

Chapter 4

Political Organisation, 13th to 16th Centuries

Although a reference to the Moluccas can be found in almost every text written on fifteenth to eighteenth century Southeast Asia, any discussion relating to the islands rarely goes beyond the subject of trade, and directly connected to that, the coming of the Europeans and their impact, in the form of monopolistic impositions, on this trade. The origins and growth of the main centres of Moluccan authority has not been a subject of intensive study for most historians working in the area, nor has the state of Moluccan society in the period immediately before European contact and the period of first contact. This and the preceding chapter have looked at these aspects of Spice Island history in turn, beginning with Moluccan social development.¹ The Banda Islands present a contrast to the development of the Moluccas, both politically and socially, and this contrast is highlighted in the following discussion.

When discussing aspects of Moluccan political development, few sources are available which establish a clear picture of any such development, and fewer secondary sources have tackled the subject. The two most recent works, that of Leonard Andaya and John Villiers,² both use essentially the same sources and have arrived at very similar conclusions. Villiers makes some interesting comments concerning the early structure of Moluccan authority but does not follow these through, and he does the same for the Banda Islands. Essentially, he reproduces the information concerning the status of the *kolano* and the functionaries of his court as found in Galvão. Andaya has used this source also, and from it has developed the hypothesis of an imported authority structure

¹ The nature of these two topics overlap in some areas, therefore some repetition of information has occurred. This has been kept to a minimum, and the reader referred to the appropriate chapter for a fuller discussion.

² L. Andaya, *op.cit., passim.*; J. Villiers, *Spice Islands, op.cit., passim.*

superimposed on, but not subsuming, an indigenous structure. He constructs an argument which relies heavily on the acceptance of his assertion that there was a constant tension between these two authority structures, with the imported structure, based on the *kolano*, ultimately superseding the traditional structure. This chapter proposes an alternative view to Andaya's, based on Valentyn's account of the early reign of the Moluccan *kolanos* and on Galvão's description of the *kolano* and his court. It suggests that the early aggrandisement of Ternate necessitated the development of a bureaucracy which strengthened the position of the *kolano* from an early period. The consolidation of the position of the *kolano* was connected with trade, and with Islam, as Andaya suggests, but it was not a development of the sixteenth century. It was a process which began earlier.

Very little of the early history of the Moluccas is known. In general, the primary sources give only hazy accounts of the pre-European period. De Sousa incorrectly recorded that "of their Origen there is no account", and Galvão noted that the Moluccans had no knowledge of reading nor writing and hence kept no written record, chronicles or archives. Their history was transmitted orally, "by way of aphorisms, songs, and rhyming ballads, of which they are very fond."³ Literacy, if only among the ruling elite, was acquired along with the introduction of Islam in the course of the sixteenth century, but, as will be shown in this chapter, the lack of literacy among the Moluccans was not a bar to their establishment of a highly structured political organisation which extended past the immediate bounds of the Spice Island group. Valentyn gives detailed information concerning the early history of the islands, and his work reveals the complexity of the pre-Islamic authority structures. Deriving his information from a combination of accounts left by early European visitors to the region as well as indigenous accounts extant in his time, Valentyn's work is essential for an understanding of the pre-Islamic history of the islands. From these sources it has been possible to draw strands from legend and recorded data together and to present them as a plausible reflection of early development and state of Moluccan politics from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

While it is generally accepted that the structure of authority in the Moluccas developed from genealogically based groups to that of a

³ y Sousa, *op.cit.*, p.246; Galvão, *op.cit.*, pp.77, 85

centralised government,⁴ with this latter stage developing during the course of the sixteenth century, the earlier forms of Moluccan authority are not so clearly set out. References which have been interpreted as evidence of these genealogical groups are found in the early Moluccan legends related by Galvão and Valentyn (see below), but the sources do not begin to discuss political structure, as such, until the mid thirteenth century. Galvão talks of independent territories with individual communities 'guided' by elders, and the higher form of authority founded in the Islamic sultanate of Ternate, but he makes no mention of an interim period where an indigenous form of kingship developed. Galvão's lack of information on this point does not preclude the existence of this development. Nor is this development as simple as is assumed by Andaya, when he says "it is possible to piece together the transition from a kin-based society of more or less equal settlements led by elders ... to a more hierarchically organized society with a centralized government under the authority of a sultan and his chief ministers".⁵ In fact a wider reading of the sources presents clear evidence of a well-established form of kingship which developed and had functioned for two centuries before the Moluccan adoption of Islam. Valentyn, and later Crawfurd, discuss the existence and actions of Ternatan kings well before the Islamic period, and it is only when this period of indigenous kingship is acknowledged that some of the curious customs and taboos related by Galvão make sense.

Several legends, recorded by the European sources, purport to explain the origins of the Moluccan authority figures. The legend told by Galvão relates that Bikusigara, one of the principal men of Bachian, while sailing around the island saw a rattan shrub near some rocky peaks. The men sent to fetch them were unable to locate them. Bikusigara interpreted this as a sign to him. He went ashore and found them, but when he cut them they shed blood. Nearby, he noticed four serpent's eggs, "and he heard a voice saying that he should take and keep them because men of great importance were to be born from them." Presently, three men and one woman were born from the eggs, and the men became kings; one of Bachian, one of the Papuas, and the third of Butung and Banggai, while the woman became the wife of the king of Loloda. This, according

⁴ See, for example, P.R. Abdurachman, 'Moluccan Responses to the First Western Intrusions' in Soebadio, *op.cit.*, p.163 and Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.10

⁵ Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.2

to Galvão, "is said to be the origin of all the kings of these islands".⁶ Valentyn also gives a rather garbled account of this tale. He says that the kings of Tidore, Ternate and Bachian all claim to have come from the same dragon eggs. He then recounts Galvao's story of the four eggs, and explains that this is why the king of Bachian has the dragon emblem on his palace rather than the king of Ternate, even though the latter was acknowledged as the higher king. In another version told by Valentyn, the king of Bachan found four eggs from which thirteen heathen kings sprouted.⁷ The kingdoms to which these kings were born is not related.

These legends, in a slightly altered form, are also common to the Raja Ampat islands to the east of the Moluccas. One legend from Waigeo directly links those islands with the Moluccan island of Tidore. It relates that a man named Aylab and his wife, Boki Deni, tended a garden located near the mouth of the river running into the sea. In the garden stood a *bem* tree. One day Boki Deni found seven eggs under the *bem* tree and took them back to her house. The eggs were left on a porcelain plate out of sight. Seven days later from six of the eggs emerged human beings, the seventh egg had turned to stone. The six siblings became, respectively, Fun Giwar, raja of Waigeo, Fun Tusan of Salawati, Fun Mustari of Misol, Fun Kilimuri of South Ceram and Fun Sem who became a spirit. The only woman, Pin Take, was banished by her brothers to Numfor (in Irian Jaya) for falling pregnant. She gave birth to a son, Gurabesi, who later had links with Tidore.⁸

According to the recent study of the Moluccan political institutions by Leonard Andaya,⁹ these legends are an obvious indication that an indigenous form of leadership already existed, with such men in roles of authority and respect, before the appearance of the 'foreign' position of *kolano*. This is confirmed, to some extent, by the account of the Bikusigara legend related by Barros. This Portuguese source says that the "bestial people" of the islands had an account of their origins, attributing divine origins to their rulers. In "times past" the islands were governed by the elders. The story is similar to that related by Galvão, with the principal elder, Bikusigara, finding four eggs. From the eggs came the

⁶ Galvão, *A Treatise*, *op.cit.*, p.81

⁷ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, pp.131-132

⁸ A.C. van der Leeden, *The Raja Ampat Islands: A Mythological Interpretation*, Appendix 5, *Myth of Origin of the Four Raja Dynasties, or Raja Ampat'* in E.K.M. Masinambow (ed.), *Halmahera dan Raja Ampat sebagai kesatuan majemuk*, Jakarta, 1987, pp.213-214

⁹ Andaya, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

kings of Bachian, "Butam", the Papuas, and the wife to the king of Loloda, but according to Barros' account, from the princess and the ruler of Loloda descended the kings of Halmahera.¹⁰ This complements the opinions of the Moluccans, related in the previous chapter, concerning their foreign origins.

