

*F.S.A. de Clercq*

# ***Ternate***

**The Residency and Its Sultanate**

***(Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate, 1890)***

**Translated from the Dutch**

**by Paul Michael Taylor and Marie N. Richards**

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## Map of the Capital Ternate\*

Scale 1:12500

*Key:* 1) Coal warehouse; 2) Kadatu Todore;\*\* 3) Residency office; 4) Jetty; 5) Jail; 6) Harbor office; 7) Resident's house; 8-9) Engine houses; 10) Club; 11) European school; 12) Pasar; 13) Civil army magazine; 14) Public Works Department shed; 15) Protestant church; 16) Chinese temple; 17) Native school; 18) Military canteen; 19) Slave graveyard.

\*[Translator's note: Other place names appearing on the map, but not in the captions, are listed below. Updated Malay or Ternatese spellings, where different from spellings shown, are shown as translations. If the term is a proper name, with no spelling updating required, it is not translated—as, for example, Brangka Toboko, Brangka Torana, Brangka Ngidi, and so on (*brangka* means “creek, rivulet”). Otherwise, the term is translated, or its spelling updated, as follows:

Koeboer Gorontalo: [Malay, Kubur Gorontalo] Gorontalo graveyard.

Schijfschiet terrein: [Dutch] shooting (target practice) range.

Begraafplaats: [Dutch] graveyard.

Europeesche begraafplats: [Dutch] European graveyard.

Voetpad: [Dutch] foot-path.

Weg naar Kajoemerah: [Dutch] Road to Kayumerah.

Brug: [Dutch] bridge.

Inl. christ. wijk: [Dutch] Native Christian village.

Sultan's Gebied: [Dutch] Sultan's territory.

Chin. Kamp.: [Dutch] Chinese kampong (“village”).

Zee: [Dutch] Sea.]

\*\*[Translator's note: The *Kadatu Todore* is the house (lit., palace, court) used by the Sultan of Tidore when he visits Ternate. The Sultan of Tidore also had his own palace on Tidore, also called the *Kadatu Todore*.]

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[Map of the Capital Ternate](#)

[Sketches of the South Ternatese Islands](#)

[Map of the Sula Islands](#)

[Map of the Banggai Islands and East Coast of Celebes](#)

## Preface

The literature concerning the residency of Ternate is already quite extensive, as a glance at the bibliography of this book will show. When I consulted these works, however, I repeatedly encountered incorrect descriptions and incomplete information which I often found difficult to correct.

There are three reasons for this.

In the case of official reports, the authors too often took on faith information given to them by people in the capital who were afraid of admitting their own lack of knowledge. Often, in fact, the informants did not have correct information about matters which did not interest them in the least.

In the case of travel reports, the travelers did not usually stay long enough in any one place to explore matters properly. Often, too, they did not speak the local Malay dialect, and supplemented their deficient understanding with the products of their own imagination.

Finally, the enormous diversity of the area itself leads to inaccurate reporting. The island groups differ greatly in ways which can be understood only after a long stay in several of these places followed by a comparison of their differences.

Wherever the occasion arose and I had time at my disposal, I tried to fill the existing gaps. The information collected in this way is presented here in the form of topographical and travel descriptions, a short annotated historical overview, and a study of the Ternatense language.

It goes without saying that the subject is still far from exhausted. After my travels in New Guinea in 1887 and 1888, however, the compilation of my diary and classification of an extensive collection of ethnological objects took all of my time, and I had to restrict the task I had set myself within certain limits.\*

I offer this work in the hope that it will be worthy of the reader's attention. This study is recommended to all students of the language, geography and ethnography of the Indies.

[F.S.A.] de C[lercq].

\*[Translator's note: De Clercq later published the book on New Guinea he refers to here: "Ethnographische beschrijving van de west- en noord-kust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea" [Ethnographic Description of the West and North Coast of Dutch New Guinea] (Leiden: P.W.M. Trap, 1893).]

## Explanation of the Plates

### Plate I

*Figs. 1 and 2.* Two harpoons used by the Bajos. The larger one is used for catching turtles and the smaller one for *tripang* [sea cucumbers, or *Holothuridae*—Trans.]. Both harpoons have the same kind of hook. The use and names of the harpoons can be found in [Chapter III, p. 33](#). For other types of harpoons, see [Chapter VIII, p. 93](#).

*Fig. 3.* A piece of beaten bark of the fisa tree, most probably of the *Broussonetia* species, upon which many different designs have been drawn. It comes from Galela, where it is worn by the Alfurus as a short jacket (*kotango ho hoda*).

*Fig. 4.* A loin cloth (*fisa hohoda*), with colored cloth and lappets. This cloth also comes from Galela and is used to cover the genitals.

*Fig. 5.* A bundle of leaves, some rolled up and a few stretched strips, used for plaiting. These are leaves from an orchid (*tabisasu*) found in abundance on the Sula Islands and in East Halmahera. After soaking for three days in water, these strips can be used for plaiting. The yellow color will not fade.

### Plate II

*Fig. 1.* A piece of bark with designs drawn on it, used as a woman's skirt (*gado hohoda*).

*Fig. 2.2.* A loin cloth as in Figure 4, with different designs and colors. These two items also come from Galela. The manner in which the bark is beaten is described in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. II, p. 206.

*Fig. 3.* Pieces of mica, showing upper surfaces and fractures, from Mambulusan on Peleng; see the description in [Chapter VIII, p. 93](#).

### Plate III

*Fig. 1.* A fish trap (*hol*) from Makian, described in detail in [Chapter V, pp. 48 and 60](#).

*Fig. 2 (1-2).* Sarongs from Sulabesi, woven with European threads.

*Fig. 3 (1-3).* A shield, decorated with horsehair, from Tobungku, known locally as *kanta*.

### Plate IV

*Fig. 1.* A musical instrument (*tulalo*) from Banggai, used especially by the Alfurus. For a description and explanation of how it is played, see [Chapter VIII, p. 91](#).

*Fig. 2 (1-4).* Boxes of *tabisasu* leaves from Sulabesi. The larger boxes are used for storing paraphenalia for chewing betel (*sirih* and *pinang*). The smaller ones are for tobacco. They have all been inlaid with pieces of mica.

*Fig. 3.* A hat made of *tabisasu* leaves, also from Sula and known in Ternate as *tolu bantah*; see the Word-List under *tolu*.

*Fig. 4.* A bracelet made from a *Conus* shell from Tobelo, known locally as *bobili*. For a description of how they are made, see the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. II, p. 207.

## **A. Topography and Travel Descriptions**

## I

**The Capital City**

[p. 1] The extensive Residency of Ternate, extending from the east coast of Celebes to the 141<sup>st</sup> degree of longitude, was first visited almost three centuries ago by the Dutch seafarer Wijbrand van Warwijk. The capital city of Ternate is situated mainly along the beach on the gentle slope of the eastern mountain ridge, ending in a small plain on the seaward side.

This ancient land is deserving of our interest. Many generations of people have lived and died here, each leaving its mark to a greater or lesser extent on this small land. Yet the region has been so little altered by its inhabitants that the description given by the earliest historians of the Dutch East Indies still applies almost completely to the present situation.<sup>1</sup>

There are several reasons why Ternate has maintained its peculiar resemblance to former times, but the main reason is that the trade activities of the big nations never extended into this region. The small settlement of foreigners adopted the [p. 2] way of life of the natives, who naturally were little inclined to change their time-honored customs.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of interest in these regions is understandable: the profits yielded by the cultivation of spices have long since disappeared and this region has for many years been a debit in the budget. The government has paid out millions for the very dubious honor of possessing a group of islands which, though sketched by naturalists in the most brilliant colors, has only indirect importance for the State.

The island can be reached on either side by means of the Moluccan Sea, which surrounds it entirely. The southern passage is most often used, even by ships coming around from the north, despite its many reefs which extend far into the sea and require that the approach be made with extreme caution.

The keen-eyed traveler, looking toward the island from aboard ship, may be able to distinguish some of the places he will later come to know well, but he will have to satisfy his curiosity with a glimpse of the hardly discernible dwellings, hidden behind the thick greenery. In places, a few coconut palms or a single *Pisonia* with its yellow foliage will indicate a small, cultivated area. The visitor will later discover in such an area the center of a plantation so carelessly tilled and poorly maintained that it cannot assure the owner of a large yield.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 1, n. 1] According to Valentijn (1724, Ib:14), "The population of the island consisted mainly of Ternatense and Dutchmen, also pockets of Portuguese, Mestizos, Malayans, Makassarese, Chinese, Arabs and many Javanese, the last two because of the trade in cloves."

<sup>2</sup> [p. 2, n. 1] Temminck's prediction (1849, III:123), "que ces passages ne manqueront pas d'être parcourus par les navigateurs, comme une voie commerciale très importante" [i.e., that these passages will not fail to be frequented by sailors, as a very important commercial route], has not yet come true.

Yet nature has bestowed her bounty with a lavish hand, all around the truncated crown of Ternate's volcano<sup>3</sup> as well as on the conical top of Tidore's peak, which [p. 3] blocks the horizon. Both these areas are overgrown with all kinds of trees and shrubs. No one has taken advantage of this vegetation, however, since the natives lack the required knowledge and there are no good workmen available.

A few moments more and the anchor is cast, either in the harbor or alongside the farthest extending abutment. The traveler's hope of obtaining a full view of the city remains unsatisfied. In every direction only leafy lanes can be seen, with here and there a white wall between the green leaves. To the north there are several huts built on the dry beach. Overall, the sight is neither picturesque nor impressive.

When the mooring takes place, the sailors' annoying shouts only add to the disappointment of the cabin passengers. Ropes are laid out on the quarterdeck, sloops are lowered, ship's officers shout their commands to the sailors and the sailors shout to each other all in a ceaseless din, while everybody runs around carrying out the captain's orders.

Meanwhile, the same kind of activity is taking place on the shore. Until the ship is sighted, the workers have plenty of time on their hands. They go about their daily chores calmly, and spend much of the day in blissful idleness. But suddenly, the watchman on the pier sees that the signal has been hoisted at Maitara to warn that [p. 4] a steamer is approaching. He hurries to inform the authorities and leading citizens. The news spreads like wildfire. The atmosphere becomes tense. Officials and officers eagerly await news of possible promotion or transfers. Traders anticipate the arrival of ordered goods or news about market prices. Feeling such tension, few people seem to be able to sit at home. Soon everyone comes out to the pier to admire the approaching ship. They observe it with great interest, as if they had never seen a steamer before. The Europeans, Arabs, Chinese, and natives joke with each other. Postal parcels are taken to the post office, coolies start unloading the goods, and many people meet friends on board or at the dock. Half an hour before, the quay was quite deserted—now it is bustling with excitement. The activity will continue until the ship departs.

Modern civilization demands a cultivated excitement from the Dutchman who sees a "beautiful" ocean or a "marvelous" mountain range. The newcomer to the tropics still exhibits traces of this behavior when he stumbles upon the Padang road or thrills at the sight of the small island of Pisang, formed in the shape of a floating atoll. The Germans, with their innate enthusiasm for the "ideal" have even devised a vocabulary of ascending

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<sup>3</sup> [p. 2, n. 2] Bleeker (1856, I:162) claims that the top of the mountain, viewed from the capital, is rather broad and truncated but, looked at from the northeast and east, is much more conical in shape. This optical illusion may be caused by the crater opening, identifiable by a bare patch and situated on the north side. The difference, however, is quite small.

The mountain has no name of its own, and no one has heard of the Gama-Lama mountain range shown on the map in the study by Haga (1884). There are several hilly elevations on the top, known by the names of "Mekkah," or the true peak in the west; "Medina," a mountain ridge running from south to east; "Kaf" or "Wakaf" in the north; and "Terkan" in the southwest. Wakaf, slightly higher than the peak, is the crater wall, with a diameter estimated at ca. 500 meters. The names in van der Crab (*TKI*, n. 13), given him by Naidah, are less accurate.

ranks—*schön*, *wunderschön*, *wundervoll*—to express this excitement. Yet many people are incapable of observing what is truly beautiful. The surroundings of Ternate provide a marvelous opportunity for romantic expression. Its immense row of volcanoes immediately bring to mind the terror of eruptions and their accompanying havoc, [p. 5] a somber scene depicted in the accounts of many a traveler. For the observer who has never before encountered a fire-belching mountain or experienced earthquake tremors, the small pillar of smoke emitted by Ternate's volcanic peak may be alarming. Yet apart from this sight, the island offers nothing to stir the spirit. The monotony of the view deprives it of much of its value.

Once the traveler sets foot on land, however, the situation changes completely. It is as though one were on the shore of a lake or inland sea, with the coast of Halmahera on the horizon.<sup>4</sup> The sun's reflection gleams in the wide yet calm water. Numerous fishing proas sail past, moving in one direction or another. Some glide smoothly with their sails set; others are propelled rapidly forward, paddles keeping time with the chant of the oarsmen. Here is irrefutable proof that in this place man makes the forces of nature subservient to his will, despite the mute power of the burning colossus.

Bleeker, in his well-known work,<sup>5</sup> mentions the fact that the name Ternate, depending on its use, can mean the Residency, the capital city, the Sultanate, or the island. Of these, the first two designations are of European origin and came into being at the time of the administrative division of the Dutch Indies. The latter two designations have the same meaning, from the natives' point of view, in that both indicate the seat of government of the Sultan. Even now, in fact, "going to Ternate" in the language of the natives still means going to those quarters of the city which are near the royal palace. Bleeker's description is misleading, however, [p. 6] since it also includes the harbor and the mountain of Ternate, as well as other terms used by both Europeans and natives.

Now let us take a look around the capital city, moving within the boundaries as recently determined by the government.<sup>6</sup>

Measuring from the flagpole in front of the resident's house, the capital is situated at 47'13" north latitude and 127°22'39" longitude east of Greenwich. The city's jurisdiction stretches north and south along the beach. To the south, it reaches as far as Brangka Toboko,<sup>7</sup> a gully with a stony bed along which water flows down the mountains after heavy

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 5, n. 1] Regarding the string of untruths published by Dr. Buddingh in his work *Neêrlands Oost-Indië* (1867), it is almost unnecessary to mention that, contrary to Dr. Buddingh's assertion, Hiri cannot be seen from the beach (II:117).

<sup>5</sup> [p. 5, n. 2] Bleeker, *Reis door de Minahasa en den Molukschen Archipel* (1856, I:181).

<sup>6</sup> [p. 6, n. 1] Entered in the statute book for 1885, no. 186.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 6, n. 2] *Brangka* or *barangka* is the plural of a Moluccan word meaning ditch, gully, dry brook, or gorge. Some people claim that the word is of Spanish or Portuguese origin, deriving from *branen*. [Translator's note: de Clercq may be referring to Spanish and Portuguese *barranco*, or Portuguese *buraco*, having these meanings.] In the Ternatese language, however, the word used is *nguai*. Teijsmann (van der Crab et al., 1879) says (p. 194) that torrents are formed in these gullies

rains, discharging into the sea. To the north, it extends as far as the Soahsia [Soa Sio], or nine kampongs, a general name for a number of quarters or hamlets grouped around the house of the highest native authority. The western boundary of the city runs along the lower slope of the mountain ridge, which turns eastwards behind the Moslem, Chinese, and European cemeteries. Three streets or roads, running almost parallel, form the city proper. The beach road is the longest, trailing off into the Chinese camp on the north side. Fort Oranje is situated at the northern end of this road, and is in turn separated from the Sultan's territory by the Makassarese quarter.

The avenue along the shore offers a pleasant view, with its closely ranged *galala* trees, interrupted here and there by a *Canarium* or a gracefully flowering *Barringtonia* tree.<sup>8</sup> [p. 7] Walking from the pier past the coal warehouse, one approaches a house known as Kadatu Todore, where the ruler of Tidore stays when he comes to the capital for a short stay.<sup>9</sup> The house can be identified by a long white wall with a high gate in the middle. On top of the gate is a covered scaffolding which formerly served as a guard house, though it is not often used these days.<sup>10</sup> There is nothing worth seeing in the house itself, but one may note the pier which has been built in front of the entrance. This pier seems to have been built as a landing dock for vessels coming from Tidore, but only rarely is it well enough maintained for use. There is a caretaker, or *partadah*, on the grounds, but he is generally neglectful in his duties and brings order to the house and compound only when some high dignitary is expected from Tidore. The *ngosa* also live here, statute laborers who deliver messages and run errands for the Sultan. They have a few *proas* at their disposal for this purpose. The whole compound is known as Falah-Jawa, a name derived from the former building style of having a guard house above the entrance gate.

A few steps further on and we reach the office of the Residency. Directly opposite it is the third pier, known as the jetty because of its landing dock, where sloops can come to shore from the anchored ships. This pier was built at the government's expense and is of all the piers the most neatly constructed. It has a dome for lighting the harbor, and the inhabitants often go there in the evening to get a breath of fresh air and to enjoy the many streaks of light in the water [p. 8] (a phenomenon caused by the movement of pile worms). Behind the residency office is the jail with the jailer's house and detention rooms. All these buildings are very neatly constructed and generally functional in design, though on a small scale, taking into account the local requirements. Seen from the water, it is true, they do

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after heavy rains, sweeping everything before them and sometimes even inundating the capital. Teijsmann is in error in this, however; the inundation is caused by overflowing gutters in the city.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 6, n. 3] The Ternatese names for these trees are *mojui* for the *Barringtonia Speciosa* and *nyiha* for the *Canarium Commune* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. The *galala* is the *Erythrina Picta*.

<sup>9</sup> [p. 7, n. 1] Valentijn (1724, Ib:100) reported that in his day, "When the king of Tidore visits Ternate, the East Indies Company provides His Highness with a house, candles, oil, and other necessities, as well as with a bedstead, bedding and 100 *rijksdollars*." Ever since the takeover in 1817, the ruler has received a sum of 150 *guilders* as reimbursement for small expenses when he is called to the capital on official business. The house has since passed into his ownership.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 7, n. 2] Such guard houses are popularly called *rumah pombo*, which means "pigeon loft."

not present an impressive sight, since most of them are covered with the *sago* leaves commonly used on the islands. This roof covering, however, certainly makes for a much cooler building than would be possible with roof tiles.

Just adjacent to the residency office is the office of the harbor master, who also has the position of warehouse manager. Only a narrow gutter separates the harbor master's office from the Resident's house, which is recognizable from a distance by its high flag pole set amidst thickly planted trees. The outside appearance of this house lacks pomp or splendor due to its low roof made of *katu* (palm-leaf thatch). It is, nevertheless, a very appropriate, spacious, and extremely habitable building with a stunning view of the sea and a large back garden, altogether containing every convenience of an Indies house.<sup>11</sup> It is not a very old building, for a stone in the front wall indicates that the cornerstone was laid on May 30, 1842. Tradition has it that the then-Resident Helbach inaugurated the new residency on January 23, 1844 with a big *pasang-lilin* party.<sup>12</sup> The house has, however, suffered damage from severe earthquakes, especially that of 1855 which ravaged the whole island.<sup>13</sup> Damage to the building has never resulted in any casualties, however, [p. 9] since except for the stone foundations it is made completely of wood. There is also a smaller

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<sup>11</sup> [p. 8, n. 1] Bleeker (1856, I:163) says that the house is not adequate to impress the population and does not meet the standards appropriate to the representative of our government. This statement is as empty of meaning as the equally unfavorable opinion of van der Crab in *De Moluksche Eilanden* (1862, p. 261).

<sup>12</sup> [p. 8, n. 2] The ceremony of inaugurating a new house, involving the lighting of many candles, is called *festa sarah tocah* in the Ternatese language.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 8, n. 3] To correct what Bleeker (1856, I:164), Bickmore (1873, II:4) and others have reported about the earthquakes and eruptions on Ternate, one should note that Valentijn (1724) speaks of eruptions on July 18 and 19, 1608, in 1653, and [note continues, p. 9 *infra*] in 1687, and of severe earthquakes in 1673 and 1686. In the 1673 eruption, ash fell as far as Ambon. Bleeker probably made a mistake and meant the eruption of the mountain of Gamkonora on Halmahera (see Valentijn, Ib:332). The so-called "Burnt Corner" [Dutch, *Verbrande Hoek*] or *Batu Angus* [Malay, "Burnt Stone"] resulted from a lava stream flowing to the sea in 1737. Others, however, place this event in 1770 (see below, in the "Short Chronicle," p. 164, n. 3) [as corrected in Errata—Trans.].

In this century, the most severe earthquakes were recorded in 1835 and 1839 (the latter on March 25, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon), and especially in 1840. Before the 1840 earthquake, an eruption occurred on February 2 with earth tremors. During the night between February 13 and 14, the inhabitants heard a subterranean noise and felt several jolts, the most severe occurring at half-hour intervals between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m. The most severe earthquake occurred on the morning of the 14th at 10 o'clock, after which not a single stone house on Ternate was fit for habitation. The damage came to one million guilders. With the government's permission, a donation list was circulated through the whole of the Indies (see *Jav. Courant* of April 1, 1840). Still in shock from the earthquake, some people wanted to shift the seat of government to Halmahera, but this plan was later abandoned. Temminck (1849, III:143) is not entirely accurate in his description. In 1855, the most severe jolts occurred on June 14 (when Fort Dodinga on Halmahera collapsed), June 16 and 22, and July 14. The most recent eruptions, in June 1862 and August 1871 (described by J.E. Teijsmann [*Natuurkundig Tijdschrift*, XI:1960], among others) were much less severe. De Hollander's statement (1877, II:377, n. 2) that many people perished in the 1686 and 1840 quakes has not been verified.

building beyond the main house to which the occupants can withdraw in case of a severe quake.<sup>14</sup>

The front verandah of the house, with its black marble tiles, has a certain renown (reported as far as Holland by naval officers) for being the best ballroom in the whole of the Moluccas. And where first impressions of new surroundings often fade, many a middle-aged man will still recall the evenings dedicated to [p. 10] the goddess Terpsichore [Translator's note: In Greek mythology, Terpsichore is the Muse of dancing, daughter of Jupiter and Mnemosyne.], as he held in his arms a local beauty and danced to the slightly discordant yet rhythmical native music. The spirited, indefatigable dancing would start with the boom of the sunset gun and not cease until the sunrise gun's echoing reply.<sup>15</sup>

The former Governors-General (replaced by Residents after the English interregnum) were housed by the high walls of Fort Oranje—during the many riots it was safer there than anywhere else. Their house, which used to be one story higher, now serves as a warehouse. Once the disturbances to peace and order in the capital had ceased, it seemed practical to find a suitable spot for the Resident's house outside the fort. The present house serves this purpose admirably. Twenty successive heads of government have lived here, some of them constructing useful outbuildings, others adding decorative touches. Slowly and gradually the premises have taken on the shape that we can see today, fulfilling their purpose completely.

Walking further along the beach, one comes first to a crossroads. The classrooms of the European school are located here. On the corner is the club building, not often visited by the inhabitants but a welcome refuge for travelers and strangers. The club has a well-supplied reading room containing journals and newspapers that have already circulated among the members. The fortunes of the club have varied, sometimes enjoying a large number of interested members, at other times temporarily languishing because of some local quarrel, but it has weathered all storms—fortunately for Ternate, since the club provides a very pleasant amenity in this small place. The club is called the “Minerva,” a name given to it by its founders and still used.

On this road, all the houses face the sea. [p. 11] This situation, which is not often found here, may be the result of the last severe earthquake.<sup>16</sup> It is undoubtedly a great improvement, and has certainly increased the value of private houses and commercial offices on the street. Like the Resident's house, however, these buildings are subject to certain inconveniences—as when fierce gusts of wind from the east and west monsoons extinguish the front verandah lamps at night. The occupants enjoy a beautiful view of the sea, however, and have unobstructed access to the fresh sea air.

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<sup>14</sup> [p. 9, n. 1] Bickmore (1873, II:18) claims that all foreigners have sleeping quarters in a separate building behind the main house, so great is the danger of being buried under debris during the night should the main house collapse.

<sup>15</sup> [p. 10, n. 1] The stylishness of the entertaining at Ternate is apparent, for example, in the account of the festivities on August 6, 1753, when Jacob Mossel's appointment as Governor-General was announced (*Notulen der Bataviassch Genootschap*, III:101).

<sup>16</sup> [p. 11, n. 1] See “Fragment,” (*TNI*, p. 426).

Set close together where the road curves slightly at the entrance to the Chinese camp are the open air markets, the civil soldiery's warehouse, and the public works department shed. A little further to the west is the simple but spacious Protestant church. The *pasar* (market) is the liveliest part of the whole city, the meeting place of young and old alike. Here small traders, fishermen, fruit and vegetable sellers and many others display their wares, trying to exchange their tiny crops for cash, or bartering for products from the surrounding islands.

In contrast to the monotonous surroundings, there is a hustle and bustle here that continues throughout the day but is particularly marked in the morning hours. All manner of people feel the need to relax from their labor (though the work is usually not very strenuous) by taking a little refreshment with, as always, a bit of sago. The comfort-loving native takes real pleasure in squatting next to the fruits of his labor, chewing *pinang* (areca nut) or betel nut, and talking to prospective buyers. He does not recommend his wares at all, though. Only when a fellow countryman launches into a wordy account of his latest adventures does the seller show any enthusiasm. [p. 12] The buzzing sound which indicates a public meeting place can be heard from far off. Once there, one can observe the natives pursuing their harmless pleasures. These natives, who have few demands and pass up any opportunity for change, are easily contented. A deeply-rooted commercial spirit can be clearly discerned in their conversations with the people passing by their stalls. Four Alfurus from Halmahera have volunteered to clean the pasar shed, and those who come by regularly will gladly pay a few cents for the privilege of having a clean area for their wares. The well-organized pasar functions without any government intervention.

How many races are to be found in such a small place! Here are the Makassarese, who live mainly by fishing; over there is an Alfuru,<sup>17</sup> who has come from the Halmahera coast opposite Ternate with sago pounded in a virgin forest; further away is the Ternatese artisan with the products of his art; and elsewhere you may see a mountain-dweller with produce from his fields or garden. Mixed among them are the descendants of the Europeans and the Chinese, native Christians and Arabs, all haggling, arguing, gesticulating—sometimes to be seen in calm conversation, then suddenly declaiming their views in a burst of noisy speech. It is as though they are vying with one another to belie the foreigner's impression, derived from other circumstances, that behind their calm and impassive visage there exists no passionate feeling. The very diversity of the people who meet together here gives rise to tumult in this marketplace and endows it with its special character.

We approach the Chinese camp. It consists of a main street with numerous lanes leading to roads further up the mountainside. Five hundred Chinese live within this small space. They have two honorary chiefs, a captain and a lieutenant. [p. 13] This quarter is not very different from other quarters in the city; indeed, the Ternatese Chinese benefit from the comparison since they take care to keep their area clean. Most of the inhabitants are of Chinese descent, but there are no real Chinese women here. The people have adopted many customs from the Indo-Europeans, and use the local Malay as their mother tongue. A few can even carry on a conversation in Dutch reasonably well and are at ease in

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<sup>17</sup> [p. 12, n. 1] The Alfurus usually follow the Ternatese style of dress in the capital and can only be recognized by their long hair and the shell wristlets they always wear.

the company of Europeans. Their lack of familiarity with Chinese customs can clearly be seen during wedding and funeral ceremonies when they need constant reminders about correct attitude and form; those presiding at official functions wear a kind of dress completely different from that worn by their colleagues in Java. Among the buildings worthy of mention in this quarter are the Chinese temple and its attached orphanage, which are situated on one of the side streets.

It may be something about the Ternatense air—who knows?—but few of the Chinese here exert themselves in the way that the Chinese on Java do. On Java, the Chinese slowly and gradually amass some wealth by dint of hard work. Here, most are happy with the small profits earned in trade. They earn just enough to support a wife and children while keeping out of debt. A few years of easy profits, resulting from a temporary rise in the price of their products, will deaden their zest for work and kill the spirit which is so necessary for progress. Once spoiled by this effortless accumulation of easy profits, they abandon the future to the goddess of chance.

Not many festivities take place in the Chinese camp; sometimes a wedding is held, and the coming of the New Year brings the well-known *hela kareta* (“pulling the cart”). [p. 14] During this festival, small carts loaded with children, their decoration reflecting the wealth of the parents, are drawn around the camp by coolies in a procession with torches, lanterns, and music. This procession usually takes place on three successive evenings. Everyone dresses in festive attire and the houses are beautifully illuminated. On the fourth evening, there is a procession through the European and native quarters. The festival is a relatively small affair, though—not surprisingly, in such a small place as Ternate.<sup>18</sup>

The houses of the Chinese are made entirely of stone with tile roofs and are built close together. As a result, they suffer heavy damage during earthquakes, especially since the walls are simply piled-up stones held together with a small amount of poor-quality cement. The desire for privacy in one’s own “home” [English “home” —Trans.] is stronger than the fear of collapse, however, and after each bout of destruction the houses are rebuilt in the same style.

Walking further on, one reaches the clearing where Fort Oranje is located. The fort was built in 1607 by Kornelis Matelief de Jonge. It was originally called Malayu, after the place where it was built.<sup>19</sup> Two years later [p. 15] the name was changed to Oranje by

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 14, n. 1] It is not quite clear why Veth thinks (see Wallace, 1870-1871, p. 16, n. 14) that this festival is celebrated here with special fervor. In Ternate, where there are no rich Chinese and the total number of Chinese is very small, the festival is not planned with the care it receives in other places. During the *cakaibah* [dance] (actually *dansu* [“dance”]), mentioned by Veth, some of the poorer descendants of Europeans and native Christians dress up in various different costumes—disguised as sea officers or government officials or whatever—and go about masked with men who are dressed as women. For a small sum of money those in costume will perform any sort of dance, mainly quadrilles, all the while hugging their generously endowed “wives.” The enormous dolls, called *jenggi* on Java, are never to be seen in Ternate. Verhuell has most probably interpolated what he observed on Java. [Translator’s note: de Clercq provides no citation for Verhuell’s statement.]

<sup>19</sup> [p. 14, n. 2] Valentijn (1724, Ib:12) describes the strength of the fort at that time, and also briefly mentions the forts at Toloko and Takome, now in ruins.

Frans Wittert, and the name of Malayu remains only in the title of Hukum Sangaji Malayu, one of the chiefs of the Sultan's nine kampongs. The dependents of this chief have no separate settlement of their own; instead, their dwellings are scattered throughout the other eight kampongs.<sup>20</sup>

The fort is a quadrangle bastion with thick stone walls surrounded by a dry moat. It was originally built to protect the harbor, which, however, has since been moved. At present the fort is only used for housing a garrison of one hundred and fifty men and five officers.<sup>21</sup> These days no ship will cast anchor in this area since the beach runs dry for a long distance when the tide is out and even at high tide it is difficult to come close to shore. In addition to the officers' residences and the sick ward, the fort contains several storehouses and a single civilian building, a warehouse in which local materials are stored. The entrance faces the sea, and were the humid climate not [p. 16] constantly at war with the blue stone wall, the location of the fort in the middle of this large square would certainly contribute greatly to the city's aesthetic value.<sup>22</sup>

Behind these walls the governors-general used to live with their subordinates; within these walls the Colonial Council, whose decisions contributed so much to the prosperity of the East Indies Company, used to hold their meetings. Here too, in the old fort's council chamber, Rodijk and van Dockum committed their treasonous act—fearing that their possessions might be destroyed by the enemy's fire, they delivered Governor

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 15, n. 1] A few writers, such as Bleeker (1856), Veth (in Wallace, 1870-1871), de Hollander [1877], and others, say that the area around the capital designated as government territory is called Malayu. This is a mistake, however, probably deriving from the information given in my description here. This view may have originated with Valentijn (1724), who speaks of a small city called Maleiyo, a statement that may have been copied by others without verification. Robidé van der Aa (*IG*, p. 508) goes even further and reports the *founding* of Malayu.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 15, n. 2] Of these one hundred and fifty men, seven are stationed on Tidore and fifteen on Bacan. In earlier days the garrison was much stronger; on January 1, 1819, it consisted of twelve officers and two hundred and ninety-four men, as follows:

Staff: 1 major, 1 surgeon-major, 1 captain functioning as quartermaster, and 1 surgeon 3rd class.

Infantry (24th battalion):

*Europeans*: 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 4 second lieutenants, 2 sergeant-majors, 5 sergeants, 2 quartermaster-sergeants, 10 corporals, 1 drummer-piper, 1 bugler, and 35 flankers.

*Ambonese*: 5 sergeants, 7 corporals, and 29 soldiers.

*Javanese*: 3 sergeants, 5 corporals, 4 drummer-pipers, and 105 soldiers.

Artillery:

*Europeans*: 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, 1 quartermaster-sergeant, 3 corporals, and 18 flankers.

*Javanese*: 4 corporals, 1 drummer-piper, and 37 soldiers.

<sup>22</sup> [p. 16, n. 1] According to van der Crab (1862, p. 262), the fort was rebuilt in 1757.

Cranssen over to the English.<sup>23</sup> The fort was never besieged by a native enemy, although it was large enough to shelter the whole European population should the need have arisen.

The avenue of galala trees comes to an end near the pasar (the road through the Chinese camp is too narrow for shade trees) but then starts up again near the fort and continues [p. 17] as far as the Makassarese camp. There it ends completely. The subjects of the government known as the Makassarese live mainly in this quarter; others have scattered as far away as Kastela, and there is even a small settlement at Ibu on the west coast of North Halmahera.<sup>24</sup>

The Makassarese and Bugis first came to Ternate for spices, or perhaps were brought along as prisoners from the war on Celebes. Of their descendants, not one can prove his Makassarese descent or speak the language. Their chief holds the titular rank of captain of the civil army, since his subordinates are either in that service or are assessed for contributions to it. The name "Moslem citizens" (there are many of them throughout the neighboring areas) would really be more suitable for this group. Most people prefer to use the term Makassarese, though, since the name has been in use for many years and such habits are changed only with difficulty. The term does need some elucidation, however, especially since in the statute book definition (1859, no. 20) all natives of the Dutch Indies who profess Islam and have settled on Ternate are considered to be Makassarese and share the rights and duties pertaining to this group. Nevertheless, according to the statute book (1838, no. 20, art. 1) [p. 18] the Javanese Makassarese are excluded from service in the civil army. This regulation may have been enacted in order to lure the Makassarese to these areas; in any case, it was never very successful. These people prefer the prevailing atmosphere of total freedom here and the life of ease over a life of activity. Moreover, as subjects of the government, they imagine themselves superior to the subjects of the Sultan. Because they are exempt from all taxes, the Makassarese shun all exertion, earning a

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<sup>23</sup> [p. 16, n. 2] The biographical notes of Governor-General Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten, LL.D., edited by P. Mijer, LL.D. (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Indië*, 1840, p. 279), describes the event as follows: "Van Overstraten, realizing the danger which this lonely island [Ternate] faced at that time, and knowing the importance of having an experienced head of government there, appointed Willem Jacob Cranssen as governor of Ternate. Cranssen arrived in Ternate in 1799 and found the garrison and population in a pitiable condition, totally lacking the necessities of life. He took measures immediately to amend these and other difficulties, but was seriously hindered in his noble effort by two hostile attacks by the British. The siege lasted a few weeks, during which time the enemy made a number of vigorous sorties which were, however, always bloodily repulsed. Ternate might have remained in our hands were it not for the disloyal and treacherous conduct of a few European officials who set upon and bound the good governor Cranssen. Thus they prepared the way for delivering the island over to the English. This report caused much distress in the capital." (See also below, "[Short Chronicle](#)," p. 167, n. 3 [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] )

<sup>24</sup> [p. 17, n. 1] The Makassarese settlement dates from 1680, at least according to Valentijn (1724, Ib:13): "In former times, the Makassarese and other citizens would extend their houses and gardens as far as Gamma Lamma and even beyond; but after the revolt of King Amsterdam (Kaitsyili Sibori), Governor-General Padbrugge would not allow the return of Ternatense and others to their gardens there, saying that they had wasted too many cloves and created other troubles. Instead, he gave them a few acres of land to be cultivated beyond Castle Oranje. He developed the area and built roads of every sort. The fields, once cultivated, were found to be very fertile, especially the gardens belonging to the East Indies Company, which were situated outside the walls of the city."

meager living from fishing. The population numbers upward of two thousand. This is not much different from the figure mentioned in earlier reports.

The Makassarese quarter borders on the territory of the Sultan to the north. The main road runs directly to the *Ngarah Lamò* or big gate, where the Sultan's guards stand watch. The *Ngarah Lamò* also serves as council chamber and jail.

We shall stay on this side of the boundary, however, and turn westward. Traveling southward along a few narrow paths, we once again reach the Oranje field. Situated behind the fort, this field makes an excellent drill ground. The solitary walker, facing south here, has a beautiful view of the peak of Tidore rising high above the foothills amidst patches of richly varied green foliage.<sup>25</sup>

Two roads run west from the corners of this square, sloping gently. The northern road leads to the Makassarese graveyard; the southern one leads to the ground used for target practice by the garrison and the civil army. A side path off this southern road goes as far as the Chinese and European cemeteries. Along the way it passes a few dilapidated houses [p. 19] which a few inscribed dates show to be the remains of native habitations from the last century. These ruins are not indications of decayed greatness, as some people claim.<sup>26</sup>

Following the upper road, which continues as far as Kayumerah, one soon reaches that part of the city which is inhabited mainly by native Christians, all of whom are citizens. The native school here is doing extremely well. There are more than one hundred students in the school, many of them girls, and it has a good reputation.<sup>27</sup> Christian and Moslem children share desks with Chinese children—an example of religious tolerance which, as far as I know, has never been disturbed by clumsy meddling from outside.

Most dwellings are made of *gaba-gaba* (the center rib of the sago palm leaf),<sup>28</sup> with here and there a stone house; the compounds and fences are well maintained and the whole area has a friendly look. The aspect becomes less cheerful when we proceed southward due to the thicker overgrowth of the adjacent gardens and of the old slave graveyard.

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<sup>25</sup> [p. 18, n. 1] Van Musschenbroek (*Tijdschrift der Koninklijk Instituut*, 4th series, VII:59, n. 1) may have had this view in mind when he made the peculiar comparison with a Dutch landscape, since the groups of trees described by him are found everywhere.

<sup>26</sup> [p. 19, n. 1] Wallace (1870-1871, II:8) even refers to “ruins of huge buildings.”

<sup>27</sup> [p. 19, n. 2] One can appreciate the children's progress, without indulging in the sort of silly praise uttered by van der Crab (1862, p. 264).

<sup>28</sup> [p. 19, n. 3] It is well known that the *gaba* (plural, *gaba-gaba*; Ternatese, *gabah*) is the center rib of the sago palm leaf. *Gaba-gaba* are extremely strong and are used to construct walls, lofts, and sometimes also floors; for this reason, houses made of this material are called *rumah gaba-gaba*. *Katu* is the general name for thatch, called *atap* on Java, which consists of leaves of the same palm strung together.

The impression of Ternate received by the visitor depends very much on the time of year, since the white walls surrounding the compounds suffer much damage from the continuous rains and most of the inhabitants do not [p. 20] want to replace them with hedges—the walls are a real Old Dutch custom, adopted from our ancestors and still observed.

The Christian citizens have no leader of their own, but come directly under the jurisdiction of the European government. The population numbers slightly more than two hundred people. In fact they differ very little from many Indo-Europeans who owe their status of equality with Europeans to a whim of fate. Some of these people are artisans, some have small gardens, and still others try to earn their living as clerks or overseers. They are no burden on the government and quietly live their own lives, faithfully performing their religious duties.<sup>29</sup>

Their moral standard has more than once been attacked: even Valentijn talks about them unfavorably. It is often overlooked, however, that in a place as small as Ternate the most trivial matters are blown out of proportion. Moreover, mutual emulation and the complete lack of diversity often cause observers to mistake appearance for reality.<sup>30</sup>

Our wandering through the capital is at an end. We turn back toward the beach and cast a last glance along the road, which often provides a cheerful sight, when the fully loaded schooners are returning from New Guinea, the Mandarese boats bring in all kinds of articles from Singapore, and a pair [p. 21] of steamships host their lively entertainments. At such times, one can for a moment visualize how Ternate would always appear if its geographical location were less remote.

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<sup>29</sup> [p. 20, n. 1] The native Christians are most probably descendants of the so-called free citizens, i.e., servants of the Company who stayed behind when their term was finished and who were allowed to carry on their own trade in rice, sago, timber, salt, cattle, and cotton mats, but not in spices. They were required to have a fixed abode on Ternate within Maleiyo and were not allowed to marry native women unless the women embraced Christianity (see de Jonge, 1872-1875, IV:lxvii). According to Valentijn (1724, Ib:255) they were employed as bodyguards during council meetings, for example in 1627. Many of their descendants enjoy a status of equality with Europeans because they adopted a European surname, often by chance.

<sup>30</sup> [p. 20, n. 2] See Valentijn (1724, Ib:13, 15) and the travel story, dated 1853, which is reported in the "Fragment" (*TNI*, p. 429).

Exports of the region are tobacco (mainly from Galela and Makian), staghorn, birds' skins (especially from New Guinea), tortoise shell, wax (from Sula and Banggai), *damar* (resin), white and black shark fins, cocoa, rubber, *kopra* (copra), nutmeg, mace, coffee, *mangudu* bark, and *tripang* (sea cucumber). The main import articles are cotton and woolen underclothing, glassware and earthenware, brass and iron products, silk and cotton thread, opium (by the government of the Dutch Indies), coal, gunny bags, tea, paper, medicines, cigars, guns (for hunting), sunshade provisions, candles, matches, wine, beer, spirits, paraffin, shoes, hats, roof tiles, rice, sugar, salt, flour, cattle, furniture, and fireworks. The exact quantities for each of these products are unknown since traders in a free port never disclose true figures.

## II

### **The Capital Region. Further Particulars**

If, instead of turning eastward, one goes back to the beach and follows the upper road toward the south, one will come upon the route known as the high road. Eighteen feet wide at this point, this road narrows further on, until past Kayumerah it becomes a footpath. It then continues along the southeastern shore, curving to the west at the southernmost point and ending beyond Kastela. [p. 22]

Precisely because of the width and the surroundings of Ternate, the four brangkas, which cut the road up to Kayumerah (Toboko, Kalapa Pendek, Talangami, and Bastion) are bridged over properly, although the road is very rarely used by the few vehicles belonging to Ternate's inhabitants. Actually, plank bridges would suffice for the few pedestrians, since even after the heaviest torrential rains the water in these dry stone beds is at the most two to three feet deep—because of the sloping terrain the water discharges rapidly into the sea.

This part of the road in particular is very leafy and runs through the residents' gardens. These residents often have a house or cottage on the beach, most easily accessible by proa. In places where the owner's property does not reach as far as the beach one can see here and there the house of an overseer, surrounded by a few huts in which the inhabitants' hirelings live. The help given by these hirelings in maintaining the house and grounds is amply rewarded by the permission for them to settle there. They also receive a share of the harvest.

The presence of weather-beaten brickwork in many places is a reminder of earlier establishments, where the wealthier residents might rest in quiet seclusion from their day's work—unstrenuous though that work often was. Later on, the buildings were transferred into other hands or fell into neglect, because the owners did not want to spend the amounts necessary to maintain their property in such an out-of-the-way place. Viewing these buildings, the visitor thinks of vanished splendors and sees in these ruins the vestiges of a prosperity which never really existed. Slave trade and smuggling, unlawful and deceitful acts, would yield temporary profits. But these would disappear as fast as they came, and those who had a little wealth would see it gradually disappear as everyone took his share of a more equitable distribution.

Now almost completely owned by government subjects, the coastal region from the capital to Kastela is considered [p. 23] to be government land and is recorded as such in the government year book. This results in many difficulties in practice, since the Sultanate holds a different view and the servants of the Sultan travel freely around the area, collecting taxes from those of the Sultan's subjects who live there, calling them up for statute labor, or arresting them when necessary. The Sultanate claims, not unjustly, that these lands, which were originally bestowed as a favor on relatives and compatriots, cannot be alienated from the rest of the kingdom, even though they have since been taken over by Europeans and Chinese who found in them a suitable means of alleviating their acute money shortage. The holders were granted at the most the right to use the land, and it should never have been registered as government property. At the moment, however, there is no pressing need to change the situation, and Ternate will certainly not be the only place

in the Dutch Indies where land owned by the district or state has been converted into government property in this manner. If a new contract were to be concluded with a new Sultan, however, a better arrangement should be worked out.

In addition to a number of fruit trees, *kalapa*, *seho*, sago and *pisang*, maize and a little paddy are grown here. There are plantations of nutmeg,<sup>1</sup> cocoa, coffee, and vanilla. Depending on the care taken in upkeep, these crops can yield profits for the owners. The gardens also provide the opportunity for growing potatoes, vegetables, sugar cane, and a number of other crops for daily use.

A few of these plantations, such as Tongoli and Wattendorf, extend [p. 24] up the mountain slope to a height of fifteen hundred feet. The Sultan's former country residence at Sonoto was situated at a very picturesque spot, where the cool morning and evening air have refreshed many invalids.

Because of the proximity of the city and frequent shooting, the area is completely empty of birds, save for a few green pigeons (*ngoömi*) which can be seen on the trees during the day, and the flying foxes at night—a favored target for keen hunters shooting by moonlight.

A cluster of dwellings identifies several places as kampongs: Kayumerah,<sup>2</sup> Sorofu, Kalamata, Fitu, Gambesi, Sasa Lamo, Sasa Ici, Jambulan, and Kastela. Not far from the southern point and close to the beach, still on this road, one comes across a freshwater lake which many people think is an extinct crater. The lake is known among the Ternatese as *ngadé*, also the Malay-speaking population calls it *laguna*.<sup>3</sup> The Tidorese element, strongly represented in these kampongs, earn their living by growing vegetables, forging iron, and catching fish, or they assist the owner of the land in return for living there. Their total number is well over one thousand souls, but in terms of statute labor they remain liable to the village where they used to live.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond Kayumerah, with its somewhat rugged terrain, and especially after Sasa, the land becomes more even. The footpath to Kastela runs over flat country. There is a stony elevation [p. 25] at Kastela, which derives its name from the ruins of the fortress Gam Lamo, first occupied by the Portuguese and then by the Spanish. The present inhabitants of this kampong are mostly Makassarese. They live under a partadah or

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 23, n. 1] The two species of nutmeg grown here are *Myristica Fragrans* and *M. Sucedanea*.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 24, n. 1] At Kayumerah the ruins of a small fortress can be seen. De Hollander (4th edition, p. 379, n. 1) [*sic*: 1877 = 3rd revised ed.] calls it the King's Pier, but this name is not known locally. He probably means the stone enclosure facing the sea in front of the palace at Ternate.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 24, n. 2] So I don't forget, the word *laguna* is especially used to refer to the freshwater lakes. Van der Crab (loc. cit. p. 292) considers this laguna to be a former bay or inlet, which, however, would not explain its fresh water.

<sup>4</sup> [p. 24, n. 3] Recently, a few plantations have started using laborers from Talaud. These workers are in demand since they do not ask for high wages and are not lazy, but they do not seem to be willing to commit themselves for longer than two years.

overseer and contribute to the civil army. Also here, in a few bamboo huts, live the last remaining lepers, who in former times had to live in this isolated place. The distance from here to the capital is seven *paal* (approximately 10 km) or two hours' walk. In the vernacular, this area is called *kie madudu*, or "Abackside of the mountain." Kastela lies exactly west where, just beyond a hill named Ruwah, Batumerah is supposed to form the boundary between government land and the territory of the Sultan. This boundary has never been delimited officially, however.

Repeated complaints about burying dead bodies of the residents near houses belonging to Europeans or in lands occupied by them has led to the allocation of specific burial places, one not far from the fortress at Kayumerah, a second one beyond Fitu [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] near the boundary with Gambesi and a third at Kastela, behind the house of the *partadah*. The residents are required to observe the regulations applied throughout the Dutch Indies with regard to burial places. The Dutch government has requested the rulers to cooperate by setting up similar regulations in their territory. The rulers readily promised their cooperation, since the presence of graves on private land or in compounds often presents difficulties when the property is transferred to others or divided among relatives. Whether the rulers can strictly maintain their authority in this regard and have the courage to carry out a change in an age-old practice is doubtful.

The southern part of the island has nothing much noteworthy to offer, but the extension of the capital to the north is more important. Here the Sultan of Ternate resides; this area is thus the center of the native government. [p. 26]

At the end of the Makassarese quarter, past Fort Oranje, the beach road runs imperceptibly into the territory of the Sultan, or Soahsio [Soa Sio]. The territory consists of nine kampongs, with houses built close together and connected with each other by narrow lanes with strong hedges set between the compounds. The important chiefs live along the main road. The big mosque is also here, identifiable by its white wall and its roof, which is raised in layers. There is nothing outstanding about its building style or decorations. It is repaired and whitewashed to some extent only at the time of the big Moslem festivals, when the Sultan comes with his entire retinue to perform his religious obligations in the presence of the whole population.

Already from here one can see a big gate at the end of the road. The gate is part of a stone building, the lower part of which forms an opening in the shape of an arch. This opening is not, however, wide enough for carriages to pass through. The Sultan's guard is posted at this building, the *hakim* (judge) presides there, and a room has been set aside in it as a prison. The building is called *Ngarah Lamò*. Its entrance door divides the fenced-in compound of the palace from the outbuildings, which are known as *ngarah upas* and *ngarah ici*. Having passed through this area, one enters a big square which slopes gently westward [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. Completely separate from the square, the Sultan's palace towers over it.

The palace is built against the slope of a low hill. The back is at ground level, but the front verandah is supported by high pillars and can be reached via a flight of thirty-four stone steps. The walls of the house, which has no upper floor, are one meter thick. Although it is neatly finished, the house offers nothing special except a majestic view of the sea from the balcony and a spacious inner gallery, covered with red tiles, where visitors are

usually received. There are not many adjoining rooms, but they are sufficient in number for the Sultan and his family, since the married children rarely live in the palace. [p. 27]

Visits from the Resident to the Sultan are characterized by a few customs which, because of their traditional nature, are generally observed. Any departure from these customs is made only reluctantly.<sup>5</sup>

Although the afternoon is the time for paying visits in native society here, in recent years the Resident has instituted a change. This was done so as not to disturb the saying of prayers at sunset—these prayers are faithfully observed at the palace. Usually by seven o'clock the Sultan sends the yellow calash down to pick up the Resident and his family.<sup>6</sup> The calash is drawn by sixteen people, who move slowly so that they will not damage the rickety vehicle. One cannot expect this vehicle to be particularly solid, since it has been in use for a half century. A certain superstition is attached to its preservation, however, as if the Sultanate would fall were it to be taken out of service. For this reason it is patched up over and over again. Its step has not survived the course of time, and one has to climb in with the help of a lamp-step.

Twenty torchbearers, accompanying the procession, light their bamboo cylinders filled with damar; this smoky illumination gives the procession a fantastic appearance, and, in a place where nothing much happens, young and old come out of their houses to witness this spectacle.

It takes about half an hour for the Resident to reach the palace. When the carriage arrives, the Sultan, surrounded by six guards with lighted candles, receives the Resident at the foot of the stairs and escorts him, arm in arm, upstairs. The reception is held in the inner gallery, where a [p. 28] sofa or chairs with red velvet cushions have been prepared. The Resident is seated at the right hand of the Sultan.<sup>7</sup>

A tray with *sirih* (betel) is kept ready on a small table. When the two leaders are seated, a servant comes with water for washing; this is declined with a small motion of the hand. At once tea is served, followed by candied fruit which must be tasted before the conversation can start. If requested beforehand, the *lego* and *dadangsa* [dances] are performed. Eight to twelve elegantly dressed women form a procession and honor the authorities in the accepted manner, a musician in old-fashioned uniform gives the key on his clarinet, and the women sing several welcoming songs in honor of the visitors while dancing in a style slightly resembling the Javanese *tandak*. When the women have

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 27, n. 1] The Sultan of Tidore's receptions have a more western tinge and, because of their poor form, are usually less satisfactory.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 27, n. 2] This carriage is a gift from the government. (See below, "[Short Chronicle](#)," p. 176, n. 2 [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] )

<sup>7</sup> [p. 28, n. 1] When the Sultan visits the Resident the same formalities are observed, with the difference that the secretary helps the Sultan down from the carriage. The Resident receives the Sultan at the top of stairs, and the two enter the room arm in arm. On formal occasions the greeting consists of three embraces, carried out with the required formality, and etiquette demands that immediately after the visit a note be sent to inquire whether the visit was agreeable.

completed their repertoire, they retire with the same dignity with which they came. During the interval, cigars and seltzer water are offered. Soon other dancers appear, ten young men dressed in fantasy harlequin costumes with three-cornered hats trimmed with birds of paradise. Armed with small sticks, the men perform most creditably a number of old dances to the native music, the dances consisting mainly of regular leaps and ending with an acrobatic stunt in which the dancers form a human pyramid. All this is not an unpleasant pastime, and the visitors usually attend the function with interest. After current issues have been discussed, the visitors are escorted out in the same manner as they arrived, and they return home by road.

In normal cases, the exchange of views [p. 29] between the Resident and the Sultan takes place through intermediaries. These are native clerks from the Resident's office, the Sultan's secretary, or, if it only concerns messages, a *jurtulis* (scribe). The Sultan's secretary is, so to speak, his right-hand man. For this reason, when his master sends him on a mission to the Resident, he receives normal courtesies—for example, he and the Resident shake hands, and he is offered a seat. When he is made comfortable, he will tell the reason for his visit. Not even a state dignitary can pay his respects to the Resident without the presence of the Sultan's secretary, and he always presides at the presentation and swearing into office of newly appointed officials or princes who have been promoted to officer's rank. Before such an event, the secretary confirms that the Resident has approved the nomination. When the post of secretary is held by a suitable person, confidential matters are often discussed with him, and this preliminary hearing has good results.

During fasts no visits are exchanged.

Just before the beginning of the fast, the Sultan notifies the Resident, mostly as a reminder that unfinished business will have to remain unfinished for the time being. On the twenty-seventh day there is a celebration with a grand illumination of banana trunks filled with resin (*golaha elah-elah* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]) and a continual volley of gun and *lila* shots. The Sultans receive presents from the government, consisting of sugar, coffee, rosewater, port wine, candles, materials for kebayas, and tea.<sup>8</sup> The Sultans reciprocate by sending rice, chickens, and fruit on the first day of the year. When the fasting period is finished, the native clerk is sent to congratulate the Sultan on behalf of the Resident; this courtesy is usually immediately followed by a note of thanks from the Sultan. [p. 30]

On the other hand, the King's birthday is celebrated with great fervor. In the morning, native delegations with officials and officers come to pay their respects on behalf of the sultans, and in the evening the sultans themselves arrive in full regalia and with a large retinue. The sultans are always pleased when the party lasts until the next morning. After the polonaise, the sultans remove their rather heavy crowns and other ornaments so

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<sup>8</sup> [p. 29, n. 1] This practice was already observed in former times, for Valentijn (1724, Ib:329) reports that, together with a letter from the Governor-General Maersdijker, the following was sent to Sultan Mandarsah: "16 ells of green cloth and 20 ells crimson, 16 ells green Dutch velvet, 7 flowered Ternatense Bethillis and 4 flowered Cassa Bengali, 40 pieces rough-flowered Syavoniye, 10 pieces assorted Bengali silk, 22 pieces silk Petoolen, 1 cask German beer, and 2 large boxes with rose-water."

that they can move easily for the rest of the night in less splendid dress.<sup>9</sup> They constantly urge their entourage to dance, [p. 31] and the *bokis* participate willingly, although they prefer the quadrilles and old Portuguese dances to ring-dances. The toast to the King's health is loudly acclaimed, to the accompaniment of a deafening noise from all the musical instruments brought to the party. Even among those with only an outside ticket there is a festive air, and no disturbances occur.

Other customs do not much differ from those occurring as part of social contacts with rulers in other parts of the country. Since these general customs are known, the Ternatese versions do not have to be reported here. I would just like to mention something about the climate and the population.

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<sup>9</sup> [p. 30, n. 1] The Ternatese do not make a distinction between crown jewels and state jewels. These consist of:

1 gold moon with 17 jewels and 26 Ceylonese stones  
 2 gold *dahengora*, each with 6 Ceylonese diamonds  
 7 jewelled stars  
 1 jewelled sunflower  
 1 large jewelled drop earring  
 12 gold drop earrings with 60 small diamonds  
 1 carbuncle  
 2 topaz stones  
 80 different gems  
 1 gold chain with fan-shaped links  
 1 gold chain with links like *balibi* fruit  
 1 gold chain with 24 diamonds  
 and 1 gold Makassarese chain.

The state jewels of Tidore include:

2 silver soup-tureens with dishes  
 2 silver trays  
 2 silver sirih apparatuses  
 2 silver trays (round)  
 2 silver trays (small square)  
 2 silver trays (round; with inscription, "P.P.P. Jongman")  
 6 brass spittoons  
 1 sirih box with silver mountings  
 1 sword without sheath  
 1 shield with silver ornaments  
 1 stick with gold knob, with English inscription dated 1810  
 1 silver spittoon  
 2 cheval glasses  
 8 wall coverings  
 1 carpet  
 4 brass cannon of 1 [ton (?)]  
 three iron cannon of 1 [ton (?)]  
 24 rifles and other equipment for soldiers.

**Climate.** The climate in the capital is favorable for Europeans, a condition made possible largely by the moderate temperatures and the fresh sea winds. Ternate even has a particularly good reputation for people suffering from respiratory diseases, especially those with asthmatic symptoms. The number of children who are absent from the European school because of illness is extremely low. The native Christians exhibit the same characteristics as the Europeans and others, since their adherence to western customs has markedly lessened their aversion to medical help.

Mortality rates for the native population are not available, but it can be assumed that, under normal circumstances, they are not higher than in other places. The situation changes completely, however, when epidemics break out. This is due either to the obvious lack of concern about climatological and hygienic conditions, or because the people have no effective medicines against diseases such as smallpox, fevers, and cholera. The native has no conception of infections caused by local conditions: [p. 32] when he has a fever he will take baths, and when he suffers from gastric disturbances he seems to feel the need to eat twice as much. The distrust of western medicine is too deep-rooted for him to risk its use except in extreme cases.<sup>10</sup> Poor communications make it difficult [p. 33] to supply many

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<sup>10</sup> [p. 32, n. 1] This lack of trust on the part of the native population is seen most clearly in their dislike for using medicines, which are taken very rarely in pressing need only a few times and even then reluctantly. This reluctance is also observed in the areas under direct rule, but here it is doubly evident, since the headmen are not inclined to follow government encouragement in defending the good results of our medicine when it contradicts their own convictions. This situation is to be deplored because of the many epidemic diseases which repeatedly break out in these regions. A native sick person would rather succumb as a victim of obstinacy and ignorance than take the risk of the detested help of a European doctor.

It is not surprising that the native does not understand the prophylactic good of vaccinations. He does not feel well for some time after a vaccination; the itching bothers him; he scratches the developed pox; and secretly he is glad when the treatment is not successful, for he thinks that he has escaped from an unknown danger. Meanwhile, the few people who remain free from the disease in later years will never attribute this to the beneficial effect of the earlier vaccination.

It is true that nine or ten people have been appointed by the government to carry out vaccinations in remote locations. But with the exception of the post-holders' stations, it can be safely assumed that the vaccination has been carried out in name only, for the government has repeatedly discovered that the vaccination was unsuccessful due to lack of care by parents or relatives. Instead of increasing the number of vaccinators, it would have been better to have first waited for the results of an epidemic in a small, regularly vaccinated area. If the general population were to become convinced of the beneficial effect of vaccination because of the lower number of serious cases in the treated area, the number of vaccinations over a larger area would slowly and gradually increase—for even though a native stubbornly clings to the prejudices propagated from father to son, he may change his opinion in a small matter in favor of what science shows him to be more practical.

Even in the capital the situation is not much better in this respect. The vaccinations are carried out by a native vaccinator under the direct supervision of the health officer in charge of vaccinations. [p. 33] Once a week the vaccinator collects all the children at the house of the medical officer and examines those who have been vaccinated. In cases where the pox has appeared, it is used to vaccinate others. The Sultan sends his assistance by lending one of his guards, who goes to the kampongs to gather the unvaccinated children and bring them to the vaccination center. It is extremely difficult, however, to find even a few children every week out of a population of approximately seven thousand—and the arms of many of them show that the vaccination was not successful because they deliberately squeezed out the vaccine. Vaccinations have been carried out for years, but with little effect. This is shown by the most recent epidemic, rampant from August

places with medicines, and of course epidemics can wreak dreadful ravages. It is common enough for a government official on his rounds to visit a kampong and learn that half of the population has died. Of the native rulers, only those of Tidore and Bacan sometimes try our medicines on their relatives.

Ternate is like other places situated close to the equator in that the dry monsoon here is characterized by intermittent rain showers, and a heat wave of five to six successive weeks is extremely rare. Generally July, August, and September seem to be the driest months. Comparatively little rain falls during the transition periods of April-May and October-November. The first of these periods forms the transition to the southeast or dry monsoon, and the second period forms the transition to the northwest or wet monsoon. The showers are real tropical rains, but only rarely does the sun remain hidden for days, as it does on Ambon. Heavy thunderstorms are also unusual.

The largest temperature range is 16°F. In the early morning hours the temperature varies between 72° and 76°, usually increasing by noon to 84° to 85° with a few degrees [p. 34] more during the afternoon, then dropping very slowly back to the morning temperature during the latter part of the night. This lack of change during the night is explained by the fact that there is no land wind—it does blow along the shore of Halmahera but does not extend as far as Ternate. Complaints about extreme heat are more often the result of physical activity, or prompted by the constricted movement of a small place. Or perhaps we have forgotten how other people in other regions suffer from the heat.

There is a clear shortage of good drinking water in the capital. The wells have been dug too close to the beach and not deep enough—as a result, there is always salt in the water. It does not bother the natives, though, and even the Europeans become used to it after a while, so nobody wants to take the trouble and spend the money needed to dig a deeper well somewhere on the slope of the mountain. The coral reefs, which run dry far into the sea, often spread an unpleasant smell, but this does not have any adverse health effect.

**Population statistics.** The total population is as follows:

| <b>Nationality</b>                    | <b>1828</b> | <b>1833</b> | <b>1854</b> | <b>1860</b> | <b>1871</b> | <b>1885</b> |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Subjects of the Sultan of Ternate     | 36000       | 45000       | 100000      | 64393       | 61857       | 71834       |
| Subjects of the Sultan of Tidore      | 15000       | 16000       | 40461       | 28878       | 30688       | 31929       |
| Serfs                                 | 1044        | 838         | 323         |             |             |             |
| Makassarese, etc.                     | 929         | 1131        | 2077        | 1256        | 2311        | 2044        |
| Chinese and their descendants         | 375         | 330         | 385         | 392         | 378         | 465         |
| Native Christians                     | 445         | 297         | ?           | ?           | 428         | 583         |
| Europeans and those on the same level | 339         | 376         | 454         | 416         | 295         | 308         |

[p. 35] All of these figures are based on data collected on the last day of December of the years given. When evaluating their accuracy, the following should be taken into account:

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1884 to May 1885, in which many children and elderly people died, even including many members of the royal family.

1. The number of subjects of the rulers of Ternate and Tidore is based completely on hearsay. The estimates do not even have some relative value as they may be too high or too low or entirely without foundation. Since self-government has been contractually guaranteed to these rulers, obtaining more accurate figures is of no use to our government, and even if interference on our part had been allowed, most of the district and kampong chiefs would not have been able to collect more accurate figures. A note with the figures for 1828 indicates that the population of the Sula and Banggai Islands (Ternate) and New Guinea (Tidore) could not be estimated—this omission was remedied in later years. Later it was concluded that final figures should be decreased slightly after each epidemic or eruption; if such events had not occurred, the figures were to be increased.

For this reason, the total of a few successive years remained almost the same. Bleeker (1856, I:188, 222) still attaches some value to the figures for 1854, and even draws some conclusions for Tidore, but they do not explain anything. Van der Crab (1862, 302 and 322) is of the opinion that the figures are too low, but this statement is unproved as well. Van der Crab is, however, right in noting that it is difficult to obtain correct information about the population figures without evoking needless distrust. The rough estimates of earlier years had the advantage that nobody was deceived by the figures.

2. There are no serfs after 1860 because of the Act of May 7, 1859, in which slavery was abolished in the Dutch Indies. The Ordinance of the Governor-General from July 14 of the following year gave January 1, 1860 as the last date [p. 36] for abolition of slavery in the possessions outside Java and Madura. The abolition of slavery in the sultanates (mid-1879) concerned serfs who had never been registered.

3. The only thing that the Makassarese on Ternate have in common with the natives of Celebes is their name. The Makassarese on Ternate are descendants of traders who came here three centuries ago for cloves, or they may have been brought as prisoners of war. The residence of these Makassarese descendants is limited to the capital city, and not one of them knows the language of their presumed ancestors. The Makassarese quarter lies to the north of Fort Oranje, but this quarter is much too small for all the Makassarese here, and they are scattered all over the government territory as far as Kastela. Statute no. 20 of the 1859 statute book contains a directive for the chief of the Makassarese and Foreign Orientals at Ternate, article 2 of which includes in this category *all* natives who are living outside the region from which they originally came; thus they are considered the same as the Moslem citizens at Menado, Ambon, and Timor. The headman of this group is unsalaried and only receives a small amount at weddings and funerals; he holds the titular rank of captain in the civil army. Except for having to serve in the civil army and guard duty, the Makassarese are free of all taxes and labor conscription, and for this reason consider themselves superior to the Ternatense and those who are direct subjects of the Sultan. Most of them are quite poor, and do not feel the least desire to improve their position by working hard. They do not give the government any trouble, however, except for small offenses.

I cannot explain the difference in figures for successive years. The figure given for the end of 1885 includes approximately one hundred descendants of Arabs—men, women, and children—and an additional twelve real Arabs.

4. The number of Chinese had remained almost constant over the past half-century. There are perhaps ten to fifteen real Chinese among them, but not a single woman who was born in China. [p. 37] The others are *peranakan Cina* (people of Chinese descent born in the Indies —Trans.); their language is Malay as it is spoken here, with very few Chinese words in it. Hence the degeneration of the Mongolian [*sic*] customs, which may be observed in the public school for Europeans where the Chinese element comprises more than one-half of the student body. At the end of their school training, to show that they have successfully completed their lessons, the students often take the set examination for government clerk. In their exam results, the Chinese students are far from being the worst. The Chinese all work as retail traders, and if they are diligent they often do well, although not many manage to rise above the average standard of wealth. They have a good reputation and the failings of their national character are less noticeable here.

5. The figures for the native Christians are missing for two years; I presume that they were subsumed into another category. The figure for the end of 1885, however, definitely includes all the Christian natives in the whole settlement—of these, 231 belong to the capital Ternate and 352 to Labuha on the island of Bacan. It is, in fact, very likely that these two categories were always added together, and that Bleeker (1854) and van der Crab (1860) considered the native Christians to be mestizos, since the increase in the number of Europeans and those on the same level is otherwise difficult to explain. No. 142 of the 1861 statute book directs that population registers be started for the Native Christians, *without detriment to their right of registration in the civilian registry books*. This formulation has repeatedly led to confusion. According to some, it means that in these registers the label “Native Christian” had to be added after the name, since the name alone was insufficient to distinguish them from Europeans; on the other hand, others have argued that such a label was forbidden, since not specified by the law. Whatever the original intention, for lack of better information [p. 38] the assumption was later made that those children who were registered in the civilian registry books should be counted among the group on par with Europeans. As a result, a few came to occupy a privileged position, but others, less well-informed, remained natives. This situation was rectified later on for some people by the equalization proclaimed in the statute book. Even now, however, the confusion remains, and one sometimes sees a peculiar phenomenon wherein children considered as being of European descent receive free education at the Dutch schools but their brothers or sisters, considered as being of native descent, have to pay tuition. Since the Native Christians at Ternate are counted as citizens in any case—i.e., exempted from statute labor and taxes, and enrolled only in the civil army—they may as well be equalized with Europeans without distinction. In that case there would be no question of favoritism: the one group would have as many or as few rights as the others.

6. Europeans and those on a par with them form a minority at Ternate. There are at the most twenty-five full-blooded Europeans in the whole of the residency. The number of those on the same level as Europeans has increased because of the liberal application of the statute discussed under 5, above. Many of those in this category are officials and functionaries, others are retired officers and non-commissioned officers, some are traders, while most live on the profits of their plantations or estates, which are usually enough to meet their needs. Together they form a small society which is sequestered from the world and completely indifferent to what happens outside Ternate. Indeed, the society more or less vegetates, and its members are often at odds with each other due to their lack of regular occupation. A little bit of good will could prevent a lot of quarrels, but since each

small quarrel is immediately described at length in the Indies newspapers, Ternate has for years been known as a veritable hotbed of backbiting—in fact, this is the result of a very narrow-minded view of life. The description [p. 39] in Valentijn (1724) shows us that there has not been much change for the better in the intervening years.

### III

#### Sidangoli

[p. 39] In the main *nagarees* or residences of the district chiefs and other native headmen on the larger islands of the Ternatense archipelago, there are certain houses known as *falah Sultan* or rest houses (Dutch, *posthuizen*).<sup>1</sup> These houses, established and maintained by the population, are used mainly by touring officials and their suites. Itinerant traders are sometimes allowed to use them for a small fee.

The Sultan's house at Sidangoli is relatively large and well-furnished. Because this area is within easy reach of Ternate, since the beginning of this century the state rulers have used their house here as a country residence, a place where they can rest from the cares that accompany their everyday rule in the capital.<sup>2</sup>

Here the Sultans have amused themselves with deer-stalking in the dense forests which stretch to the beach, or with fishing [p. 40] in the waters under the lee of the many islands and coral-reefs. Government Residents have frequently been their guests. The location undoubtedly provided an opportunity for closer association and friendly contact between the native rulers and government officials.<sup>3</sup>

I received an invitation of this kind, and visited Sidangoli during the second week of April 1886.

It was a beautiful morning. The sky was slightly hazy with the lifting vapors of the rain shower which had fallen during the night. The air was almost completely calm, and the sea was as smooth as glass. Freed of the surging of waves or swell, the rowed boat will make good time. From far off the *tifah* (drum) and *gong* (gong) boom out as a sign that the Sultan is approaching; a few moments later the *kakungah* or Sultan's proa docks alongside the jetty in front of the residency. As we board the proa, the Sultan's band of musicians, seated in one of the escorting *rorehes* (boats),<sup>4</sup> plays our national anthem. The band accompanies us along the whole journey, playing its repertoire each time the party sits

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 39, n. 1] I find that, because of an error made by Teijsmann (*Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 40:260), these houses are sometimes listed as "residencies."

<sup>2</sup> [p. 39, n. 2] In the second volume of Veth's edition of Wallace (1870-1871), page 11, this house is described as belonging to the Sultan of Tidore who, as such, would have a country residence on Ternatense territory. The absurdity of this statement seems to have escaped the translator. Strangely enough, the translation retains the English spelling of "Sedangoli." Wallace, in chapter 22, refers to Sidangoli, Jailolo, Sawu, and other locations as villages; actually they are all inlets (*jiko*)—the names refer not to the location of the village but to the whole coastal region contained within fixed boundaries.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 40, n. 1] Governor-General van der Capellen also spent a few days here (*TNI*, p. 312).

<sup>4</sup> [p. 40, n. 2] According to the shape, size and the material from which they are made, the vessels in this region are given the Ternatense names of *jungku*, *juanga*, *rorehe*, *prahubangku*, *galela*, *pakata*, and *oti ma-hera*; these last are the common outrigger proas.

down for a meal. Although a few minor headmen issue confusing orders, the departure occurs without mishap and after a few superfluous turns of the helm we are in the open sea.

The Sultan's proa does not excel as a sailing or rowing boat; on the other hand, care is taken that those who are transported in it are made comfortable. For our trip, the center part is completely covered by a fairly spacious wooden tent, the back part of which is separated by a closed partition and serves as a sleeping room. There is enough space for ten chairs and a small table, and the front and sides are left completely open so as [p. 41] not to obstruct the view. Curtains are mounted so that the bright sunlight may be dimmed if necessary. Sixty oarsmen, all dressed in blue with yellow head shawls, raise their paddles (Dutch, *pagaaien*) in time to the tifah and let them down again together into the water.<sup>5</sup> With sirih-bearers, minor headmen, and others, the number of passengers and crew has increased to one hundred. Fortunately the tide is out, and therefore the current is running to the north, since the heavily-loaded craft would otherwise make little headway.<sup>6</sup> From the top of the mainmast the Dutch flag flutters and above it a tri-colored pennant (*amral* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]); from the projecting bamboos at the stem and stern the *paji-paji* or proa flags fly, only six this time, since this is not an official visit.<sup>7</sup>

The headmen constantly spur the oarsmen to increase their speed; a few singers strike up piercing [p. 42] shrieks to that same end; the proas following at some distance try to race against the Sultan's proa—all of it results in a kind of competition which energizes the rowers. Accompanied by the beat of cymbals and tifah, it also produces a deafening noise which makes normal conversation impossible.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 41, n. 1] Yellow is the customary royal color. Correspondence with the native rulers is placed in yellow silk envelopes, the Sultan's flags are yellow and the betel apparatus at the receptions is always covered with a yellow silk cloth. The people are not allowed to wear this color. In addition, as in other regions where there are still native rulers, they are not allowed to throw a shawl over their shoulders or tie a cloth around the loins, wear a long kebaya, have a separate cooking place outdoors, or use glasses with a foot. These prohibitions, however, are not enforced strictly everywhere.

The normal dress of the other oarsmen is a loincloth and head shawl worn over uncombed hair; in the middle of the day a pyramid-shaped plaited head-gear is added. The provisions are sago buns and dried fish, and the only luggage that each oarsman brings is a wooden betel box which can be closed with a wooden lid so that the contents will stay watertight.

[The Dutch word] *pagaai* (paddle) is derived from the Malay word *pengayuh* (Ternatese, *sari*), corrupted in the Moluccas to *panggayu*. As difficult as the native finds rowing, he can paddle (Ternatese, *horu*) the whole day long.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 41, n. 2] The data on the currents in the Moluccan waters is too vague to permit one to say anything about them with accuracy. Concerning the passage between Ternate and Halmahera, it is generally true that when the tide is coming in, the current runs toward the south, and when the tide is out, it runs toward the north.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 41, n. 3] The ceremonial flags are discussed in a separate section (see [Appendix VIII](#)).

<sup>8</sup> [p. 42, n. 1] Oarsmen and sailors are both indicated with the same Ternatese word, *awu*, and in Malay with *masnait* or *masanai*, which may be a corruption of the Spanish *marceije*. On each native vessel there are, besides the *jurumudi* or helmsman, a *ngatohema* who watches at the prow for rocks and shoals, and a *ngatohudi* (*gnatohudi* in Valentijn) who stands next to the helmsman and gives orders to the oarsmen. There is no separate word for *jurumudi* in the Ternatese language.

The Sultan and princes are in civilian clothes, tieless and in black coats. Their heads are covered with the pointed white head shawl which only members of the royal family are allowed to wear. The *bobatos* (chiefs) wear black dress coats of western cut over white shirts and trousers. The junior staff members wear long kebayas. All have their heads covered with a black cotton turban, the normal mark of honor for distinguished guests.<sup>9</sup>

Normally the ships approach Halmahera by first following the beach of Ternate and then turning toward Halmahera just beyond Dufa-Dufa; this time, however, we make directly for Sidangoli, a journey of three hours. [p. 43] The proa docks at the rough-hewn but strongly built jetty. While the musicians, who have arrived before us, play fanfares, we proceed with solemnity and dignity through an avenue of coconut palms to the house of the Sultan.

The building is fairly large, and has all the characteristics of a rural house, in the absence of many other facilities. It is made completely of gaba-gaba with a roof of katu and is comprised of a front and back verandah and four rooms. In all, it is spacious enough for a short stay. The floor seems to have disappeared a long time ago and for this festive occasion the sandy soil has been thoroughly cleaned. Most of our household effects were delivered the previous day by the Sultan's schooner, and with the little bit of luggage that we brought along with us everyone in the group soon feels at home.

These discussions with the Sultan are valuable, especially when a long acquaintance has deepened the mutual trust. He speaks fluent Malay<sup>10</sup> and knows everything that has ever happened at Ternate. Since he is also well-informed about the small bickerings that make life so difficult among the Europeans, he tends to keep slightly aloof and seldom gives parties. He may also be deterred from contact with many people by a concern that he might witness certain excesses in behavior—a situation not unusual in former days. He is always prepared to act immediately to help anyone with a request. Because of his title as ruling Sultan, his self-respect depends on his commitment to upholding his prestige before the people.<sup>11</sup> He is a [p. 44] strict Moslem and observes his religious duties faithfully; so much

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<sup>9</sup> [p. 42, n. 2] It is claimed in the Dutch Indies that the act of tying anything around the neck is in contravention of Koranic precepts, and therefore Mohammedan headmen never wear a tie when they dress in European clothes. The assurances of experts that neither the Koran nor [Moslem] Tradition have this prohibition have not been able to change this custom, which may have been adopted from the Turks.

The male lineal descendants of the Sultan bear the title of "prince" (Ternatese, *kaici*); the female descendants that of *boki*. The latter word is of native origin and is found already in Valentijn; the former dates from the time of the earliest known chiefs. *Bobato* is a collective name for chiefs of a lesser rank, usually chiefs of kampongs.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 43, n. 1] Van der Crab's claim (1862, p. 310) that a corrupted form of Malay is spoken at court in Ternate is completely inexplicable.

<sup>11</sup> [p. 43, n. 2] It appears from Drake's record of travel (see Crawford, 1820, II:406) that this friendly disposition dates from the first contact with strangers. Besides the manner in which he was received by the Sultan of Ternate, that traveler reports, among other things: "The hospitality of the people of the Moluccas, towards every class of strangers, was remarkable. All the European nations were received by them with a courtesy and good faith which does honour to their character; and the

so that wine and other spirits are rarely offered to the guests at the palace. Instead, it is customary for a reception to be held with tea and candied fruit or pastries. He should certainly not be criticized for this, since Europeanized natives all too often copy the bad habits of the dominant race, a situation which becomes twice as bad through misuse.<sup>12</sup>

The district of Sidangoli has its northern border at Jailolo and seaward as far as Cape Golau; to the south it reaches to Dodinga near the river Ake Laha. The bay where the main settlement is situated has a depth of thirteen feet with a drop of five feet, so that shallow-draught schooners can easily be hauled onto dry land. For this reason, this place is colloquially known as the shipyard of Ternate, since vessels of Ternatese traders that need repairs [p. 45] are taken there. At present there are, completely sheltered behind the islands, both a schooner and a barque under repair—the *gofasa* wood needed for this work has already been gathered.<sup>13</sup> The work does not make rapid progress, however, since there is no immediate supervision. Left to himself a Ternatese does even less work than a Malay or a Javanese. For that matter, even the Europeans in this region do not seem to realize that time is money.

To the north and the south of the Sultan's house there are a hundred houses spread along the beach. Running between them is a narrow footpath which becomes completely submerged in the spring tide. These houses have been built on the ground in the same style as those in Ternate and are inhabited exclusively by Ternatese who have settled here with the permission of the Sultan. The total number of Ternatese here is from six to seven hundred. They are under the authority of the chiefs from whose kampongs they come,<sup>14</sup>

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malignant passions of barbarians never displayed themselves in their conduct until excited by insult and provocation.”

<sup>12</sup> [p. 44, n. 1] The rulers also serve as religious leaders in their domains, and are outwardly fairly faithful followers of the teachings of Mohammed; they are obliged to practice their religion publicly since departure from it would weaken their position. Islam has become established in almost all the coast villages but has not penetrated deeply into the interior. The Alfurus remain averse to a religion which denies them the enjoyment of pork. The attempt to convert them (if necessary by force) has occasionally been made, but the priests themselves have never proselytized much. The custom is that when an Alfuru woman marries a Moslem she embraces the religion of her husband. Except for a few priests and *hajis* (pious Moslems), a general indolence pervades in religious matters and fanaticism is only rarely to be observed.

Not many go on the pilgrimage; the high cost and especially the miseries of the long journey to Arabia deter most people. Princes who have returned from pilgrimage do not hesitate to stress the difficulties, adding that they themselves have more sense than to repeat the experience. Certainly there is evidence that religious feeling here does not run very deep. The natives suffer only rarely from the pseudo-pious spirit of so many of the pilgrims whom they meet en route (or so it seems, although they do not report everything they hear to the Europeans). Native travelers appreciate and gratefully acknowledge the assistance rendered by our consuls at Singapore and Jiddah.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 45, n. 1] *Gofasa* is a very useful wood, classified as *Vitex Punctuata* (Schauer). Filet calls it *kofasa* in his botanical dictionary—botanists are usually bad linguists—and thus Robidé van der Aa was not able to find the scientific name (see *Travels*, p. 140).

<sup>14</sup> [p. 45, n. 2] Campen (*IGb*, p. 843) incorrectly describes this Ternatese settlement as being under a *sodeka*—this title is unknown, and should be read as *soseba* or *sadaha*.

since it is said that they only stay at Sidangoli because it is easier for them to earn a livelihood there. The rich fishing grounds along this part of the coast have certainly contributed to the decision of these natives to move there. They are mainly engaged in *cakalang* (tuna, skipjack) fishing,<sup>15</sup> which [p. 46] pays well since that kind of fish is in great demand with the Alfurus from the interior. They leave the preparation of sago to the mountain dwellers, but they do plait the leaves of the sago palms which are in abundance to form *katu* (thatch), and they sell these at a profit to the Chinese at Ternate. They also collect the eggs of incubator birds, both *muleu* and *mamua*, which they sometimes take to the market in the capital in large numbers.<sup>16</sup>

Their daily food is sago, with a little bit of vegetable and fish, preferably in the form of flat baked cakes, *huda raro*, and rarely as a porridge or *popedah*, since once they are baked the cakes do not need to be further cooked at sea.<sup>17</sup> The price of a *tuman* or *fardu* (Ternatese, *ruru*) varies from forty to fifty cents, [p. 47] each *tuman* (or *fardu*) weighing twenty to thirty catties. In the worst case, one tree can produce twelve *tuman*, which is enough for one person to live on for about four months. This means that the cost of providing for oneself is very low, which is another reason for the lack of enthusiasm for work, since one of the main necessities of life is so easily obtained. One may disapprove of this ease-loving attitude if one is used to the difficult struggle for existence in an occidental

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<sup>15</sup> [p. 45, n. 3] *Cakalang* is a *Thynnus* species (Ternatese, *ida*; Tidorese, *delo*). It is caught using small fishes called *gosau*, found in abundance between the roots of *Rhizophores*. To keep the *gosau* alive, holes are drilled in the proa so that the seawater washes in and out, for they die immediately in standing water. When the fishermen observe the movement on the surface of the water indicating the presence of *cakalang*, they row to that place and throw the living *gosau* into the water. The *cakalang* chase them and the *gosau* flee to the proa; at the same time the fishermen cast their fishing rods, baited with dead *gosau*. After repeated casts, they land a *cakalang*. Smaller proas with fewer people catch [p. 46] ten to twenty of these fish, while bigger proas may catch as many as two hundred. Together with the people of Sidangoli, the inhabitants of the Tidorese kampong of Tomalou have the reputation of being the most dexterous in catching these fish. To be successful, it is necessary to use an odd number of fishing rods.

Where there are *cakalang* there are also *deha* (tuna). The *deha* are called *tokol* or *tongkol* on Java. They are often found near Pasuruan and Sidanyu. The natives of the Moluccas, however, prefer the better meat of the *cakalang*. (Cf. also Campen, *TNLb* ["Fishing on Halmahera"].)

<sup>16</sup> [p. 46, n. 1] The most frequently occurring species are the *Megapodius Forsteni* and the *M. Wallacei*. The first is called *moleo* or *muleu* in Ternatese and is found in the forests, where it makes small hills of sand and leaves as high as five feet in which the female lays her eggs; the second, called *mamua*, has smaller eggs than the *moleo*, laying them in the sand on the seashore. Both species have been described best by Wallace (1870-1871, II:159, 160). Van Musschenbroek is not correct in saying (*Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 4th series, VII:33, n. 1) that in response to questions from the Europeans the natives identify both species as *moleo*: he should have understood that natives from islands where these birds are not found, such as Ternate, do not know the difference.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 46, n. 2] The most frequently found sago palm is the *Metroxylon Sagus* Rottb., called *huda* in Ternatese. The sago from Lolodah [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] on North Halmahera is supposed to be the best. Sago porridge is used especially as food for babies for the first three months after birth. According to the *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek van Nederlandsche Indië* (III:935), the population of Ternate is also supposed to eat pinang!

society, but it is certainly understandable in the midst of a luxuriant nature which amply supplies a person with everything he needs.

Whereas in other parts of the Indian archipelago the natives gradually became more industrious because they had to meet their growing needs, on the Ternatense islands government was left in the hands of the native rulers—from a political point of view this was quite correct, since the task of the government was all-encompassing—and as a result the people have clung to their old ways. It may be centuries before this situation changes. One can read Valentijn's description of the Moluccas and now, even *two hundred years later*, hardly anything has changed. Put simply, the native does not like working for other people. He is content with meeting his own needs, which are even less here than elsewhere since the *Musaceae* (banana plants) and *Metroxylon* (sago palms) which supply the main food are easy to find or cultivate.

The afternoon is reserved for a walk through the inhabited quarters. There is not much to see here, but still it is enough to spark a discussion that is of interest to the royal company since it covers familiar subjects. As we have already said about the houses, there is not much variety among them. A few dwellings, slightly better [p. 48] finished and with some furniture in the front verandah, belong to a headman or to the very few Makassarese who have settled here with permission of the Sultan. Not far from the Sultan's house are the ruins of an entrenchment which has been in a dilapidated state for as long as anyone can remember. It is thickly grown over with fruit trees and *waringin* (banyan) trees, the roots of which have almost completely covered the remaining brickwork. Here a fisherman is found busy preparing his nets, there a woman occupies herself with weaving sarongs, elsewhere large quantities of fish are laying in the sun to dry. The compounds have been partly fenced off for the cultivation of *tamate* (tomatoes), *ricah* (peppers), *ubi*-species (tuberous crops) and sugar cane,<sup>18</sup> so that the whole makes an impression of a calm native settlement, neither affluent nor poor, where contentment prevails and people live a quiet life into old age without any disturbance.

The surroundings are rich in shades of color; in the foreground the light green of kusu-kusu and kano-kano, between which a few sago or seho palms rise, and behind it the immense forest. With its giant tree stands, the forest will provide for the needs of a much denser population for centuries to come. From time immemorial the natives have most recklessly stripped the forest of its best wood. The animal world is represented here by a great number of deer and wild boar. Among the birds one finds many representatives of the beautiful *luri dengo* (*Lorius Garrulus*), in great demand with the natives because it can learn to repeat words, and a smaller species, also with yellow spots, called *luri sarau*.

**Evening comes.** We get word that the Alfurus have arrived from the interior to perform the national war dance as a tribute to our visit. [p. 49] Strictly speaking, these people belong to the much more northern district of Tabaru. Accustomed to a wandering

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 48, n. 1] *Tamate* is the *Lycopersicum Esculentum* Mill., and *ricah* are the *Capsicum* species; *kusu-kusu* (Ternatense, *kusu*) is the *Imperata Arundinacca* and *kano-kano* are several *Arundo* species, known in Java as *glagah*. *Seho* is the Ternatense name of the *Arenga Saccharifera* Lab.

life, they have settled temporarily in the mountains. They can always find buyers along the coast for the sago which they prepare, sometimes taking it to the capital themselves.<sup>19</sup>

Bamboo stakes filled with resin have been placed in the ground in a few rows and lighted. The Alfurus perform, armed with shield and lance and dancing the *cakalele* (war dance) in imitated fury around the smoking flames to the tifah. Their dance consists of tremendous leaps taken all around an imaginary head, while they utter shouts of joy over a successful head-hunting trip. Their excitement increases continually, encouraged by the people who have turned up in large numbers, many of whom may well have had more than one drink of *sagwire* (palm wine). Thus quiet Sidangoli witnesses a festive display.

Others before me have commented on the cowardice of the head-hunter, who sets upon his victim insidiously, administering the death-blow without warning; but the sham performance has something attractive about it and gives the impression of bravery and courage. The hefty physique of the warriors is also impressive, although most of them, with their Semitic noses and bangs, have slightly feminine features.<sup>20</sup> [p. 50]

The next day we decide to row between the large number of small islands which extend near the coast in a southern and southeastern direction as far as the creek Jiko Tofu. The natives call these islands *gurah ma-Ngofa* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], the Ternatese word for “island” which literally means “part (child) of a garden or land.” Actually, these islands are accumulations of mud and coral which appear only at low tide. They are completely overgrown with *Rhizophores* and *Sonneratia* species (Ternatese, *lolaro* and *posi-posi*, respectively), the roots of which become exposed at low tide in their countless furcations. Only one island, Ngaai ma-Dodera, has a small beach where a few Bajorese from the Kayoa Islands have temporarily settled.<sup>21</sup> The main occupation of these Bajorese

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<sup>19</sup> [p. 49, n. 1] Wallace restricts the dwelling place of the Alfurus to the east coast and the interior (1870-1871, II:19) but this is due to his ignorance of the real situation. He is also confused by the fact that Moslems are to be found in all the coastal villages.

<sup>20</sup> [p. 49, n. 2] Much has already been written about the meaning of the word Alfuru, van Musschenbroek's article (*TAG*) being the most recent contribution. Leaving aside his other, rather dubious arguments, van Musschenbroek is right in saying that from a native point of view the tribes are differentiated mainly by their religion. That the Mohammedans feel superior to the Alfurus is understandable. They are, in fact, at a higher level of civilization since they have a complete form of religion and lead a more home-centered life, and also because they live in well-regulated kampongs, dress properly, and are more particular in their choice of food.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 50, n. 1] Campen (*Tijdschr. Batav. Gen.*, 28:274) does not list all of the islands; moreover, some of the names he gives are wrong. A corrected list is given below:

|                                     |             |               |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Toduku                              | Gamia Malu  | Ici           |
| Bololo                              | Mare-Mare   | Siokona       |
| Ngaai ma-Dodera                     | Ake Jailolo | Matanana      |
| [as corrected in<br>Errata —Trans.] |             |               |
| Gumi Wele-wele                      | Bia ma-Ahi  | Dowongi Rotu  |
| Tamo                                | Jojohe lemo | Mano ma-Dehe  |
| Kuru Todore                         | Gura Busa   | Kokonora      |
| Mardula                             | Jiko Lamo   | Bakari Sosolo |

is collecting *tripang* (sea cucumbers) and turtles; both are harpooned with a pointed instrument. This harpoon arrangement is provided with a heavy plummet to help it sink more rapidly, while the upper end is made of wood with an opening for attaching a rope, and the other end is held by the harpooner.

Usually, the fishermen never miss the Holothurians (sea cucumbers or tripang) at a depth of ten fathoms. In calm weather they will throw the harpoon as deep as twenty fathoms and catch small tripang species, the body completely transfixed by the iron hook; when [p. 51] the water ripples slightly they flatten the surface by spitting the chewed, oil-rich kernel of a coconut onto it. In this way they can see their prey better. For catching turtles, the harpoon is fitted with a bigger hook and a heavier plummet since turtles are very strong. The turtles are only slightly damaged in the catch and the younger ones are well taken care of and fed on small fish until the price for their valuable shells mounts higher. The catch often takes place on dark nights, either at spots which the turtles are known to frequent, or by attentively observing where they come to the surface to breathe.<sup>22</sup>

The fishermen also keep themselves occupied with shark hunting. For that purpose, ten or twelve dried coconut shells are strung on a rope and dropped into the sea; the sharks are attracted by the noise made in the water by the movement of the shells and are then caught with normal bait on the line. The dorsal fin and the tail are in particularly great demand—if they have been dried with care, they will fetch f50.- from the Chinese.

Some of the Bajorese live on their proas together with wife and family. They are most comfortable there, in the midst of an accumulation of dirt. Others keep their possessions in roughly-made sheds with raised bamboo floors so that at high tide the seawater does not reach them. Notwithstanding these unattractive surroundings, they are not without means and do a busy trade. Their food is relatively varied, sago alternated with rice and maize while the sea supplies them with all kinds of shrimps and mussels in addition to fish. Among the latter the *jih*i, which resembles our oyster and which attaches itself to the irregularly twisted roots of the [p. 52] Rhizophores, and the *kalonde* (mollusc with a flat shell), the species which in Java is called *simping*, are particularly good.

They are a good sort of people. Nobody understands their language, but almost all of them know Malay. You will never meet them without their offering a small present as a token of their kind disposition towards the government. In former days, when these eastern waters were infested with pirates, they were often exposed to attacks and many of them were carried off as slaves. They feel safe now for the very reason that they live on the

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|           |                |                 |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|
| Fatahoi   | Ngoomi         | and Mare Payung |
| Ngohia    | Ou             |                 |
| Lako Raha | Jiko Pece-pece |                 |

Campen's statement that Sidangoli used to be called Mangoli was flatly denied by my informants.

<sup>22</sup> [p. 51, n. 1] The harpoon used for catching tripang is called *ladung bala* by the Bajorese; the one used for catching turtles is called *ladung kulitan*. *Bala* and *kulitan* are the Bajorese words for tripang and turtle. The lances with which the turtles and other animals are speared in the water are called *bakal* in Bajorese.

water, and they are grateful for the calm that the continuous cruising of warships in these waters has brought them. This may be the reason for their tributes to touring officials.

Time passes quickly, for there are so many things to see. We have no opportunity to visit the interior since there are no passages through the virgin forest. After a few days, the return journey begins. When the Sultan's proa approaches the island of Ternate, people of all ages run out to see the festive homecoming.

## IV

**Dodinga and Kau**

[p. 52] I had been working for only a few months as government administrator at Ternate when one morning a clerk of the Sultan came to report that the Sultan was sending over twenty Alfurus to me. These came from the nagaree of Todedol, Kau district, on the east coast of North Halmahera. They had come to the capital to request that they be allowed to continue paying poll-tax in kind instead of paying money. They would supply sago and carry out statute labor in the usual manner.

Since it is customary in such cases to follow [p. 53] the wishes of the majority of the whole population, I sent them back to their country and told them that I would come to Todedol as soon as possible to see for myself what the wishes of the people there were, after which I would make my decision.

Soon afterward, I had the opportunity to carry out this plan and I set off, accompanied by the Captain-Laut and a few princes of the Ternatese court.<sup>1</sup> We followed the shortest route, through the pass of Dodinga to Kau and then up the river to Todedol—a kampong never visited by any of my predecessors.

The western coast of Halmahera,<sup>2</sup> with its many elevations and coves, is so clearly visible from the capital that one always thinks it to be much closer than it really is. As a result, the rowboat crossing usually takes longer than is expected. This is particularly true when one is traveling to Dodinga bay, which penetrates farthest inland. Although I made the crossing in six hours, it took other people the whole day.<sup>3</sup> [p. 54]

We have hardly left Ternate behind us when we sight the island of Hiri up in the northwest. It gradually becomes completely visible, separated as it is from the island of

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 53, n. 1] It is an old custom that the Captain-Laut and a few princes accompany the Resident; the selection of these persons is left to the officials. The Sultan only rarely comes on these tours, for the population does not like it and there is no reason why the European administration should encourage it.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 53, n. 2] The meaning of the word Halmahera is "support of the land," that is, "foundation over which the land rises." It actually it should be *hale ma-hera*, but *hale* is a Tidorese word which corresponds with the Ternatese *kaha*, although nobody thinks of speaking of *kaha ma-hera*. The Tidorese call it Haleyolah, *yolah* being "the keel of a craft," expressed as *hera* in Ternatese. Nobody can explain this half-Ternatese, half-Tidorese corruption [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. The natives refer to Halmahera colloquially as "big land," according to the peculiarity which is found all over the Indies archipelago by which large tracts of land extending beyond the reach of the eye are never given the name of "island." One observes the same thing at Sula for Mangole and Banggai for Peleng, but de Hollander (1877, p. 360, n. 2) seems to be surprised by this.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 53, n. 3] The most unpleasant aspect of such a trip is that one has to look constantly at the unsightly skin diseases of the rowers, colloquially known as *kaskado* and *bobento*; [p. 54] the first is a kind of psoriasis, the second consists of wounds especially on the soles of the feet, thus resembling the disease called *patek* on Java and indicated by Roorda in his dictionary as strawberry pox.

Ternate by a narrow strait. Then we steer along the most northern point of Tidore, and have not yet passed this point when the overgrown rock of Filonga appears, remaining in sight until we come very close to the coast of Halmahera. This rock forms the top of an underwater peak and is completely covered with bushes and brush wood. It is rarely exposed to storms or high seas since the channel is sheltered from all sides.<sup>4</sup>

Slowly we reach our destination, recognizable by an immense row of mangroves, between which the mouth of the river can be found only with difficulty. The *Utusan* (representative) who is stationed here meets us with the unwelcome news that the tide is still going out and that it will be a few hours before our proa can navigate the shallow river. Used to such setbacks when traveling in this region, we patiently wait for high tide, and regret only that there is nothing to enliven the monotonous environment. Finally a shout lets us know that a first attempt will be made. Propelled with long bamboo poles, the proa glides imperceptibly between intertwined roots up the river. Half an hour later we step out into the village of Dodinga and make our way to the rest house which stands just across from the ruins of the former fort.<sup>5</sup> [p. 55]

There is not much to see: only twenty or so houses, some built on the ground, others on piles. In the center there is a mosque, a *pasar* (open market) shed, and the almost completely overgrown brickwork of a mostly dilapidated fortress, flanked by a small avenue with galala trees.<sup>6</sup> Yet Dodinga is actually rather important, since many of the goods being delivered to East Halmahera pass through it and, conversely, other goods are transported to the west coast via the pass, going on from there to Ternate. This route is much shorter and avoids the dangers to which the sea route is subject.

The fort is as old as the old enmities between Ternate and Tidore. It was built to protect the pass and to prevent the servants of the Company from having to trade with whichever war party was temporarily most powerful. After the border between the two states had been shifted further south<sup>7</sup> and the pass came under the administration of government in Ternate, these complications disappeared. Nevertheless, a small garrison, consisting of six ratings and a corporal, remained stationed there for years afterwards; the corporal was required to check the travel documents of the persons traveling through and was authorized to make decisions in minor disputes between chiefs or between the people

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 54, n. 1] Hiri is a mountain approximately two thousand feet high, located to the north of Ternate and opposite Takome. Only boar and deer live there; it is not inhabited. The spellings "Hira" and "Hierrie" are no more correct than that of "Filongia" for Filonga.

<sup>5</sup> [p. 54, n. 2] Wallace (1870-1871, II:19) unloaded his luggage on the "beach;" he meant on the bank of the river or creek.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 55, n. 1] *Galala* is the Ternatese name for the *Erythrina Picta* L., which is found all over this archipelago. *E. Lithosperma* Bl., which has been planted in some places, is called *galala bangah* to distinguish it from the *E. Picta*.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 55, n. 2] This took place during the English interregnum. According to the agreement of October 27, 1814, the border was fixed as a straight line from the northern bank of the river Kayasa on the west coast to Tofongo on the east coast. This arrangement has remained unchanged in later contracts with the Government of the Dutch Indies.

and the traders.<sup>8</sup> These disputes usually concerned payments demanded for the transport of commercial goods to the other side of the pass. To end these disputes, the Sultan ordered a shed to be built under which the goods were kept. For a small [p. 56] fee travelers could obtain light, fuel, and accommodation for the night. This arrangement still exists and when complaints are made it is necessary for the government to intervene, after which both parties are always satisfied.

The need for large-scale repairs, after several earthquakes had left the fort in a state unfit for habitation, led authorities to review its minor strategic importance. In 1866, the garrison was withdrawn. It was said at the time that the population had gotten accustomed to having an official in that place and for that reason a post-holder had been stationed there. For some years now this official has been more usefully employed in another part of the Residency.<sup>9</sup>

During the Hasan revolt of 1876, the fort was again made habitable and for a few months an officer was stationed there with thirty ratings; at present it is in complete ruin.

Dodinga is a favorite abode for crocodiles (Ternatese, *samah*), which often attack men and animals and drag them away into the deep; they feel completely at home in the miry mass and deep mud which accumulate between the roots of the mangroves.<sup>10</sup> These animals are not found near Ternate since the bottom of the sea is rocky and filled with coral formations.

The Ternatese staff at Dodinga consists of an Utusan, a clerk, and a *Sarjati* (sergeant) with eighteen *baru-baru*, who rotate duty as messengers, police, and guards for three to six months at a time. The chief of the district has the title of [p. 57] *Kimalaha*, and is appointed by the Sultan without interference of the European government. There are also the kampongs of Tewe, Toniko, Kayasa, Domin, and Balatu, where, in addition to the inhabitants proper, people from Maba, Ternatese, and Alfurus from Tubaru have also settled. The total population consists of two hundred to three hundred families, who keep themselves occupied by preparing sago and fishing. In some places they also grow paddy for their private use. In addition to the services already mentioned, they divide up the work in the community and the responsibility of maintaining the road on the other side of the pass. They are exempted from the payment of taxes.

We do not want to stay long here, and soon begin the journey across the pass. The road is no more than a narrow foot path, running initially through *alang-alang* (tall coarse grass) fields over fairly flat terrain which becomes more uneven towards the east. Since the

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<sup>8</sup> [p. 55, n. 3] When Wallace visited the place in 1858 the garrison was still there (1870-1871, II:19). He claims that the fort is of Portuguese origin.

<sup>9</sup> [p. 56, n. 1] At present there are four post-holders, since the Danu Baba Hasan revolt gave the impulse to increase the number in 1877 and 1880. The four are established at Galela (North Halmahera), Patani (East Halmahera), Sanana (Sula Islands) and Banggai.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 56, n. 2] Many people can still tell you of an enormous squid, known by the native name of *boboocah*, which as it cruised in these waters would entwine small proas with its long tentacles and drag them down into the deep. The smaller species of squid are not dangerous and can be eaten.

path is stony, the going is hard, especially during the rainy season. In the midst of an enormous variety of forest trees and creepers, the red flowers of the *Pavetta* species (Ternatense, *sayah mani*) catch the eye, while the silence is disturbed only rarely by the dull sound of the ground thrush, called *tohoko* by the natives. One can find several varieties of this *Pitta* species in the Moluccan Islands.<sup>11</sup>

After one-half hour's walk—according to Valentijn “it takes the same amount of time as the smoking of a pipe of tobacco”—looking between the trees one suddenly catches a glimpse of the sea. In this spot it washes up against the base of a steep slope. The place is called Bobane or Bobane Lamo since in the whole neighborhood only here, within a small sandy space, is it possible for proas to be pulled onto the beach.<sup>12</sup> [p. 58]

Several government administrators have occupied themselves with the question of whether they should recommend the building of a cart track over the Dodinga pass, which would mean faster and easier transport of travelers and especially of commercial goods. I believe that at some point the government even granted a certain amount of money, but it was never used. The unevenness of the terrain would have required a lot of labor to make a reasonable road. Actually, there is not enough transport to make the project worthwhile. Should there be a need, the very few people living in this area can always receive help from outside, and not a single trader at Ternate would ever think of charging for loss of time.

Not far from the landing stage the road branches in two. The more southern of the two roads leads to Bobane-Igo, where the *orang gorap* (Gorap people) live in a neat kampong. These are former slaves from all over the archipelago but mainly from Flores or Manggarai and Saleiyer, taken away by pirates and later following the same profession themselves. Here and there they were left behind with the permission of the native chiefs. Their number is largest at Lolodah, where they are sometimes called *orang baharu* (the new people). At Bobane-Igo they are under a *hukum* and *ngofamanyira*, both subordinate to the Kimalaha of Dodinga; they are [p. 59] completely free now and, like the rest of the population, only carry out statute labor and community service.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> [p. 57, n. 1] Wallace calls it *Pitta Gigas* and von Rosenberg says it is *P. Cyanonota*. I doubt very much if it is found on the island of Ternate, as claimed by von Rosenberg (1875). Veth says that the real name is *P. Maxima* (Wallace, 1870-1871, II:20, n. 2).

<sup>12</sup> [p. 57, n. 2] The Ternatense word for anchor-ground is *toleo*; *bobane* is more a landing place suited for hauling proas onto the beach, [p. 58] gently sloped and without stones. Teijsman (*Reis naar Halmahera*, p. 511) calls bobane a steep slope, but this is not accurate. Von Rosenberg (1875, p. 10) calls this path the boundary between Ternatense and Tidorese territory on North Halmahera (see above, p. 36, n. 7). The first native he met would have been able to correct him, but he was not in the habit of finding out details of the areas in which he traveled. Since he only wrote about regions never before visited he managed to get a certain fame in Europe, but people who know the Indies do not agree. At any rate, there was a eulogist to sing his praises at his funeral—what more could any man want? When van der Lith (1875, p. 130) calls Dodinga the most important place on Halmahera, he exaggerates a bit too much.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 59, n. 1] Nobody has been able to explain to me the meaning of the word *gorap*. According to Gericke's dictionary, it should mean a “kind of vessel” on Java, which Veth (*Java*, II:323, note) extends to mean “small vessel.” This conflicts with the text, however, in which the crew per gorap is estimated at more than thirty hands. Perhaps this is the same vessel which here, although not

Another proa lies in readiness to continue the journey to Kau over the waterway known on the maps as the Bay of Kau.<sup>14</sup> The name is not inappropriate since Kau is the most important village in these regions, because of the pearl-fishing as well as the trade with the Alfurus along the navigable river. The district of Kau also extends over the whole coastal area between the rivers Gongga and Paceda Dumdum, with a population estimated at approximately five hundred followers of Islam and more than four thousand Alfurus.

After rowing for a few hours we reach the projecting point, which bears the name of Boleo, that is, "the Reef" *par excellence*,<sup>15</sup> since at low tide this part lies exposed far into the sea. The mouth of the river is to the west of this reef: the village on the other hand is on the north side, where a bamboo jetty makes disembarking easy.

The village of Kau is situated close to the beach, stretching over a length of more than one *paal* [ca. 1,507 meters—Trans.]. It consists of a Moslem and an Alfuru quarter, though these are not sharply divided, since the followers of both religions live scattered among each other.

In a few houses live Chinese traders. [p. 60] They like to stay here for relatively long periods to buy pearls from the divers or pay outstanding debts to them.<sup>16</sup>

The rights to pearl and mother-of-pearl diving belong exclusively to the crown throughout the region, although this is not always specifically stated in the various agreements. As an immediate result of this prerogative, there is no oversight at all. Everybody takes whatever he can find from the oyster beds, without giving the pearls time to develop properly.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, since the divers never [p. 61] receive any pay and are only

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native, is called *pagora* (the people are named after the proas). The Ternatese word for pirate is *cangah-cangah*.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 59, n. 2] Many writers call this the Bay of Chiawa [Translator's note: spelled "Chiawa" in de Clercq's original], but this name is completely unknown in the place itself and also on Ternate.

<sup>15</sup> [p. 59, n. 3] Campen (*TAG*, p. 273) erroneously calls this reef Bolollo. Bernstein (*Tijdschr. Batav. Gen.*, XIV:420) calls it a cape, which is absolutely wrong—most probably he did not understand the meaning of the word *boleo*.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 60, n. 1] Campen (*TAG*, p. 282) is mistaken in speaking of a Chinese quarter.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 60, n. 2] Since diving for pearls yields little profit because the shells are not given enough time to develop, the divers occupy themselves with collecting nacre. The following kinds of shells are available for sale.

1. *bia ngoco*: the picul has a value of f 90.- and contains thirty to fifty pieces, depending on the size; there are shells which weigh five to six catties. They are fished at a depth of seven to eight fathoms and are in demand because of the nacre. Pearls are rarely found in them.
2. *bia tigi-tigi*: named after a cape near Kau, where this species is found. This shell has no value for mother-of-pearl; sometimes the oysters contain pearls of f 20.- to f 30.- in worth, but not often. They are found at any depth in a sandy bed, even in very shallow places.
3. *bia fefe*: the shell has no value. The oyster contains beautiful but small pearls; they are found especially on reefs, at a depth of one to three fathoms.

rarely sufficiently fed, it is natural for the rulers to receive very little remuneration from the activity. They are therefore inclined to hand over the advantages of the exploitation to others, as has happened a few times during the last several years. This is not conducive to the proper growth of pearl oysters either.<sup>18</sup>

In 1859, the pressure exerted on the people active with pearl fishing caused some serious irregularities. During the last years of the life of Sultan Mohammed Jain, a few princes thought they could take advantage of the weak policy of the officials and take away as much as possible from the oyster beds in a short period. All the people available were set to diving almost without respite. When complaints were raised about the lack of food, people from Ternate were sent there to help with the preparation of sago. Laziness on the part of these workers caused them to plunder the *dusuns* (gardens) of the divers themselves for this sago—so the divers were doubly hurt.

Under the command of a certain Gaw Gaw, one hundred and fifty Alfurus protested against the wrongful treatment and fortified themselves on a rocky elevation near the kampong Biang.<sup>19</sup> A few armed *kora-koras* (war canoes) sent from Ternate soon dislodged them from that position. During the battle the leader was killed and his followers took flight in haste. This was the end of the revolt, but as a result the pearl divers later received small gifts [p. 62] in return for their labor and foreigners were no longer allowed to pound sago without payment.

The coastal village of Kau is the meeting point of the traders who only rarely go into the interior, since the Alfurus come down to the river to sell their sago and forest products. The *Sangaji*, to which the Sangajis of the districts of Pagu, Boing, and Madole are subordinate, does have a house there but he actually lives in the area called Kau-Islam.

We made the journey to Kau on the *prahu-bangku* of the post-holder of Galela. This craft is much too big to ascend the river and we split up into groups and proceed to a few smaller crafts with shallow draft. When everything is ready we row around the reef to

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4. *bia akar-bahar*: corrupted by some to *bia kayu baharu*. These are named after their characteristic behavior of attaching themselves to the branches of the *akar bahar* (black coral). At one time they were very much in demand because of the mother-of-pearl, which had a value of f 16.- per picul. There is no demand for them at present; they contain very few pearls of a yellowish color.

These kinds are found all over the Bay of Kau, as well as on the coast of Tidorese Halmahera near the kampongs of Lolobata, Waisele, Waipiakal and Ekor. (Cf. Campen's report in *TNLb.*) [p. 61]

A fifth kind, which is traded at Ternate, is called *bia peya-peya* or *b. kakapis* and comes from New Guinea. The mother of pearl is worth f 18.- to f 20.- per picul; pearls are rarely found in them and are of a brown-yellow color.

<sup>18</sup> [p. 61, n. 1] Throwing the roots of *bobatu* (*Millettia Sericea*) into the seas will drug hundreds of fish, causing them to float on the surface of the water, where they can be caught. It is known that this practice has an adverse effect on the development of the pearl oysters.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 61, n. 2] This Gaw-Gaw was a *gomate* or visionary, erroneously called *gomahate* by Campen (*TNLb.*, p. 287).

enter the Kau river. After experiencing the rolling of the breaking waves, the weak current of the river feels pleasantly calm. We have ample opportunity to gaze upon the rich variety the densely grown banks offer along the endlessly winding turns. None of the smaller Moluccan Islands has rivers, so there is no separate word for river in the local languages—the words “water” or “big water” are used, with the name added to make clear what is meant. Navigating a river is consequently quite a treat in these regions, indeed a rare privilege.

The journey lasts more than five hours. For almost the whole time the forest along the banks of the winding river has the appearance of a row of high trees, with all kinds of plants growing beneath them. The forest is richly endowed with parasitic plants. The dense thicket and brushwood form an impenetrable wilderness. The first hamlet we pass is called Difa, inhabited by Moslems. The boat then approaches a small island where the seawater penetrates at high tide. Above this point the river water is no longer mixed with saltwater.<sup>20</sup> [p. 63] Only one village disturbs the really beautiful surroundings, namely the Alfuru kampong of Toawel. The place is identifiable by its characteristic shed, the place where domestic issues are discussed and feasts are held (a most favorite activity for this semi-civilized race).

Higher up, the rowers often have to get out and drag the proa over the shallow places. The passage is obstructed by sand banks which have become exposed during the dry season, leaving only a shallow gully of water. The overhanging trees make the passage even more difficult.

A last bend and we have reached the landing stage in front of the house of the Sangaji, at the extreme point where the Toguis and Tololiku rivers meet. The house has hurriedly been made ready for the reception of the rare guests.<sup>21</sup> This chief is a decent man who, although himself a follower of the teachings of Mohammed, is married to an Alfuru woman. Because of this, and also because he keeps the old customs, he is very popular with the Alfurus in the interior.<sup>22</sup>

He seems to have treasured the pleasant memories of the only two Europeans who ever visited these regions, the district officer van Oldenborgh and lieutenant Campen. This

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 63, n. 1] Difa appears erroneously as Djifa on Campen's map, though it is correct in the text (*TNLb*, p. 274). According to Campen the island was called Noas (better still Nous), the Alfuru word for island. The writer of *Aanteekeningen* (Notes, p. 226) calls it Djangan and even gives a mysterious explanation of the genesis of that island!

<sup>21</sup> [p. 63, n. 2] Campen says (*TNLb*, p. 282) that Kau-Islam is situated at the confluence of the Tololiku and Tugutil rivers. Upon inquiry I learned that this latter river is commonly known as the Toguis. Also the name of the Sangaji (p. 284, note) is wrongly given by Campen as Muraji: the man's name is Amrad.

<sup>22</sup> [p. 63, n. 3] Alfurus rarely convert to Islam; it is only the women who convert when they marry a Moslem.

is not surprising, since [p. 64] the Sangaji is consulted as the main source of information for travelers because he speaks fairly good Malay.<sup>23</sup>

The house he lives in is built on strong high piles, to protect it from the torrents to which it is exposed on two sides during the rainy season. These torrents have already swept away everything else in the neighborhood, so that the house stands above a sandy stretch, cleaned of driftwood and weeds by the force of the water. At some distance, twenty or thirty houses are scattered irregularly, most of them built on the level ground backed by the gentle slope of the uneven terrain. Close by some fruit trees have been planted. Further down, to the left and right as far as the eye can see, there are only sago trees. They grow in abundance, though many have already succumbed to the *pedah* (machete). The trunks of these dead trees, thrown away as useless, obstruct the passage through the river or along the footpaths in many places. It is really a native village scene, in which the local inhabitant can devote himself in uninterrupted quiet to the blissful feeling of doing little work amidst a rich profusion of all the essentials that he and his family may need.

The afternoon is spent on the trip to nearby Todedol. The Sangaji is asked to make sure that all the residents are assembled on our arrival. By three o'clock the small proas are ready to take us there, for especially during this season the river is full of shallows and sandbanks. Within half an hour we reach the kampong, which is a few feet higher than the water level. We see nine or ten houses and we sit down in the assembly shed, surrounded by about fifty squatting Alfurus, while the women peep through the chinks of the houses at us and the children huddle together in fright in another corner. All wear a [p. 65] loin cloth made of tree bark, called *wisa* here, and no other clothes except the *tualah* or head scarf. A few hold in their hands a *nibur* or lance of *woka* wood with a milled point.<sup>24</sup>

The interpreter tells them that I have come to learn whether the whole population really prefers to pay taxes in produce, as a few of them assured me at Ternate. Initially two of the elders hold forth, explaining among other things that they prefer to be under the Sultan rather than under the Company, producing sago and carrying out services for that ruler and the headman.<sup>25</sup> This point is discussed at length. Others are asked for their

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<sup>23</sup> [p. 64, n. 1] The author of the *Aanteekeningen* (p. 226) also went up the river, but no one could tell me his name or knew anything about an earlier visit by a European. This in spite of the fact that he made the trip to Sawu on the west coast in four days!

<sup>24</sup> [p. 65, n. 1] The Alfuru word for *cidaku* (a loincloth made of bark) is *wisa* and at Galela *fisa*; the Moluccan-Malay *lensa* is *tualah* in Ternatese and Alfuru. Campen has entitled these words with the first names (*TNLb*, p. 289) and often forgets to differentiate between Ternatese and Alfuru. This often leads to confusion. For instance, on page 275 he uses the Ternatese *tofkangi* for "eight" without further explanation, but this numeral is *tuwangi* in the Alfuru of Kau. The tree from which the bark is taken to make *cidaku* is called *wisa* or *fisa* and seems to be a species of *Broussonetia*. A loin cloth with figures drawn on it is called *wisa hohoda* in the interior.

<sup>25</sup> [p. 65, n. 2] Although I do not know how the rumor came to be spread, it is certain that the population in the districts where the tax is paid in money consider themselves more or less as *orang kompani* or government subjects. It is true that the money is forwarded by post-holders serving as intermediaries, but the headmen who collect the money or lend a helping hand in the collection are well aware of the fact that it is intended for the Sultans. Indeed, without the efforts of these government officials nothing would come of the whole taxation process.

opinion and at times a rather loud altercation develops, the details of which unfortunately are not understood by me. My Ternatense followers do not understand anything of the conversation and only the [p. 66] post-holder knows enough of the language to be able to judge the grounds for the decision.<sup>26</sup>

It also appears that the point at issue is more a continuance of the existing tax, since Todedol has never paid monetary compensation for the loss of other income, any more than do the villages of Madole, Tololiku, and Tugutil. The population certainly does not wish any change in this and thus it is necessary to define exactly what quantity of products and services can be demanded. After consulting with headmen and elders the following arrangement is made according to tradition:

- a. Supply of three fardu of sago by a married man and one fardu by an unmarried man per year, the fardu calculated as twenty catties;
- b. alternating supply by turns of one hundred and twenty fardu of sago per year by each head of household;
- c. construction and maintenance of a kora-kora by the whole population;
- d. supply of eighty chickens per year by the whole population;
- e. supply of thirty fardu of sago and five mats by the whole population, to be sent at the end of the Moslem fast;
- f. compulsory service of one man with the Utusan at Kau, to be changed every three months.<sup>27</sup>

Asked for their opinion, all declare with one voice that they are content with what has been decided. The European official has thus adhered to the agreement with the Sultan, which states that the poll tax is only compulsory insofar as it agrees with the wishes of the population in question. In view of [p. 67] the abundance of sago trees, which

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<sup>26</sup> [p. 66, n. 1] The field of activity of the post-holders has been described at length in *De Indische Gids*, I:347. The writer, most probably Campen, does not seem to have been able to form an idea of the peculiar political situation here, in which self-government is contractually guaranteed to the Sultans.

<sup>27</sup> [p. 66, n. 2] A contract stating the lawfully existing and effective taxes in the state of Ternate may be found in *De Indische Gids*, I:706.

without exaggeration can be counted in the millions, it is understandable that the yield of this article of food is not highly valued. The natives can obtain higher prices if they take their products to the coast, but they do not consider the ready cash to be worth the trouble. Their willing assent to the terms of the agreement produces a general cheerfulness in the village. When evening falls, the men accompany us to Kau-Islam and in front of the house of the district chief they perform their national war dance.

## V

**Tidore, Makian, Kayoa and the West Coast of Central Halmahera**

[p. 67] From the capital there are three ways to reach the islands which lie to the south: one between Maitara and the southeast coast of Ternate, a second between Maitara and the west coast of Tidore, and a third between the eastern part of the island Tidore and the mainland of Halmahera. All three are navigable for bigger ships, although the routes have not been completely and properly recorded. The two latter ways are mostly followed by native vessels, which prefer to take the calmer route instead of exposing themselves to the higher wash of the waves in the completely open sea to the west.

For this trip we follow the second route, crossing, for that purpose, from the jetty at Ternate to Maitara, which compared to the cone of Tidore looks like little more than a hill. On many maps this island is called "Norway," a name never heard of on Ternate and certainly not due to any resemblance with the Norse fjords. [p. 68] Many fishermen live on the beach where it has a gentler incline, on the side facing Tidore. On the mountain top, approximately twelve hundred feet high, a signal post has been erected. From here the approach of steam- and sailing vessels around the south and the west is announced using prearranged signals.<sup>1</sup> Maitara is overgrown with a dense mass of coconut trees, tended with care by the Tidorese inhabitants since these palms do not thrive on Tidore.<sup>2</sup>

The island of Tidore does not have much of a beach; the terrain rises almost immediately into a series of hills, some of which reach a height of one thousand to fifteen hundred feet. Most of these hills are arable, as can be seen from the many cleared areas. The peak is situated on the south side.<sup>3</sup> Whether it is a volcano or not cannot be said with certainty since no eruptions have occurred during the historic era.<sup>4</sup> On the top, of which the last fifty meters are very steep and can only be climbed with the help of rattan, is a small lake. Its depth has never been determined and it is overrun with creepers and *rutu-rutu* (the *Nepenthes* species). On September 6, 1866, a mud flood occurred on the slope of the mountain above the [p. 69] kampong Tuguiba. Thirty-two people were injured, all of

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 68, n. 1] Bleeker in his *Travels (Reis door de Minahasa en den Molukschen Archipel...*, 1856, I:159) says incorrectly that Maitara is one thousand meters high, that it is uninhabited and that there remains some doubt as to which sultanate it belongs. Why he says that it is volcanic is not quite clear; Bickmore (1873, II:19) also shares that opinion. Many writers follow the English spelling, "Mitara."

<sup>2</sup> [p. 68, n. 2] The rareness of coconut palms on Tidore is attributed by some to a spell cast by Sultan Ahmadul Mansur but actually it is due to the unsuitability of the soil. This is also the problem in Sawu and Jailolo on Halmahera, that the coconut palms never reach full maturity and therefore are not worth the trouble of planting. Only in the higher areas of Tidore does one find the arenga palm, which is tapped for domestic consumption, although most sagwire comes from Halmahera.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 68, n. 3] In *Insulinde* (1870-1871, II:30), Wallace is confused about the location of the craggy volcanic hills; they are *not* to the south but to the north of the peak.

<sup>4</sup> [p. 68, n. 4] In the *Gazetteer (Aardrijkskundig*, 1869, III:956), the statement that the crater emits smoke from time to time is completely incorrect.

them women and children who had tripped as they were running away and sprained an ankle or broke a leg. It had been raining for five days straight and the waterlogged top soil had become dislodged.<sup>5</sup>

Just across from Maitara is the kampong Rum, situated in a cove. A little more to the south is Ome. Both of these are recognizable by the high roof of their mosques, standing out high above all the houses. Once we pass through the strait we reach the village of Mariku,<sup>6</sup> which can be divided into Mariku Loah Ho and Mariku Loah Isa, or Upper Mariku and Lower Mariku. It is curious that Lower Mariku is actually situated on an elevation while Upper Mariku is on the beach—the names indicate direction toward the north, a manner of orientation observed all over the Moluccas. Near these Marikus, at a place named Gam Mayo, there is an incised stone indicating the grave of an Englishman.

From here a road runs around the south to Soahsio, passing first the southernmost kampong, Toloa, and then passing through the kampongs Tuguiha, Tomalou, Gurahbati, Tunguai, Sele, Tulumau, and Tuguai. Directly east, behind an extensive reef, lies Soahsio with the small fort Kota Hula or Tohula. Soahsio is the seat of the Sultan and is surrounded by twenty-three quarters.<sup>7</sup> [p. 70] The houses are characteristically Tidorese. Looking at them from the sea one would think that all the houses in that capital were made of stone, but actually the walls are made of two layers of bamboo wicker-work filled with coral stones and plastered on both inside and outside with a thick layer of lime, so that they look like stone walls.<sup>8</sup> Only the entrance of the compound shows the occupant's rank: the common people have only a rectangular wooden frame; prominent citizens and princes have on top of this a roof which resembles an upside-down proa, and over the gate of the house of the Sultan is a kind of guard house, popularly called *stanya*. The titles of the headmen are almost the same as those in Ternate: the *jogugu* is called *jojau* here and overseers are called *simo*.<sup>9</sup> Generally the population gives a very unfavorable impression—as hirelings they surpass the Ternatese in laziness, slowness, and carelessness, and they seldom finish

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 69, n. 1] According to van der Crab [1862?], p. 290, this flood occurred at Doyado, a strip of land or cape which lies much more to the north, opposite the rock of Filonga. The *Gazetteer (Aardrijkskundig)*, 1869, III: 937) says that this disaster occurred at Ternate!

<sup>6</sup> [p. 69, n. 2] According to Valentijn (1724, p. 160), Mariku was the seat of the Tidorese rulers, but was abandoned as they became more involved in trade with foreign countries; they moved to Tidore because its location would be better for trade.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 69, n. 3] Bernstein corrupted these names to Togohia, Gurabatu, Tonoai, etc. (1864, p. 99) and van Musschenbroek copied these (1883, p. 24). The latter translates Soahsio as a “large city,” but he is confused with Gam-Lamo. To the north of Soahsio one finds the following kampongs: Gamtofkangi, Kota Mabopo, Goto, Cobodu, Doyado, Ake Sahu, Gamgau, Maftutu, and Cobo.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 70, n. 1] Such houses are called *folah fargol*, the second word indicating the application of this lime mixture, which serves as a type of gilding. One finds this kind of house also in Tidorese Halmahera, where Bernstein took them to be made of stone (see *TBG*, p. 451).

<sup>9</sup> [p. 70, n. 2] The [chiefs of the district](#) are supposed to be called *songaji* and *gimalaha* in correct Tidorese, but the first title has since been changed into *sangaji*, the “*sengadji*” of European writers, and for the second title the Ternatese *kimalaha* is generally used. *Gi* and *Ki* are both parts of *giki* (see “[Word-List](#)”).

contract work properly. Still, they offer for sale all kinds of small articles needed for daily use on Ternate. They like to earn money by selling the products of their gardens or by fishing. This is done without any compulsion or encouragement, since the native government only concerns itself with the collection of taxes and the summons for statute labor. The natives have a certain aversion to regular and constant work, and although this is contrary to western beliefs it is understandable in a tropical [p. 71] climate, where the basic necessities of life can be had for almost nothing. The people of Mariku occupy themselves with fishing for *julung-julung*,<sup>10</sup> a kind of *Hemiramphus* called *ngowaro* in the local languages. These they dry and salt and sell as far as Menado and Banda. From here also come the most neatly finished beams, which are marketed at the capital Ternate. Most frequently, the traveling smiths in these islands are Tidorese. They earn a lot of money making pedahs, and one can often see them on the beach in huts made of sago leaves, busy beating old iron which they have bought from the Chinese. When four or five people work together they can make up to twenty pedahs in a day. These are then sold for fifty cents each. Their tools are a pair of bellows, which consists of two wooden sockets in which pistons move up and down, connected to a drawer at the end of which the air is emitted through two thin bamboos; a wooden anvil with a steel case; and a few heavy hammers (*sewa-sewa*). A tank with water serves for cooling. They make a fire with the hard rinds of *kanari* (canari) fruits which have been collected in the neighborhood and then burnt into charcoal. The haft of the pedah is usually carved from the wood of *mangga* (mango) trees.<sup>11</sup> [p. 72]

Sago is supplied from Halmahera. The best kind costs f 1.- to f 1.50 per fardu, which is enough to feed twenty people twice. The best quality sago come from near Oba; the product from Payae and Maidu is cheaper but of inferior quality. The worker usually gets half the yield when he cuts down a tree and the owner gets the other half. The flour is packed in crude baskets (*baku*), woven from the leaves of the *boko* (*Pandanus*) tree [*sic*]. Rice is only eaten by members of the royal family. The common people eat it only on festive occasions. It is always Java rice, bought from the Chinese. Sagwire (*Jahan*) comes from Halmahera, where high on the mountain the arenga palms grow. The supply from these palms is just barely enough for home consumption.

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<sup>10</sup> [p. 71, n. 1] When *julung-julung* fishing, the fishermen divide the catch in two: half is for all the participants and the other half is exclusively for the owners or shareholders of the drag-net.

<sup>11</sup> [p. 71, n. 2] The wooden sockets are made of *lenggua* wood and are called *duwa-duwa*; they are about one meter long, have a diameter of two or three decimeters, and stand in a drawer (*matiti*) which is made out of the same kind of wood; the pistons (*ngoco* or *duwa-duwa-mangoco*) are made of *nibung* wood and consist of a stem and a disk. Chicken feathers are attached to the bottom and the edge of the disk with rattan. The three or four decimeter-long bamboo sticks end in a hollowed-out black stone where, on the other side of the hollowed-out area, lies the charcoal. The wooden cylinders have been firmly fixed to a bamboo stand on which a plank lies and here sits the man who moves the pistons up and down. The anvil (*besi-matiti*) is a piece of steel on top of a piece of wood firmly attached to the ground. The tools are: a big hammer (*sewa-sewa*), small hammer (*martelo*), a [p. 72] kind of file (*gare*), a nail or pointed piece of iron (*dusu-dusu*) firmly fixed between laths, a pair of pincers (*kota-kota*), a poker (*bare*), a grindstone (*nyonyifi*), a stone (*sasarara*) to polish the iron, and finally charcoal (*nong*). The complete apparatus costs 30 reals or f 48.-, and the smiths travel with it to Ambon, Menado, and New Guinea. (N.B. All the words mentioned here are Tidorese; I have not looked for the corresponding words in the Ternatense language.)

Tobacco is not cultivated in abundance; Makian tobacco is preferred and it costs thirty to sixty cents per catty. Weaving (*lin*) is done by a few women with European threads because little cotton grows on the island—even pillows are always filled with kapok. Weaving looms (*dino*) are bought at Makian. In some places rather tasty grapes (*jabibi*) are found.

Cakalang fishing, described elsewhere, is also carried out here in the same manner. Other ways to catch fish are with the help of fish traps, in which the entrails (*gale-gale*) of chickens are placed as a bait, or with a line to which a piece of the white fleshy bark of the *Crinum Asiaticum* (*fete-fete*), cut in the shape of a small fish, is hooked. Entertainment of the Tidorese consists mainly of the *dodengo* and *lego-lego*. The first of these is only held on Moslem holy days. It has never had a very serious character since the two fighting parties stop after the first blow has been struck. The *lego-lego* [p. 73] takes place to the accompaniment of a noise made by the shaking of small stones or seeds inside hollowed-out *Lagenaria* (*dorofu*) fruit.

On the day of the *Mulud* (birthday of Mohammed) festival, a few young men tie large wooden masks on their faces. These masks are pasted with all kinds of paper figures and provided with two horns to which are glued pictures of chickens. The young men enter people's houses disguised in this manner, tease the womenfolk, and take away some sweets or cigars.

These masks (*cakaibah*) are quite heavy and one soon feels suffocated. A person who does not know how to wear one properly often grazes the skin of his forehead and face. It is said that in former days the masks were worn by the bodyguards of the Sultan, but the real origin seems to have been forgotten.

The stars play a relatively important role in the life of the Tidorese; traders even have drawings of the firmament to calculate lucky days. The morning star is called *koru* and the evening star *bolongosa*. When parents and children quarrel they often use the word *koru* as a kind of a curse. The Pleiades are called *pariama* and by observing their position the gardeners know whether drought or rain will follow and whether it is time to cut wood, to burn, or to plant. Falling stars (*loja*) and comets (*ngomasofu*) have no special superstitions attached to them.

When there is an eclipse of the moon the people believe that the moon is being swallowed by a dragon and that this beast can be chased away by a lot of shouting and by beating the *tifah* and gong. The people say that leaves gathered during an eclipse are good medicine. Women who give birth during an eclipse crawl under the bed or couch so that the child will not be born half white and half black.

Nowadays giants (*laksa* [de Clercq writes it with a retroflex "r," not used in Errata—Trans.]) do not visit to [p. 74] disturb the people, but there are still a lot of expedients to make one invulnerable (*juhasa*) against them. The people believe that the souls (*wongi*) of the deceased reside in chosen places, such as forests or gardens; they are addressed as *jou* and revered as patron saints. Spirits (*salai*) are often consulted in cases of sickness, when also all kinds of food are placed near the bed and celebrations go on for a few days. This

ritual usually involves women who, in a state of trance, reveal the nature of the sickness and its cure. It is well known that the conversion to Islam has had little effect on these rituals, although no one has yet examined the extent to which this is true and if there are any differences in this regard compared with the superstitions of the Ternatense. I mention one example: rituals which Campen restricts to the Alfurus of Halmahera are practiced on a much larger scale than is generally assumed. Even the rulers and their relatives have every confidence in these practices and, as with spells, do not dare to oppose them since they use them in their own families when other means do not have the desired results. This is true even though outwardly these rulers follow rather faithfully their Moslem religious duties, required of them as head of the clergy. The descendants of the freed slaves (*puha*) are content with a subordinate role within the native society.<sup>12</sup>

The language has never been studied. There is a clear connection between Ternatense and Tidorese, but whether this is also true for the forms is still unknown.<sup>13</sup> [p. 75]

<sup>12</sup> [p. 74, n. 1] Bokemeijer (1888, p. xii) incorrectly assumes that there was a return to dependence and oppression for them.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 74, n. 2] Robidé van der Aa, at the end of his work *Reizen naar Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea* (*Travels to Dutch New Guinea*), 1879, gives a Tidorese glossary; the following corrections show how little trustworthy it is:

| <b>Meaning</b>                    | <b>Robidé</b>             | <b>Correct Term</b>   |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| sun                               | <i>wanyi</i>              | <i>wange</i> or <i>wange ma-lau</i>                                     |
| cloud                             | <i>kamo</i>               | <i>kamo-kamo; lobi</i> ,<br>which also means<br>"thundercloud"          |
| [note continues,<br>p. 75 bottom] |                           |   |
| lightning                         | <i>bella bella</i>        | <i>bela-bela</i>  |
| river                             | <i>ake melau</i>          | <i>ake; ake ma-lau</i> is "source"                                      |
| reef                              | <i>karon</i>              | <i>nyare; karo</i> is "coral shell"                                     |
| north                             | <i>kore mienyi</i>        | <i>kore minye</i>   |
| east                              | <i>kore wanyi manyini</i> | <i>kore wange ma-nyonyine</i>   |
| west                              | <i>kore wangi mesoru</i>  | <i>kore wange ma-sosoru</i>   |
| mountain                          | <i>buku</i>               | <i>kie</i> or <i>kiye; buku</i> is "hill"                               |
| branch                            | <i>hate mejaga</i>        | <i>hate ma-jaga</i>   |
| leaf                              | <i>hate merau</i>         | <i>hate ma-rau</i>  |
| bark                              | <i>hate mahi</i>          | <i>hate ma-ahi</i>  |
| guard                             | <i>masofo</i>             | <i>hate ma-sofo</i>   |
| warm                              | <i>sosahu</i>             | <i>sosahu</i>   |
| dry                               | <i>rienga</i>             | <i>hotu</i> and <i>ringa</i> ;<br>the added <i>tolole</i> is Ternatense |
| eye                               | <i>laan</i>               | <i>lau</i>  |
| ear                               | <i>ngaan</i>              | <i>ngau</i>   |
| finger                            | <i>gia meraga</i>         | <i>gia ma-raga-raga</i>   |
| instep                            | <i>johu ma-saku</i>       | this is "heel-joint"  |
| rod                               | <i>akan</i>               | <i>ako</i>  |
| to sleep                          | <i>antu</i>               | <i>otu</i> ;<br>the added <i>hotu</i> is Ternatense                     |
| to urinate                        | <i>isi</i>                | <i>osi; isi</i> is "urine"  |
| to sting                          | <i>topo</i>               | <i>tofo</i>   |
| to bang                           | <i>tutu</i>               | this is "to punch"  |

The kampong Toloa lies near Cape Bobo. This cape derives its name from the *Nipa* [p. 76] *Fruticans*.<sup>14</sup> It extends directly south in the direction of the island Mare, the potters' island, as shown on the maps.<sup>15</sup>

The name Mare means "stone" in Ternatese and Tidorese, and pots and pans are made from the clay found there. These wares are named according to their shape (*sempe*, *balangan*, and small *tampaya*). Small sago ovens are also made for use all over the Residency—they are very much in demand. The clay is available in largest quantities from a hill on the southwest side. The hill is notable for its irregular shape, as if it had been chopped off during an eruption. The clay is yellow in color and before it is fired it is coated with a thin layer of red earth which is obtained from Halmahera not far from the Woda Islands. As far as the process is concerned, one mixes the clay with water until the dough

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|                     |                        |   |
|---------------------|------------------------|---|
| to hit              | <i>fa</i>              | this is "a box on the ear"  |
| to hit with a stick | <i>tsyako</i>          | <i>cako</i>   |
| copulation          | <i>makalolo</i>        | <i>makololo</i> , but means "embrace"                                 |
| to give birth to    | <i>besusu</i>          | <i>bosusu</i>   |
| to suckle           | <i>meme ngofa</i>      | <i>meme</i>   |
| to divorce          | <i>lelaki</i>          | <i>talaki</i> , derived from Arabic                                   |
| day                 | <i>wangi</i>           | <i>wange</i>  |
| shell               | <i>biamahi</i>         | <i>bia ma-ahi</i>   |
| fish                | <i>niauw</i>           | <i>nyau</i>   |
| fish head           | <i>niauw madopollo</i> | <i>nyau ma-dofolo</i>   |
| fish tail           | <i>niauw mabi</i>      | <i>nyao ma-bii</i>  |
| hit                 | <i>ega</i>             | this word means "snake"   |
| arrow               | <i>jubi</i>            | <i>jubi ma-sai</i> , as contrasted with<br><i>jubi majora</i> , "bow" |
| white man           | <i>manusia bebulu</i>  | <i>manusia bobulo</i>   |
| flag                | <i>paji</i>            | <i>bandera</i> ;<br><i>paji-paji</i> are the proa flags               |
| white               | <i>bebulu</i>          | <i>bobulo</i>   |
| blue                | <i>kamo-kamo</i>       | <i>kamo</i> ;<br>the addition <i>roru</i> is "indigo"                 |
| three               | <i>rangi</i>           | <i>raange</i>   |
| file                | <i>romotoha</i>        | <i>romtoha</i> ;<br><i>romotoha</i> is Ternatese                      |
| ten                 | <i>nyagi mui</i>       | <i>nyagimoi</i>   |
| yellow              | <i>guraci</i>          | <i>kuraci</i> ; <i>guraci</i> is "gold"                               |
| knife               | <i>dari</i>            | <i>cici</i> ; <i>dari</i> is Ternatese                                |

The same writer and also Bokemeijer always speak of the island as Tidor. This is a very different spelling than the native spelling, Todoré, which was later corrupted by the Europeans to Tidore, the name now commonly used.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 76, n. 1] Van der Lith says incorrectly that the natives of the Moluccas tap palm wine from this palm (1875, p. 410).

<sup>15</sup> [p. 76, n. 2] Temminck (1849, III:416) changes the name to Pulu Kwali, since he thinks that the latter word means "potter"! Of this island, however, it can at least be said that foreigners have given the correct name.

can be kneaded. It is shaped with the hands and then softly beaten with a piece of wood and the outside is then smoothed with a stone. The pots made in this way are placed in circular rows and exposed to the sun's rays for a few days. When the weather is very warm one makes little piles of dry wood in the spaces between the pots. The wood is then lit on fire and the hot smoke is supposed to increase the strength of the pots; [p. 77] a few become blackened, others do not. Before the pan or pot is used it is rubbed with the stems of the agathis tree (*Agati Grandiflora*) to prevent cracking. Only women and children engage in this work.

On Mare, one finds only one kampong, also called Mare, on the east side. The whole island shows signs of cultivation, however, in the growing of maize and paddy, all done on a small scale for home consumption rather than for sale. In former days the men used to obtain salt by evaporating sea water, but this industry has very much declined during the last few years because of the cheap Java salt which is supplied by traders everywhere.<sup>16</sup>

We continue our journey and reach the island of Moti (by many writers corrupted to Motir and even Mortier), where according to Valentijn a treaty was concluded in 1322 between the rulers of the Moluccas. The treaty did not last very long, however, for soon afterward quarrels developed between the allies. It certainly did not leave a lasting impression since the national tradition does not mention it.

Moti, called Keten by the people of Makian, consists of a single mountain, higher than the mountain of Makian. [p. 78] As far as is known, this mountain has never erupted.<sup>17</sup> It is shown on all maps as being approximately midway between Mare and Makian, but in fact the distance between Mare and Moti is farther than between Moti and Makian. The distance is always calculated from Baru ma-Dehe, the north cape of the latter island.

There is no longer any trace of the fortification in which François Wittert in 1609 established a garrison under the leadership of captain Adriaan Clemensz. Stolck. Valentijn even gives this fortification the name of Nassau. De Jonge, however, from whom this

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<sup>16</sup> [p. 77, n. 1] When making salt, first thick trunks of *lolaro, dou* [as corrected in Errata — Trans.] and *posi-posi* are collected and burned, all the while being sprinkled with salt water where the flames are the highest; the ash obtained in this way is heavily mixed with salt particles and is then put in *paludis* or baskets made of the cover of the sago palm, on the bottom of which *gumutu* fibers have been placed. This preparation is continuously wetted with sea water, while the liquid which filters through is caught in *balangans* and finally evaporates over a hot fire. The salt mass takes the form of these balangan or earthenware trays; it has a diameter of fifty cm. and usually costs one real (f 1.60). In three or four months, a hundred or so balangans can be made. They were previously much in demand with the Alfurus, who now prefer the less expensive Java salt. Other important places where salt is made, besides Mare, are Tameti and the Woda Islands. For each one hundred balangan the headmen receive ten as tax.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 78, n. 1] Veth claims (in Wallace, 1870-1871, II:40), upon the authority of Forrest, that in 1774 the mountain Moti belched forth red-hot stones. He mentions this especially since Junghuhn does not. On Ternate, however, the assertion that there ever was an eruption of Moti is flatly denied, while the eruption of the mountain Makian in 1760 still lives in the memory of the people.

information is taken, does not mention it.<sup>18</sup> According to Valentijn, the clove trees on Moti were extirpated in 1653. As a result, the people of Kayoa and Gaane lured hither by Captain Schotte in 1610 may have scattered over the other islands.

There are no kampongs; there are, however, many gardens belonging to people who live in the quarters known as Tafaga, Tokofi, and Tafamutu of the capital Ternate. These people build small huts here and remain for longer or shorter periods. Their chiefs, however, who live permanently on Ternate, only go there from time to time when their subordinates do not pay their taxes regularly. One has to pay a certain land tax, *kaha magoco*, for permission to cultivate a garden. This tax is f 1.25 annually for Ternatese and for others f 1.60. There are also a few Tidorese who have plantations here. This has never caused any problems as the rivalry between the rulers and nobility of Ternate and Tidore [p. 79] does not seem to have reached the people in general, and one only rarely hears of disputes between fishermen from the two states once the expeditions of the armed korakor was had been tacitly abolished.<sup>19</sup>

At the top of the mountain is a place of sacrifice (*jere*). Flowers and fruits are taken there to ward off diseases and other dangers. A similar holy place is also found on the volcano on Makian, and it is said that during the last eruption this place remained completely undamaged. The worship of such places, where priests or headmen are usually buried, does not differ from elsewhere in the Indies archipelago. The worship always has a certain purpose: protection against possible disaster and the influence of evil spirits.

Moti is difficult of access except for small vessels, since it is completely surrounded by reefs and shoals. People from Makian prefer it to their own mountain, especially as land to develop, since wild boars are not found here at all. From Moti one can reach Makian in a few hours.<sup>20</sup> This island is infamous because of the terrible eruption in 1861. The island is not very big, since a native can walk around it in ten hours. It is inhabited by a people not different in type from the Ternatese, but they speak a completely different language and live on the east and west sides of the island. In the vernacular the island is called Waikiong and one can easily recognize in this name the corrupted form of Makian (not Makyan). The name Waikiong is now in common use, however, and [p. 80] it will be almost be impossible to change it.<sup>21</sup> The natives of this archipelago call it Marah, a name as obscure in origin and meaning as is Waikiong.

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 78, n. 2] See Valentijn, 1724, Ib:233 and de Jonge, 1872-1875, III:103 and 269.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 79, n. 1] It goes without saying that this alludes to the mutual understanding during normal conditions; during times of unrest or war the chiefs collaborate in stirring up hostilities and exciting feelings. Marriages between Ternatese and Tidorese have always been opposed under the direct rule of the Sultans on the islands of Ternate and Tidore.

<sup>20</sup> [p. 79, n. 2] This means only rowing or paddling, since wind and current can cause the situation to vary greatly when one travels in a proa. A native, who is never in a hurry, only travels when the elements can be used to his advantage, and that is the reason why impatient European travelers so often complain about their rowers.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 80, n. 1] The incorrect spellings of Brumund (*Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, V:335) are all of western origin.

The total number of inhabitants is about eight thousand. They all profess the Moslem religion so that they are compelled to leave the wild boar alone and to protect their plantations with stout fences against the destructiveness of this animal.<sup>22</sup>

Besides a Ternatese Utusan or representative of the Sultan, there are four Sangajis, at Ngofakiaha, Ngofagita, and the two Tahanes. The first of these places is situated on the northeast coast, the second one is on the north coast, and the last two are on the south coast, one being called Tahana Soahtia and the other Taha Soa according to their position either on the beach or more inland.<sup>23</sup> However the Sangaji of Ngofakiaha is acknowledged as the chief of the whole island and all other chiefs are subordinate to him. Besides the kampongs already mentioned, each having one thousand to fifteen hundred inhabitants, there are twelve other kampongs, all led by Kimalahas: Sabele, Talapau, Tafasoho, Tagono, Ngofabobawa, Bobawa, Molapa, Tabalolo, and Mailoa on the west side, and Peleri, Samsunga, and Pawate on the east side. The number of inhabitants in these kampongs varies from one hundred to four hundred. The headmen are given a sum of f 3,200 each year from the government, called recognition money (*pipi musum* or *musim*). This is in place of the earlier amount of f 2,000, [p. 81] awarded to them in 1655 for the extirpation of the clove trees.

|  |      |
|--|------|
| The payment takes place twice a year, and is divided as follows: |      |
| to the Sultan for exemption from the statutory                   |      |
| supply of birds' nests from the island of Gafi                   | f 24 |
| share given to the Captain-Laut at Ternate                       | 24   |
| share of the Secretary of the Sultanate of Ternate               | 16   |
| share of the Sangaji and the Bobatos of Ngofakiaha               | 600  |

This last is subdivided into:

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| the Sangaji          | f 300        |
| the Jogugu           | 24           |
| two Hukums           | 24           |
| seven heads of Soahs | 168          |
| <b>total</b>         | <b>f 516</b> |

The remaining f 84. is for the Kimalaha Marsaole, who is obliged to supply proas to take messages from the Sultan to Ternate.

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<sup>22</sup> [p. 80, n. 2] Already during Valentijn's time most Makianese were Moslems. See "Zaaken van den Godsdienst" ("Matters relating to Religion"), in 1724, Ib:379.

<sup>23</sup> [p. 80, n. 3] De Hollander states in his *Handleiding* (1877, II:418), in imitation of the Colonial Report of 1874, that Tahane is situated on the east coast on the Silai Bay. Tahane lies, however, on the south coast and has only a very small landing dock for proas behind a few projecting rocks. The Silai Bay is completely unknown; it may have been mistaken for the Makianese *sali* (channel) along which, between the rocks, the coast can be approached without running aground.

Share given to:

|                            |               |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| the Sangaji of Ngofagita   | f 150         |
| the Kimalahas of:          |               |
| Sabele                     | 60            |
| Tafasoho                   | 60            |
| Tagono and Ngofabobawa     | 28            |
| Bobawa                     | 60            |
| Molapa                     | 60            |
| Tabalolo                   | 30            |
| Mailoa                     | 30            |
| Peleri                     | 30            |
| Samsunga                   | 30            |
| Pawate                     | 30            |
| Talapau                    | 30            |
| the two Sangajis of Tahane | 75            |
| <b>Total</b>               | <b>f 1517</b> |

The remaining f 83.- are divided among the [p. 82] Kimalahas of Peleri, Mailoa, Sabele, and Tafasoho, in return for supplying the crews for the above-mentioned proas.

I cannot understand how Bokemeijer came by the title of *orankaya* for the headmen at Makian (p. 195).

The inland villages, on the east coast, have a completely different language from those in the coastal areas, or west coast, so that the inhabitants cannot understand each other and use Ternatese as the means of communication. With a few modifications, mainly to the stress, the kampongs of Ngofagita, Ngofakiaha, Pawate, Samsunga, Peleri, and the two Tahanes have one language. Some words are given below. The spelling is like the pronunciation and the “ch” has the same sound as the Dutch “ch.”

[Translator’s note: Entries in this word-list, found on pages 82-83 of the original publication, have been re-arranged alphabetically here. The Dutch terms have been translated into English, and the transcription of local terms has been updated, following the same rules used elsewhere in this translation. Thus de Clercq’s first entry “*oem*” appears as “um” alphabetically under “u;” its Dutch translation “*huis*” appears as “house.” The initial apostrophe is ignored in the alphabetization. The “ch” introduced by de Clercq for this list is retained here.]

|         |                    |          |               |
|---------|--------------------|----------|---------------|
| ao      | you (sg.)          | chocho   | cheek         |
| baba    | father             | dawa     | weed          |
| babau   | snake              | dawa-lo  | forest        |
| baibio  | ear                | dawalat  | grown-up girl |
| baku    | sago               | dawoi    | cape          |
| balul   | bamboo             | dawoyo   | thigh         |
| baso    | <i>gofasa</i> wood | dula     | to crawl      |
| batalon | to sit             | gaigulan | couch         |
| bingo   | belly              | gocila   | maize         |
| bulan   | white              | gowo     | neck          |

|             |                                  |           |                                  |
|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| haloi       | to eat (polite)                  | naulab    | to call                          |
| hamasi      | paddy                            | nayok     | to cry                           |
| hen         | tortoise                         | ngan      | sun (day)                        |
| hol         | fish trap                        | ngeku     | chin                             |
| jungutu     | sleeping mat                     | ngie      | <i>kanari</i> (canari) tree      |
| kakle       | hair of the head                 | 'nhik     | bat                              |
| kam         | to see                           | nitam-nok | brother                          |
| kantuli     | to sleep                         | niwilo    | lip                              |
| kantuli-kam | to dream                         | nou       | <i>Arenga</i> palm (sugar palm)  |
| kinit       | to pinch                         | 'ntuwa    | to buy                           |
| kiw         | afraid                           | nyaso     | smoke                            |
| koi         | bird                             | otin      | <i>cakalang</i> (tuna, skipjack) |
| kuda        | black                            | pai       | moon                             |
| kusum       | <i>alang-alang</i> (grass)       | patpido   | breast                           |
|             | [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] | plelo     | tongue                           |
| kutan       | to ask                           | poi       | crocodile                        |
| lalai       | stone                            | poyo      | head                             |
| lalho       | tooth                            | simur     | well                             |
| lo          | blood                            | sumo      | mouth                            |
| loka        | banana                           | tahon     | to eat                           |
| luta        | fire                             | talgap    | to scratch                       |
| makot       | red                              | tob       | sugar cane                       |
| maku        | warm                             | tohak     | to push                          |
| malo        | kampong                          | towas     | ironwood                         |
| mama        | mother                           | ulan      | rain                             |
| manik       | fowl                             | um        | house                            |
| manik mon   | cock                             | unghok    | hose                             |
| mapin       | woman                            | uwat      | mountain                         |
| meu         | you (pl.)                        | wagi      | to sell                          |
| 'mhonas     | sick                             | waho      | island                           |
| 'mnyo       | dog                              | we        | foot                             |
| moda        | wind                             | welik     | pig                              |
| mon         | man                              | woi       | shark                            |
| mon malot   | grown-up youth                   | wok       | <i>woka</i> palm                 |
| mon yak     | I (to superior)                  | woke      | proa                             |
| mot         | dead                             | wot       | <i>lolaro</i> wood               |
| moti        | to give                          | woya      | water                            |
| 'mto        | eye                              | yak       | I                                |
| 'mtu        | child                            | yasi      | salt                             |
| namli       | to laugh                         | yata      | iron                             |
| namna       | soon                             |           |                                  |

|                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>'mhanoma adini.</i> | Come here.         |
| <i>limsom pu.</i>      | What is your name? |
| <i>kiw oik.</i>        | Do not be afraid.  |
| <i>yak kamolam.</i>    | I am hungry.       |
| <i>yak mosoido.</i>    | I have had enough. |
| <i>moti yak loka.</i>  | Give me a banana.  |

*'mtomo adia ledo.* Stay there.

[p. 84]

|   |       |    |                 |      |          |
|---|-------|----|-----------------|------|----------|
| 1 | pso   | 7  | pchit           | 20   | nyohalu  |
| 2 | pelu  | 8  | powal           | 30   | nyohatol |
| 3 | tol   | 9  | psio            | 100  | utinco   |
| 4 | pchot | 10 | nyohaso         | 200  | utinlu   |
| 5 | pelim | 11 | nyohaso lo pso  | 1000 | calanco  |
| 6 | wonam | 12 | nyohaso lo pelu |      |          |

There seems to be some connection between this language and the one spoken at Weda and Patani, although the people from both these areas cannot understand each other. Some of the numerals are the same as in the Numfor language.

Our first contact with Makian dates from June 2, 1605, when Cornelis Sebastiaenzoon dropped anchor at Ngofakiaha and visited several places on the island. Taking advantage of the departure of the Portuguese from the Moluccas, he took a cargo of cloves with him. The Sangaji who escorted him encouraged him to settle on the island.

Two years later Paulus van Caerden sailed here. He took the Spanish stronghold at Tafasoho by storm on July 21, 1608. One hundred and twenty soldiers remained behind under Captain Apollonius Schoote, acting as chief merchant, assisted by Christiaen Ariaen den Dorst, first bookkeeper. They were stationed in the forts at Ngofakiaha, Tafasoho, and Tabalolo, and their duty was to exclude foreign traders and to see to it that the rich yields of the spices would end up exclusively in the coffers of the Company.<sup>1</sup> The island itself, however, remained under the rule of the Sultan of Ternate.<sup>2</sup> [p. 85]

The people of Makian have repeatedly resisted the supreme authority of Ternate. Sometimes they would like to come under the more lenient rule of Tidore, and at other times they want to come directly under our rule.<sup>3</sup> In 1806 this even led to a provisional agreement with the then Governor-General Wieling (see "Appendix V"), but this was never ratified by the Government.

The last time the people rebelled was in 1848 when all attempts at an amicable settlement failed completely, and punishment from Ngofakiaha followed during the first

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 84, n. 1] On this occasion the sea suddenly rose to an extreme height and the ships *Walcheren* and *China* were wrecked. De Jonge calls this natural phenomenon a seaquake (1872-1875, III:66 and 264), but from his description I would agree with Valentijn (1724, Ib:23) that it was a high swell.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 84, n. 2] In the contracts of January 16, 1613, January 26, 1635, and December 27, 1748, according to the Note of A.L. Weddik, the obedience of Makian to the Sultan of Ternate was assured. More details about Makian are given in Appendix 12 by Bokemeijer.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 85, n. 1] They had already explained this to Matelief (Valentijn, 1724, Ib:227). Bleeker would like to see Makian under our direct rule (1856, I:219) but neglects to state what the advantages would be.

days of July 1849. The Resident, Visser, went there himself on the brig *De Zwaluw*. A few shots were fired at the high village, killing some of the headmen, and the culprits and the leader, Prince Siko, were soon captured. The area has remained quiet since then.

The terrain of the island is very uneven and has a steep slope except on the east side, where the plain of Malo Tangteng is situated. In earlier days there were many kampongs, but their inhabitants gradually moved to other villages because of the many rampant diseases here. At present there are a few plantations of maize, grown between banana trees, but after the eruption the soil became much less fertile because of the stones which came to be strewn all around.

The main anchoring center is Pawate, which is on the east coast and is one-half hour's row south of Ngofakiaha. There are few houses since most inhabitants stay at their plantations, but native proas are protected against winds, especially during the west monsoon. Moreover, there are many wells with good drinking water here.<sup>4</sup> Because [p. 86] there are no rivers and streams on the island, wells have been dug along the beach, their walls supported by evenly placed stones to prevent the earth crumbling. Great pains have been taken over some of these wells, and even close to the sea they supply pure sweet water—rarely is it brackish or muddy.

The kampongs consist, as do the main villages, of a number of houses built almost on top of each other. The construction is very skillful. The people have also taken advantage of small even places on the stony slope of the mountain when building these houses. The floors are often partially supported so that they will be even. Most of the houses are square with an angular back because of later additions. They are very neatly finished with strong wooden posts between which the closely linked gabah slats form a strong wall. The largest number of houses is found at Ngofagita, where there are more than two hundred in an extremely small space.<sup>5</sup>

Ruins of old forts may be found at Ngofakiaha and Tafasolo; the former is still recognizable but very much overgrown with the roots of banyan trees; of the second one there is only some brickwork left.<sup>6</sup> Before the earthquake [p. 87] the village of Ngofakiaha

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 85, n. 2] I do not understand why van Musschenbroek condemns “reaching the harbor of Pawate” [p. 86] (not Powati) as a too-euphemistic expression of Bernstein (in Bernstein 1883, p. 24, note). There is no question of “harbor” in the sense attached to it by us and Bernstein would have done better to call it an anchorage ground. It is certain, however, that he put in at Pawate and not at Ngofakiaha; during the west monsoon (Bernstein traveled during October) the roadstead of the latter place is not protected from the northwestern winds. Native proas, the means of conveyance of Bernstein, always go, as reported above, to Pawate.

<sup>5</sup> [p. 86, n. 1] In Bernstein's account of his travels (1864, p. 81) he calls this village Mofenzita. This was most probably a clerical error that was not rectified by the editor since he did not know the correct name.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 86, n. 2] Valentijn speaks of a Fort Mauritius at Ngofakiaha and presumes that it was built by the Spanish or Portuguese (1724, *Ib*:90). Since he places it about three hundred steps from the beach, and mentions on page 1 a fortified landing dock near the beach, called Zeeburg, the present ruin situated near the sea is undoubtedly the latter and wrongly taken for the former, Mauritius, by van Musschenbroek, [p. 87] (*loc. cit.*, note 13). The beautiful coffee trees observed by van

lay on a precipice behind the fort; this settlement was completely destroyed, and the people moved to a lower place on the same northeastern beach.

Along the whole coast there are sheds or *sibuwah* which have been built close to the sea. Travelers can stay here on payment of a small fee to cover provisions of water and firewood; like most *mesigits* (mosques), these sheds often have an elevation in the form of an upturned proa on top of the roof.<sup>7</sup>

There are no sago palms on Makian and the sago consumed daily is brought from Halmahera, as is the katu which is needed for roofing and is joined together at home.<sup>8</sup> There are neither coconut nor arenga palms, so the natives cannot indulge too freely in sagwire. A few, feeling the need for a stimulant, might buy gin from an itinerant trader.<sup>9</sup> In earlier days there were plenty of kanari trees, which supplied kanari oil for domestic use; during the eruption in 1861 these were all destroyed and, although they have been replanted, at present only the people of the kampongs Sabele and Talapau press oil from the fruit and use it in the preparation of spices. There are many fruit trees, however, among which are *gomu* (readily eaten, for want of other food), *nangka* (jackfruit), and a multitude of *nanas* (pineapple) plants. There are small plantations of sugar cane near the houses. [p. 88] A juice is obtained by pressing the cane with a wooden wedge. *Kucubu* shrubs, also grown here, are highly valued as a medicine, since the leaves, when put on wounds, heal them within a short time.

The soil is less suited for growing paddy than for maize, which, together with *pisang capatu* (a kind of banana), forms the main staple of the diet.<sup>10</sup> One usually harvests the maize three times a year and rice only once from a garden, after which one has to till a new piece of land; only the banana propagates itself everywhere. When the paddy is ripe it is

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Musschenbroek near the old fort are at the most three or four in number and do not differ in any respect from the coffee shrubs grown on lowlands near houses all over the Indies.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 87, n. 1] A very good picture of such a roof can be found in *Le Tour du Monde*, XXXVII:233.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 87, n. 2] At Payae (Tidorese Halmahera), a sago tree costs f 5.- and produces five to ten tuman; at Gaane (Ternatense Halmahera) the price of two trees is only f 2.50, but Gaane is rather far from Makian.

<sup>9</sup> [p. 87, n. 3] Except for a very few of them, the natives of Ternate never use opium.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 88, n. 1] Maize is called *milu* in the Malay of the Moluccas (Portuguese, *milho*; Ternatense, *kastela*), a word also used to indicate the Spanish (Castilians), who may have introduced maize for the first time into these regions. The Makianese call it *gocila* and pay two kupang for forty ears; they pound the maize, cook it as rice, and eat it with fish or with kanari kernels with a little bit of salt and ricah (*Capsicum*, hot pepper) as spices on the side. If there is no maize or they have no time to cook it, the natives manage with roasted *pisang capatu*, available everywhere in abundance, dipped in *dabu-dabu*, which is a mixture of tamate (*Lycopersicum*), onions, ricah, salt and lime juice; twenty or so pisang make a meal. When working in the plantations the dabu-dabu is mixed with seawater for convenience's sake, that way the workers do not have to bring salt with them.

not cut but rather is stripped off by hand; the blades are then crushed underfoot over a sieve through which the grains pass. The paddy is all consumed domestically.<sup>11</sup>

There is not much wildlife on Makian. Except for the wild boar there are only *patola* or python snakes, which even attack people in the gardens, and a few species of vipers, which have a venomous bite. The bird fauna is limited mainly to a few *Corvus* species (crows) and a *Lamprotornis* with red eyes, which feeds by preference on the fruits of the *campaka* tree.

Apart from their earlier revolt against the Sultan of Ternate, due either to the erratic payment of [p. 89] recognition money or else to extortion by members of the royal family sent there, the native population is considered docile and diligent. Captain Schotte says that they are more industrious than the people of Ternate and Tidore and that they cultivate their lands better.<sup>12</sup> They have repeatedly helped in catching pirates, and since 1864 they have no longer used the *rorehes* to go to Menado—these *rorehes* had previously been manned for the most part with people from Makian. Always properly dressed like the other Moslems in these regions, they wear the *cidaku* or loin cloth only when working in the gardens or when fishing.

The normal dress of the headmen is the long *kubaya*, replaced by a shorter one when officials come on a visit, on top of which is worn the typical black dress coat, with blue trimmings and brass buttons. If they also hold the rank of officer (a present from the Sultan when newly appointed) they replace the normal head shawl with a plain black one.<sup>13</sup>

For entertainment they have, as on Ternate, *cakalele* or *hasa*, *lego*, and *dodengo*. The first, called *wowa* on Makian, is a mock battle against an imaginary enemy. Armed with lance and shield the performer leaps forward and backward, contorting his body, alternately dealing a thrust or warding off an attack and often letting out yells as an expression of feigned anger.<sup>14</sup> In days long past it was probably a compulsory exercise to train warriors [p. 90] in wielding weapons to defend themselves. These days, though, this war dance only serves as amusement, particularly to entertain guests. *Dodengo*, called *tayota* in the Makian language, is a real fight, with two parties knocking each other about with rattan, gabah sticks, or bamboos, often causing serious injuries. Nevertheless, it

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<sup>11</sup> [p. 88, n. 2] From the above it can easily be concluded that the claim of Temminck (1849, III:418) that Makian can feed a population of twelve thousand to fourteen thousand souls is absolutely not true.

<sup>12</sup> [p. 89, n. 1] See the quotation by Brumund in *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, V:330.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 89, n. 2] If they were also given a staff, this insignia of office has to be returned to the Sultan of Ternate after the death of the holder, together with the simultaneous payment of 30 reals: this is called *uri ma-gogata*. The Sultan usually does not accept this money, knowing that the family already has many expenses on such occasions.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 89, n. 3] The best pictures of the shields used when performing the *cakalele* can be found in *Le Tour du Monde*, XXXVII:237; those depicted by Campen in *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, 4th series, VIII, are very poorly drawn. They are made of the wood of *Hibiscus Tiliaceus*.

remains the favorite sport, always drawing many spectators while the victor is rewarded with sweet glances from the maidens present. *Lego*, or *cawa* in the Makian language, is a calmer pleasure and consists of a melodious recitation of familiar or improvised love stories and other happenings which at that moment interest the people. These events often serve to fill the intervals when the performers are resting from the exertion they have expended during the fight.<sup>15</sup>

The weapons of the performers are the straight lance and the barbed-hook lance; the former is thrown at the enemy from a short distance, the latter is on the other hand shot like an arrow and penetrates the target with force.

The three most important branches of industry are the weaving of sarongs, tobacco cultivation, and fishing. Under the porch of almost all houses one can find a Javanese-style loom on which sarongs are woven with European threads and colored with dyes sold by the Chinese at Ternate.<sup>16</sup> As is true elsewhere, it is mainly the women who carry out this sedentary work. It is, however, a very time-consuming work since weaving one *kain* (cloth) takes a month to do and is sold very cheaply because of the [p. 91] competition with linen of western origin. These fabrics are in great demand among the Alfurus of Galela.

Makian tobacco is very popular on the Indies market. The seed, left over from the previous crop, is sown in seedbeds and later transplanted in plots of 50 x 50 fathoms. The seedlings are protected after transplanting by kanari leaves attached to each other with strips of bamboo, removed only after the sprouting of four or five seed leaves. The harvest takes place four to five months after sowing. The gathered leaves are dried in the sun at a low degree of humidity, cut up fine, once again dried, and then marketed in that form. There are three kinds, depending on the quality of the leaves. They are tied up into parcels of forty to fifty catties. The price at Makian varies from f 40.- to f 50.- per picul and the Makianese often go with the mail steamers to Menado where they can sell their tobacco readily for f 1000.- and more per picul.<sup>17</sup>

Fishing is done with fishing rod, line, and drag net. On the east coast of the island they also use enormous fish traps (Ternatese, *igi*; Makianese, *hol*), which have a width of two meters and a length and height of three meters. These traps are plaited from fine split bamboo and take two people more than a month to make. Taken on wooden rafts into the sea, with heavy stones mounted on the projecting side laths, they are lowered to a depth of ten to twenty fathoms and attached to the shore with a rope in order to know exactly in which spot they sank. Pulled up after twenty-four hours they contain a large variety of fish, especially smaller species, like the *Caesio Erythrogaster* (*wasam* in the Makianese language). These are often caught in the thousands when the moon is full. A great number

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<sup>15</sup> [p. 90, n. 1] The Sultan of Ternate has appointed certain persons to perform the *lego* during visits by foreigners; the singing is prefaced by a few notes on a clarinet-like instrument called an *iskilmai* and further performed to the tune of a gong and *tifah* beat. See page 18, above.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 90, n. 2] The claim of a few writers that thread is spun from the cotton shrubs which are found in some places is not correct.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 91, n. 1] Van der Crab estimates the annual export to be at least 700 piculs [1862?], p. 305. I did not succeed in obtaining reliable figures from the headmen.

of these fish traps lie scattered along the beach and almost every [p. 92] family has one so that daily fish requirements are easily met.

Here is a population on whose island the extirpation system was applied with unrelenting strictness in earlier centuries. They have risen to a relative degree of prosperity, without any inducement, by their own labor. This is definite proof that the destruction of superfluous species has not had such a discouraging effect as is often claimed. Generally speaking the Moluccas are backward as far as industry is concerned, partly because of lack of labor but also because the incentive to work is generally missing. Laziness is inborn; the natives will sometimes work hard because they fear punishment, but because of their innate love of ease they relapse again immediately if this inducement is missing. Certainly the former *hongji* (17<sup>th</sup>-century Dutch expeditions to extirpate spice trees) with their ruthless extirpation of clove trees have made things worse, as the people saw the fruits of little effort sacrificed to the foreigners' pursuit of money. They also came to disdain working because of the enormous supply of slaves, who with the help of rattan [whips] were forced to work, and were called upon as indispensable help for their more privileged fellow beings.<sup>18</sup> The kernel of the whole matter, the zest to improve one's own state, was not there, and still is not; nature provides everything that is required, so why not enjoy it in blissful idleness till the end?

The bright side, presented by Makian's hard-working population, remains, nevertheless, a happy phenomenon in the midst of an environment which does not yet share this attitude (though for understandable reasons). Even if one accepts that on this island it is more difficult to produce one's daily food because of the lack of sago trees and the land's rocky soil, still the yield of the harvest is relatively less than in other areas. [p. 93]

Taxes are not imposed on Makian by the Sultan; on the other hand the male population is liable to statute labor at the capital. That is, they are required to provide twenty *ngosa* (those liable to statute labor) every three months, and every one year forty *kabo* (police-soldiers) and four *juru batak* (kitchen helpers).

These statute laborers are registered with the Captain-Laut, who distributes them among the princes and nobles. Exemption from the *ngosa* service costs eight reals and from the *kabo* service twenty reals.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, some service has to be carried out in the community under the Utusan, the Sangajis, and the Kimalahas.

The Makianese also go to Ternatese Halmahera, south of Dehe Podo, to get the more durable beams and planks of *gofasa* and iron wood which the Sultan, under Article 25 of the contract with the Government, is committed to supply. Since in this case the proa, sails,

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 92, n. 1] So many slaves were available during this period that twenty-five years ago the exchange value for one was often only two *pedah*—approximately eighty Dutch cents.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 93, n. 1] The real has a figurative value of f 1.60; one real = 4 *suku* of 40 Dutch cents and one *suku* = 6 *kupang* of 7 cents or 3 *kupang* = 20 cents. One *kupang* = 3 *stiw*er of 3 1/4 cents, though this does not hold true everywhere.

rowers, axes, food, and everything else is charged to the Government, everybody who takes part gets about 80 cents each out of a total amount of f 300.- to f 400.-. This is true in spite of the fact that the Government pays the high price of f 35.- per cubic meter. Only the accompanying headman and the secretary of state receive f 10.- each for the supervision; the whole remaining amount is received by the persons concerned. Since there are no good kinds of wood near the beach they have to be brought from far back in the interior. This is sometimes very difficult because of the lack of waterways for transport.

We take a last look at the mountain before we cross into Kayoa. The top has the appearance of a truncated cone. It was first split in two during the eruption of 1760,<sup>20</sup> and again in 1861 when the phenomenon repeated itself and fire and stones were thrown out, destroying the whole surroundings. The volcano has remained quiet since then and is overgrown with foliage to the top. [p. 94] The terrible havoc remains only in memory and in the mark of two deep gullies which run into the sea near the kampongs of Ngofagita on the north coast and Pawate on the east coast. The inhabitants who fled to the surrounding islands returned after a few years. They now claim that the crater is dead, although the only proof for that is that the mountain does not emit smoke. Since that time nobody has had the courage to descend into the unfathomed crater to see if it is still active.<sup>21</sup>

At Tahane we observe the *jere* (place of sacrifice), sacred to the memory of the Arab Mohamad Said, who as a leader of auxiliary troops assisted our government in 1877 against Danu Baba Hasan [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. He was rewarded for that service with a silver medal. We then row directly south to Pulu Miskin, an island to the north of Kayoa.<sup>22</sup> One asks how long it will take to cover this distance and, of course, receives a vague answer, for a native rarely travels when wind and current are against him. Having plenty of time and being in no hurry he does not count the hours. It took us six hours to cross.

Pulu Miskin is oblong in shape and is separated from the island of Kayoa by a narrow channel. The northwestern point of Kayoa is called Modayama and the northeastern point is Wol-Oko. This latter point is opposite the rock Jere, a place of sacrifice for the sailors. The west coast of Pulu Miskin, like the northwest coast of Kayoa, consists of [p. 95] raised coral rock, densely grown over with numerous *Pandanus* trees on the projecting points. The roots of these trees penetrate far into the crevices and cracks; between the roots many green, white, and grey pigeons may be seen flying about.<sup>23</sup> There is

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 93, n. 2] See below, "Short Chronicle," under [that date](#) and also under [the year 1648](#).

<sup>21</sup> [p. 94, n. 1] The controller, I. Stormer, told me that his aneroid indicated a height of thirty-two hundred feet at the extreme top. (See also the detailed description of the mining engineer de Groot in *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch. Genootschap*, V:330, and of Bernstein in *TBG*, p. 435. They could, in June, still see the destruction resulting from the latest eruption.)

<sup>22</sup> [p. 94, n. 2] Temminck, Haga, and others have a new name for the Kayoa groups: "Riouw"! De Hollander uses the English spelling "Kiouw."

In the language of Makian, Kayoa is called "Ngailo."

<sup>23</sup> [p. 95, n. 1] The most frequently occurring *Pandanus* species in this region are the ones described by Rumphius as *P. Humilis* and *P. Cariccossus*. The first, called *bok* or *boko* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], has large leaves which, if joined together in wide strips, form the so-called

no beach on this side because of the heavy wash of the waves which destroy everything during the west monsoon. On the much quieter eastern beach the *Rhizophores* thrive and help to form new islands. On that side one can find a mysterious cave, known as Liyang Sangsung after a creeper which winds inward into it. Tradition tells that a few people from Tahane who came to look for birds' nests almost lost their lives in the dark passages of this cave.

There are not many sago trees on Kayoa; there are a few in one place on the west coast, called Baku-Li because of that peculiarity, but they contain poor quality pith and only supply leaves for roofing. The island is rich in all kinds of good wood, however, and iron wood, gofasa, and lolaro wood are plentiful.<sup>24</sup> Although there are wild pigs here, many people from Makian have plantations because the land is less steep than on their own mountain. The mountain known as Likil is the highest, standing at a height of one thousand to twelve hundred feet. It lies approximately in the middle of the island, and is incorrectly called Sikil on van Musschenbroek's map.

The only anchoring ground is in the southwest near the sole [p. 96] kampong, Guruah Ping<sup>25</sup> (*guruah* means anchoring ground). An extensive reef protects the anchorage against wind-driven seawater. Sixty or so houses have been built on a rather small stretch of land—twenty of these have been built by the Bajos on piles over the water. These Bajos sometimes roam the sea for long periods of time; we have already met them at Sidangoli.

There are about two hundred souls altogether, with a Sangaji as headman, assisted by a Ternatese Utusan. The population seems to be related to the people on East Makian since they speak the same language.<sup>26</sup> The kampong looks clean and good use has been made of the terrain to make a fairly even street; there is a stone mosque on the west end. During prolonged periods of drought there is a shortage of drinking water; the water drawn from plank-strutted wells is rather muddy and is only used in the kitchen. The swamp on the north side of the village is flooded at high tide and at such times there is nothing but seawater on all sides. Wallace says that there are plenty of tree melons (*Carica Papaya*) on

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*kokoya* mats after which the tree has sometimes been called; the second one is the *buro-buro*—the ordinary sleeping or sitting mats are plaited from its smaller leaves.

<sup>24</sup> [p. 95, n. 2] The foreign words used in the text all belong to the language of East Makian.

The gofasa or *baso* wood can be differentiated into *baso kamel* and *baso lalai*. The latter is especially in demand for making proas and the posts of houses. There are also two kinds of iron wood, or *towa* wood: *towa kom* and *towa langi*. The first of these has a yellow alburnum.

<sup>25</sup> [p. 96, n. 1] Not Gurapingi, as given in van Musschenbroek (*loc. cit.*, p. 25), and certainly not Goaripino, which van Musschenbroek says he learned locally (?) (*TAG*, p. 103). He could have avoided such errors had he asked one of the headmen to write down the name. Wallace (1870-1871, II:34) calls this the "most important" village: he does not seem to know that there are no other villages on Kayoa.

<sup>26</sup> [p. 96, n. 2] Nowhere is there any mention of a difference between the languages spoken on Makian, as mentioned by Wallace (1870-1871, II:38); the language is exactly the same everywhere.

Guruah Ping<sup>27</sup>; he is mistaken, however, and really means the *Benincasa Cerifera Savi*, which has big fruit resembling melons. These are grown everywhere near the houses.

The statute labor requirement for the population is not too severe: they have to supply one person to carry out statute labor at Ternate and one kaboo to the Utusan. These two men are replaced every year.

The Kayoa Islands are: Kayoa with Pulu Misikin and Guruah, and Waidoba, renamed Luluin by van Musschenbroek. [p. 97] This last name actually only refers to a part of the northeastern coast, however, and is derived from *luin*, or *kora-kora*, which means a place where vessels can be drawn up on dry land.<sup>28</sup> Near Waidoba there is Towada and a few more small islands; these form one island with Waidoba at low tide. The small islands are called Werimdi, Lagolian [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], Dobamelum, and Dok.

Especially on Waidoba there are many paddy fields. They often have a poor yield because of late planting, and they have rarely been planted on woodland soil because of the heavy work entailed. The products are mainly bought by Tidorese for an average price of 14 cents per *kula* of 3 *cupa*—that is, about 4.- per picul. The farmers store the paddy in their gardens and supply it once the sale has been agreed upon.

The waterway between Kayoa and Waidoba is not navigable for bigger proas at low tide because of its many reefs and shallows; ships can anchor more to the east at a depth of twenty-five fathoms, but the reef around Guruah is too extensive to allow this.

To the west of the Kayoa group lie a few smaller islands, called the Goaricis on the map. The name is a corruption of *Gurah-Ici*, which means small garden, the name of the most insignificant and trivial of all the islands.<sup>29</sup> As a matter of fact, they have no common name as a group and each one has its own separate name.

These islands are under the Sangaji of Ngofakiaha who is charged in the name of the Sultan with the supervision of the following islands (those which are only separated at high tide are mentioned together):

Gunangi and Laigoma; [p. 98]

Siko, Tomako ma-Fatu [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], and Gafi;

Lele, Gurah-Ici, and Kelo;

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<sup>27</sup> [p. 96, n. 3] See Wallace, 1870-1871, II:38.

<sup>28</sup> [p. 97, n. 1] In his often-mentioned note on page 25 (in Bernstein, 1883), van Musschenbroek claims that *luluin* is a *Casuarina*—this is called *lelei* in Ternatese and Tidorese. He is indeed not afraid to make small mistakes: at the top of page 85, note 3, and on page 33, he identifies the description heard by Bernstein on East Halmahera of the *lelei*, without further ado, as *Leptospermum Amboinense*, a tree which according to Miquel's *Flora* occurs on Ceram!

<sup>29</sup> [p. 97, n. 2] MacLeod even has an incorrect explanation for this incorrect spelling. It appears that Spanish is involved (*Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, V:25).

Talimau, Tameti, and Moari.

Most plantations are on the last three islands because there are no wild pigs there. On Gurah-Ici there are a few coconut plantations; on Lele quite a lot of *gaso* trees are found; and on Gafi there are birds' nests which are gathered in pear-shaped baskets with the help of bamboo platforms (one hundred and twenty nests annually).<sup>30</sup>

From Waidoba we cross to the shore of Halmahera, traveling in an easterly direction straight for the cape, called Dehe Podo by the Ternatense and Doe Podo by the Tidorese. Both these names mean "short cape." This point marks the line of demarcation between the two states.<sup>31</sup> Two big stones, separated from each other by a narrow passage and known as Mare Tuso, indicate the place which the Tidorese [p. 99] claim used to be the boundary line with Ternatense territory. A little bit to the north the river Dehe Podo empties into the sea. Here there are a few huts belonging to people from Maidi, who also have a coconut plantation here and maintain the *jere* which one can find everywhere in these regions.

There is not much to see in these so-called holy places: a covered grave, recognizable by a pile of heaped-up earth with wooden pegs placed at the head and foot, a few half-burnt joss-sticks, and some pieces of cloth fluttering under the shade of the high trees. It does not make a very attractive sight. The *jere* are cherished by the population, however, and are usually shown to a visitor at once as the most important local feature.

The beach is passable everywhere. Nevertheless, even with the protection of the islands which we just now visited, there can be high waves. The beach soon ascends at a gentle slope into the hilly terrain of the interior forests. In the dense underwood one finds in places an abandoned cooking place, where Alfurus from the interior have stayed temporarily, but for the rest the whole coastal region is uninhabited and there are only three settlements from here to the Woda Islands. The settlements are called Maidi, Payae, and Gita; they are considered to be *kampongs* because they consist of twelve families in a dozen houses, all under a headman.

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<sup>30</sup> [p. 98, n. 1] In the contract made with the Sultan of Ternate, only Makian, Siko, Gafi, Laigoma, Talimau, Tameti, Moari, Tauhi (completely unknown) and ten nameless islands are mentioned (see Bleeker, 1856, I:83). Since our navy never took the trouble to chart this area properly, I will not hazard a guess as to where these islands are located.

<sup>31</sup> [p. 98, n. 2] In Article 5 of the "Treaty of Peace and Amity" concluded between His Highness Paduka Siri Maha Tuwan Sulthan [*sic*] Saidil Biladi Sirajul Culutil [spelled "Coeloetil" in original — Trans.] Mulkil Amiri Iskandar Binal Baharain waihuwa Hairus Salihin Sieakh Kacili Mohamad Ali Sultan of Ternate and His Highness Paduka Siri Maha Tuwan Sultan Moolaphar [*sic*] Hallal Mahaladun Mohammed Tahir Muijudin Sultan of Tidore, on October 27, 1814, through the Representative of the British Government in the Moluccas, W.B. Martin, Dehe Podo under the Tidorese name of Doe Podo was first mentioned as the boundary between the two states (see Haga, 1884, I:460). In official Dutch documents the names Dehe Poho and Doe Podo have been corrupted to "Djaipopa." In fact, the word "*djai*" does not exist, and "*popa*" is just a variant on *popo*, which has the same meaning as *podo* in both languages. The *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek* (1869, III:936) even lists the place as "Djojopa." The careless manner in which information about the Ternatense archipelago is treated can also be seen in Temminck's *Coup d'oeil* (1849, II:138), in which, thirty-five years after this treaty was concluded, Galela is listed as part of Tidore and Bicoli as part of Ternate!

The main purpose of our journey this time is to visit Payae and to check on the collection of caoutchouc ("India rubber"). Therefore we only hurriedly inspect the extensive pinang forests of Maldi,<sup>32</sup> hoist sail, and take advantage of the *pohoko* or landwind to follow the coast into the deepest part of the fairly large bay. There a few dilapidated huts surrounding an undistinguished rest house give a bad impression of the influence of Tidore's rule. [p. 100] Indeed, except at his own residence on Tidore, the Sultan does not concern himself with governing at all. It is not possible for us to anchor close to the shore; at a far distance our shallow vessel becomes entangled in the seaweed. By pulling our small outrigger proas through the mud we finally reach the dry ground, but only after making a long detour.

Once on shore we are welcomed by the *Kalaudi*, the head of the kampong and leader of fifty or sixty inhabitants, and Captain Umar of Ternate. Captain Umar has permission from the Sultan to collect caoutchouc in the vast forests. He leads us to his house, which lies about fifteen hundred meters (one paal) from the shore near a brooklet on the edge of the virgin forest.

Near a shed built of light material and partly outfitted as a sleeping place, the captain has had all the trees cut down. In this spot he cultivates all kinds of plants, ornamental as well suitable for daily use. Initially he was not able to find the tree which supplies the real *jetah percah*, but finally he discovered a wood-like creeper from whose bark, when an incision is made, a white sap drips. This sap is sticky and when it is boiled together with some acidic liquid it binds together in the form of disks. This is what is known in the trade as caoutchouc, and it commands a good price on the market.

A walk through the forest convinces us of the abundance of this plant, for it spreads in all directions, twisting endlessly. The top end can be found only with difficulty as it reaches to the highest branches of the trees, reaching at random to another point of support.

The stem has a diameter of two to ten centimeters. The sap gathers under the bark and can be drained with a small incision. It is collected in the tray-shaped folded leaves of the woka palm and, after it has thickened, is boiled together with some lemon juice in iron pans in rather large quantities, after which, separated from the whey, it becomes dark brown or blackish in color. Although it [p. 101] still contains many impurities and there are many pits and channels in the cracks, it is now ready for export. The people call this plant *doki-doki*. The proprietor here has had to go to a lot of trouble to teach the people how to make caoutchouc since they did not know anything about the properties of the sap and only used the outer bark of the tree as a styptic.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> [p. 99, n. 1] Pinang fruit [*Arece catechu*] from Maldi is very much in demand. It is transported in *tatah*, which are baskets made of bamboo strips. Two hundred and forty pieces of fruit cost 1 suku.

<sup>33</sup> [p. 101, n. 1] Because of the difficulty in obtaining its flowers and fruit, this plant has not yet been scientifically identified. It may be the *Urceola Elastica* Roxb., which is also found on Sumatra.

Besides getting much labor from the people of Weda, who live everywhere here (a foot path leads to this village, which is situated on the southern peninsula of Halmahera), the captain also obtains much service from the inland Alfurus, who are originally from Tubaru. They settled in these regions some time ago and stay in the interior. The journey through the forest soon brings us to their kampong, Niweli, six houses inhabited by about thirty people. The houses are angular or square in shape, with a verandah on all sides and bamboo seats at the front and back. The cooking place is in the verandah and the household effects are limited to the barest necessities, but the houses are well-built and are kept very clean.

They are truly natural people (Dutch, *natuurmenschen*), the Alfurus! The women are ugly and thickset; the men are robust and well-built, very hairy, strong, and handsome even to the eye of a non-Polynesian. They are not shy, but modest and very helpful.<sup>34</sup> Because they are few, and because of their long association with the shore people, they have [p. 102] lost much of their original appearance; but they have preserved their language, and their partiality to pork prevents them from embracing Islam. Their diet consists of sago, abundant here as is the arenga palm. They do not tap the sago palms, but simply cut them down to obtain the sagwire. They are completely at home in the forest. Neither rain nor wind keep them from foraging; to them, a thick branch or some leaves scraped together is better than the softest bed. And yet, wild as they are, when meeting officials they behave with courtesy. If there is ever a possibility of instilling a higher standard of civilization into the people of this region, the Alfurus will be the most susceptible to it, and will perhaps be the starting point. But who will take them out of their forests, so inaccessible to strangers? The forests are their shelter and home, where they enjoy the greatest freedom and where they feel happy in complete ignorance of everything that is happening in the world outside.

We start the return journey to Ternate, following the coast as far as the Woda Islands. There are five of these islands: Woda, Tamen, Joji, Guratu, and Raja. They are all situated near each other and opposite the kampong of Gita. Woda is the largest—a hundred Tidorese have settled on its east coast, where they live by fishing and burning salt. There is of course a jere here too, this time the grave of a well-known person, a former Sangaji of Makian. During prolonged periods of drought many people come here to worship. A drought may have severe consequences, for there is no drinking water on any of these islands—it has to be fetched from the river Ake Lamo, which is rather far away.

This group of islands has nothing special to offer. Only Guratu is notorious for its thousands of bats, hanging among the branches of the lolaro trees. The trees do not provide sufficient protection for them to escape their enemies, the woka-woka and *guhebah* (osprey).<sup>35</sup> [p. 103]

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<sup>34</sup> [p. 101, n. 2] Whether the boisterousness of the Alfurus noted by Wallace (1870-1871), who compared it with the quiet composure of the Malay people, can be considered a characteristic racial difference remains doubtful. The form of government of the Alfurus naturally does not carry with it the attitude of subservience to officials which is so often seen on Java, for example. When not in this type of situation, especially when they are among equals, the Malayan tribesmen are not so quiet and withdrawn.

<sup>35</sup> [p. 102, n. 1] Bats are called *mano* in Ternatese; *lolaro* is the *Bruguiera Rumphii* Bl.; *woka-woka* is the *Corvus Orru*, and *guhebah* is the *Pandion Haliactus*.

Map

Sketches of the South Ternatense Islands

Scale 1:500,000

## VI

### **A Short Note Regarding the Other Districts of North Halmahera**

[p. 103] In any comparison between the manner in which the sultanates of Ternate and Tidore are governed, opinion is definitely against Tidore. Not that Tidore's subjects are exposed to more acts of arbitrariness or that other notions with regard to royal rights prevail here, from the native point of view. But Ternate better maintains its authority by appointing representatives who will execute orders from above and look after the interests of the Sultan, whereas Tidore contents itself with instructing only those headmen whose appointment is made by the crown.

Although for many reasons the policies of both sultanates have failed to form a closer bond between overlords and natives on Halmahera, the Ternate administration still has the advantage since within its territory there is at least a semblance of government. This, if nothing else, helps in tracing crime—something Tidore seems to be completely incapable of doing.

How little influence the oppressors have was brought to light in 1876 by a certain Dano Baba Hasan [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], a descendant of the sultan's house of Ceram which had been set up in 1832 [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. Baba Hasan decided to found a new state called Jailolo in Halmahera. In a short time he had so many followers that the continuance of the authority of Ternate and Tidore was seriously threatened. Indeed, had it not been for the intervention of the Government of the Dutch Indies, he would have caused a major change in the political situation here.

A single promise of exemption from taxes and statute labor was enough to see Baba Hasan's plan [p. 104] welcomed almost everywhere and to cause a revolt which rapidly spread over the whole island.

That tradition attributes more power to Jailolo than it most probably ever had is in itself not strange: legends, which so easily take on burdens and small oppressions, often describe earlier centuries as eras of happiness and prosperity. Many people come to long for these times without further thought. But only a deep-rooted grievance can explain this infatuation with the empty promises offered by Baba Hasan, while they were indeed presented in the most beguiling and vivid terms.

The people have grudgingly endured for years the levying of taxes and the demand for unpaid labor, and the situation has been made worse by the high-handed way in which the royal descendants have behaved when collecting taxes or selecting laborers. They think only about their own gain and enforce their claim with brute force. No one and nothing is safe from them.

Baba Hasan's revolt was suppressed, and Baba Hasan himself was captured and exiled to Muntok. The government took advantage of the prevailing confusion to put into effect some changes that would prevent the repetition of such an event.

One of the major changes that should be mentioned is that the *Danos* were forbidden to go to Halmahera for any reason without giving advance notice to the head of the government. This was an excellent arrangement, and strictly enforced. It protected the people from visitors who, by their bragging and intimidation, would carry off everything they could lay their hands on, secure in the knowledge that they had their sovereigns' support—for they took care to give them part of the spoils.

But at the same time the government replaced the levies in produce and labor with taxation in money in the eastern districts where the natives were most inclined to defect. It required an annual amount of f 4.- for a married Alfuru and of f 2.- for an unmarried one; [p. 105] no other service was required.

I do not think that this change was an improvement, although I readily acknowledge the good intention behind it and I fully realize the difficulties involved in restoring calm and order to a confused state of affairs to the satisfaction of all parties. The government did not feel called upon, using the contractual powers given it in treaties concluded with the sultans, to take over the running of Halmahera itself, and considering the extent of its task in the Indies archipelago this abstention is understandable; why, then, implement a measure which can only be effective under western leadership?

One has only to listen to the headmen who say quite frankly what they think. One complains that he is looking in vain for a way to convert the produce of his subordinates into ready cash; another declares roundly that he cannot refrain from using the money placed in his safekeeping for his own benefit; a third does not find it possible to collect taxes from transients; a fourth offers his resignation because he has now become a slave of the people. The people themselves find this continual half-yearly pressure for payment annoying and difficult and would rather pay more in the form of produce if they might be spared this continuous reminder of their obligations.

Even the rulers are not very happy with this tax conversion. It is true that they agreed at the time to the proposals made to them and would even have been inclined to promise more under the auspices of their shaky authority; yet they fully understand that their power has received a sharp blow and despite their good intentions, they lack the means to apply a milder government policy or to assist the Government in the manner it might desire. It is easy enough to condemn the rulers and present the people as being subjected to all kinds of extortions in their name (the masses believe this immediately), [p. 106] but fairness demands that the rights of these rulers be respected and their influence not be needlessly undermined. Indeed, the tact with which they sometimes acquit themselves of their task in very difficult cases deserves more admiration than disapproval. Since the nature of my study does not allow room for political observations, however, I will refrain from going into details on this matter.

Besides the already mentioned districts of Sidangoli, Dodinga, and Kau, there are seven more districts in North Halmahera, known as Jailolo, Sawu, Gamkonorah, Tolofuo, Lolodah, Galela, and Tobelo. About these, the following can be reported:

**Jailolo.** The capital, named Soahsio, is the seat of the Ternatese government. About a quarter of an hour's walk from the beach, it consists of two Islamic kampongs, Soahkonorah and Siawa, each under a Kimalaha. One also finds here an Utusan and an

*Alferes*, and as head of the district, a *Ngofamanyirah*, appointed by the Sultan without the interference of our government. There are also two titular subdistricts, Moro and Jailolo, the first populated by people from Morotai who fled here during the long wars in former times. Two Alfuru kampongs, Porniki and Waioli, have their own headmen and live deeper in the interior.

The Utusan receives from the Alfuru kampong a *juru batak* and the district head receives seven plates of rice.

The Alfurus cultivate paddy, maize, bananas, and some tuberous crops, mainly for home consumption; the Moslems live by fishing and sewing katu which they sell on Ternate, where they also sell gabah.

In the southern part of Jailolo there are only two inhabited places, Todowongi and Tuadah. These are inhabited by Ternatese danos, people from Makian and Sula. Farther into the interior a few Alfurus from Tubaru live in rather dispersed settlements. [p. 107] They are under a Moslem Sarjeti and an Alfuru headman with the title of lieutenant; both are dependent on the Sangaji of the Soah Tubaru Toma Nyeku, however, who occasionally visits these regions to collect taxes or settle other affairs. The danos earn a living by sewing katu or pounding sago; they are a proud people.

The boundary with Sidangoli is formed by the river Tauru Ice, which flows into the sea near Cape Golau.<sup>1</sup>

**Sawu.** The capital consists of four Islamic kampongs: Soahsio, Soa Sangaji, Ngidi Islam and Siodi—these are known collectively as Soah Raha. The Ternatese government is established in two coastal kampongs, Jarakore and Susupu, where the traders also live.

The Alfuru areas in the interior are divided into seven major kampongs:

1. Taraudu, with five smaller kampongs: Gamniel, Tacici [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], Ake Tola, Awel, and Tosolor;
2. Ngaun, with five smaller kampongs: Hoku-Hoku, Capaka, Mala-Mala, Lolori, and Bislaur;
3. Tiboho, with two kampongs: Tuwool and Sabu Sale;
4. Idam, with one kampong: Wora-Wora Ta;
5. Taboso, with one kampong: Golo;
6. Loce, with two kampongs: Gamome and Loce Ngidibesi;
7. Gamsungi, with two kampongs: Gamsungi Toma Nyeku or Upper Gamsungi and Gamsungi Toma Adu or Lower Gamsungi.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 107, n. 1] Earlier, I pointed out the differences in the names given by me from those reported by Campen in *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, XXVIII:240 ff.; this can partly be attributed to the little care taken over corrections and also to the fact that Campen was sometimes a little hasty in assuming something to be correct after having heard the opinion of only one person.

There are also two Alfuru kampongs, Tacim and Balisoan, which are under the direct orders of the Captain-Laut at Ternate. The inhabitants have to carry out statute labor for him and also have to give over a certain quantity of paddy.

[p. 108] Representing the Sultan in each kampong are an Utusan, a clerk, an Alferes, and a Sarjeti, as well as a *Baru-Baru* who collects taxes. Sangajis act as chiefs of the bigger kampongs. Their income consists of paddy or rice supplied by the population, who also help in the cultivation of their plantations. A small creek, the Ubo-Ubo, to the north of the Isle of Damar, forms the boundary of this territory with Jailolo.

At Wora-Wora Ta there is a shed with a revolving roof, or more precisely with an extension in the form of a pigeon loft on top of the actual roof. Pulling at a long upright bar attached to a crossbeam will set this extension in motion. On festive occasions this is a source of great entertainment. One of the inhabitants told me that this structure had been brought from Tidore a very long time ago and is still kept as a trophy and much revered.

The people of Sawu, when they come to Ternate to carry out statute labor, are often placed by the Sultan at the disposal of the residents as servants, for finding domestic help is always a problem. The Sawu people are very tractable and capable of rough work; but when they have completed their service they do not want to stay any longer, not even for high wages, and they return immediately to their own land. Their greatest pleasure is to buy colorful clothes and uniforms with their savings, sometimes spending a lot of money for them. They show off their finery when the Resident comes for a visit to Sawu. On such occasions one can see hundreds of men, dressed up in all kinds of things, holding over their heads the umbrellas that they carry constantly, to the amusement of the spectators. All the people remain assembled for the entire day in front of the rest house, where they perform several dances to the beat of the tifah and cymbals and sing loudly. The women and children from the neighboring kampongs, wearing all kinds of adornments, flock to participate in the general merrymaking. It is difficult to imagine that these same persons go around almost completely naked [p. 109] in their normal and extremely simple everyday life. They know the value of money, however, and keep quite large sums in the form of *rijksdollars* (Dutch currency) hidden in places known only to the owner.<sup>2</sup> Their biggest wealth consists of the possession of old plates of durable Chinese porcelain, taken out only on special occasions and for the rest of the year buried in the ground in a secret place.<sup>3</sup>

They grow a lot of paddy and maintain their plantations well; there are very few coconut trees here or at Jailolo.

From the coastal village a footpath leads to all the Alfuru kampongs. The path is usually overgrown with weeds and passable in a palanquin only if orders have been given beforehand to clear the way. The Alfurus of the west coast understand Tobelorese, but not the other way around: people of different tribes try to make themselves understood with the help of the Ternatese language.

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<sup>2</sup> [p. 109, n. 1] A few people at Sawu showed me Zealand rijksdollars, which they call *likalon* and value highly as heirlooms.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 109, n. 2] Valentijn had already reported this—see 1724, II:75.

**Gamkonorah.** The main kampong is situated on the creek of the same name, which is only navigable at high tide. The kampong is divided into two quarters, Soahsio and Pasroro, inhabited by Moslems with a Sangaji as head of the district. The Alfurus, known as Waioli, live in small huts scattered along the coast as far as Sawu and are said to belong to five kampongs, namely Tuguai, Tigiling, Tosoah, Balamanyirah, and Tomaitu. The Utusan is entitled to have two helpers in the kitchen and the Sangaji is given rice and sago. The rock Tua ma-Soselo forms the boundary with Sawu and is situated at the foot of the mountain Oon ma-Kie, opposite a ravine, half of which belongs to Gamkonorah and the other half to Sawu.

On the mountain Oon ma-Kie live the Alfurus from Tubaru. [p. 110] Their Sangaji is subordinate to the Utusan of Gamkonorah and is assisted by a Ternatense *Kalaudi*. These Alfurus are divided into two groups, the Tubaru Toma Nyeku to the north and the Tubaru Toma Adu to the south.<sup>4</sup> We have already mentioned that these tribes will move from one settlement to another easily and often.<sup>5</sup>

The village Ibu, which forms a part of Gamkonorah, used to consist of the kampongs Iboo, Ligua, Tobaol, Tewa-Tewa and Tobae. At present there are only two Islamic kampongs: Gam Ici, the original Tobaol, and Gam Lamo, the former Iboo. These are situated opposite each other on the banks of the river Ibu, approximately half an hour's rowing time from the coast. The local government is in the hands of two Ngofamanyirahs, who receive almost no income. The Sangaji of Gamkonorah receives a certain amount of paddy and also the tax levy on plantations, when people from Makian or elsewhere come here to open up new gardens. The amount of the tax is f 3.- annually. Near the mouth of the river mentioned above, a few Makassarese from Ternate have settled; they grow a little bit of paddy, coffee, and cocoa in the surrounding area.

The only eruption of the mountain has been described by Valentijn; no further eruptions have occurred since. From time to time, however, pillars of smoke which are clearly visible on Ternate still rise from the top.<sup>6</sup>

**Tolofuo.** There are only two Alfuru kampongs here, Fatala and Toguis [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], inhabited at the most by ninety able-bodied men who earn their living by pounding sago.

During the west monsoon this place is inaccessible because of the high wash of the waves. At such times there is no anchorage ground and the beach dwellers are obliged to live in their gardens, since houses on the beach are often washed away.

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 110, n. 1] Cf. "[Word-List](#)."

<sup>5</sup> [p. 110, n. 2] See pp. [31-32](#).

<sup>6</sup> [p. 110, n. 3] See below, "[Short Chronicle](#)," [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], under the year 1673.

[p. 111] The Sangaji and Utusan are entitled to have helpers for domestic service, if they will pay them twelve reals per year. This village also has to supply a *kabo* to work for the Kalaudi of Ibu. The *kabo*'s job is to convey the Kalaudi's orders to the headmen of Tubaru.

This arrangement was made by one of the former Sultans of Ternate in order to protect Ternatese kabos, many of whom had been murdered since at that time only people from Tolofuo were tolerated at Tubaru. At present everyone can go there unmolested, but the custom has continued.

The boundary with Gamkonorah is indicated by a split rock on the beach, near Cape Ligua.

**Lolodah.** The residence of the Rajah lies one-half hour's rowing time from the coast. It is reached via a channel which, were it not silted up to the mouth, would be navigable for larger proas and schooners; at present one has to wait until high tide for smaller vessels to enter. Lolodah is divided into three Alfuru kampongs, Bakunu, Loba, and Kedi, and two Islamic ones, Soahsio and Bantoli. The only work undertaken by the residents of Bantoli is that of guarding those rocks on the surrounding islands that have birds' nests on them.

The Rajah annually receives from the Alfuru population a certain quantity of rice. The only Ternatese officials here are a *Jurtulis* (scribe), three helpers and a *kabo*, whose services can be bought for twelve reals annually.

To the north is another small kampong called Ngajam or Ngacam. Besides rice and maize plantations, there are sago forests and coconut plantations everywhere. Fishing and catching turtles are the favorite industries, however.

The boundary with Tolofuo is formed by Cape Godigo. To the north, Lolodah stretches as far as the kampong Supu in the district of Galela.

The so-called orang gorap live on the coast in numerous small settlements such as Pocau, Diti, Gamkahe, Bartako, and others. These people came originally from Manggarai on Flores, Salayer, [p. 112] and Buton, but were captured by pirates from Halmahera and put ashore here. They are commonly known in these regions as orang baharu, and are directly under the command of the Rajah, without interference from the Ternatese authorities. They are even more numerous on Doi, Salangade, and other small islands nearby.<sup>7</sup>

**Galela.** Only Moslems live on the coast and in larger numbers in Soahsio, which is the main village; while to the north of that village there are many small kampongs having more than ten houses, such as Baratako, Toweka, Simau, Giltopa, Limau, Lalonga, Posi-Posi, Bilo-Bilo, Aru, Salemuli, Tutu ma-Loleo, Cematoro, Lapi, Posawan, and Saluta. The kampong Supu is the only one on the north coast.

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<sup>7</sup> [p. 112, n. 1] The orang gorap have already been discussed under Dodinga, [see above page 38, n. 13](#).

These beach dwellers do not have the octagonal houses of the Alfurus. They grow rather a lot of maize, unlike the Alfurus who occupy themselves more with the cultivation of paddy and with the pounding of sago if it is available.<sup>8</sup>

This district has many lakes: in addition to a salt water lake near the coast called Ake Liku, there are the following lakes, more inland: Pitonu ma-Ake, Kapupu ma-Ake, Ake Ngongihia, and Gojarati ma-Ake. The most important, however, is Ake Lalamo, around which the following Alfuru kampongs are situated: Longa, Towara, Pune, Seki ma-Doko, Salobatangi, Togawa, Soahkonorah, Igobula, Bale, Tubaru, Dokulamo, and Ngidiho. These kampongs are all connected to each other by a footpath.

To the south of the capital is the mountain Duko ma-Tala and to the north is Tala Tarkan, as well as a smaller one, Tala ma-Ceceke.

The language spoken here is, of all the dialects on Halmahera, most like the Ternatese language.<sup>9</sup> [p. 113]

The boundary with Tobelo is a little to the south of Mamuja, a small settlement belonging to Galela.

**Tobelo.** The main village consists of four kampongs: Momulati, Lina, Suboto and Sabua Lamo, all under a Sangaji, the head of the district, who is assisted by lower officials. There are three more kampongs to the north: Popilo, Mede, and Ruko, whose headmen are under the Kimalaha of Suboto. Previously, the village was slightly more to the south than the present one, at a place known as Barere ma-Nguku or Burned Corner.

To this district belong a number of islands which are separated from the mainland by sandbanks and reefs; at low tide these shallow places can only be navigated by small proas. The Alfuru grow paddy and bananas in the plantations, but in the compounds around their houses they have small plots with maize.<sup>10</sup>

Pirates, subjugated in 1878, settled here and took up farming and fishing.

The southeastern part of the biggest island, Moro or Morotai, is considered as belonging to Tobelo and the western and northern parts as belonging to Galela. Many

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<sup>8</sup> [p. 112, n. 2] Rice in the husk is called *tamu makahe*, polished rice is *tamu malaki*, and boiled rice is *tamu daosa*.

<sup>9</sup> [p. 112, n. 3] Riedel, in his work *De sloek- en kroesharige rassen (The Straight- and Kinky-haired Races, 1886)* considers the common Buru expressions of *potagi tagali furu* and *potagi tagali damaroi*—meaning “going to barter with savages” and “barter in the normal manner in the presence of parties”—to be of Ternatese or Tobelorese origin. [p. 113] The form of these phrases is pure Galelaese, but the headmen whom I questioned had never heard of them.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 113, n. 1] For more details about Tobelo, I take the liberty of referring to the description of the *goma ma tau* or dwellings for the soul in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, II:204 ff.

people here keep themselves occupied with collecting shells and catching tripang and tortoise. Others bring damar from the forests or pound sago.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> [[p. 113, n. 2] Morotai has been discussed in detail by Bernstein in *TBG*, XIV:414 and 423. Where Bokemeijer (1888, p. 32) picked up the information that Tidore laid claim to this island is a mystery to me; nor can I explain why he says that there is a headman with the mysterious title of “*sanschiak*” there (p. 62).

[Map of the Sula Islands](#)

## VII

### The Sula Group

[p. 113] Three more large islands and several small ones belong to the Sultanate of Ternate. [p. 114] Situated approximately between 124°10' and 126°30' east longitude and 1°40' and 2°20' south latitude, these islands are known as the Sula Group, after the island where the oldest Ternatese settlement is found. The following details have been collected on a few trips, which, because of their short duration, did not allow me the opportunity to obtain more information. Still, together with the little that has been reported by other writers this material may be of some value.

The three big islands are called Taliabu, Mangole, and Sulabesi. They are divided into several districts, to which the smaller islands which lie nearby are believed to belong. This can be seen below:

Taliabu has six districts:

1. Tonghaya, on the northeast coast, has no permanent kampongs since the Alfurus stay in the interior. The islands of Ohu and Kaligaan belong to Tonghaya.
2. Likitobi, on the south coast, is the main kampong. It is also the place where all the chiefs of the districts of the island live. The islands Kano, Seho, and Karama belong to Likitobi.
3. Woyo is on the south coast, to the east of the previous district. It has an island of the same name.
4. Samada is on the north coast, almost in the center. As on Tonghaya, no settlements are found near the beach here. The islands of Nanas and Nusa Kewa belong to Samada.
5. Kabihu is on the southwest coast, and includes the islands of Papua, Pasikaya, Ala, and Nusa Tangan. It has no beach villages.
6. Lede is on the northwest coast. As on the other islands, there are Alfurus in the interior. The islands of Masoni, Limbo, Posu, Magoa, Tonasi, Mangkaloli, Ulang, Katopu, Botolino, Panghaya, Tabalang, and Galuma belong to Lede. [p. 115]

Mangole is divided into four districts:

1. Waetina, on the east coast, includes the islands of Lifumatola and Pagama;
2. Mangole, on the south coast, includes the islands of Tobokole, Kimakole, Mancari, Pasikore, Pulu Sambiki, Kedafota, and Lofanini;
3. Alfola, which is also on the south coast; and

4. Capalulu, which is on the north and west coast, together with the islands of Pasi-  
ipa, Leko and Pasikena.

Sulabesi has eight districts: Falahu, Kabau, Fagudu, Face, Gae, Bega, Ipa, and Pohea, and also three separate kampongs: Malbufa, Fakue, and Koloboti.<sup>12</sup>

The islands of Taliabu and Mangole have their longest extent from west to east but the island of Sulabesi lies almost at a right angle to Mangole in a direction from north to south; from the southernmost point, called Cape Waka, the heights of Buru are clearly visible.

On Sulabesi the main village is in a small bay on [p. 116] the northeast coast. This village is usually called Sanana, after the river which runs through it. The *Salahakan* or representative of the Sultan lives there. Generation after generation, however, this Sultan has been of Sulanese extraction.

Sanana extends for more than fifteen hundred meters along the beach and includes the kampongs Waelau,<sup>13</sup> Umaga, Waemaka, Lantina, Pogelo, Pareya, Waetapil, Waena, and Moloia, totalling more than seven hundred souls in about fifty houses. The twelve Sangajis, or heads of the districts of Sulabesi and Mangole, live here together with those administering the kampongs of Malbufa, Koloboti, and Fakue. The Sangajis are appointed by the Sultan, the district heads by the *Salahakan*. The subordinates of the *Salahakan* are exempted from all services. They are put exclusively at the disposal of the *Salahakan* to work on his plantations or carry out domestic duties.

The *Salahakan*, who receives an appointment certificate from the Resident, is assisted in his duties by Ternatese officials, namely a *Jurtulis*, a *Kapita-Krois*, a *Captain-Kota*, and a few soldiers. The *Jurtulis* is also head of the clergy. The *Kapita-Krois* is harbormaster and captain of the cruise-proa, with a crew consisting of twenty seamen

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<sup>12</sup> [p. 115, n. 1] Valentijn (1724, Ib:87) speaks of "Xula Talyabu" and "Xula Mangoli," which are not customary over there. He mentions on the first island the villages Talyabu, Likitobi, Woiyo, Singa, Kakibo, Lede, Samade, and Made, some of which are similar to the names given above. On Mangoli he only knows Waiytima and Mangoli and for Sulabesi he mentions ten villages, namely Falauw, "Cabauw," Fattahoi, Talagga, Bega, Iga, Facquerre, Fagude, Fatze, and Gaiy, which names, although never investigated later on, are not completely correct either. Perhaps these names were given to him on Ternate, where even now they are not well-informed about the correct names of those islands. This is even more apparent from the list given by Bleeker (1856; most probably copied from the appendix of the contract, see *De Indische Gids*, IV[1]:693), in which the following islands are said to belong to the Sula Islands: Taliabu, Sehu, Bawana, Jeni, Limbu, Daluma, Aru, Sano, Mangkololi, Tunasim, Matete, Damain, Tabalami, Ketup, Makanateh, Nusa Hai, Nusa Mehuju, Aala, Sarumbah, Pasikaya, Tuntangan, Lahi, Penu, Sula Mangoli, Tubulu, Paskoro, Sulabesi, Lifa Matula, Pagama, and two unnamed islands. De Hollander (*Handleiding...*, 4th ed., p. 400, n. 1) copies this list word for word. I have tried in this sketched outline to give an idea of the boundaries between the districts and their probable size. This was done according to the directions of the native headmen.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 116, n. 1] *Wae* or *wai* is the well-known Polynesian word for water; the first spelling is the most likely pronunciation.

supplied by the kampongs that changes every three months. He also supervises the collecting of birds' nests from Lifumatola. The Captain-Kota has a lieutenant and an Alferes under him, who are responsible for the weapons and who guard the jail. All the Ternatese officials live together with the Salahakan in the fort which used to be called *t-Klaverblad* ("The Cloverleaf"). At present this fort is in a most dilapidated state since the entrenchments are not kept in good repair and only the houses supporting it, which are repaired, prevent it from collapsing completely. When officials arrive, the soldiers stand to arms and a roll is beaten, which makes a pleasant change from the usual presentation.

[p. 117] These officials collect the taxes owed to the Sultan. The taxes consist of a certain quantity of paddy, oil, wax planks, and also birds' nests from Lifumatola.<sup>14</sup> Usually these products are collected once a year with a schooner; this journey is also used to replace lower officials.

The population also has to make vessels (*padukans* and small schooners), for which they have a special aptitude and for which the required gofasa wood (*Vitex Cofassus*) is available everywhere in abundance. For this they receive food but no wages.

The people of Sula make the well-known cajeput oil from the leaves of *Melaleuca* on Buru which they market at Ambon and Kayeli. They are exempted from all duties and pay only f 4.- in poll tax annually.<sup>15</sup>

On behalf of the Sultan, an Utusan has been appointed at Taliabu (subordinate to the Salahakan), as well as a Jurtulis, an Alferes, and a few soldiers; they live in Likitobi on the south coast, where all six district heads live, as on Sanana. The majority of the population lives in the interior. Some hunt turtles at sea, but most occupy themselves with pounding sago. They avoid as much as possible all contact with the beach dwellers and with strangers, whom, however, they do not disturb. [p. 118] Valentijn calls them bad, sly, treacherous, mean-spirited, and murderous of character, without honor or shame, very lazy and fickle; I have not seen any and can therefore only say that they do not have such a bad reputation at Sanana.

Each district has several kampongs, the names and exact locations of which have not yet been properly investigated. The lower officials, such as the Kimalaha and Hukum, live there. The number of Moslem inhabitants of a few districts has been recorded for the last few years. At the end of 1886 the numbers were as follows:

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<sup>14</sup> [p. 117, n. 1] Depending on the strength of the population, the following has to be paid per district: 500-1,000 *gantang* [measure of rice, equivalent to 3.125 kg —Trans.] of paddy, 22-44 *kula* of oil, and 6-12 catties of wax; the number of birds' nests per year is estimated at about 300 pieces.

<sup>15</sup> [p. 117, n. 2] That this tax would be a heavy burden on the population (de Hollander, 1877, p. 401) is not true. It does happen that at Sanana the commitment to supply food to those who make vessels is not always faithfully fulfilled, but the result of that is that the workmen stop working and only continue after long intervals; they always find real or pretended illnesses to use as an excuse. Compulsory services have not yet been properly regulated, the result being that the headmen often tax the population's strength too much.

| <b>District</b>     | <b>Number of Inhabitants</b> |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Falahu              | 1,793                        |
| Kabau               | 66                           |
| Fagudu              | 1,960                        |
| Face                | 1,038                        |
| Gae                 | 233                          |
| Bega                | 184                          |
| Ipa                 | 72                           |
| Pohea <sup>16</sup> | 206                          |
| Mangole             | 525                          |
| Waetina             | 451                          |
| Alfola              | 187                          |
| Capalulu            | 52                           |
| <b>Kampongs</b>     |                              |
| Malbufa             | 95                           |
| Fakue               | 47                           |
| Kolobati            | 31                           |

On the island of Mangole there are a few small settlements on the coast, namely at Waetebe, Soah-Cina, and Waelo. One also finds settlements on Taliabu and Kuyu on the south coast and Lede at the northwest point. On Mangole, called “big land” by the people of Sulabesi, there are a few kampongs which belong to the district of Gae.

The authority of the Sultan is acknowledged everywhere, except by the Alfurus of Taliabu. The number of these Alfurus is estimated to be two to three thousand. They only reluctantly barter their forest products with the Moslem beach dwellers. That the latter are only superficial followers of Islam is apparent from the presence of numerous little houses, called *sanja*, in which the souls of the deceased are supposed to stay—these spirits of the dead are consulted especially in times of sickness. A newly appointed official [p. 119] makes an offering in the *sanja* of the village in the presence of all the people of the kampong.

Good anchoring grounds may be found at the bay of Sanana, with its slightly narrow entrance, and the inland sea on the south coast of Taliabu, in the district of Likitobi. Anchorage fees, called *labuh batu* in Malay,<sup>17</sup> are imposed in these harbors. The average amount is f 10.-, but this is only rarely paid in money. For instance, a Mandarese vessel will pay one fine sarong and six rough ones and a schooner coming from Ambon will pay a piece of *madapollam* (cotton cloth). The Mandarese pay more because they have at their disposal during anchorage the local wood which they can use to repair their vessels; the Ambonese receive help only when piloting into the harbor.

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<sup>16</sup> [p. 118, n. 1] Only so-called *orang Bajo* (Bajo people) live here.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 119, n. 1] The accepted term for this tax, *labuh batu*, has been changed by many writers to *labuhan batu*. This latter expression has led Robidé van der Aa (in van der Crab et al., 1879, p. 36, note) to give an explanation which completely contradicts the Malayan sentence structure.

None of these three islands has much of a beach; close to the shore the terrain begins to rise and becomes a fairly high chain of mountains in the interior. Because of this topography there are no rivers of any importance and what rivulets there are often become dry during the east monsoon.

A lot of rice is grown, mainly in the districts of Fagudu, Face, and Falahu, but only on the higher areas, since in the lower regions the work is greatly hindered by the abundant growth of alang-alang grass. The natives do not take any special care with this work. They cut and burn the underbrush and during the months of December and January they make holes in the soil with a stick, throwing a few grains of paddy into them. They plant only small plots on Mangole. The total yield amounts to six to eight thousand piculs on average and serves mainly as payment for taxes due, as barter for linen, or as a special food during marriage parties and for other [p. 120] special occasions. Rice is nowhere the staple food: on Sulabesi maize is preferred; on Mangole and Taliabu, sago.

Tobacco is grown at Falahu and Fagudu. Since it is of fairly good quality it is generally kept for the use of the natives there, who do not get supplies from outside. Sugar cane is grown on the plantations or in the compounds; the people press a kind of sugared water out of it which they use in baking. This sugar-can water costs f 0.50 per bottle.

The largest sago forests are found in the districts of Kabau, Mangole, Alfola, and Likitobi. As elsewhere, the sago is eaten in the form of a kind of porridge, as cakes, or prepared with grated coconut.

There are no spice trees; coconut trees, on the other hand, can be found along the coasts of all the islands in innumerable quantities.

Among the forest products one should mention damar, wax, and rattan. The first two of these are used for payment of taxes due to the Sultan. The rattan is only used domestically, since it is not much in demand in the market because of its poor quality.

There is very little industry—it is limited to the weaving of sarongs with European threads and the manufacture of sleeping mats<sup>18</sup> which cost f 0.25 to f 1.- each. Approximately two thousand of these are exported annually. Most of them are bartered to the Mandarese in exchange for pottery, small wares, and other such products. In a shed at Sanana, set aside for this purpose, the most skilled carpenters make furniture for the Sultan and the princes; since the payment often leaves much to be desired, their work usually progresses slowly.

Fishing is the main occupation of the Bajo people (or Bajorese),<sup>19</sup> who live on the north coast of Sulabesi [p. 121] at Pohea and Kambawa. They do this mainly along the

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 120, n. 1] In the *Catalogus der Amsterdamsche tentoonstelling (Catalogue of the Exhibition at Amsterdam)*, 2nd group, p. 29, the native name for these mats is given as *jungutu*. This is the Ternatese word—on Sula they are called *balayon*.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 120, n. 2] Many of these Bajo left their own country, Boni on Celebes, and have been settled here for many years.

coast of Taliabu, where they collect tripang, turtles, and *agar-agar* (a kind of seaweed); the latter to a quantity of about five hundred piculs annually, which find a ready sale at f 5.- to f 6.- per picul. For this right the fishermen have to pay the Sultan an annual tax of f 4.-, usually payable in linen. To get their catch they use cast nets, ground nets, harpoons, and lines. Every year about fifty smaller vessels are built for this type of fishing, having a value of f 3.- to f 4.- each.

The birds' nests at Lifumatola have to be collected every three months; otherwise their quality declines.

We know little of the particular characteristics of the land and people.<sup>20</sup> [p. 122] What has been reported above refers for the most part to the people living on the coast, who have little contact with the mountain people, because of the difference in religion between the two groups.

Nothing could be found at Ternate regarding the history of the Sula Islands. According to Valentijn they came under the kingdom of Ternate in 1330 through Moloma Tsyeya<sup>21</sup> and were placed under the governorship of Ambon. There used to be a garrison in the fort but nowhere is it recorded when the garrison was withdrawn.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Kimalaha Terbile was stationed here as Salahakan. He rebelled against his king as well as against the East Indies Company. As a

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 121, n. 1] In an article in *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, 3rd series, X:395-405, J.G.F. Riedel gives a description of some customs followed on the occasions of marriage and birth, and also instances of body mutilation by the Sulanese. Which people follow these customs the writer does not say. When I visited Sula some time ago I took this article with me, but as I was constantly surrounded by numerous officials I could not decently bring up the subjects discussed in that article. The writer does not seem to be aware of the existence of the *sania* which are found all around; nor is he familiar with the language. For instance, *bakai*, a Ternatese word, has its equivalent *bau fata* in Sulanese; the same is the case with the words *juba* and *takwa*, in Sulanese *pabu nako* and *pabu yota*; the expressions *hosa* and *hosa tubi*, added to the names of plants, mean "leaf" and "young leaf," which cannot be concluded from the text, and the words given as *kon* and *tuv* are clearly *koni* and *tufi*.

Nor is Wallace very successful in his conclusions about the Sula fauna. In *Insulinde* (1870-1871, II:153), he finds it remarkable that there is a similarity between the birds found on Sula and those of Buru, from which he concludes that in former times the islands were closer together or that the land connecting the two has disappeared. Yet he should know that from Cape Waka the north coast of Buru is clearly visible and that there is a lot of traffic between those islands because of the people who produce oil, since on the next page he acknowledges the possibility that mice were introduced by native proas. What he reports about the occurrence of *babi rusa* on Sula is incorrect. In Part I, p. 477, he makes the same mistake, perhaps upon the authority of his assistant Charles Allen.

These islands, together with the Banggai archipelago and the east coast of Celebes, were visited in March 1850 [note continues, p. 122 bottom] by the corvette *Argo* and the steamer *Bromo*, under the command of Captain C. van der Hart. Apart from a few paragraphs about piracy, the report on this trip did not contain anything that would increase our knowledge of these regions.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 122, n. 1] This ruler was called Ngolo Macayah at Ternate. He came to the throne only in 1350, says Valentijn (1724, Ib:138).

result, de Vlaming burned down several villages. Terbile was extradited and beheaded at Ambon—the event is depicted in an engraving by Valentijn (1724, Ib:302). The population was subjugated, and during a second journey in 1653 de Vlaming was able to persuade the friendly headmen to cut down the superfluous clove trees. From what Valentijn reported about this (pp. 300 and 305), de Vlaming seems to have stayed only on Sulabesi.

The first contract was concluded with Sula in 1652 and a second was concluded November 23, 1681. Under the terms of the contract, sufficient acknowledgment is made of the sovereignty of the Company (cf. Weddik).

Because of its remoteness, in former days this area was a favorite hiding place for pirates who had crossed over from the Obi Islands. The present era is a more peaceful time for the native population. The appointment of a post holder at Sanana has caused restrictions to be placed on all unruly behavior. This official is always consulted when smaller offences are adjudicated and few actions are taken without his knowledge. [p. 123]

[Map of the Banggai Archipelago and East Coast of Celebes](#), which is part of Banggai, copied from a similar map in the station archives of the Moluccas (scale not given)

## VIII

**Banggai and Dependencies**

[p. 123] There is little agreement on the exact position of the Banggai archipelago. According to Bosscher and Matthijsen<sup>1</sup> these islands lie between 1° and 2° south latitude and 122°52' and 124°26' east longitude, but on the adjacent map the location of the farthest islands is more western and southern, and a more accurate survey of these waters is needed. That sketchy outline has only been included to give an idea of the extent of the Banggai area and, wherever possible, to indicate where, approximately, the main kampongs are situated.

The four most important islands are Banggai, Labobo, Bangkulu, and Peleng.<sup>2</sup> All four are inhabited, and surrounded by numerous smaller islands, where the inhabitants live by fishing and burning salt [evaporating seawater to make salt]. Some of them cultivate small gardens for a time to meet their daily demands.

The following islands belong to Banggai: Baluka, Bakakang, Togong Akat<sup>3</sup>, Togong Totolu, Taulang, Sasar, Togon, Potil, Salui, Pandoboboi, Molilis, Kambongan, Tibalat, Pufat, Tatapon, Buong-Buong, Timpaus, and Masoni.<sup>4</sup> [p. 124]

To Labobo belong the islands of Malambulung or Pedal, Saibumanuk, Tumbak Pauno, and Pulu Tumbak.

The following islands go with Bangkulu: Lamunan, Linsawak, Togong Pilogot, Masibubu, Totubek, Tambatun, Telok Bulu, Sagu, Mandibolu, Tunuan, and Togong Bayoko.

In front of Seasea, which is on the west coast of Peleng, are the following islands: Dilepaan, Togong Badang, Susung Puong, and Mengkelu.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 123, n. 1] Only C. Bosscher and P.A. Matthijsen have described Banggai, in *TBG*, II:90 ff. The report on the journey of van der Hart is quite lacking in value.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 123, n. 2] Peleng is not called Gape by the people, as de Hollander claims (1877, II:282). Traders sometimes call it Pulu Tengah, because it lies between Banggai and Celebes. Perhaps Riedel's "Duitanga" is derived from the latter name (see *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, XXXVIII:13).

<sup>3</sup> [p. 123, n. 3] *Togong* means "island" in these regions. Non-natives write "*togon*," but in Malayan characters it is always توڠغ .

<sup>4</sup> [p. 123, n. 4] When we compare the names given by Bosscher and Matthijsen and the official names, reported by de Hollander in a footnote, the latter seem to be more accurate. I got these names from the headmen who were familiar with these places and the information was supplemented by the post-holder, who has visited almost all these islands. To verify the correct [p. 124] manner of writing and to obviate later mistakes, I had them transcribed by the native Jurtulis of the Rajah in Arabic characters.

Earlier writers have recorded little information about these islands, as far as I know, aside from the short reports by Tiele and Valentijn.

Tiele reports (Part II, p. 26) that the Banggai archipelago was visited by Urdanete in 1532 and that the Rajah resided on the island of Banggaya, but also ruled over the island of Peleng and several other islands.

Valentijn goes into more details and says (Ib, p. 80):

“This island Banggaiy was most probably, with the other islands in its neighborhood, conquered by King Babu in the year 1580. It was lost again during the revolt of Saidi but reconquered by Mr. de Vlaming in the year 1655, as we will see below:

“I find that in the year 1680, after the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, one Kalkebulang was instituted as king of the island of Banggaiy by the ensign Haak on behalf of the E. Company and in the name of the king of Ternate (under our supreme authority). This new king takes the place of the dethroned King Jangkal.”

In the same volume, p. 314, he goes on to say that, “in 1655 those from Banggaiy had already again become good Makassarese, although, according to the tidings of the Ternatese *Gugugu*, [p. 125] Duwani, and the seafarer Colofino (who remained behind with the king’s fleet in October) they had brought those peoples again under the Ternatese crown. Mandarsyah’s governor, Duwani, who could not follow his king because of heavy winds and strong currents, visited Banggaiy, where he destroyed everything and chased everyone away. He then decided to look for his sovereign, wherever he might be, but because of sickness and bad weather he lost many men, and deciding not to go beyond Xula, he was forced to remain there.”

And on p. 348: “In the month of April (1681) Mr. Padbrugge found the islands Banggaiy and Gape completely uninhabited. The inhabitants, at their own request, because of the nuisance caused by Rajah Palacca, had moved with thirty Buginese vessels from there to Mondone, after their King Cabudo had been beheaded by the Ternatese captains Baccari and Colabo.”

More is known with regard to the direct contact between a few rulers and European authorities. The Banggai group was brought under the Company by the treaties of January 26, 1689, and November 9, 1741. This was during the reigns of the rajah Kaicil Kubukubulang and the rajah “Calsum Subaltern” [*sic*] respectively; while in the year 1773, during the rule of Kaicil Bandaria, the contract was renewed. He went secretly to Batavia in 1782, whence the Indies Government sent him back to Ternate (which he reached in 1784) with the order to have him reinstated. This was carried out with the swearing-in of a new contract on March 5, 1796. The latter contract was supplemented on April 5, 1808, and remained in force during the rules of his successors as well, until after the flight of Rajah Agama in 1847. On October 24, 1852, a contract was concluded with the new rajah, Kaicil Tatutong. This contract was approved by government order No. 6 dated October 2, 1853.

This ruler died in 1856. On December 23, 1858, Kaicil Suwak was appointed in his place. A contract was concluded with him on December 31 of that year. It was amended on January 7, [p. 126] 1859, and ratified by the Government with a decree of October 27, with the provision that in the future only acts of confirmation would be issued. Thus, the sovereignty of the Netherlands Indies Government was explicitly acknowledged.

After the death of Suwak, the Jogugu Kaicil Nang, the son of Kaicil Tatutong, was made rajah in December 1870. The act of confirmation concluded with him was approved by the government order of July 2, 1872. He died in 1880 and was replaced on May 6, 1882 by the present rajah, Kaicil Tatul, son of Kaicil Suwak, who before that time had been working as *Khatib-Bangsa*.

When there is a vacancy, the chiefs propose three candidates to the Sultan, who chooses one of them. This choice then has to be approved by the Resident and ratified by the Government of the Dutch Indies as suzerain lord. The one selected takes the oath and receives an act of confirmation according to the form drawn up for this purpose. The difficulties involved in making the long trip to Ternate often resulted in the position remaining vacant for years. This did not, however, hinder the normal state of affairs which now, because of the appointment of a post-holder, no longer occurs.

The capital, Banggai, where the rajah and the post-holder are situated, is on the west coast of the island of the same name in a fairly large bay. On the whole it makes a miserable impression. The houses, which stretch along the beach in the midst of trees and shrubs, are made of light materials. Some are built on piles; others at ground level. They are not well maintained, and the footpaths connecting the houses with each other are overgrown with weeds, with some pieces of bamboo where the ground is more or less marshy. This prevents the houses from sinking into the mud. The *kadatu* (palace, court), built by one of the [p. 127] former rajahs to imitate the Sultans of Ternate, is on an elevation and clearly visible from the sea. It looks like a ruin. The present rajah does not seem to have plans to make it suitable for habitation. He himself lives in another house, which has a spacious inner gallery, where visitors and officials with their retinues can be received. For the rest, it looks rather ramshackle and has all the signs of having been built in a hurry without proper supervision. There is also a ruined fort, called Kota Cina, together with the surrounding quarters. The fort consists of a wall which has collapsed in several places. Inside stand a few native houses belonging to the Ternatese officials stationed here; several small cannons and other old pieces of artillery lie rusting.

The mosque, with its high roof, towers high above the other houses, but it is as unsightly as the rest. There are plenty of coconut trees, but no fruit trees.

There are six kampongs, namely Kampong Raja (or Banggai proper), Kota Cina, Tanah Bouna, Gonggong, Dodung, and Moisiongan.<sup>5</sup> Fifteen hundred inhabitants live in approximately three hundred houses. There are five more kampongs in various places in

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 127, n. 1] Bosscher and Matthijsen (*TBG*, p. 94) mention another kampong, Soasia, the result of an error in the meaning of this word. Their "Bon-Tonge" was a mistake for Moisiongan, and the last five kampongs were not mentioned by them. This explains the difference in the population figures.

the interior, known by the names of Putar, Buniaka, Lampak, Papau Banggai, and Tanatu. These five kampongs have more than four hundred inhabitants in total. They all profess Islam, except for the people of Tanatu, who come from the Alfuru villages of Liang and Bolagi on the island of Peleng.

The headmen of these kampongs bear the title of Sangaji and Kimalaha. There are also a number of other officials, namely: one Jogugu, one Captain-*Laut*, two Majors, one [p. 128] Captain-*Kota*, one Lieutenant-*Ngofa*, three Hukums, two *Miantus*, two *Sadahas*, one *Kapita-Kie*, one Captain-*Prang*, three Lieutenants, one Alferes, five Sarjetis, one Secretary, and five Jurtulises. On behalf of the Sultan there are: one Utusan, one Jurtulis, one Captain-*Kota*, one *Alferes-Krois*, one Alferes, and a few soldiers and guards. The heads of the kampongs are directly under the Rajah and, with the Jogugu, Captain-*Laut*, and Utusan, and under the chairmanship of the latter, form a kind of council. This council discusses all matters pertaining to the administration and settles small cases. The Rajah usually appoints them for life, but they have no fixed income and they are also entrusted with the collection of taxes payable to the Sultan and the Rajah. The collection of these taxes is very difficult at times, because of the wandering nature of the Alfurus. They do not dare to refuse the appointment, however, and try to make a living from the surplus of the taxes collected. This rarely degenerates into extortion, though, for when the Alfurus are victimized too much, they flee with their wives and children to the inaccessible forests on Celebes.

The only advantages that both the Ternatense and the local officials have are, firstly, their claim on the service of two or more persons to carry out statute labor (*lambanua*) for them, usually in the form of domestic work; and secondly, the income from anchorage fees, usually in the amount of f 10.- per trade proa, payable in money or linens. This income has to be shared with the Rajah.

The islands of Labolo and Bangkulu each have more than one hundred inhabitants, half of whom are Moslems and the other half Alfurus with a *Kapita* as headman, who is subordinate to the Rajah.

Peleng, its irregular shape almost surpassing that of Celebes and Halmahera, has a hilly terrain which almost everywhere extends along the coast and into the sea with little alluvial formation. There are sixteen kampongs altogether, some of which consist of only a few houses, since the Alfuru population is still little inclined to settle permanently and prefers to roam in the forests. The kampongs [p. 129] are called the following: Seasea, Bolagi, Pelei with Nandang, Paisulunu, Tinangkung with Mansama, Popisi, Totikon, Sambiuik, Kabuntokan, Pondi-Pondi, Tatakalai, Bonitom, Liang with Tanatu, Apal, Lolanta, and Luuk with Peleng.<sup>6</sup> In all, approximately three thousand people live on these islands. Of these kampongs Seasea is considered the most important, since the Sangaji of that kampong (which takes up, together with the lands that go with it, almost the whole southwestern peninsula) is considered first among all the Sangajis. It is here that the hilly terrain slowly rises to a height of one thousand to fifteen hundred feet. This is generally known as Gunung Seasea. One can observe from the sea the numerous open places where *sayafu* is grown; near the beach *seros* (large, stationary fish traps) have been placed for

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<sup>6</sup> [p. 129, n. 1] This list corrects that of Bosscher and Matthijsen, p. 94.

fishing, which otherwise is done with fish traps somewhat resembling in shape the large fish traps used on Makian. The Sangajis have minor officials under them who bear the titles of *kapita* and *tonggol*.

The population can be divided into the Moslems, who live on the coast, and the Alfuru, who live in their gardens or in the forests. Except for religion and the rituals associated with it, these two groups differ little in language, way of life, and customs.<sup>7</sup> [p. 130]

The number of Alfuru inhabitants on Peleng and Banggai is estimated at about ten thousand, since according to their headmen their number is considerable. They lack the strong looks of their fellow tribesmen on other islands and are more of the Makassarese type, either because of earlier and later intermixing, or because they moved in days long past from the mainland of Celebes to these islands. The women are small, thickset, and lacking in beauty. These people are very timid and immediately take flight when strangers approach. In the forests they wear cotton loincloths, but when they come to the coast they wear shorts which reach to just above the knee and also a head shawl.

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<sup>7</sup> [p. 129, n. 2] The numerals are partially the same. For the beach dwellers they are as follows:

|   |         |    |            |
|---|---------|----|------------|
| 1 | meng    | 6  | nom        |
| 2 | luwa    | 7  | pitu       |
| 3 | tolu    | 8  | pitu rubia |
| 4 | sangkap | 9  | sio        |
| 5 | lima    | 10 | sangulo    |

The Alfurus use *sanggap* for "4" and *walu* for "8." Since very little is known about this language and that of Tobungku, the parameters given by Brandes for the Malay-Polynesian language-family have only fictitious value. Even the other words given by Bosscher and Matthijsen are not always correct, as shown below:

| English        | in B. and M. | should be |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| not            | ake          | aki       |
| big            | besaar       | bobasa    |
| small          | popoiyrio    | popoisi   |
| to eat         | kael         | kan       |
| good           | monokko      | manondo   |
| above          | indah        | bungko    |
| below [p. 130] | indoh        | buli      |
| hand           | lewandoh     | limango   |
| deep           | ahian        | atean     |
| to rise        | pobapoba     | liba; etc |

Moreover, the population of Tobungku speaks a completely different language.

Whether the linguistic contribution of Riedel is reliable, I cannot say: it was published after my departure from Ternate.

Their staple diet consists of the tuberous crops *bete*, *ubi*, *sayawu*;<sup>8</sup> a kind of red kidney bean; bananas; and sometimes rice, with the sea supplying them with plenty of fish. They also usually have available the meat of wild pig, which they snare or rouse with dogs and then stab with spear or lance. They eat, depending on the supply of food and whether or not they are hungry, three to four times a day, though sometimes less often.

They have no salt, but in preparing their food they mix the drinking water with seawater. As a matter of fact they always do this since they think that drinking fresh water causes stomach aches. Sagwire is obtained from coconut trees by pounding the trunk in the usual manner and then cutting off the spadix; they use this drink liberally in the manner of the eastern part [p. 131] of the Indies archipelago. There are relatively few sago trees; when they buy sago from the traders it is prepared in the form of porridge or baked.

Their houses are all built on poles. Some of them are made of wood but most have bamboo or gabah walls and are covered with strips of leaves: separate rooms serve as cooking and sleeping quarters and are separated from the common inner gallery by thin partitions.

They do not have bows and arrows, but only lances and broadswords or blades which are purchased from Tobungku, of which the smaller kinds are called *bakako* and the bigger *tololaki*.

Their musical instruments are limited to the tifah, *rabab* (a stringed instrument), and *suling* (flute), and also a strange apparatus, called *tulalo*, which consists of a bridge of *lenggua* wood over which is strung a fine copper string which is set vibrating by a needle attached to the forefinger in a small rattan ring. The bridge is held up by a bamboo cylinder on top of two unequal coconut shells, the bigger of which is pressed against the breast when the instrument is played. It is used mainly to accompany singing.

The unfavorable profile of the Alfurus in the well-known magazine article (p. 97) is definitely exaggerated and it is completely untrue to say that they do not understand the mutual relationships of consanguinity or marriage.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary, they usually have only one wife, obtained in the normal Polynesian manner of paying a certain dowry; quarrels which lead to murder and manslaughter are caused by the weaker sex, since otherwise they lead a quiet life, submit to their headmen, pay their dues regularly and do not cause the government any trouble. The Moslems do indulge in opium and the Alfurus [p. 132] in sagwire, but gambling is restricted to the Rajah and the headmen—strangely enough, their favorite game is *vingt-et-un*.

They believe only in good and evil spirits and, to appease them or to safeguard themselves against calamities, places for offerings have been erected in front of the door of the house, in the gardens, or in certain other places, sometimes in the form of a wooden

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<sup>8</sup> [p. 130, n. 1] *Sayawu* or *sayafu* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] is the Moluccan name for the *Dioscorea Aculeata*, of which the tubers are edible.

<sup>9</sup> [p. 131, n. 1] Van Musschenbroek (*TAG*) finds this unfavorable impression to be confirmed in a local investigation!?!

altar, called a *pilogot*, after which an island has also been named.<sup>10</sup> It has created the mistaken idea that these spirits will only roam over there.

They consider the killing of animals, such as dogs, pigs, chickens, and goats, to be an opportune occasion for predicting the future from the position of the entrails and the course of veins and tendons.<sup>11</sup> This is done especially during illness, even though they are aware of the healing powers of many plants.

The allegation (*Tijdschrift*, p. 98) that the bodies of the deceased are discarded without any care is incorrect. Actually they bury their dead either near their houses or in the forest; if in the forest, after they have asked the sick person first if he has perhaps already chosen a good spot, since close attention is paid to such things.

They believe, among other things, that the world rests on the back of a buffalo, and they explain earthquakes (which they call *manombol*) as the sting of a mosquito, or as a punishment from the evil spirits for illicit love.

Bajorese live only in Kalumbatan on the east coast of Peleng and are under their own headman or *Punggawa*. For the right to fish in the Banggai waters they pay a contribution of f 4.- annually to the Sultan. Their number varies from three to four hundred inhabitants and their journeys extend all along the coast of Celebes as far as the Togian Islands. [p. 133]

The area on that coast which falls under the Rajah of Banggai consists of eleven districts or kampongs, with Tanjong Api forming the northern boundary and Togong Teong the southern one. They have the following names: Sinoran, Batui, Tangkiang, Kentong, Mandono, Lontiok, Nambo, Luuk with Biak, Basama, Lamala, and Pokomondolong, the last three known under the common name of Balanta, while of the villages on the north coast of this peninsula, Pati-Pati and Saluan come under Mandono and Boalemo under Mandono, Kentong, and Tangkiang.

Only at Mandono is there an Utusan in name of the Sultan. The heads of the kampongs are Sangaji, with lower headmen who bear the titles of Kapita and *Dakanyo*. The coastal population is Moslem except at Kentong, where a number of Alfurus live. There are more than three thousand inhabitants, but the number of mountain dwellers cannot even approximately be determined.

The most important trading place is Pokomondolong or Balanta<sup>12</sup> from where a lot of paddy, at the average price of f 4.- per picul, is sold to Gorontalo. Balanta is known for its

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<sup>10</sup> [p. 132, n. 1] See Bosscher and Matthijsen, *TBG*, p. 98, in which this word is corrupted to *piluku*.

<sup>11</sup> [p. 132, n. 2] Telling the future from the sounds of birds, a very popular activity in Minahasa for instance, is only found in these regions at Balanta on the coast of Celebes.

<sup>12</sup> [p. 133, n. 1] I completely disagree with van Musschenbroek's claim (*TAG*, p. 96) that Mandono is a prosperous area with a lot of industry. He makes this claim only because cotton is grown, there and at Nambo, which is used to weave sarongs. European threads, however, are better for this purpose. Native trading vessels rarely go there; they all go to Pokomondolong instead. (See also

good quality tobacco, which, at a weight of one-half catty, is twisted into rope and usually sold at f 0.50 per fathom. This district is also the only one in which sago trees abound and can, therefore, rightly be called the storeroom of the whole of Banggai. The Banggai Islands are also known for their wealth in durable kinds of timber, among which ebony<sup>13</sup> [p. 134] takes an important place; while at a place named Mambulusan, which belongs to Liang on Peleng, *antimony or mica*, with which one decorates the outside of plaited boxes and hats,<sup>14</sup> is dug up from a depth of four to five fathoms. Other export articles are damar, sold at f 10 to f 15 per picul; thin rattan; wax, especially from Batui and Kentong, which costs up to f 80 per picul;<sup>15</sup> coffee, which is grown on a few hills on Peleng; a small amount of birds' nests from the island of Salui; and musk or *timpaus*<sup>16</sup> brought to market in small pieces costing ten farthings each.

Money is not generally sought after; they prefer old brass farthings of which there are one hundred and twenty in a guilder, and in the interior of Celebes the old cock-farthings of which there are three hundred and sixty in a *guilder*; besides the normal real of four suku (of forty cents each) the Makassarese real has a figurative value of f 2. Mostly barter is used for linens such as *kain blacu*.

Horses and *sapi utan* (dwarf buffalo) on Celebes, as well as *tinggalu* (palm civet), watersnakes, and a great number of fish species form a much favored food for Moslems and Alfurus. The Bajorese like to hunt sawfish, the meat of which they eat and the saw of which is thrown away unutilized; they also harpoon tripang and turtles, even at a depth of ten fathoms. The small *harpoons* are called *sosowat*, the bigger ones *kalai*.

Trade in slaves stopped completely after its abolition in 1879. When it occurs, however, as it sometimes still does, the culprits are brought before the State Council at Ternate and punished severely. [p. 135]

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Valentijn, 1724, Ib:80, who already mentions that Balanta produces a lot of paddy and rice, and says that Mandono is fairly fertile.)

<sup>13</sup> [p. 133, n. 2] Ebony is called *kau mopok* in the Banggai language; the word *mologotu* given by Bosscher and Matthijsen is Ternatese.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 134, n. 1] This mica is called *batu Banggai* in Malayan and *mare gapi* in Ternatese. Matthes (*Makassarese Dictionary*, under "Banggai") describes the pieces of mica as small shells, which, however, they do not resemble at all.

<sup>15</sup> [p. 134, n. 2] Of the total wax production, which amounts to approximately three hundred piculs, one-eighth is given to the Sultan.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 134, n. 3] Timpaus comes from the testes of the *tinggalu* (palm civet), *Viverra Zibetha*. The *dedes*, which has a milder smell, comes from the female. At some places in the Indies archipelago, it seems that the scent is obtained from bone marrow.

## IX

**From Banggai to Tobungku<sup>1</sup>**

[p. 135] None of the Ternatese possessions is as little known as the small state of Tobungku, situated on the east coast of Celebes and bordered to the west and south by the small states of Luwu and Kendari. It stretches down along the coast from Togong Teong as far as Cape Nipa-Nipah at the southernmost point. A deep bay forms the northernmost coastal area, which in many writings is called the Gulf of Tomori, but is locally known as Telok Tomaiki.

Due to the extensive Malapati reef, which has not yet been properly charted, and to unfamiliarity with the waters to the south of Peleng, progress with a steamer from Banggai is rather slow. Along the way, precaution soundings are continually taken to avoid unpleasant surprises. Moreover, the map by Edeling shows Lanona or Tombuku as the capital, but this is only confusing. Although the government was established there before Tobungku was subjected to Ternate, the Rajah has lived at Sakita for almost 200 years.<sup>2</sup> It also appears that the position of Sakita has been shown too much to the north on Edeling's map. This also is not conducive to a speedy arrival: at one time it took me two and one-half days to cover the distance from Banggai to Tobungku.

After the ship has dropped anchor, the Rajah and his retinue [p. 136] soon arrive to pay their respects. Then we go ashore to return the visit. On the beach a bodyguard is waiting to receive us and to the sound of the cymbal, preceded by a few shieldbearers, he leads us through a few dilapidated gates to the fortifications, which, surrounded by a wooden palisade, are in a most dilapidated state, and in which the Ternatese officials are living.<sup>3</sup>

Continuing in a southerly direction, along a long bamboo bridge through a marshy sago forest, we reach the house of the Rajah. We are invited to sit down in the inner gallery, where it is so dark, because of the closed curtains, that at half past two in the afternoon a few lamps are lit. One of the officials who came with us on this trip hands over the letter from the Sultan, which makes its rounds on a tray; the Rajah and then all the officials honor it first by kissing it and then pressing it for a moment against their foreheads. A *Khatib* (mosque official) comes closer to read out the contents; the man is quite old and it takes a long time before one of the followers has fetched his glasses. He is

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 135, n. 1] This is the real name and not Tombuku, as is written in Bosscher and Matthijsen, *TBG*, 65 ff. I will refer several times to the description of the state given by Bosscher and Matthijsen.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 135, n. 2] This information was given to me by the Rajah and his officials. Later on I read in the report by Revius, who traveled in this area in 1850 as a delegate, that he had recommended Sakita as the seat of the government instead of the then-capital, Lanona. I have not been able to find out which statement is true.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 136, n. 1] The large number of *lillas* and *rantakas* (brass cannons) scattered all over the ground is striking. In the times of the pirates these were used to arm the trade proas.

not very practiced in reading Ternatense and he finds it rather difficult; the letter is, for that matter, only an exhortation to follow my decisions in all regards. Since there is no question of not doing so, the information is accepted rather calmly. Cigarettes are served, current affairs dealt with, and local news discussed; the people assembled here soon feel at ease. The proposal to view the village is readily agreed to and soon a large procession fills the narrow streets.

Actually there are three large kampongs, all stretching along the coast: the northernmost is called Kampong Bajo, even though no Bajo live there; the middle one is Sakita, [p. 137] where the Rajah has his house, and the southernmost kampong is called Tobungku.

There is a lively trade with Chinese from Makassar and Bugis from Kendari and with other areas which belong to the government of Celebes;<sup>4</sup> there are even a few Arabs, whose warehouses are filled with damar and rattan, brought by the Alfurus to the coast. One Chinese has a rather nice *toko* (shop) with a zinc roof. Numerous *paduakans* are lying on the beach waiting to be loaded or already ready for the journey south; others are still in the process of being built; and the whole gives the impression of a certain prosperity, since men and women are well dressed and show a becoming confidence in the company of strangers.

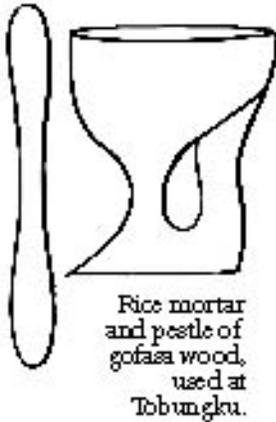
The number of inhabitants is estimated at twelve hundred to fifteen hundred. They are all Moslems who do not, however, adhere too strictly to their religious obligations, although their mosque is a very neat building, made of stone and with a tile-covered floor. It was built in a short time under the guidance of a few religious leaders and paid for by voluntary contributions.

The houses are all built on piles about two meters above ground level and of light materials; a bamboo ladder allows one to enter; the compounds are for the most part fenced in, with living hedges along the one-fathom-wide footpaths. The cooking place, [p. 138] recognizable by a few stones covered with ashes, is indoors, as are the sleeping quarters of the occupants, though in a separate part; a bigger room is used as a sitting- and work-room, where fishing gear (cast and ground nets) are made, linens are woven,<sup>5</sup> and products are stored. This room has a doorway and also a window or bamboo shutter to let in light and air. In a few houses one sees palm leaf sheaths filled with paddy, which, however, is stored in a separate shed when there are larger quantities.

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 137, n. 1] In Bosscher and Matthijsen (*TBG*), the state of Tobungku is called "insignificant" in the fullest sense of the word (p. 87). Apparently this has changed since then or varies according to the season. Neither is the trade, as claimed in that article, completely in the hands of the officials, whose authority is slight or nonexistent with regard to the Alfurus in the interior. Revius also says that the central part of the country carries on trade with the Makassarese, the Bugis, and with people from Mandar and other parts of the Indies archipelago. This trade dates from earlier centuries, since, according to Valentijn (1724, Ib:81) they associate with "foreign traders and Bugis smugglers, who often lurk on the river Lahan, to the north of Tambuco, to obtain rubber and other forbidden wares."

<sup>5</sup> [p. 138, n. 1] The *kain Tobungku* woven of local threads is very rough, but it is in demand with the Alfurus because of its durability. The price is f 4.- per piece, and the colors are blue and black.



Near many houses there is a shelter with a bamboo couch, where sick housemates are nursed and treated as prescribed by the witch doctor, while the ground is littered all around with the rough but strong rice mortars and pestles made of gofasa wood, each provided with a handle and difficult to move because of its weight.

Many fruit trees, especially *Aurantiaceae*, have been planted everywhere and coconut trees abound, although here too coconut oil has been replaced by paraffin as fuel.

Soon the opportunity presents itself to meet some Alfurus from the interior who sell damar, wax, and rattan to the traders, sometimes in return for money but usually for linens, glassware, and pottery. The men differ little from the Alfurus of Halmahera, although they are not as robust and their features are less Semitic; in the forest they wear the cidaku but when they come to the village they wear shorts and always a head shawl. The women are small, thickset, ugly, and not well-formed; on the other hand the women of the Moslem coastal people are positively beautiful: their normal [p. 139] dress is a short sarong, tied up high [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], and a *baju* (jacket) of barkcloth. The bands of the baskets which they carry on their backs are tied across their foreheads, even when they transport heavy loads or small children.

Their weapons consist of a lance with an iron tip (Tobungku, *ponsaku*; Alfuru, *yua*), a normal broadsword (Tobungku, *badi*; Alfuru, *pada*), a large broadsword<sup>6</sup> (Tobungku and Alfuru, *ngomu*), a shield (Tobungku and Alfuru, *kanta*) and a blowpipe (*sumpit*) through which darts are blown to kill animals and even people. They do not use bow and arrow.

Manslaughter is usually the result of adultery since other quarrels are never so serious that blood has to flow to compensate for the disgrace experienced. Since there is no well-regulated administration to settle disputes, however, murders do take place; but one attributes them to *swanggis* (ghosts), both to avoid the trouble of investigation and from fear of revenge. In the years since slavery was abolished, a few cases of slave trading have occurred, but they have only been clandestine, since all the headmen know of the penalties.

The use of intoxicants is slightly different here: they do not drink sagwire, but they do have two other liquors, which are called *anes Tobungku* (or *ara*) and *pangasi*. To obtain the first, sagwire is boiled in an earthenware pot until it turns to vinegar. Then a thin bamboo reed is stuck into the tight lid which has a few holes pierced through it. The cooled vapour drips into a bottle and is then drunk as anes. Pangasi is a drink obtained by mixing rice with *anes Bugis* or Buginese arak. This mixture is put in a *tampayan* (large jar); after it comes to a boil, water is poured onto it and it is left for a few days. This is the common liquor among the beach dwellers, but the Alfurus [p. 140] prefer anes. The latter do not smoke opium, but the beach dwellers do.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 139, n. 1] The blades are made of iron smelted from ore which is found near Tupe. I tried to obtain a piece of this ore but I could not.

Disputes over property, e.g. sago trees, are decided by trial by ordeal and by cock fights. In the trial by ordeal the parties dive under water (Tobungku, *lumeo*) and the first to come up is the loser. When disputes are decided by cock fight (Tobungku, *batadi*), the owner of the winning cock receives the trees in question. In very serious cases disputes are resolved through oath-taking (Tobungku, *metunda*) in which the following procedure is followed: a piece of gold and a bullet are placed in a white bowl half filled with water. One of the elders recites the incantation (Tobungku, *bobeto*) and then the party in question has to drink some of the water and smear his body with it, meaning that he will be killed by a bullet or melted like gold if he lies.

Bosscher and Matthijsen are mistaken in their claim that a dowry is not given these regions. In fact, the opposite is true: as elsewhere, the girl is bought from the parents upon payment of linens, earthenware, or other goods. What they report about dead bodies (p. 76) is also untrue: these are laid to rest in proa-shaped wooden coffins near the house, in high trees, or in caves. Sometimes they are buried. In earlier times one used to collect the remaining bones of a whole family and put them in large earthenware casks, which nowadays are sometimes found in inaccessible places.

It is not known to what extent the Alfuru language differs from that of the Tobungkunesse: for comparison I give here the numerals in both languages or dialects:

[p. 141]

|    | <b>Tobungku language</b> | <b>Alfuru language of Tokala</b> |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1  | asa                      | sambaa                           |
| 2  | orua                     | radua                            |
| 3  | otolu                    | togo                             |
| 4  | opaa                     | opo                              |
| 5  | olima                    | lima                             |
| 6  | ono                      | ono                              |
| 7  | opitu                    | pitu                             |
| 8  | howalu                   | wayu                             |
| 9  | osio                     | sio                              |
| 10 | hopulu                   | sampuyu                          |

Bosscher and Matthijsen give a list of words on p. 73, of which the following words have to be corrected:

| <b>English</b> | <b>In B. and M.</b> | <b>Correct word</b> |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| not            | anhena              | nahina              |
| big            | ohosse              | ofose               |
| small          | mohibu              | mohifu              |
| to eat         | menkah              | mongka              |
| to drink       | moinun              | moinu               |
| sick           | konaneuh            | mahaki              |
| face           | hoi                 | foi                 |
| to enter       | merso opako         | mesa opako          |
| to go outside  | mino aroko          | melo arako          |
| body           | puto                | futo                |
| head           | unoh                | ulu                 |
| to sit         | tunandah            | totanda             |

The other words given by them seem to be correct.

Nobody could tell me anything about a division into North and South Tobungku or into four districts or areas (see Bosscher and Matthijsen, pp. 64 and 65). There are just 36 kampongs, together with the lands that belong to them, that could be considered districts, since many are small settlements or hamlets with headmen who bear the title of Sangaji or Kimalaha, who are appointed by the Rajah and are directly under him. Like the *Mokoles* or headmen of the Alfurus, their only income is a part of the harvested paddy or, on the coast, a share in the yield of the sago.

The names of the kampongs, their location in the interior or near the coast [p. 142] and information as to whether the inhabitants are Alfurus or Moslems are given below.<sup>7</sup> [Note that "A" designates "Alfuru" and "M" designates "Moslem;" names have been arranged by geographic location, not in the order given by de Clercq —Trans.]

**On the beach:**

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Lanona         | M |
| Woso           | M |
| Kolono         | M |
| One Ete        | M |
| Tanda Oleo     | M |
| Faya Lamontoli | M |
| Faya Lalemo    | M |

**Near the beach:**

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| Ambunu | M |
|--------|---|

**A short distance into the interior:**

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Tironga                 | M |
| Tokala                  | M |
| Bahu Ea                 | M |
| Baha Ea Reko-Reko       | M |
| Bungi                   | M |
| Tombelala               | M |
| Usongi                  | M |
| Umasimbatu <sup>8</sup> | M |
| Lobota                  | M |
| Bete-Bete               | M |
| Bahu                    | M |
| Faru                    | M |

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<sup>7</sup> [p. 142, n. 1] I cannot explain the difference between this list and the one in Bosscher and Matthijsen (*TBG*, p. 71); I can only assure traders that all these names have been carefully checked with several officials.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 142, n. 2] For an explanation of the corruption of this name, see the "[Short Chronicle](#)," Period III, p. 181, n. 3 [as corrected in Errata —Trans.], below.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Torete   | M |
| Tofatu   | A |
| Tobau  | A |
| Tokan* Indi-Indi [*as corrected in Errata —Trans.] | A |
| Topogaro   | A |
| Tulang Batu  | A |
| Bahu Solo  | A |
| Tumohu   | A |
| Toreo  | A |
| Lembo  | A |
| Matarape   | A |

**In the mountains:**

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Totinunde | A |
| Tupa      | A |

**Islands<sup>9</sup>:**

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| Menui   | M |
| Fafonii | M |

Most of these kampongs are situated on small rivers, which are very shallow and only navigable at high tide with proas.

The two biggest rivers are the Lingkobu and the Tompira, near and in the Gulf of Tomaiki (Tomori on the maps). The mountain of Tokala is said to be the highest on Tobungku. Although from the sea one can see several high mountain tops, the beach dwellers are not sure about the names of these mountains.

Little is known about the earlier history of Tobungku. According to Tiele (*TKI*, II:25) Urdanete visited, in 1533, an area on Celebes which he called Tubucu, where there was a lot of iron. The inhabitants there were heathens. Valentijn (1724, Ib:314) reports [p. 144] that de Vlaming, together with Mandarsha, sailed for Tombuko in 1655, “which now belonged to Ternate.” The first Rajah after the subjugation to Ternate is said to have been a certain Kaicil Marahu, who is supposed to have ruled in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> Knowledge about the succession of Rajahs seems to have been lost; I did learn that women sometimes held this highest authority. The people of Tofi were

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<sup>9</sup> [p. 143, n. 1] Besides these two islands there are many others all along the coast, from Cape Taliabu to Cape Nipah-Nipah near Kendari, such as: Langgala, Safaide, Padei, Karanto, Togong Tadam, Toko Eya, Toro Asolo, Rumbia, Nonasi, Togong Teong, Pako, Tamagolo, Nanaka, Bolasikan, Labengki, Tombolo, Bete, Batu, Propati, Bafulu, Sain Noa, Pulu Tiga, Pinapinasa, Bahu Bulu, Ontau, Kuikuila, Gimpa, Tatabonti, Labungka, Bungin Tende, Bungi-Bungi, Dediri, Bobosi, Ambewa, and Nanga Simbori. Their exact positions have never been determined since no ship has ever mapped these areas.

The names given here differ significantly from those in Bosscher and Matthijsen and also from the official names copied by Bleeker. Since on Ternate no one knows anything about Tobungku, I obtained these names through on-the-spot inquiries.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 144, n. 1] It seems that before the subjugation the area had a woman ruler.

suppressed under one of the last Rajahs, Kaicil Papa (1848). They were forced to carry out statute labor, so they fled to the mountains and the village declined.

Boni laid claim to lands which belonged to Tobungku, but upon investigation his claim was found to be invalid, and it was deemed necessary to draw up formal terms with the native government. This was the first contract, concluded on June 3, 1850, between the Delegate A.F.I.I.G. Revius and Kaicil Sadek. Kaicil Sadek especially appreciated it because it clarified his relationship with regard to the other rulers of Celebes. This contract was, in contravention of the existing regulations, not ratified by the Government. As a result, after Kaicil Sadek's death in late 1851, a new contract had to be concluded with his successor, Kaicil Baba. This second contract was confirmed by oath on February 5, 1853. Kaicil Baba died on December 10, 1869, and in his place Kaicil Moloku was made Rajah on September 16, 1873. Whether he is still alive is doubtful; he vanished without leaving a trace and nobody knows where he went. It is assumed that pirates caught and abducted him. When nothing was heard from him, Kaicil Latojo was chosen Rajah on March 17, 1879. He died in April 1881, and was succeeded by Kaicil Laopeke, who was sworn in as Rajah on May 20, 1884, without any deed of confirmation.<sup>11</sup>

The Rajah is assisted by several officials: a Jogugu, a Captain-*Laut*, and two Majors, one of whom [p. 145] is the commanding officer of his soldiers. They are differentiated as Major-*Tanah* and Major-*Kompania*. The Sangajis of the nearby kampongs are consulted by the Rajah in matters of administration.

At Sakita, the Sultan of Ternate has an Utusan, a few lower officials such as a Jurtulis, an Alferes, and a few Baru-Baru, but the Baru-Baru are not all there at the same time.<sup>12</sup> A few kampongs have been selected to supply these officials with sago, oil, and other goods. They are also given a few servants for domestic work. The Sultan has little authority, however, and this is compounded by the clumsy interference which these officials make in local affairs. The aim of the officials is to get as much personal profit as they can, and they have no concern for a well-run administration.<sup>13</sup>

This situation has caused some conflict: Tobungku would ask the Buginese to help them either to expel the Ternatense or to massacre them. This happened once in November 1840, when, with the help of the people of Kendari, the *benteng* (fortress) at Sakita was destroyed by the people. The Utusan and all the Ternatense were murdered, only one officer

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<sup>11</sup> [p. 144, n. 2] See the "Short Chronicle" for further details.

<sup>12</sup> [p. 145, n. 1] Bosscher and Matthijsen say that there are forty, but there are at most ten or twelve.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 145, n. 2] Bosscher and Matthijsen have overestimated the power of the Utusans. The Rajah and other local officials may at times fear a high-handed Ternatense official, but in reality Ternatense influence, so far from the capital, is slight. However, sometimes goods and products are taken from the inhabitants, with the help of the Baru-Baru, often completely arbitrarily. Self-interest keeps the officials from pushing this too far, although in their defense it should be said that they are stationed there to live at the expense of the population. That there is a Ternatense official in each important village (Bosscher and Matthijsen, p. 69) is not true: only at Woso is there an Alferes, nowhere else.

and four soldiers escaping to tell about it at Banggai. A year later a hongii fleet was sent there from Ternate, and Tobungku was punished with the help of the Banggai government. In October 1842, the main instigators were taken to Ternate, where they were executed.

When I visited the east coast of Celebes for the second time, I had to investigate a border dispute between Banggai and Tobungku. I visited the island [p. 146] of Togong Teong, which in the contract was said to be the border, and found it to be little more than a rock with an alluvial extension running west, on which perched white heron (*leong*). Since the sea is completely open in that area, this rock is the only shelter for Bajorese and others traveling in these waters. Because the coast in this area does not offer any identifying mark, this island serves extremely well as a boundary, and after discussions with the officials who came with me, we decided to keep it as such. [p. 147]

[p. 147]

## **B. Short Chronicle**

**Containing the Names of the Successive Heads of Government  
and the Rulers of Ternate and Tidore  
with a Synopsis of the Most Important Events**

### **Period I:**

**From the earliest known rulers to the beginning of the Sultanates, 1257-1486.**

### **Period II:**

**From the introduction of Islam and the first Sultans to the end of the English  
interregnum, 1486-1817.**

### **Period III:**

**From the restoration of Dutch authority to the present time, 1817-1888.**

[p. 148]

## I

### From the Earliest Known Rulers to the Beginning of the Sultanates, 1257-1486

These records, received from the present Sultans,  
are compared with those presented in Valentijn, 1724, Ib: 106 and 1350

#### TERNATE

| Sultans' Records  | Valentijn   | Dates of Reign |
|---|---|----------------|
| 1 Kaicil Mashur Malamo <sup>1</sup><br><br>Lived at Sampalu, which was later called Gamlamo. <sup>2</sup> | Tsyitsyo or Kaicili Tsyuka                                      | 1257-1277      |
| 2 Kaicil Jamin  | Poit or Cili Kadarat  | 1277-1284      |
| 3 Kaicil Kamalu<br><br>Transferred the seat of government to Foramadiahi. <sup>3</sup>                    | Siale or Abu Sahid  | 1284-1298      |
| 4 Kaicil Bakuku   | Kalebatta [Valentijn's "Calebatta"] <sup>4</sup> or Tsyili Kabu | 1298-1304      |
| 5 Kaicil Nagarah Malamo<br><br>Took a few villages at Jailolo on Halmahera.                               | Komala [Valentijn: "Comala"] or Tsyili Naaiy                    | 1304-1317      |
| 6 Kaicil Patsarangah Malamo   | Patsyaranga Malamo or Tsyili Aitsi                              | 1317-1322      |
| 7 Kaicil Sidang Arif Malamo   | Sida Aarif Malamo or Tsyili Aija                                | 1322-1331      |

The four Moluccan rulers conclude a treaty on Moti. Many Javanese and Arabs

<sup>1</sup> [p. 149, n. 1] It does not, perhaps, need to be mentioned that he was the first ruler to take the title of *Kolano*.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 149, n. 2] In Valentijn this is incorrectly called Gamma Lama and sometimes Gamu Lamu; Crawford (1820, II:482) states that people from Halmahera moved to Ternate in 1250.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 149, n. 3] In Valentijn, incorrectly, Fola Madjahi.

<sup>4</sup> [Valentijn-s hard Ac@ is here transcribed as a Ak@—Trans.]

settle at Ternate.<sup>5</sup>

|    |   |                                   |           |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 8  | Kaicil Paji Malamo  | Paji Malamo or Tsyili Aali        | 1331-1332 |
| 9  | Kaicil Sah Alam   | Syah Aalem                        | 1332-1343 |
|    | Subjugates Makian in 1334.  |                                   |           |
| 10 | Kaicil Tulu Malamo  | Tulu Malamo                       | 1343-1347 |
|    | Breaks the Moti treaty.   |                                   |           |
| 11 | Kaicil Kie Mabiji   | Bohéyat                           | 1347-1350 |
| 12 | Kaicil Ngolo Macayah  | Molomatsyeya                      | 1350-1357 |
|    | Captures the Sula Islands. [p. 149]   |                                   |           |
| 13 | Kaicil Mamole   | Momole                            | 1357-1359 |
| 14 | Kaicil Gapi Malamo  | Gapi Malamo I                     | 1359-1372 |
| 15 | Kaicil Gapi Baguna  | Gapi Baguna I                     | 1372-1377 |
|    | His eldest son marries the daughter of the ruler of Jailolo and thus becomes heir to the throne. <sup>6</sup> |                                   |           |
| 16 | Kaicil Kamalu   | Komala [Valentijn: "Comala"] Pulu | 1377-1432 |
| 17 | Kaicil Sia  | Gapi Baguna II                    | 1432-1465 |
| 18 | Kaicil Gapi Baguna  | Marhum                            | 1465-1486 |

His son was Sultan Jainalabidin. Javanese, Malaysians, Chinese, and other foreigners come to buy cloves to resell to western nations.

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 149, n. 4] This information by Valentijn, which he repeats once again in the section on Religious Affairs (1724, Ib:378), and which is confirmed by Hageman in his history of Java (1852, I:51), causes me to reject as very premature the opinion of Robidé van der Aa in his *Travels* (van der Crab et al. 1879, p. 19, note), on the inaccuracy of the arabicized Moluccan names of rulers (cf. also de Jonge 1872-1875, II:167). In the *Indische Gids* IV(1):506, note 1, the same writer confuses the *introduction* with the *spread* of Islam.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 149, n. 5] Tiele, in *TKI* XXXV:270, refers to a Sultan of Jailolo, not mentioned anywhere else (cf. *Indische Gids* III(2):392).

**TIDORE**

- 1 Sultan Sah Jati
- 2 Sultan Busamuangi
- 3 Sultan Suhu
- 4 Sultan Balibungah
- 5 Sultan Duku Madoya<sup>7</sup>
- 6 Sultan Kie Matiti
- 7 Sultan Sele
- 8 Sultan Matagena

Valentijn mentions the names of only two rulers during this period for Tidore, namely Nureddin and Hassan Syah, who were said to have ruled in 1343 and 1372, respectively. If this record is correct, they certainly did not bear the title of Sultan, which, at Ternate, most probably arose only after they had converted to Islam. The Portuguese sources, quoted by de Jonge (1872-1875, III:175) seem to date the introduction of Islam to Tidore at about 1430.

N.B. For the way in which the names of these rulers are written in Arabic characters, see the list that follows. The *syin* is shown as “s” since this letter is almost always pronounced as such.

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7. [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]

[p. 150]

## II

### **From the Introduction of Islam and the First Sultans to the End of the English Interregnum, 1486-1817**

1486. Jainalabidin, first Sultan of Ternate.<sup>1</sup> He goes to Java, where he receives instruction in the Moslem faith at Giri. According to some people he died on the journey back; others claim that he ruled until the end of the century.

1495. Ciliati, first Sultan of Tidore.<sup>2</sup> It is said that he took the name Jamaludin after the introduction of Islam by the Arab Sekh Mansur.

1500. Kaicil Liliatu, second Sultan of Ternate.<sup>3</sup> He orders subjects to dress properly and to marry according to the teachings of Islam.

1506. Lodewijk di Bartomo visits the Moluccas and thinks the natives still very wild.

1511. Salahakan Samaraw conquers Buru for the Ternatese kingdom.<sup>4</sup> [p. 151]

1512. Mansur, second Sultan of Tidore.<sup>5</sup> First arrival of the Portuguese under Francisco Serrao at Ternate.<sup>6</sup> They are given the monopoly for the sale of cloves.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 150, n. 1] Valentijn calls this ruler Zeinulabedin and says that on Ternate he is called Jenalabdina. Since the names given by the Sultan are undoubtedly more accurate, they have been retained. Also according to Valentijn, the journey to Java must have taken place about 1495 (1724, Ib:143).

<sup>2</sup> [p. 150, n. 2] Also called Ciliatu and Ciri Leliatu. Nothing is known about his accession to the throne or his death; it is very likely, however, that he was the first Moslem ruler.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 150, n. 3] Some European writers have called him Bayang Ullah and Kaicili Boleife (cf. the list of rulers). Gerlach states, peculiarly enough, that he subjugated the other three Sultans and took the title of Maharajah.

<sup>4</sup> [p. 150, n. 4] Valentijn and other writers always use the phrase "noble families" from which he and the succeeding Kimalahas are descended. On Ternate there are only four oldest kampongs known: Marsaoli, Tomagolah, Limatahu, and Tomaitu, the so-called *falah raha* or "four houses." Since earliest times these were built around the royal residence, and their Bobatos still carry the paying of the Sultan on formal occasions. The inhabitants were (and for the most part still are) pure Ternatese and it may be for this reason that the Kimalahas were chosen from among them. As a matter of fact, these magistrates are not called [note continues, p. 151 bottom] Kimalahas on Ternate, but rather have the title of Salahakan; Kimalaha is a lower official.

<sup>5</sup> [p. 151, n. 1] Also called Al Mansur. It is not known when he came into power. This date has been obtained from Valentijn 1724, Ib:106.

1521. First arrival of the Spaniards at Tidore. They enter into a contract for the monopoly of the sale of spices.

1522. Sultan Kaicil Liliatu dies, most probably as the result of poisoning by his own people because of his close friendship with Serrao. The Sultana Nyai Cili comes into power with Tarruwese as viceroy and guardian of her two sons, Deiyalo and Boheyat.<sup>7</sup> Antonio de Brito, first Portuguese Governor-General. He builds a stronghold at Gamlamo.

1525. Garcia Henriquez, second Portuguese Governor-General.<sup>8</sup>

1526. Death of Sultan Mansur. Continual discord between the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

1527. Jorge de Menezes, third Portuguese Governor-General.

1529. Death of Deiyalo and Tarruwese.<sup>9</sup> Amirudin Iskandar Dalkarnin, third Sultan of Tidore.<sup>10</sup>

1530. Gonçalo Pereira, fourth Portuguese Governor-General. He is [p. 152] murdered the next year by his own compatriots with the help of the Ternatense. Boheyat is taken prisoner by the Portuguese.

1532. Vicente da Fonseca, fifth Portuguese Governor-General. He releases Boheyat and makes him ruler. Since Boheyat is extremely severe, he is ousted by the people and replaced by his brother Tabariji, who is later sent to Malacca where he dies.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> [p. 151, n. 2] For purely Portuguese names, Tiele's spelling has been used. The *Aardrijkskundig en Statistisch Woordenboek* (1869, III:935 and 937) erroneously gives 1522 as the date of Serrao's arrival.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 151, n. 3] These details have been taken from Valentijn 1724, Ib:152 ff. Legends existing among the people concerning the period up to the time of the third Sultan are too confused to be credible.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 151, n. 4] Valentijn gives other dates (1724, Ib:161 and 162).

<sup>9</sup> [p. 151, n. 5] Valentijn describes their murders: see Ib:178 and 180. He dates the murder of Tarruwese to 1530.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 151, n. 6] Also known as Amir Iskandar Dulkarnan. All data about him and his four successors are missing. The last of these successors, Sultan Mole [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] Majimu, seems to have died in 1626 or 1627 [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]. Each of them may thus have ruled for about twenty years.

<sup>11</sup> [p. 152, n. 1] This is taken from Valentijn (1724, Ib:278 ff.), but it is not known in the Sultanate of Ternate.

1534. Tristao d'Ataijde, sixth Portuguese Governor-General. Moluccan Vespers: the murder, at Moro, of Simon Vaz [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] and the Catholic natives converted by him.

1535. Kaicil Hayur or Hairun, third Sultan of Ternate.<sup>12</sup>

1536. Antonio Galvao, seventh Portuguese Governor-General. He defeats the Tidorese, with whom Boheyat is living. Since he is very well liked, the people offer him the crown, but he persuades the Ternatese to accept Hairun as ruler.

1540. Jorge de Castro, eighth Portuguese Governor-General. During his administration the stronghold at Gamlamo is abandoned.<sup>13</sup>

1544. Jordao de Freitas, ninth Portuguese Governor-General.

1546. Franciscus Xaverius [Saint Francis Xavier] at Ternate.

1547. Bernaldim de Souza, tenth Portuguese Governor-General. Kie Mansur, fourth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>14</sup>

1549. Christovao [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] de Sa, eleventh Portuguese Governor-General.

1550. Bernaldim de Souza again appointed Governor-General. [p. 153]

1551. With the help of the Portuguese, Jailolo falls completely under the control of the sultanate of Ternate.

1552. Francisco Lopez de Souza, thirteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1555. D. Duarte d'Eca, fourteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1558. Laulata, sent as Salahakan to Ambon, conquers many villages on this island.

1559. Manoel de Vasconcellos, fifteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1561. Henrique de Sa, sixteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

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<sup>12</sup> [p. 152, n. 2] In Valentijn called Hair or Hairon. In the list of the Moorish kings (1724 Ib:369) it is stated that he ruled from 1538 to 1565; on p. 190 that date is given as 1535, as it is in Tiele *TKI*, II:38. Van der Crab confuses this ruler with Deijalo (*TKI*, p. 469, n. 43). Crawford (1820, II:503) spells his name Aeiro after the Portuguese writers.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 152, n. 3] One can find a description of this fortress in Valentijn (1724, Ib:11). He gives a sketch of it on the illustration plate for Ternate. The Portuguese called it San Joao, and the Spanish, later on, S. Pedro e Paulo.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 152, n. 4] This date is a mere supposition. See previous page, note 10 [p. 151, n. 6].

1564. