomatic, trading and kin relations to distant powers that played a limited role, so as to confer prestige to the rulers. The few known examples of royal marriages with wives from outside Maluku, either Javanese or Papuan princesses, shows that only exceptionally have they generated candidates to the throne. However, António Galvão registered an oral version concerning the introduction of Islam in Ternate that assigned a major role to a Javanese princess married to the raja Tidore Vongui, who would be the first Malukan ruler to become a sultan around 1465.<sup>69</sup>

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The islands are more complex realities than their small-sized territories would suggest. More than a microcosm, the islands' realm is the whole known universe for the people living in it. The ecological constraints being hardly surmountable, the Malukan people preferred an unstable balance of powers and the division of spheres of influence between the Portuguese and the Spaniards to a definitive victory of a single party. For this reason the Portuguese, though often successful in war, faced enormous difficulties to deal with the Spaniards and their supporters. Only on a few occasions did they feel powerful enough to act as if they had really mastered Maluku. They usually feared a general uprising by the different kings against them. For this reason, the first captain of Maluku, António de Brito, started the practice of keeping the sultan of Ternate in a golden cage, along with other young candidates to the throne, all sons of the deceased Sultan Abu Lais (r.1501-1521). The successors of António de Brito continued to hold the sultan as their hostage to prevent the natives from delivering a coup against the fortress.

The Portuguese also succeeded in imposing native authorities to the sultanate by manipulating their election for the job during the childhood of the sultan, or removing those that were not favourable to their purposes, as *kaicil* Tarrawese, who after being declared 'perpetual regent' by the Portuguese in 1530, came to be sentenced to death and executed by them in the following year, under Captain Gonçalo Pereira.<sup>70</sup> His position was locally designated as *Patih*,<sup>71</sup> except when the person exerting it was from royal blood, being then called *kaicil*, a title that was the exclusive of the uncles, brothers and sons of the kings, as already mentioned above. Thus, the Portuguese interfered deeply in the internal politics of the sultanate of Ternate, transforming it for a brief period into a sort of protectorate and conditioning its relationship with the neighbouring polities.

## ROYAL POWER AND POLITICAL CENTRALISATION

The process leading to the formation of state entities in the Malay Archipelago is fairly well known. The explanations that have been advanced are essentially speculative and based on the minimal available evidence. In these regions it seems to have been a fairly wide range of forms of political centralisation, since

the fledgling confederation of villages—they were to a degree only slightly more centralised than the mere tribal organisations—to kingdoms that arose from them. The political system in Ternate kept much of its traditional basis. The Council of Elders appointed members of the four main families to government posts, a practice originally intertwined with the formation of the state itself. The role of the Council of Elders was similar across the Eastern Archipelago. On the islands of Banda, this representative body maintained the prestige and primacy under the Dutch rule until a late period. In Ternate it represented, according to the tradition, the four main lineages or primal *soa*, which joined five others families said to have come from abroad and that would have settled on the shores of the island. Hence the designation of the Council of Elders in Ternate: *Soa Sio* or the nine families. This powerful institution is mentioned very few times in the Portuguese sources, often in a rather inadequate and ambiguous—but also significant—way, as the 'uncles' of the sultan.

After a period of fighting each other, a new rotating system of government among *momole*, or leaders of each of the four primal *soa* arose. The *momole* then elected becomes the *kolano* or king. The consolidation of royalty, whose unifying role is evident, appears to have been accelerated in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century after the advent of Islam. The remaining *momole* from the four main families—Tomagola, Tomaitu, Marsaoli and Limatahu—were elected by the *Soa Sio* for government posts, which were his distinctive mark. These positions were, in descending rank, *Jou-gugu* or prime minister, the *Pinate*, finance minister and chief judge—a sort of 'general provider', according to the Portuguese sources—the *Hukum*, minister of justice, interior and police, and the *Sadaha*, defense minister. The most important lineage was the Tomagola, which owned the *Jou-gugu* hereditarily. As a principle, the royal successor comes from the main wife of the king chosen in this lineage. The *momole* from the four major lineages form a new palace aristocracy—the *Fala Raha*—which held the main functions in the Council of Elders, including electing the king.<sup>72</sup>

Royal primogeniture had a different meaning than the one assigned to it in the European monarchies. Admitting a variable number of candidates it often caused short crises of succession. The sultan's successor should be either a younger brother of the deceased



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monarch, son of the same mother, the main widow of the previous sultan—the ‘queen’ in the Portuguese sources—or, if there was none, another brother or the son of a legitimate royal spouse. The sultan’s sons born from concubines were excluded from the succession and were dubbed as ‘bastards’ in the Iberian sources.<sup>73</sup>

*The islands are more complex realities than their small-sized territories would suggest. More than a microcosm, the islands’ realm is the whole known universe for the people living in it.*

Assuming that the rules for royal succession date back to the pre-Islamic period and that they would have remained unchanged, P.R. Abdurachman rightly refuses the legitimacy of the will imposed by the Portuguese authorities and enacted in 1545, in Melaka, by Sultan Tabarija, appointing his successor to be the King of Portugal.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, other cases should be also considered in which the opinion and desire of the king were taken into account, despite the political body composed by the brothers of the deceased king having a decisive vote on matters concerning the royal succession. Though a candidate was unlikely to succeed without the sanction of this council, it was not impossible to accomplish it, given the reverence regarding the last wishes of the deceased king in the choice of his successor. This happened once again in the 1560s, when Sultan Hairun, adopting a position contrary to his brothers, withdrew the inheritance of the throne from his eldest son Mandar Syah, designating precisely his ‘bastard’ Baab Ullah to succeed him.<sup>75</sup> The supposed reluctance by the council to acknowledge Baab Ullah during the days of sultan Hairun, which is rather doubtful, gave way to a sense of earnestness and pragmatism that would have prevailed among the Ternatan royal family and authorities after his death.

According to Diogo do Couto, Sultan Baab Ullah, who succeeded Hairun in 1570, was said to be a ‘bastard’ chosen by his father but not a usurper.

According to him, there was also a consensus concerning the need to prevent a weak leadership against the Portuguese. The Portuguese sources recorded that since Diogo Lopes de Mesquita had ordered Sultan Hairun to be murdered, the succession in the person of the eldest son of the Queen Putri, the ‘princess’ of royal lineage—the *permaisuri*, a term that designates the principal wife of the sultan<sup>76</sup>—ceased to be kept in Ternate. While the heir, Mandar Syah, was still a minor—who would be finally assassinated—the crown passed to Sultan Baab Ullah (r.1570-1585), considered to be the most able to lead the war against the Portuguese on account of his personal skills that would be actually evidenced when he seized the Portuguese fortress in 1575. Argensola tells how the enthronement of Sultan Baab Ullah was recognised by all the kings and *sangaji* of Maluku in a public Islamic ceremony that took place in the Great Mosque.<sup>77</sup> Baab Ullah, in his turn, appointed another ‘bastard’ to be his successor, the future Sultan Sayd Berkat (r.1585-1606). As in the case of his predecessor, the ascent to the throne of Sayd Berkat was not affected carelessly, since he could count on the support of an uncle, also said to be a ‘bastard’, and collected supporters through the distribution of large bribes.<sup>78</sup> Also in Tidore, *kaicil* Kotta, the legitimate heir, was set aside for the benefit of his brother, *kaicil* Mole (r.1599-1627), whose popularity, charisma and ability to raise supporters met the royal will of the previous Sultan Gapi Baguna (r.c.1577-1599), anticipating a possible crisis to occur after his death.<sup>79</sup> One should conclude that the rules for royal succession came to be quite fluid in Maluku during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the European interference.

## CONCLUSION

In the Maluku islands the first reliable estimate of the local population dates back to 1534, under the Governor Tristão de Ataíde,<sup>80</sup> almost twenty years after the Portuguese ships started to regularly visit the islands and twelve years after the founding of the first permanent settlement. Ataíde is also the first to mention the different governing functions at the Ternatan court, though he only named the *pinate*, the minister who collected tributes and ran the sultan’s finances. The *Patih*, a title imported from Java to designate a kind of prime minister, would only be first mentioned around 1545.<sup>81</sup>

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The Portuguese also conveyed some misconceptions about how the presumptive heirs ascended the throne after the death of the rulers. The misconceptions about the sultans' descendants were repeated again and again throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when those receiving the epithet of 'bastards', though not necessarily in a pejorative sense, were considered illegitimate children. This biased attitude in the way the Europeans regarded a kinship system different from their own was, after all, a fair justification to prerogatives apparently enjoyed by the son of the 'Queen' or the most important wife of the sultan and a key figure, serving their purposes of political dominance by manipulating a single strong ruler instead of controlling a rather diffuse system of family allegiances. This type of inaccuracies caused a rather inadequate representation of the political system as defined in the local *adat*, the traditional law of the sultanate orally transmitted over the generations. Due to governmental decisions often based on a consensual practice, even the most charismatic kings, as Sultan Hairun (r.1535-1570), depended to some extent of the Council on the Elders that in Ternate was called the *Soa Sio*, by bringing together the members of the royal family and the representatives of the most important families.

The analysis of the relations between the kings and the *sangaji*, often mentioned as 'governors' by both the Portuguese and the Spanish, emphasises that these minor 'rulers' rebelled with some ease against the local sultans. Indeed, a *sangaji* was a second-ranked ruler whose powers were hereditarily transmitted and by no means a governor appointed by a major king. The deficit in authority exhibited from time to time by the sultan of Ternate and Tidore should not be taken as a

lack of prestige and acknowledgement. Both sultans often justified the infringement of direct orders by the subjects as the result of their personal royal allegiance to the Portuguese and the Spanish. The rulers invoked powerlessness to be obeyed by their subjects as part of a double game they played to disguise their own duplicity while resisting to the Europeans demands.

From the inception, the European presence in Maluku was instrumental to the local rulers to reinforce their personal power. By invoking a sort of legitimacy that they never possessed, the rulers obtained support from the Iberians—as later they would get from the Dutch—to persecute alleged rebellions from communities that previously hardly tolerated close control procedures. According to L. Andaya, in the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the authority of the ruler was finally shaped at the resemblance of the European kingship, the main rulers becoming real kings and the people were either subdued or they rebelled against them.<sup>82</sup> This way, practices quite common across the archipelago were labelled as legitimate or illegitimate, creating one-sided views and stereotypes. J. Warren's statement that 'the dynamic interplay between raiding ... and investment in the maritime luxury goods trade ... was a major feature of the political economies of coastal Malay states'<sup>83</sup> can be easily telescoped to an earlier period in the history of Maluku. It would be difficult to think of alternative opportunities to Ternate and Tidore to accumulate such huge regional prestige and power other than those offered by the spice trade. The result of the political influence long acquired by Ternate through the control of imported goods matched the Portuguese efforts to impose a clove monopoly in Northern Maluku. This way the sultan authority was reinforced by his association with the Europeans. **RC**

## NOTES

1 The expression 'Spice Islands' appears for the first time in Portuguese in a letter from Jerónimo Gomes S.J. to the General of the Jesuits (Cochin, 14 January 1603, in *Documenta Malucensia*, II, edited and annotated by Hubert Jacobs S.J., Rome, IHSI, 1980, p. 608), referring to the Dutch who, he says, 'come to discover these islands of spice' ('*vem a descobrir estas ilhas da especiaria*'). The adoption of this expression in the Portuguese language seems to have been accomplished through a literary influence, not having been in use by the Portuguese authors during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, it corresponds exactly to the Spanish

expression in use since the preparation of the Magellan's expedition, the Moluccas being designated either as *Maluco* or, more vaguely, as the *Islas del Poniente* or *de la Especeria* and then simply *La Especeria*. This expression may have been borrowed from the Arab geographers, who, since the ninth century, referred to as the 'Island' or 'Islands of Perfume' (*Jazirat* or *Juzur al-Tib*), later identified with the Maluku and the Banda Islands (G. R. Tibbets, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material of South-East Asia*, Leiden and London, E. J. Brill for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979, p. 180).



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- 2 António Pinto Pereira, *Historia da Índia no tempo em que a governou o visorey dom Luis de Ataíde*, facsimile edited by Manuel Marques Duarte, Lisbon, INCM, 1987, p. 97.
- 3 *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, edited by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, IV: *Expediciones al Maluco. Viage de Magallanes y de Elcano*, Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1837, p. 96. See also Juan Gil, 'El entorno vasco de Andrés de Urdaneta (1525-1528)', in Susana Truchuelo García (ed.), *Andrés de Urdaneta: un hombre moderno*, Ordizia: Ayuntamiento de Ordizia, 2009, p. 331.
- 4 João de Barros, *Ásia. Dos Feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente*, 4 vols. (*Década Primeira, Segunda, Terceira* [1563<sup>1</sup>] and *Quarta* [1615<sup>1</sup>]), edited by Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias, Lisbon, Agência-Geral das Colónias, 1945-1948.
- 5 In this study were used, in addition to the edition quoted in the previous note, also the very old edition of the *Décadas* by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto (*Da Ásia - Décadas*, 24 vols., Lisbon, Régia Oficina Tipográfica, 1777-1788, reprint Lisbon, Liv. Sam Carlos, 1973-1974), and the critical editions of the *Década Quarta* and *Década Oitava* edited by Maria Augusta Lima Cruz: *Diogo do Couto, Década Quarta da Ásia*, 2 vols., Lisbon, CNCDP-FO-INCM, 1999 [vol. I: *Fixação do Texto*; vol. II: *Notas Históricas e Filológicas, Glossário e Índice de Antropónimos e Topónimos*], and *Diogo do Couto e a Década 8ª da Ásia*, 2 vols., Lisbon, CNCDP/INCM, 1993-1994 [vol. I: *Edição Crítica e Comentada de uma Versão Inédita*; vol. II: *Das Variantes entre as Duas Versões à Explicação de Um Texto Inédito. O Discurso Histórico*].
- 6 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, 2 vols., Lello & Irmão, Oporto, 1979.
- 7 C. R. Boxer, *João de Barros. Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1981, p. 7.
- 8 C. R. Boxer, 'Some Portuguese Sources for Indonesian Historiography', in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, edited by Soedjatmoko, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1965, p. 220.
- 9 Boxer, *João de Barros*, cit. pp. 113-114.
- 10 First published after the death of Galvão (*Tratado. Que compôs o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da Índia ás nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos*, Lisbon, João de Barreira, 1563), was published in 1601 by Richard Hakluyt in an abbreviated English translation, being reprinted six times until the Hakluyt Society published in 1862 the only bilingual edition so far (*The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555. Corrected, Quoted, and Published in England, by Richard Hakluyt (1601). Now Reprinted with the Original Portuguese Text and Edited by Vice-Admiral Bethune*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1862).
- 11 M. A. Lima Cruz (ed.), *Diogo do Couto e a Década Quarta da Ásia*, II, cit., pp. 43-44, 51, 155 and 235.
- 12 The manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, *Patronato* 46, ramo 29, is listed under no. 5823 in the *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, by Pedro Torres Lanzas and Francisco Navas del Valle, 9 vols. in 10 tomes, Barcelona, Impr. de la viuda de L. Tasso, 1925-1936.
- 13 Hubert Th. Th. M. Jacobs, S. J., *A Treatise on the Molucas (c. 1544) Probably the Preliminary Version of António Galvão's lost Historia das Molucas*, edited, annotated and translated into English from the portuguese manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Rome and St. Louis, USA, Historical Institute, Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits, III, 1971. This edition is desirable to the later Portuguese editions: 'Tratado de las Yslas de los Malucos y de los costumbres de los Indios y de todo lo demas', in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. VI, Lisbon, IICT, Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, 1988, pp. 5-160; *Tratado das Ilhas Molucas*, edited by Luís de Albuquerque and Maria da Graça Pericão, Lisbon, Alfa, 1989. The Portuguese editors assigned no authorship to the manuscript, nor seem to have had notice of the bilingual and critical edition carefully prepared by Father Jacobs.
- 14 Jacobs (ed.), *A Treatise on the Molucas*, cit., 'Introduction', p. 18.
- 15 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640', *The American Historical Review*, 112, 5, p. 1363.
- 16 Gabriel Rebelo, 'Informação das cousas de Maluco dadas ao senhor D. Constantino', in *Colecção de Notícias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas que Vivem nos Domínios Portugueses ou lhes São Vizinhas* etc., t. VI, Lisbon, Academia Real das Sciencias, 1856, pp. 143-312. This is the later version of 1569. In 1955 it was reprinted as 'Informação das Cousas de Maluco, Dadas ao Senhor Dom Constantino, Em que se tratão algumas novidades da natureza, e succintamente de seu descobrimento pelos portugezes e castelhanos, e de todas as armadas suas, que la forão, até Rui López de Villa Lobos, e a destruição das Fortalezas de Geilolo, e Tidore, em que se recolhião. Composto por Gabriel Rebello', in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. III, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955, doc. 35, pp. 348-508. The 1569 version was newly edited as 'Informação das cousas de Maluco' etc. (*ibid.*, vol. VI, cit., doc. 2, pp. 163-288.), but from a manuscript existing in the Charles Boxer's library, supposedly different from the one that existed in the Library of the Casa Cadaval from where it disappeared long since. The earlier 1561 version was also published in 1955 as the *História de Maluco, escripta no anno de 1561* (*ibid.*, vol. III, doc. 34, pp. 193-339).
- 17 Diogo do Couto, *Década Quarta da Ásia*, I, edited by M. A. Lima Cruz, cit., bk. VII, Ch. X, p. 394.
- 18 António Coimbra Martins, 'Introdução à leitura da Década Quarta', *ibid.*, pp. XXXVIII-LI. See also *ibid.*, p. 345, n. 8.
- 19 Barros, *Década Terceira*, Part One, cit., bk. V, Ch. X, p. 297. About this figure and his footprint in Maluku see Boxer, *João de Barros*, cit., pp. 110 and 138; António Borges Coelho, *João de Barros. Vida e Obra*, [Lisbon] GTMECDP, 1997, pp. 39 and 61; Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, 'Dos primórdios da imprensa cristã nas Filipinas e a sua relação com a cultura portuguesa no Oriente (1593-1640). Para uma história da leitura por portugueses nas Molucas entre 1523 e 1530', *Mare Liberum*, X, Dec. 1995, pp. 463-485, especially pp. 473 and sq.; also José Manuel Garcia, 'A grande aventura de Fernão de Magalhães na cronística portuguesa do século XVI', *Review of Culture / Revista de Cultura*, International Edition, series III, 17, 2006, pp. 84-104.
- 20 See António de Brito's warrant to Duarte de Resende give two bars of clove in Melaka to two Turks who repaired the ship *Santa Eufemia*, Maluku, 28 January 1525, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part II, bundle 123, doc. 133; Warrant to receive in Maluku sulphur and saltpetre from the scrivener of the ship *Santa Luzia*, whose former captain was Duarte de Resende, Maluku, 8 September 1525, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part II, bundle 128, doc. 77; Application for Duarte de Resende factor in Maluku on the clove and nutmeg bars loaded in the galleon *S. Lourenço* to Cochín, Maluku, 22 April 1528, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part II, bundle 147, doc. 119. We know that he returned to Melaka, where he arrived on 20 August 1527, as the captain of the ship *S. Pantalão* that he bought in Maluku, en route to Cochín (Barros, *Década Quarta*, cit., bk. I, Ch. XV, p. 55; L. F. Thomaz, *Os Portugueses em Malaca (1511-*

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- 1580, Bach. thesis, I, Lisbon, Faculty of Arts, 1964, pp. 205-206 and the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo's archival sources therein quoted, including the letter of Jorge Cabral, captain of Melaka, to King John III, Melaka, 10 September 1527, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part I, bundle 22, doc. 80, publ. in L. F. Thomaz, 'O malogrado estabelecimento oficial dos portugueses em Sunda e a islamização de Java', in *Aquém e Além da Taprobana. Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, edited by L. F. Thomaz. Lisbon: CHAM, 2002, p. 506.
- 21 Barros, *Década Terceira*, cit., bk. V, Ch. X, pp. 297-298; Queiroz Velloso, *Fernão de Magalhães. A Vida e a Viagem*, Lisbon, Editorial Império, 1941, pp. 62-63. About Duarte de Resende see also the short bio-bibliographic note inserted by Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana, historica, critica e cronológica*, vol. II, edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, Coimbra, Atlântida Editora, 1965, p. 214.
  - 22 Anonymous history also known as the 'Historia de Maluco no tempo de Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque e Sancho de Vasconcellos' and as the 'Relação dos Feitos eroicos em Armas que Sancho de Vasconcelos fez nas partes de Amboino e Maluco, sendo capitão em ellas vinte annos pouco mais ou menos...', in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. IV, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956, pp. 164-454.
  - 23 C. R. Boxer, 'Some Portuguese Sources for Indonesian Historiography', cit., p. 221.
  - 24 Manuel Marques Duarte, 'Introdução' to António Pinto Pereira's *Historia da Índia*, cit., pp. 19-20.
  - 25 Ana Gabriela Naré de Moraes Freire, *Novidades, Feitos e Murmúrios. Os Textos de 1561 e 1569 de Gabriel Rebelo, Oficial Português nas Molucas*, M.A. thesis, Universidade Aberta, Lisbon, 2003, p. 99.
  - 26 It is sufficient to recall that, unlike the well-known complete sequence of the sultans of Ternate, it is not known who the raja or Sultan ruling in Tidore from 1554 to the mid-1560s was, nor is it possible to establish an accurate chronology of all its rulers during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. See the gaps in the list of the kings of Tidore in H. Jacobs, 'General Introduction' to *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. I, cit., p. 4\*.
  - 27 Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century the knowledge of the Spanish archival materials on Maluku has progressed through the transcription of sources and catalogues relating to the Philippine Islands. Maria Bellén Bañas Llanos published a study of the sources concerning Maluku. Cf. 'Fuentes Hispanas para el Estudio de la Presencia Ibérica en las Islas Molucas', in Francisco Solano *et al.* (eds.), *El Extremo Oriente Ibérico. Investigaciones históricas: metodología y estado de la cuestión*, Madrid, AECE-CEH (CSIC), 1989, pp. 243-256, and also by the same author, *Las islas de las especias. Fuentes etnohistóricas sobre las Islas Molucas (s. XIV-XX)*, Cáceres, Universidad de Extremadura, 2000.
  - 28 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Madrid, Miraguano-Polifemo, 1992 (Madrid, 1609<sup>1</sup>; Madrid, Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1891<sup>2</sup>). Among those authors who while writing on the Philippines also gave a special attention to the history of Maluku it should be noted, in addition to Argensola, Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz (*Historia general de las Islas Occidentales a la Asia adyacentes, llamadas Filipinas*, vol. I (Part One), Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España, t. LXXVIII, Madrid, 1882) and Gaspar de San Agustín, OSA, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas, 1565-1615*, Madrid, CSIC, 1975.
  - 29 Almost one hundred and fifty letters from the private collection of D. Jerónimo de Silva covering 400 out of 564 pages of the 52<sup>nd</sup> volume in the Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España, from the period he ruled the Spanish forces in Maluku: *Correspondencia de Don Gerónimo de Silva con Felipe III, Don Juan de Silva, el rey de Tidore y otros personajes, desde abril de 1612 hasta febrero de 1617, sobre el estado de las islas Molucas, Sacada de una copia coetánea perteneciente a don Martín Fernandez de Navarrete*, Madrid, Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero, 1868.
  - 30 Hubert Jacobs S. J. (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. II (1577-1606), Rome, Instituto Historico Societatis Iesu, 1980, pp. 244-279.
  - 31 In 3 vols., edited and annotated by Hubert Jacobs S.J., Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1974-1984.
  - 32 Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'The image of the Archipelago in Portuguese cartography of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Archipel*, 49, 1995, pp. 79-124.
  - 33 Charles Wessels, *Histoire de la mission d'Amboine. 1546-1605*, Leuven, Museum Lessianum, 1930, translated by J. Roebroek from the 1926's Dutch original, *De geschiedenis der R.K. Missie in Amboina vanaf haar stichting door den H. Franciscus Xauerus tot haar vernietiging door de O. I. Compagnie. 1546-1605* [Mission in Ambon from its foundation by the Holy Francis Xavier until its destruction by the O.I. Company. 1546-1605], Nijmegen-Utrecht.
  - 34 'Novos documentos para a História das Molucas no tempo de S. Francisco Xavier', *Brotéria*, XIV, 5, 1932, pp. 278-288. See also *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens una seiner Nachbarländer zur Zeit des Hl. Franz Xaver (1538-1552)* [Contemporary sources on the History of Portuguese-Asia and its Neighbour Countries at the Time of Saint Francis Xavier], Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962.
  - 35 Paramita Rahayu Abdurachman, *Some Portuguese Loanwords in the Vocabulary of Speakers of Ambonese Malay in Christian Villages of Central Moluccas*, Jakarta, LIPI, Seri Lembaran Khusus, 1, 1972; id., 'In Search of Spices: Portuguese Settlements on Indonesian Shores', *The Indonesian Quarterly*, II, 2, Jan. 1974, Jakarta, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 113-133; id., 'Moluccan Responses to the First Intrusion from the West', in *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, edited by Haryati Soebadio and Carine H. du Marchie Sarvaas, Amsterdam, North Holland Publ. Co., 1978, pp. 161-188.
  - 36 A. Lapián, 'Bacan and the Early History of North Maluku', in *Halmahera and Beyond. Social Science Research in the Moluccas*, edited by Leontine E. Visser, Leiden, KITLV Press, 1994, pp. 11-22. R. Z. Leirissa, 'St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits in Ambon (1546-1580)', *Review of Culture / Revista de Cultura*, International Edition, series III, 19, 2006, pp. 53-63.
  - 37 C. R. de Silva, 'The Portuguese and the Trade in Cloves in Asia During the Sixteenth Century', *Studia*, 46, 1987, pp. 133-156.
  - 38 John Villiers is the author of several essays on the Portuguese presence in the Spice Islands and the Malay Archipelago: 'Trade and Society in the Banda Islands in the Sixteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15, 4, 1981, pp. 723-750 [reprinted as 'Da verde noz tomando seu tributo: the Portuguese in the Banda Islands in the Sixteenth Century', in *East of Malacca. Three Essays on the Portuguese in the Indonesian Archipelago in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, Bangkok, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1985, pp. 1-30]; id., 'De um caminho ganhar almas e fazendas: Motives of Portuguese expansion in eastern Indonesia in the sixteenth century', *Terrae Incognita*, 14, 1982, pp. 23-39; id., 'Makassar and the Portuguese Connection', in *East of Malacca*, cit., pp. 31-57; id., 'Manila and Maluku: Trade and Warfare in the Eastern Archipelago 1580-1640', *Philippine Studies*, 34, 1986, pp. 146-161; id., 'Portuguese Malacca and Spanish Manila. Two Concepts of Empire', in *Portuguese Asia*, edited by R. Ptak, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987, pp. 37-57; id., 'As origens das primeiras comunidades portuguesas no Sueste Asiático', *Review of Culture*, 4, 1988, pp. 21-26; id., 'Las Yslas de Esperar en Dios: The Jesuit Mission in Moro 1546-1571', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22, 3, 1988, pp. 593-606; id., 'The Cash-crop Economy and State Formation in the Spice Islands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity. Rise and Demise*, edited by J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers, Singapore, Singapore University Press, 1990, pp. 83-105.
  - 39 A quite clear summary of Andaya mythic and territorial theory can be found in his 'Los primeros contactos de los españoles con el mundo



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- 41 A. B. Lapien, 'Bacan and the Early History of Northern Maluku', cit., p. 12. On the development of the Malay language as a *lingua franca* in Maluku see the same study, p. 20.
- 42 Cf. Alessandro Bausani, 'The First Italian-Malay Vocabulary by Antonio Pigafetta', *East and West*, new series, 11, 1960, pp. 229-248, *apud* Ch. F. Van Fraassen, 'The North Moluccas: A Historical Introduction to the Literature', in *The North Moluccas: An Annotated Bibliography*, edited by Katrien Polman, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1981, p. 32.
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- 45 Lionel de Lima to King John III, Melaka, 8 November 1527, in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. I, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954, doc. 29, p. 220.
- 46 H. Jacobs (ed.), *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, cit., Ch. XVIII, p. 102.
- 47 Enformação da christandade de Maluco (...) no anno 1588, in Jacobs (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. II, cit., doc. 73, p. 245.
- 48 Ibid., p. 246.
- 49 *Sengaji* or *sangaji* from the Javanese *sang*, the courteous article 'the' reserved for heroes, demi-gods, kings and other dignitaries, and *aji*, 'king', from the Sanskrit *adhipati* (see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1993, p. 59). It is an honorific title from Javanese origin, similar to *sangadipati*, Portuguese *sangue de pate*, in use in Timor and other Lesser Sunda Islands, being *Patih* a prime-minister or a head of a village or district. Argensola was the first who attempt to explain the origin of the term, though he advanced a pseudo-etymology: 'Sen Shah, which means Captain in Turkish', he says (*Historia de la Conquista*, cit. p. 30). The term was disseminated by way of the wide Ternatan political influence acquiring the rather inaccurate meaning of 'governor', as reported by a number of Portuguese and Spanish officials.
- 50 Ch. F. van Fraassen, 'Types of Sociopolitical Structure in North Halmaheran History', in *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat Konsep dan Strategi Penelitian*, edited by E. K. M. Masinambow, Jakarta, Leknas-Lipi, PT Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1980, p. 90 (reprinted in Roy F. Ellen (ed.), *Moluccas*, Special Issue of *Indonesia Circle*, 23, 1980, pp. 21-40). See also 'A influência europeia na tradição arquitectónica das ilhas Molucas. Alguns exemplos de Ternate, Tidore e Halmahera', *Review of Culture / Revista de Cultura*, International Edition, III series, 35, 2010, p. 123.
- 51 António Pinto Pereira, *Historia da Índia*, cit., p. 110.
- 52 Castanheda is among the earlier authors who distinguished between the said 'bastards' and the 'legitimate' princes of Ternate. See Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*, vol. II, cit., pp. 631-632.
- 53 Paramita Abdurachman, "'Niachile Pokaraga". A Sad Story of a Moluccan Queen', *Modern Asian Studies*, 22, 3, 1988, pp. 571-592.
- 54 On the role of wife-givers and wife-takers in the wider context of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, as in Maluku, see L. F. Thomaz, 'As cartas malaia de Abu Hayat, sultão de Ternate, a el-rei de Portugal e os primórdios da presença portuguesa em Maluco', *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, IV, 2003, pp. 409-411, who, though following a rather different approach than Andaya, reached to a similar conclusion.
- 55 An example of a royal marriage between the raja of Bacan and a daughter of the sultan of Ternate can be seen in Gabriel Rebelo, 'Informação das Cousas de Maluco' (1569), in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. III, cit., p. 494.
- 56 Ch. F. van Fraassen, 'Ternatan-Tidorese', in *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, edited by R.V. Weekes, London, Aldwych Press, 1984, pp. 782-783.
- 57 Gabriel Rebelo, in the later version of his 'Informação das cousas de Maluco' concluded in 1569, pointed out to these figures as 'errors' already circulating in his days. See Chapter One, 'Da nota dalguns principais erros que achei escritos de Maluquo' [Noticing some major errors that I found written about Maluku], in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. III, cit., pp. 351-352, similar in *ibid.*, vol. VI, cit., p. 169-170. According to him '[the raja of Jeilolo] was said to have four daughters and six hundred sons, which was not too many given he had three hundred wives, what was greatly untrue, since the five kings that existed in those islands ever altogether have one hundred sons, and this is clearly known because, sometime before we [the Portuguese] arrived, they made themselves moors, and at that time, along with the novelty of that law, they took many wives. The same [raja of] Jeilolo had not so many vassals, not to say sons' (*ibid.*, vol. III, Ch. 18, p. 269).
- 58 Marcos Prancudo to Diego Laínez, General of the Jesuits, Ternate, 12 February 1564, in Jacobs (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. I, cit., doc. 126, p. 424.
- 59 Ternatese *kimalaha* or Tidorese *gimalaha* (F. S. A. de Clercq, *Ternate. The Residency and Its Sultanate*, edited and transl. from the Dutch *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*, Leiden, Brill, 1890, by P. M. Taylor and M. N. Richards, Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, Digital Ed., 1999, Appendix II, p. 241, [www.sil.si.edu/digitalcollections/anthropology/ternate/ternate.pdf](http://www.sil.si.edu/digitalcollections/anthropology/ternate/ternate.pdf) accessed on 26.03.2007), *kimelaha* in the dialect of Tobelo, in North Halmahera. Guimola in the Portuguese, or *Guimala* in the Portuguese and the Spanish sources, refers to the Tidorese rendering (Luís Fernandes S.J. to the Provincial of the Jesuits, Alberto Laerzio, Ternate, 10 April 1606, in Jacobs (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. III, cit., doc. 1, p. 6; and Jorge da Fonseca S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Jesuits in Rome, Ternate, 8 April 1612, *ibid.*, doc. 59, p. 224.
- 60 Fraassen, 'Types of Sociopolitical Structure', cit., p. 95.
- 61 Copia de la carta que scriuió el Maestre de Campo [Juan Esquivel] á los reyes de Bool Don Miguel rey de Tontoli Tululio rey de Menado rrey de Bulan y Dongue Reyna de Cauripa á cada uno de por si en ventiseis de julio de mil seiscientos seis, in Relación de lo subcedido en las yslas del Maluco desde tres de mayo de mill y seiscientos y seis que dom pedro de acuña se fue dellas y quedo gouernandolas el Maestro de campo Joan desquiel e estado en que estan [hasta el 1er de Marzo de 1607], Archivo General de Indias, *Patronato* 47, 21, fl. 6.
- 62 Fraassen, 'Types of Sociopolitical Structure', cit., p. 96.
- 63 L. Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, cit., pp. 90 e 157.
- 64 Pero Francisco S.J. to the governor-general Joan Maetsuyker, Makassar, 5 September 1655, *The Jesuit Makasar Documents (1615-1682)*, edited and annotated by Hubert Jacobs S.J., Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1988, doc. 39bis, p. 128.
- 65 Governor Gerónimo de Silva to the king, 12 May 1615, in *Correspondencia de Don Gerónimo de Silva*, cit., p. 285.

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- 67 Alfredo Botelho de Sousa, *Subsídios para a História Militar Marítima da Índia (1585-1669)*, vol. II, 1605-1617, Lisbon, União Gráfica, 1948, p. 333.
- 68 Manuel Lobato, 'A man in the shadow of Magellan', cit., p. 111 and n. 65 and the source therein quoted.
- 69 Galvão says: a noble Javanese woman of *patih* descent (which in that region means a chief) arrived in these ships, and, because she was a person of such high rank, Tidore Vongi, king of Ternate, had married her; for her sake they became Muslims, in H. Jacobs (ed.), *A Treatise on the Moluccas*, cit., pp. 82-84. See also Manuel Lobato, 'The Introduction of Islam in the Maluku Islands (Eastern Indonesia). Early Iberian Evidence and Oral Traditions', in *Estudos Orientais. Volume Comemorativo do Primeiro Decénio do Instituto de Estudos Orientais (2002-2012)*, edited by Eva-Maria von Kemnitz, Lisbon, UCP, 2012, p. 70.
- 70 Francisco Palha to the king, Goa, 20 November 1548, in Luís de Albuquerque and José Pereira da Costa, 'Cartas de "Serviços" da Índia (1500-1550)', *Mare Liberum*, 1, 1990, p. 386.
- 71 Pate, Pati or *Patih* is originally a Javanese title given to the prime-minister or *vizir*, or to a senior adviser of the ruler. In Maluku, although sometimes designating a governor, was frequently assigned to a mere head of a village (Pero Mascarenhas to the Jesuits of the Goa College, Ambon, 15 June 1570, in Jacobs (ed.), *Documenta Malucensia*, vol. I, cit., doc. 179, p. 597, n. 6), as it usually also happens to the title raja (Dieter Bartels, 'Politicians and Magicians: Power, Adaptive Strategies, and Syncretism in the Central Moluccas', in *What is Modern Indonesian Culture?*, edited by Gloria Davis, Athens, Ohio University, Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 52, 1979, pp. 285-286). In the Eastern Archipelago it appears most often in the form *sang adipati* (Portuguese 'sangue-de-pate'), designating a local prince (L. F. Thomaz, 'O malogrado estabelecimento oficial dos portugueses em Sunda e a islamização de Java', cit., p. 402, n. 85). Anthropologists usually place him hierarchically after the raja. However, according to the specific Malukan context under consideration, he is sometimes ranked to the second place, as in the Ambon Archipelago (Frank L. Cooley, 'Village Government in the Central Moluccas', *Indonesia*, 7, 1, 1969, pp. 143-144, n. 8), or the third, as in Seram (R. F. Ellen, 'Conumdrums about Panjandruns: On the Use of Titles in the Relations of Political Subordination in the Moluccas and along the Papuan Coast', *Indonesia*, 41, 1986, p. 54).
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- 73 Ibid., p. 581.
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- 75 Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, cit., p. 176.
- 76 P. R. Abdurachman, "Niachile Pokaraga". A Sad Story of a Moluccan Queen", cit., p. 574.
- 77 *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, cit., p. 80.
- 78 Couto, *Décima Década*, Parte Primeira, cit., bk. V, Ch. IV, pp. 506-509.
- 79 Argensola, *Conquista de las islas Malucas*, cit., pp. 149-58.
- 80 Tristão de Ataíde to king, Maluku [Ternate], 20 February 1534, in A. Basílio de Sá (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Insulíndia*, vol. I, cit., doc. 37, p. 321. The earlier figures in Tomé Pires's *Suma Oriental* were collected in Melaka from Indian or Chinese informants.
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- 82 Andaya, *The World of Maluku*, cit., p. 58.
- 83 James F. Warren, 'A Tale of Two Centuries: The Globalisation of Maritime Raiding and Piracy in Southeast Asia at the end of the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, 2, Jun. 2003, p. 3.