Andaya has identified what he says is a clear distinction between an indigenous political structure which evolved from the land and an imported structure (the *kolano*) associated with the sea, basing this on the figures of Moluccan legend - Bikusigara and Guna. He sees Bikusigara as an indigenous leader, acting in the capacity of 'Lord of the Land', whose authority was derived from his spiritual powers and whose position predated the establishment of the position of *kolano*. The basis for his distinction lies with the location of the eggs found by Bikusigara, that is, on the shore, and as such he sees them as being associated with the sacred forces of the sea. Andaya continually refers to this association between Bikusigara and the land, and the *kolano* and the sea, hence the foreign origin of the *kolano*. In doing so he has over-looked the more detailed account in Valentyn of the origins of the *kolano*, beginning with the Guna figure who is shrouded in a mythical aura similar to Bikusigara.¹¹

Guna, the head man of Tabona (the mountaintop village on Ternate), went into the forest where he found a rubbing stone of pure gold, supposedly brought to that place by a *djin*. The stone aroused the curiosity of his own and the neighbouring villagers. Tiring of this unwanted attention, Guna passed the rubbing stone on to Molamattiti, head man of the village Fola Madji, where the pattern repeated itself. Molamattiti passed the stone to Tsjitsjo, head man of the beach village of Sampaloe. Tsjitsjo fortunately had the ability to handle both the stone and the curious villagers, and because of this was honoured with the title of *kolano* by the heads of what Valentyn calls the 'special' villages.¹² Tsjitsjo, as *kolano*, moved his residence to Tabona, it being the first of the

¹⁰ Barros, in D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol.I, Chicago, 1965, p.607. Lach mistakes the 'Papuas' here for New Guinea, when in fact they are the islands of the Raja Ampat, lying between Halmahera and New Guinea.

¹¹ Andaya appears to have relied for his account of Guna on a general section in Valentyn's work, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*. The chapters written in the sections *Molukse Zaaken* and *Beschryving der Moluccos* give more detailed information than the general history sections.

¹² Andaya, *op.cit.*, pp.81-83; Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.134

'special' villages named by Valentyn and the "origin of all Ternatan kings".¹³

Andaya agrees with Valentyn in so far that he sees Guna as being the precursor to the *kolano* figure of Tsjitsjo, and he uses the Guna figure to substantiate his argument by drawing attention to the foreign nature of Guna's name (meaning 'luck' in Malay). He then says:

Every aspect surrounding the establishment of the *kolano* on the island of Ternate is therefore associated with an outside force. The settlement of the *kolano* is now meaningfully located on the seacoast, away from its origins on the mountaintop.

It is not apparent from Andaya's account how Guna is related to the *kolano* figure and it is not clear that Guna is not a *kolano* himself. Nor does he explain why the settlement was relocated to the shore when Guna found his sacred object on the mountaintop.

A first problem to be addressed here is the lack of a definition for the term foreign. Although Andaya consistently maintains that the *kolano* was of foreign origin, he does not define foreign, and actually presents the concept as 'foreign', indicating it may mean something other than the usual interpretation. Does 'foreign' mean in a spiritual/mythical sense, implied by the Guna legend, or does it mean 'foreign' physically, from a neighbouring or distant island? The definition applied in this thesis is that 'foreign' means from outside the Moluccas, that is, not from Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian, Bachian or Halmahera/Gilolo. More significantly, no suggestion is put forward by Andaya as to the origin of the *kolano*, other than in myth. Other scholars have made suggestions concerning the origin of the Moluccan population, and Valentyn himself proffers the information that the "most important place" for the kings of the Moluccas was Gilolo.¹⁴ According to Abdurachman, Ternate was settled by an exodus from Halmahera in the thirteenth century;¹⁵ his sources indicate that before this exodus Halmahera had already departed from the village authority as described by Galvão, and had established a social hierarchy based on the recognised position of king, or *kolano*, as described by Valentyn. His information also indicates that the *kolano* figures were warlike and based their rule on territorial conquest, probably in their immediate environs first, and then extending to neighbouring

¹³ *Loc.cit.* The following detail of the succession of the Ternatan *kolanos* has been taken from this section of Valentyn's work.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.127

¹⁵ Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, p.163

territories. The history of this period, as recorded in Valentyn, relates that the *kolano* figure did emerge from these immigrants, but some time after their settlement on Ternate. Are they still to be defined as foreign?

Further, when explaining later political institutions, particularly the office of the *kolano magugu*, Andaya argues that the prefix *ma-* and the rootword *gugu*, meaning 'grasping a handful of earth in one's hand', which appear in the Ternatan, Tidorese and Raja Ampat languages as *jogugu*, *jojau* and *rejao* respectively, are indicative of the intimate association of these figures with the land, as opposed to the 'foreign' introduction of the *kolano* figure, associated with the sea. While implying that Bikusigara was a *magugu*, or 'Lord of the Land', Andaya then admits that there is no direct reference to the position of *jogugu/jojau* being 'Lord of the Land' in the Moluccas. Without knowing the origins of the position of *magugu*, or when the position was created, there is little to say about it other than that, by the sixteenth century, it was a respected and honoured position. In essence, while it is conceded that the *kolano* was of foreign origin, the term needs to be defined and qualified in the light of Valentyn's evidence of a permanent settlement of Halmaherans on Ternate.

A second point of confusion is that the term 'indigenous' is not defined, and so it is unclear whether Andaya is referring to an indigenous population of *alfuros*¹⁶ who predate Guna and Bikusigara, or whether these figures were *alfuros* themselves. Only Barros' account gives any indication that the Bikusigara figure relates to an indigenous Moluccan population. It is implied by Valentyn that Guna was part of the Giloloan exodus and so represents the early stages of political development which reached its zenith in the person of the *kolano*; as he notes that in the exodus from Gilolo, Bachian and Tidore were destinations for migrants, as well as Ternate. Without more substantial evidence from the sources (or associated disciplines) more decisive answers will be found wanting.

A further point to consider in Andaya's article is that he does not indicate to what time frame his argument applies. Galvão recounts that Bikusigara was operating after contact had been established with Chinese merchants. One of the earliest written references in the Chinese sources

¹⁶ The *alfuros* are defined by Jacobs as the aboriginal people of the Moluccas, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, p.367

relating to the Moluccas is found in the *Zhufan zhi*, dating to c.1225;¹⁷ obviously contact was made before this time, and so a general date of the early thirteenth century is proposed as a time frame for Bikusigara. Guna, according to Valentyn, found his sacred object in the middle of the thirteenth century. Trying to reconcile these legends presents considerable difficulties, but they do provide some details from which a speculative chronology can be created. Bikusigara belongs to the early thirteenth century and very possibly earlier. He is representative of the indigenous population which functioned in kin-based groups, governed by elected elders. This much is found in Galvão and Barros. Concurrently with this authority structure in the Moluccas, a higher form of political development was taking place on Halmahera, particularly in the centre of Gilolo. This development reached its height with the recognition of a *kolano* figure, probably in the early decades of the thirteenth century. From the middle of that century, the tyrannical rule of the Gilolo *kolano* caused many of his subjects to flee to Ternate, Bachian and Tidore. There they established villages and elected their leaders. From among these leaders one was eventually elected over his peers or won his position by strength and aggressive leadership, and the creation of the Moluccan *kolano* had begun. This chronology foreshadows the political development which occurred in the following centuries, and which is documented in the sources. Andaya's argument, however, leaps from the Bikusigara period to the early sixteenth century, without any discussion or acknowledgement of the development of the institution of *kolano*. His emphasis on the foreign nature of the *kolano* is the dominating theme. His argument, however, leaves the impression that he is relying on the knowledge of the later *kolanos* and their relationship with the sea (based on their control of the clove trade), to try and establish a strong connection between the early *kolanos* and the sea, based on their 'foreign' origin.

A tentative suggestion is offered here concerning a possible connection between the legends of the Moluccans and the later contacts with the Javanese. The previous chapter showed that the Moluccans had consciously adopted a number of cultural objects from the western archipelago, principally Java. These were then considered as part of the Moluccan culture. Hindu Java revered Siva, 'Lord of the Mountain', and

¹⁷ See R. Ptak, 'The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea - Sulu Zone - North Moluccas' in *Archipel* 43, 1992, for a summary of the early Chinese works relating to the North Moluccas.

had "merged its traditional indigenous symbols of divinity and power with Indian cosmological symbolism and religious theory to form an ideological basis for [its] kingship".¹⁸ This process may have been repeating itself in the Moluccas. It is then possible that the Guna figure, directly connected with the mountain top, may have also been adopted, consciously or unconsciously, by the Moluccans to explain the supernatural and sacred ancestry of their rulers.

While it is not specifically stated in Galvão's account of the early structure of the Moluccans, it appears that the pre-Islamic society described by him was the indigenous kin-based society discussed above, consisting of a number of independent territories, within which separate communities existed. These communities did not recognise a king, but rather were guided by the consensus decision of the elders.

Every place was independant, with its own territory and boundaries. They lived together in communities, but everyone at his own convenience. They were ruled by the voices of the eldest....¹⁹

It is suggested that this oligarchy of elders was the political forerunner to men such as the Bikusigara figure, a "principal man" of his island. Galvão does not discuss this development, but his account of the constant warfare between settlements establishes the opportunity for a strong central figure to arise. Apart from the fact that several sources describe the Moluccans as war-like, no other reason is given for this constant state of skirmish-cum-warfare. It may have been the result of boundary disputes, or of a perceived unfair exchange, or, as the sources suggest, simple blood-lust. This continual state of conflict provided the opportunity for some to rise above the established social structure and set the foundations for a new one. Galvão records that "they first had captains and governors rather than kings and lords",²⁰ inferring that the Moluccan states were initially constructed on militaristic foundations, rather than any sense of kingship.

¹⁸ K.R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, Sydney, 1985, p.5; see also P.Wheatley, *The Kings of the Mountain* Kuala Lumpur, 1980, *passim*.

¹⁹ Galvão, *A Treatise*, *op.cit.*, p.77

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.79. A further point here is the name 'Malamo' in the names of a number of later *kolanos*. Jacobs lists the word '*momole*' in his glossary, and notes that among the *alfuros* of Halmahera '*mole*' or '*moli*' meant the eldest son as guardian of his brothers. On Ternate, the title '*carrachel momole*' meant 'valiant knight'. Perhaps there is some connection between the re-occurrence of this name and the activities of the *kolanos* who bore the name.

The indigenous population is virtually neglected in the sources from this point. The settlers from Halmahera, having established themselves in permanent settlements, continue to develop their political structures around the position of *kolano*. There is no indication that the indigenes inter-mixed with the settlers, and, as shown in the preceding chapter, later in Moluccan history they are found in positions very much subordinate to the settlers.²¹

The government of the elders is not described, as such, in Valentyn, but the legacy of that arrangement is perhaps seen in the later institution of the *menteris*, or council of elders as advisors to the *kolano*. Although suggestions have been proposed, how the position of *kolano* developed from this council is not clear. Galvão and Valentyn both offer explanations. As noted above, Galvão believes that it was the incessant warfare between village groups which gave men of ambition and strength the opportunity to rise above the controlling authority of the elders. Valentyn uses the myth (related above) featuring Guna, Molomattiti and Tsjitsjo, which introduces the concept of village head men as distinct from the council of elders, to describe the progression from one authority structure to another, that of the *kolano*. Tsjitsjo is the Chicho mentioned in Crawford,²² and it is from his assumption of the title *kolano* that Valentyn begins his chronology of the line of Ternatan *kolanos*.

By 1250 Ternate's population occupied at least three villages. Tabona was the oldest village that the natives spoke about, and Valentyn names it as the home of the first Ternatan *kolano*, Chicho, who reigned from 1257 to 1277. He also names Sampaloe in the above account as Chicho's home on the beach. The second village was Fola Madjahi, located half way down the mountain and the third was Sampaloe, which was built on the beach. The town of Gama Lamo was later built on the site of this village.²³

Chicho, honoured as the highest ranking man among several villages, fulfilled an important requirement of leadership. His position as *kolano* was reinforced as a special or 'chosen' privilege by virtue of having been chosen by supernatural forces, consequently his authority became

21 To avoid confusion the term Moluccans will refer to the immigrant population of the islands, as it was this population which was responsible for their economic development. The indigenous population is referred to as the *alfuros*.

22 Crawford, *A History, op.cit.*, Vol.III, p.482. The spelling of names will be taken from Crawford rather than Valentyn as the later often uses more than one orthography for the same name.

23 Valentyn, *Beschryving, op.cit.*, p.10

'divinely' sanctioned - the council of elders were relegated to a secondary position. This 'luck', or the favour of supernatural forces, was a common element in many Southeast Asian foundation legends. It is found in the Javanese *babads*, and also in the traditions of the Bugis and Makassarese of Celebes, where the chosen person (not always a male) was recognised by their identification of the unusual qualities of an apparently ordinary object.²⁴ This is evident in the Moluccas in Bikusigara's discovery of the unusual reeds and Guna's initial discovery of the stone.

Vlekke, in his work *Nusantara*, asserts that while the Moluccas had been inhabited for many years, it was actually sailors and traders from other islands who settled on the coasts of the islands who formed the basis of the developing political system. Among them, "the richest merchant automatically became the leader, and, after a while, he took the title of raja or king". These settlers drove the native inhabitants into the interior of the islands.²⁵ Vlekke's supposition can be discounted for two reasons; the first is that Valentyn shows that there is an established authority structure in place in Ternate by the mid-thirteenth century, and secondly, this authority structure was a development which took place at least half a century before the first recorded 'foreigners' on the island, that is, the settlement of Javanese and Malays.²⁶

Kolano Chicho reigned from Tabona until his death in 1277. His authority extended to the other two villages on Ternate, and in his twenty year reign he "never abused his power." From his reign until that of Pacharanga Malamo in 1317 the title of *kolano* was inherited through a direct patrilineal line. Chicho was succeeded by his son Poit, who ruled only seven years before being "helped out of this world" in 1284 by his brother and Chicho's second son, Siale. Under this *kolano* the Ternatans were subjected to raids from their immediate neighbours, Tidore, Makian and Bachian as well as Gilolo. A strong leader, Siale was able to deflect these damaging forays, and so his power and prestige increased, as did the number of people under his dominion. Accordingly, he moved his centre of power from Tabona to Fola Madji.

24 B. Watson Andaya, 'Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, Vol.I, Cambridge, 1992, pp.403-404

25 B.H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia*, The Hague, 1959, p.53

26 The date is recorded in the chronological tables in Crawford, *A History, op.cit.*, Vol.III, p.483

Events which took place during the reign of this *kolano* show that by the late thirteenth century several of the other Moluccan islands were populated and organised into communities powerful enough to mount an attack on a neighbour. These populations were also said to have originated from Halmahera, and so it is suggested that they developed at a commensurate, though not necessarily an identical, rate. Much less can be gleaned from the available sources concerning the development of the Moluccan islands other than Ternate. By 1284 Bachian was acting aggressively towards its neighbours, though it did not recognise its first king for another thirty-eight years.²⁷ It was perhaps operating under the domination of individual village leaders, as did Ternate in its early stages of development. By the late thirteenth century the Tidorese already had their own king, and he was recognised as a most powerful king, second only to that of Ternate. Gilolo also had retained its king, but had lost significant power and prestige to Ternate.

Siale was succeeded by his eldest son, Kalebata, in 1298. Kalebata was a child-king, ruling only until his fifteenth year, when he was succeeded by his son, Komala. The extreme youth of these successive *kolanos* indicates that the government of the elders still remained and presumably was functioning in a regency capacity until the maturation of the heir. In fact it was in this *kolanos* reign that the elders regained some of the control they had lost when Chicho was elevated above his peers. Komala had one son destined for succession, but according to Valentyn, this son, Abderama, was a cruel and unworthy heir, and Komala gave his word to the people that he would not choose Abderama, but rather, the people could make their own choice. This took place in 1309, and from this year Komala could not make decisions without consulting the elders. Feeling that he had lost his honour, Komala retired in 1317 and the kingdom passed to his brother, Pacharanga Malamo.

During these years the Ternatan island was opened up to traders from Java and Malaya. Contact with the western archipelago had been made some time before his rule (Chinese had settled there in 1278) but the extent and nature of that contact is not recorded. Komala's wife was a Malayan woman, and through her foreign traders were encouraged to come to Ternate. Galvão has suggested that the first traders were either Chinese, or Javanese and Malayan, and Abdurachman has noted that it

²⁷ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.123

was the Chinese who first taught the Moluccans to dry their cloves, and it was also the Chinese that made the clove trade "international".²⁸

Also during Komala's reign, the Ternatans began the process of extending their sphere of influence among neighbouring islands. Expeditions against Gilolo and the conquest of some villages on Tidore were undertaken. From this period dates the beginning of Ternatan hegemony of its neighbours and the rise of Ternate as a powerful centre of authority in the region. The very fact that Ternate was sufficiently organised by the early fourteenth century to conduct wars of acquisition outside its established territorial boundaries is indicative of a relatively high state of internal organisation within the Ternatan authority structure. The roles of leader, in both a civil and military capacity, and that of purely military commanders must have been well established by this stage - only eighty years since the conception the *kolano* as an individual figure of authority.

Komala's reign was significant for several reasons. The departure from the established patrilineal succession was a radical political development which gave a permanent role in the decision making process back to the elders of the community. Having experimented with hereditary rulers the Ternatans were content to choose their leaders on the basis of merit, although the future *kolanos* were all blood relations or tied by marriage to the 'founding' *kolano*, Chicho. Ternate was opened up in Komala's reign to foreign traders. Although the Chinese had had some dealings with the island in earlier years, there is no evidence to suggest a permanent settlement of these traders so it may be assumed that they were itinerant. The sources do, however, indicate that it was the Chinese that were responsible for introducing other western merchants to the produce of the Moluccas. The Javanese and Malay merchants who followed the spice route did establish themselves on Ternate, and some elements of their group eventually became part of the Ternatan ruling class. The expansion of Ternate's power began under this *kolano*, already the object of hostile raids from neighbouring islands, Ternate itself became the aggressor, a role it often took in the following centuries.

Pacharanga Malamo ruled for only five years, but in that time extended Ternate's authority to several villages on Makian. He was succeeded by his eighteen year old nephew, Sida Aarif Malamo. The Arabic style of his name suggests a strong link between the *kolano* and the

²⁸ Galvão, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, p.79; Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, p.164

community of Javanese and Arab traders who had taken up permanent residence on Ternate during this period. According to Valentyn the *kolano* adopted this name because he "learned to do things differently" and "widened his horizons", but he does not elaborate on this information.²⁹ Sida Aarif Malamo's new prestige and his strong connections with the foreign traders aroused the jealousy of his neighbours, and they in turn initiated policies to attract those merchants to their own islands. Finally, in 1322 a confederation of the four recognised kings was formed, that is, Gilolo, Ternate, Tidore, and Bachian. The Moluccan kings had all gathered on Motir and concluded a treaty in which they decided upon their ranks in relation to one another.³⁰ In the long term this treaty did not stop the process of fighting and conquest; five decades later the Ternatan *kolano*, Gapi Baguna I, succeeded to the throne of Gilolo. Thereafter there existed only three Moluccan kingdoms, but the territories of these were never fixed, as conquest and counter-conquest won and lost territories for the remaining three *kolanos*. Obviously quite a lot of detail is missing from this account, but it indicates that the other islands in the Moluccas had reached a stage of political development commensurate with that of Ternate, and that they also had realised the value of the native produce for the western market.

Ternate carried on its policy of acquisition; in 1322 Motir came under its influence. The year before Ternate had conquered two villages on Makian, under the sixth Ternatan king, Pacharanga Mamalo, and later, in 1334, the entire island was conquered by the ninth king, Shah Alem.³¹ This island became a focus for dispute between the *kolanos* of Ternate and Tidore - it was retaken by a coalition from Tidore and Bachian in 1343, and then won back by Ternate in 1346. By the time the Portuguese arrived Makian had reverted to Tidorese control.³² The following decade, in 1357, Ternate won its war against Bachian. This did not result in territorial acquisition as inter-Moluccan relations take a new direction - here occurs

²⁹ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken, op.cit.*, p.137

³⁰ *Ibid.*, says that Obi had also chosen a king but he was not powerful enough to be ranked among the other Moluccan kings, p.137

³¹ The chronologies used here are confused about this point. Valentyn, *op.cit.*, names Pacharanga Mamalo as the seventh Ternatan king and Shah Allam as the ninth, Bk.I, Ch.3, p.91; Crawford, *A History, op.cit.* Vol.III, names the aforementioned kings as sixth and ninth, respectively, pp.483-84. Valentyn may have overlooked the short reign of the eighth king, Paji Mamalo, who was assassinated one year after succeeding to the throne (1331-32).

³² Pires, *Suma Oriental, op.cit.*, p.218

the first instance mentioned of a marriage alliance between the Moluccan *kolanos*, negotiated by the *kolano* of Tidore.³³

An alternative motive behind these wars between neighbours may have been the need to secure a regular and reliable food supply for the island's growing population. Pires relates that in the early sixteenth century Ternate's possession of half of Motir guaranteed him "many foodstuffs ... rice, meat, fish",³⁴ and the Moro region was also regarded as a source of food. Makian also had "an abundance of foodstuffs and good water", so the early extension of Ternatan influence into this island was a shrewd strategy.

Under the rule of the twelfth Ternatan *kolano*, Molomat Cheya (meaning 'Glow' or 'Light from the Sea') the Ternatan sphere of influence was extended outside the immediate Moluccan region to the Sulu (Xulla) Islands. This *kolano* was said to have been instructed by a Muslim in the art of ship building, and with this knowledge he constructed better ships and so was able to venture further afield. He conquered three islands and placed Ternatans, including his son, Hhamed, in the capacity of governor on each.³⁵ This was the limit to Ternate's borders until 1372, when the eldest son of *Kolano* Gapi Baguna I (1358-1372) succeeded to the throne of Gilolo. According to Valentyn it was renamed Halmahera by the Ternatan *kolano*, meaning 'vast lands', and the remaining three rulers divided all conquered territories among themselves.³⁶

As noted above, this did not mean a cessation in the struggles between the Moluccan *kolanos*. Bachian and Ternate were at odds in 1380, the dispute being settled by the king of Tidore who mediated a marriage alliance between the Ternatan *kolano* and the daughter of the Bachian king. Ternate also campaigned in Halmahera, successfully taking several villages. This action enabled him to put pressure on the Giloloan king to change the ranking of the kings, previously settled in Gilolo's favour on Motir. Thus, by 1380 the Ternatan *kolano* was recognised as the most powerful of the Moluccan rulers. This honour fell to Kamala Pulu, Ternate's sixteenth *kolano* and, it was this man Crawford notes, who

33 Ellen, *op.cit.*, p.163

34 Pires, *Suma Oriental, op.cit.*, pp.214-215, 217

35 Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken, op.cit.*, p.138

36 Valentyn, *Beschryving, op.cit.*, p.2

succeeded in re-establishing direct succession to his line with his son, Gapi Baguna II, in 1432.³⁷

By the end of the fourteenth century Ternate had an established system of government based on the position of a king, or *kolano*. This system had developed from Galvão's consensus-based villages to an hierarchical authority structure, with the *kolano* and the council of elders forming the basis of authority. It was by no means a static or inflexible structure, as was shown during the reign of Komala, when the elders of the 'special' villages re-imposed their former authority on the decision making process. Although not apparent in the sources, it is probable that the position of *kolano*, already an elevated and respected one, assumed new dimensions. This was in part the result of the process of territorial expansion and the prestige which accompanied this. The elevated status of the *kolano* would have entailed privileges not available to the common villagers; clothing, housing, slaves and even the exclusive use of imported utensils would all have been used to make the distinction between *kolano* and commoner plain.³⁸ The structure was already evolving branches of what could be called its civil service, sending functionaries to live as permanent residents on conquered territories, such as the Sulu Islands. This is indicative of a high level of internal organisation and stability within the Ternatan authority structure, a development which can be traced through references in several sources, and so Vlekke's assertion of a merchant-based society of foreign origin is puzzling. This is compounded by his claim that "we have no historical records of the foundation of the kingdom of Ternate",³⁹ when such records do exist, albeit not of indigenous origin, but derived from indigenous accounts and early European observers of the Moluccan situation.

One subject which must be dealt with briefly before moving this study into the fifteenth century concerns the extension of Ternate's power, and the alleged power over the Moluccas by the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. The sources for Ternate do not discuss in any detail that island's foreign policy, apart from its relatively localised territorial

³⁷ Crawford, *A History, op.cit.* Vol.III, p.485; Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, p.163 says that Gilolo was conquered in 1380, and that by this time Makian had also risen in power and had achieved the status of *kolano*. This statement disagrees with Valentyn who designates Makian as a territory of Ternate and makes no mention of an independent ruler.

³⁸ These aspects of Moluccan kingship are discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁹ Vlekke, *op.cit.*, pp.52-53, 407 fn.24

conquests. Likewise, they do not provide information regarding foreign contact of a military rather than trading nature. Therefore no mention is made of the contact with Majapahit, which, according to the historical poem the *Negarakertagama* (written in 1365), had extended its sovereignty over the Moluccas and the Banda Islands by 1294. This Javanese maritime empire was patrolled by seafarers from Java's north coast ports, and they were the link between the Majapahit ruler and the Moluccan spices, based on dividend rather than loyalty.⁴⁰ Despite this armada, the connection between the two regions was based on trade rather than conquest, with Majapahit's northern ports being the exchange points for Moluccan spices and Javanese rice. This exchange may well have been labeled 'tribute' by the Majapahit officials, but there is no indication in the available sources that tribute was paid to the Javanese kingdom; rather, it was likely to have been perceived as equal exchange by the Ternatans. Ternate's power and prosperity had made great advances during this century, so much so that it has been asserted that Ternate was in a position to dispute the supremacy of the archipelago with Java.⁴¹ Java, preoccupied in a state of disorder arising from several internal rebellions, was in no position to send a force against Ternate. It seems, as later evidence shows, that it preferred the more subtle, and profitable, form; commercial domination.

A direct connection between the Spice Islands and Java, originating in the islands, this time, should be mentioned at this point. At some time in the early fifteenth century, Kiai Adipáti Adi Mang'gála, the Regent of Demak, recorded that one Aru Bándan, a prince from the Moluccas arrived in the area and settled at Balambáangan.⁴² The Moluccan prince submitted to the authority of the Javanese prince as the latter could "explain the signs and inscriptions of *Aji Sáka*, which he himself could not". The Regent's account expressed the opinion that

Nothing, however, is represented to have tended more to the prosperity of this establishment [Java], than a supposed union which is said to have taken place between the family of Sawéla Chala and that of Aru Bándan....⁴³

Sawéla Chala was described as a prince of Java, who thereafter had a long and prosperous reign. Such a union, coupled with the land grant made to Aru Bándan, could only have promoted the interests of the Spice Islands

⁴⁰ Hall, *Maritime Trade*, *op.cit.*, p.232

⁴¹ According to St. John, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.46

⁴² T. Stanford Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol.II, (reprint)Kuala Lumpur, 1965, p.84

⁴³ *Loc.cit.*

in Java. It could also have been a source of potential marriage partners for both sides, further cementing this connection. Unfortunately, no further mention of this union is mentioned in Raffles' text, nor any reference to it in other sources consulted.

While the sources have given some evidence as to the development of pre-Islamic authority in the Moluccas, their discussion is restricted to matters of succession and conquest. António Galvão has left an early fifteenth century account of the Ternatan political structure, and although this shows a degree of Islamic influence, it is suggested that this was built on an indigenous structure which was already well-established at the time of sustained Islamic contact.

With the succession of Gapi Baguna II's son, Marhum, to the Ternatan throne, an entirely new era of Moluccan political and social history began. The adoption of Islam by the Moluccan *kolanos*, beginning with Marhum (late in his reign) brought not only a new religion to the area, but strengthened the position of the *kolano* in the Moluccan authority structure. This development has been discussed by Leonard Andaya and John Villiers,⁴⁴ but as neither present any discussion of the earlier role of the *kolano*, their accounts misleadingly imply that the centralised position of the *kolano* spontaneously came into being with the Moluccan adoption of Islam. Also, some aspects of Moluccan political organisation, such as the expansionist activities of the Tommagola family and the continued role of the magugu, which have been over-looked by both historians again find their roots in the pre-Islamic political structure of the Moluccas.

The political structure functioning in the early decades of the sixteenth century as observed by Galvão is outlined below. Andaya regards this account in Galvão as representing the kin-based society led by the elders, and asserts that it is only after this period (c.1530-1540) that there was a noticeable shift in the authority structure.⁴⁵ It is argued, however, that the established position of *kolano* was functioning independently at this time, and that changes brought to that position by the advent of Islam applied more to the altered concept of the position of

⁴⁴ Both historians make a strong connection between the sultan's control of the spice trade and the transformation of the Moluccan political system. This point has not been taken up, as available evidence leads to their conclusions. Both works previously cited give detailed accounts of the later political developments.

⁴⁵ Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.12

kolano, rather than the degree of power he personally wielded. Galvão's account of this structure illustrates that along with the processes of regnal succession and territorial conquest (as found in Valentyn) the Moluccans also developed the complementary offices of administrative functionaries. This shows that an entire bureaucracy had grown up around the person and position of the *kolano* and had been established before the coming of Islam. Both Andaya and Villiers argue that the concepts of monarchical government closely followed the appearance of Islam in the region, and was intimately connected with commerce and the rise of specific groups in society directly involved with trade. The centralised government which is asserted to have emerged in the Moluccas in the fifteenth century, and which appeared well-developed by the sixteenth century, was also a necessary feature of a state determined on territorial expansion. Ternate had shown itself to be territorially aggressive early in its history, and by the middle of the fourteenth century had expanded outside its immediate region and had established a form of control over other islands. This control included having a resident of Ternate on the islands, in a position likened to a governor. It follows that such a society which was developing along these territorial lines (and continued to do so) necessarily had to develop a governmental infrastructure to administer this territory properly.

The system of authority encountered by the early European visitors to the Moluccas was a recognisable monarchical system. The court of the *kolano* was divided into two groups of functionaries, one responsible for the person of the *kolano* and the functioning of his court, and the second responsible for operations which fell outside the court, in the territories of the *kolano*. Galvão ranks the members of the *kolano's* court, following him, as the *radja* (queen), the *sengadjis* (dukes), *marsaolis* (knights), and the *menteris* (the gentlemen).⁴⁶ Within these broad groups were individual functionaries, responsible for particular duties. These functionaries concerned with the internal workings of the court will be dealt with first.

The first functionary mentioned by Galvão is the *kolano magugu*, whose title meant "he who holds the king and the kingdom in his hand." He was likened to a chief major-domo, and was the tutor of the king, and

⁴⁶ Galvão, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, p.103

was called by Valentyn, the "first servant of the state".⁴⁷ His influence was such that he was "more feared and obeyed than the king's person himself".⁴⁸ His specific duties are unclear, but Valentyn names him as the keeper of the keys to the Ternatan palace. Little more is said about this man in the sources, it may be that he was the most venerated of the *kolano's* councillors, or *menteris*, given the heavy responsibility of guiding both *kolano* and kingdom. This is quite reasonable in view of the youthfulness of some of the heirs to the Ternatan throne, but not enough detail is given to connect that position with an indigenous authority figure as a sometime rival to the authority of the *kolano*.

Andaya has argued that with the adoption of Islam, the position of the *magugu* was thereafter undermined, in some cases compromised by appointments to the office made by the sultan. This situation is not apparent in the accounts left by Sir Henry Middleton and Valentyn. Valentyn relates the expedition of Sultan Baab Ullah to Makassar in 1580, in which he co-opted the services of Capalaaja, a famous sea captain from the Sulu Islands. The sultan had promised his daughter in marriage to the man who conquered the enemy; Capalaaja was the victor. Rather than accepting the sultan's daughter as a wife, Capalaaja asked for the hand of Sahari Bulla, the daughter of the *jogugu* Tsjakamole.⁴⁹ Two decades later, during the visit of Henry Middleton to Ternate, where, unsatisfied with the Ternatans continued promises and failures to deliver cloves, Middleton made a case before a certain *kaitjil* "Gegogoe". This man was described as the regent, or an 'elder' to the ruler, and was in fact the *jogugu* of the Ternatan court. He obviously still wielded considerable influence with the sultan, and said "he would go that night to the King and then would tell him how much he did dishonour himselfe to be so overruled by the Hollanders; and therefore willed the Generall not to have doubt of ... trade so long as they tarried there." The following day the English received permission to buy and sell freely. "All this friendship Chiche Gegogoe procured."⁵⁰ Later, in 1606 the *jogugu* surrendered the keys of the Ternatan castle to the Spaniards without making any attempt at defence. For this he and his family in "future years" were deprived of

⁴⁷ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.206; Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.9 says that the *magugu* was known in Ternate as *jogugu*.

⁴⁸ Galvão, *A Treatise*, *op.cit.*, p.113

⁴⁹ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.208

⁵⁰ H. Middleton, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606* (W. Foster, ed.), London, 1943, p.52

the privilege of that office.⁵¹ It seems, if holding the position was regarded as a privilege, that the position of *jogugu* was still respected and still held some influence. Any undermining of this position cannot, therefore, be as severe as Andaya suggests.

A second position which Andaya regards as representing the traditional authority structure of the Moluccas was that of the *pinate*. He acted in several capacities within the court, as a master of ceremonies and as a superintendent. The *pinate's* responsibilities lay in the smooth functioning of the royal household, his duties including the preparation for banquets and attending to guests of the court. It was also his task to allocate to each town the amount of food it was obliged to provide for the use of the palace. Gabriel Rebello indicates that this was not an hereditary position, but one which relied on the personal wealth accumulated by the *pinate*, necessary for the proper carrying out of his duties. He says of the *pinate* that he was:

a leading personage and of great pre-eminence, who is obliged to maintain the Sultan and make available what is lacking for his household, and when as a result he is impoverished another is created.⁵²

Andaya credits a large degree of influence to the *pinate*, claiming he was "ultimately responsible for the well-being of the whole community", by virtue of his role in the exchange of goods and women to the *kolano*.⁵³ Galvão makes no mention of this role, and it is difficult to reconcile it with Rebello's information concerning the impermanence of the position.

The demise of the position of *pinate*, according to Andaya, is seen in its replacement by the office of shahbandar.⁵⁴ Van Fraasen suggests that the *pinate* (a Portuguese term) was the same functionary as the *sadaha* (a Ternatan term). He suggests that his duties were "the supply of materials for the sake of the kadaton and certainly he was responsible for the administration of the finances." Regarding the position of shahbandar, Van Fraasen notes that by the nineteenth century this office had become

⁵¹ Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.215. Sultan Saidi lived in the abandoned Portuguese castle at Gama Lamo until 1606.

⁵² Rebello, cited in Villiers, *Spice Islands*, *op.cit.*, p.99

⁵³ Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.11, unfortunately does not cite a source for this information; he notes that the *pinate* was a position found in Makassar, there being regarded as someone with spiritual powers and who was the guardian of the prince's regalia, p.18, fn.58 ; Galvão indicates it was the palace head woman who secured women for the *kolano*, *A Treatise*, *op.cit.*, p.117

⁵⁴ Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.14

responsible for the collection of tribute received from the dependencies, and in this his activities began to overlap those earlier carried out by the *pinate*.⁵⁵

The *kalaudi*, also ranked as 'squires', operated as royal collectors, working in concert with the *pinate*. These men levied food supplies in their own districts, including those located overseas. Additionally, they were to supply the *kolano's* household with other goods, including areca, betel, firewood and even spoons. Galvão says that it was clearly understood how much each of the vassals had to supply. To fulfil their quota they could enter the houses of the *alfuros* and take whatever they thought necessary.⁵⁶

The office of *hukum*, administrators and magistrates, was bought and held by noblemen. Little is said about these men, other than they stayed at the Ternatan court to carry out their duties.⁵⁷ In the seventeenth century they had become part of the *dopolo ngaruha*, or 'four chiefs' of Ternate, but whether this was so in Galvão's time is unknown. Andaya has ascribed a proselytising role to these men in the later part of the sixteenth century, and asserts that the office exercised greater influence than the *jogugu*.⁵⁸ Only one source, other than Galvão, has been sited regarding the *jogugu*, and that is Valentyn. In the above-mentioned account of the *jogugu* losing his office, Valentyn states that the position that this *jogugu* was being demoted to was that of *hukum*.⁵⁹ Clearly, in the early seventeenth century, the *jogugu* was still regarded above the *hukum*, or, at the very least, the *hukum* had not yet adopted the role of proselytiser that Andaya believes.

Other minor roles involved communications, carried out by "footmen and messengers". Sons of the nobles served at the court in the capacity of pages or squires, but this was not a guarantee of courtly success. The positions to which they could aspire had to be earned, and if they were

55 van Fraasen, *op.cit.*, pp.171-172. He says that the position of *sadaha* remained important into the beginning of the eighteenth century.

56 Galvão, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, pp.113, 133

57 These have been discussed in the previous chapter.

58 Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.14, but does not cite his sources for this; Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, pp.181-182 says that under sultan Baab Ullah, Islam fiercest proponent among the Spice Islands, invited religious teachers from Mecca and Islamised the region. He does not name the *hukum* in this role.

59 Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken, op.cit.*, p.215

fortunate when they reached adulthood they would be given gifts of appreciation by the *kolano* - titles, weapons, even houses and villages.⁶⁰

The council of elders was composed of twenty aged *menteris*; the council was not open to young men, regardless of their rank in society. Galvão notes that council could not be held unless these men were drunk. When important decisions needed to be made "many of them gather together and feast until they are drunk and, once drunk, they agree on what should be done".⁶¹ Membership of the council was not permanent, this privilege was confined to the officials of the royal palace and three or four men selected by them for that honour. Again, Andaya has asserted that the adoption of Islam was accompanied by an undermining of the traditional holders of authority, and that in the late sixteenth century the council of elders had members who were hand-picked by the sultan and were thus susceptible to his demands.⁶² The important and respected role these men played, however, is evident in Francis Drake's account of his time in the Moluccas. Here he was met by the sultan and many of these elders, and at a later audience with the sultan it was noted that "in their places 60. grave personages [sat], all which were said to be of the kings Counsel".⁶³

These then were the officials of the palace. Their duties revolved around the smooth functioning of the palace administration and the personal well-being of the *kolano*. Civil ceremony, pageantry, food, women, justice and communications were all dealt with at this focal point. Outside the direct environs of the court another authority structure was in place, administering the overseas vassals of the Ternatan *kolano*. The most important officer in this position was the *sengadji*.

It was during the reign of Chicho, according to Abdurachman, that individual members of the *kolano's* council took the title *sengadji*.⁶⁴ This is perhaps a misreading of the sources on the part of this author, as indications in both Galvão and de Sousa suggest that the title of *sengadji* was given to men who generally resided outside the court and operated in a military capacity. Originally these men were minor rulers in their own right, but as the position of the *kolano* became more prominent the *sengadji* began to operate as governors of a kind for the *kolano*,

⁶⁰ Galvão, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, p.113-115

⁶¹ Castenheda, cited in Villiers, *Spice Islands, op.cit.*, p.100

⁶² Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.15

⁶³ Drake, *The Two Famous Voyages, op.cit.* (Hakluyt), pp.68-70

⁶⁴ Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, p.163

administering civil and criminal justice in their own territories, but on behalf of the *kolano* and with the privilege of his insignia. Although a subject of the *kolano*, the *sengadji* still ruled in his own territory "like the *radjas*". He kept strict boundaries and landmarks throughout his territories, even in towns within his 'domain'.⁶⁵ It has been suggested that these markers referred to by Galvão may have been spiritual markers associated with the local soil deity.⁶⁶ If this is so, it is another indication that the social hierarchy was established and functioning in this, or a very similar, form before the impact of Islam was felt in the islands. The *sengadjis* functioned in the capacity of military commanders, and again the militaristic origins of the Ternatan hierarchy is seen in the close relationship between the *kolano* and the *sengadjis*. Galvão noted that the *kolano* married his daughters and sisters to men of this rank.⁶⁷ Their special place in the hierarchy is also emphasised by the fact that only the *kolano*, his family and the *sengadji* and their children bore titles of nobility, the men were known as *kaitjil* and the women as *naitjal*. Additionally, the daughters of the *sengadjis* were educated in the same fashion as those of the *kolano*,⁶⁸ no doubt to make them suitable wives or concubines for the *kolano* or other *sengadjis*, but also as a mark of status.

The origin of the term *sengadji* is unclear. According to Galvão the Ternatans told him that these titles were taken from the Javanese at the time of conversion to Islam, but, as noted earlier, Abdurachman states that the title *sengadji* was adopted by authority figures in the *kolano's* court in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁶⁹ The title may well have been of Javanese origin, arriving not in the fifteenth century, but in the fourteenth, with the establishment of the first trading contacts between the Moluccas and the Javanese. This lends weight to Andaya's argument that the *sengadji* was an 'imported' position,⁷⁰ but does not exclude the possibility of the appellation being transferred to an existing indigenous position. Lach says that the title was not Javanese, but Malayan, *sangá-agi*, meaning prince or vassal prince.⁷¹ In view of the early contacts

65 *Loc.cit.*

66 Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.8

67 Galvão, *A Treatise, op.cit.*, p.105

68 *Loc.cit.*

69 *Loc.cit.*; Abdurachman, *op.cit.*, p.163

70 Andaya, *op.cit.*, p.9

71 Lach, *op.cit.*, p.608, fn.601

established between these trading areas it is more than possible that the adoption of suitable titles by the Ternatans took place.

Two examples of the devolution of Moluccan authority which are not mentioned by either Andaya or Villiers are the Tommaïtoe and Tommagola families. Valentyn records that these two families emerged as part of the power structure c.1486,⁷² that is, at the death of Marhum and the accession of his son, Zainal' Abidin. These families were sent out from Ternate to claim other lands for the Ternatan *kolano*, and to reside there in the capacity of governors. Of the two families, the Tommagola became more famous by gaining more territory for Ternate. The Tommaïtoe family went to the Sulu Islands, and remained there for many years with the title *kimelaha*.⁷³ The connection between this family's operations and the passage of tribute to Ternate appears obvious. The first generation of the Tommagola family established itself on Buru, but the seat of government was later moved to Ceram. Some members of the family stayed on Ceram, while the head married the daughter of a prominent chief and moved to Makian, where his three sons were born. The grandson of this Tommagola head, born to his third son, was Hidayat, who acted as regent to the Ternatan sultan, Modafar and actually ruled Ternate in his absence in 1606. In this capacity he negotiated treaties with the Dutch, formed an alliance with them against the Tidorese and the Spanish and then handed the Ternatan kingdom over to Modafar in 1610.⁷⁴

The second son of the Tommagola head was Samarau. He settled on Amboina where his own son, Roebohongi, became very powerful. Samarau himself was apparently not a strong governor, and had trouble exacting the tolls due to the Ternatan sultan. As a result of this Sultan Baab Ullah had him replaced by his son who, in 1576, was also sent by the sultan to Ternate's vassals to re-establish Ternatan authority and to diminish, if not destroy, the power of the Portuguese there.⁷⁵

These two families assumed their respective roles in Moluccan politics in the late fifteenth century, and continued in positions of considerable influence into the seventeenth century. It is not clear how

⁷² Valentyn, *Molukse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, p.142

⁷³ Villiers, *op.cit.*, p.96, defines *kimelaha* as an agent for the collection of tolls.

⁷⁴ Valentyn, *Moluskse Zaaken*, *op.cit.*, pp.216, 234, 239. Disappointed at being overlooked in elections, presumably for *kolano*, Hidayat left Ternate and settled in Amboina where he held the position of mayor until his death in 1624, pp.240, 250.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.204, 207. Valentyn names Amboina, Hoamoal, Boero, Manipa, Amblau, Kelang and Bonoa in connection with this expedition.

these two families emerged or how they differed from the *sengadjis*. They possibly were not land-owners, and had derived their favoured status by some display of loyalty to the *kolano*, or perhaps by exhibiting some administrative or trading talent. Although both Roebohongi and his father were involved in aggressive campaigns against the Portuguese, with the dual intention of extending the Muslim religion, there is no indication that their rise to prominence was connected with the coming of Islam. No other reference to these families are found in the sources, and until more is known about their origins, their central characters and their activities, a complete picture of the Moluccan authority structure will not be possible.

The evolution of the political system in the Banda Islands is difficult to reconstruct with any certainty, but from the few sources available it is possible to outline the development from a society ruled by kings to an oligarchical form of government. Valentyn says that "in olden times" Banda's islands were subdivided into small autonomous regions, but he does not elaborate on this.⁷⁶ There is no further mention made in the sources of the nature of the political system on Banda in the years before the rule of the kings, indeed, the concept of king as it applied to the Bandanese is not clear. It is likely that these 'kings' were genealogical leaders, similar to the early Moluccans.

In the early sixteenth century the four kings ruled over the Banda Islands, and these rulers were still in power when encountered by the first Portuguese in 1511. These were the kings of Labetakke, Selamon, Wayer and Rosengain. What form of rule they had over the people or the length of time they had ruled is unknown. Tomé Pires, writing in the period 1512-1515, says "they have no king; they are ruled by *cabilas* and by the elders."⁷⁷ The kings were dethroned and the government was given to the elders of the land who, according to Valentyn, were Muslim priests.⁷⁸ From this it seems that the four kings were deposed very soon after the initial contact was made by the Portuguese. These two events were perhaps not unrelated; or it could be an indication of the growing power of the Muslim traders in Banda, in that the people could see a direct connection between the relatively recent arrival of the Muslims, the

⁷⁶ Valentyn, *Beschryving der Banda*, p.34

⁷⁷ Pires, *Suma Oriental*, *op.cit.*, p.206

⁷⁸ Valentyn, *Beschryving der Banda*, p.35

growth of their trade and the arrival of the Portuguese. In 1610 descendants of the kings still lived in Banda, and they still had special names and places of honour. Valentyn notes that they were shahbandars.⁷⁹ According to Earl, the four kings ruled in the group and "seemed to have lived on friendly terms with each other, as they invariably combined when strangers attempted to establish an undue influence in the group."⁸⁰ This statement, however, belies the almost constant state of warfare that existed between the two social divisions on the islands.

The two social groups divided the Bandanese into Ulilimas and Ulisawas, a division which placed the Bandanese in positions of traditional enmity, sometimes towards neighbouring villages. The Ulisawas dominated the eastern part of the islands - Combir, Selamon, Wayer and Dender on Lonthor, Labetakka on Neira and Rosengain. The Ulilimas held Lonthor and Samar on Lonthor, the town of Neira on that island, Pulo Run and Pulo Ai, the western section of the islands.⁸¹ Aveling says that the villages were tied by 'blood brotherhood', and as such were obliged to support each other in war and social need.⁸² This is illustrated by Van Neck's observations when he recounts the events of some memorable nights on Neira.⁸³ Men from Labetakka came in four galleys before the town of Neira, "offering skirmish most bravely". Some Neirans were slain and more wounded. In revenge, those from Neira rowed out the next morning not to Labetakka, but to Wayer, "where they put to the sword most of the people that were in the said Island." Their heads formed part of the booty from the raid. Women as well as men were targets of these skirmishes; van Neck says that one woman from Wayer was kept by the Neira shahbandar as a slave, while another was "cut ... in the midle in two peeces with a Sable or Curtlax". Apparently these alliances were not permanent; the example is given of Labetakka allying with Ulilima Neira c.1590-1592, and then rejoining the Ulisawas in 1600.⁸⁴ In that sense, any concept of 'blood brotherhood' is misleading and the relationship between groups could be described more accurately in pragmatic terms.

79 *Loc.cit.*

80 Earl, *op.cit.*, p.547

81 Aveling, *op.cit.*, p.355

82 *Loc.cit.*

83 van Neck, *A Journall ...*, *op.cit.*, p.32-33

84 Aveling, *op.cit.*, p.355

After the deposition of the Bandanese kings, the new system of government was structured around a ruling oligarchy of elders, or the *orang kayas*. It seems that these elders did not always work in harmony; Crawford noted that "these are often at variance, they quarrel among themselves."⁸⁵ When some consensus was required, the *orang kaya* would meet under a large tree, considered holy, in Ortattan. The tree was surrounded by a square of stone, two feet high, on which the *orang kaya* sat in an order commensurate with their rank.⁸⁶ The descendants of the four kings had paramount seating, first Labetakka, then Selamon, Wayer and Rosengain. The common people, or *bujang*, sat on the ground. The social divisions of the people were reflected in such meetings, with the Ulilimas seated on the eastern and northern sides, and those of the Ulisawas seated on the western and southern sides. Villiers says that the *orang kaya* based their power on their monopoly of the export of spices.⁸⁷

Portuguese sources note that individual villages had their own governor, or *regedor*, which were in turn responsible to the *orang kaya*.⁸⁸ Hanna's description of the *orang kaya* describes them as the equivalent of town mayors, with duties of a mayoral kind. These included over-seeing the maintenance of the mosque, organising and observance of ceremonies, and distribution of nutmeg groves.⁸⁹ The *orang kaya* were also required to settle in-village or in-family disputes, but any form of regular co-operation between *orang kaya* of different villages or islands (excluding the united front necessary to repel a common enemy) appears nonexistent.⁹⁰

Although the *orang kaya* were the 'native' rulers of the Banda Islands, it seems clear from the Portuguese sources that the shahbandars also had some authority in matters other than trade. Van Neck's example, cited above, of the shahbandar accompanying the men of Neira on a military expedition against Wayer and actually keeping some of the more valuable booty, indicates that their positions were not confined to commerce. When matters of commerce did arise, such as fixing prices, the shahbandars and the notables of the islands signed the necessary

85 Crawford, *Descriptive Dictionary, op.cit.*, p.35

86 Valentyn, *Beschryving der Banda, op.cit.*, pp.5-6

87 Villiers, *Trade and Society, op.cit.*, p.729

88 Castanheda in Villiers, *ibid.*, p.728

89 On what criteria the nutmeg groves were distributed is uncertain, but it appears that a clear division existed in Bandanese society, based on wealth.

90 Hanna, *Indonesian Banda, op.cit.*, p.23; Hanna's description of the *orang kayas* duties obviously refer to the mid-sixteenth century on, as the group were only recent converts to Islam.

papers. Antonio de Brito wrote to Dom Joao III that he had made such an arrangement with "all the notables and shahbandars of the islands, because there is no king ... and agreed that whoever opposed it should die for it."⁹¹ Obviously this close connection between government and shahbandar was not confined to the descendants of the four kings. Such an interchange of authority reflects the high standing these foreigners obviously had in the Bandanese community, and also the power, and potential for increased power that they held.

Little else is known concerning the political structure of the Banda Islands. The similarity to Amboina has been noted, but this applies only to the political alignments of the Bandanese towns. The actual rule of the *orang kaya* is, as observed by primary and modern sources, unique to those islands. Duarte Barbosa noted that the king of Ternate claimed suzerainty over the Bandanese, but this was little more than a nominal claim only.⁹²

From the rise of the first Ternatan *kolano* to the recognition of the Islamic royal head with the title of sultan, it has been seen that Ternate had a long exposure to the concept and acceptance of one individual as a supreme civil and military authority. Over two hundred and thirty years, eighteen *kolano* figures had graced the Ternatan stage. In view of this, existing opinions concerning the rise of the sultan as figurehead in Ternatan society held by many modern historians must be modified, at least to accommodate the proven existence of Ternate's regnal history.

The creation of the Moluccan sultanate in the late fifteenth century led to the consolidation of the *kolano* as the supreme authority figure in Moluccan politics, rather than the creation of an entirely new authority structure. Very early in Moluccan history the *kolano* held this authority by virtue of his divine origins, that is, his connection in legend to the Guna figure. In the following decades the *kolano* strengthened his own position and that of his kingdom, extending his authority to neighbouring islands and further afield. In order to properly and efficiently administer this expanding territory, an infrastructure developed based in part on the early authority structure (the elders), and more and more on the person of the *kolano* and his relationship with his peers. This development matured in the course of the sixteenth century, reaching the peak of its

⁹¹ de Brito, cited in Villiers, *Trade and Society, op.cit.*, p.743

⁹² Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (trans. M. Longworth Dames), London, 1921, p.198

political power and prestige in the terms of office of the Sultan Hairun and his son and successor, Baab Ullah. Leonard Andaya's work on the structure of authority in the north Moluccas illustrates not the transition from a kin-based society to the Sultanate and the subsequent erosion of the traditional structure of authority, as he claims, but the further development and consolidation of the position of *kolano*, albeit under the influence of Islam and with the title of 'Sultan'.

Bandanese society developed in contrast to this, rejecting the concept of '*kolano*' or 'sultan' and accepting the rule of an oligarchy, the *orang-kaya*. Power and decision making was not confined to this group, but was shared with the shahbandars. This may have originally been deference paid to the deposed kings and their successors, but later encompassed shahbandars of foreign origin.

Why the fate of the two island groups was so different cannot be asserted with any certainty. It is suggested that the Moluccas, with its differentiated elite and common people headed by a single authority figure, had more opportunity for social control and thus the ability to command the sustained loyalty require for the mobilisation of a united force against the threat posed by the Europeans. In the face of this aggression it was more cohesive as an entity than that provided by the factional rule of the Bandanese *orang-kaya*.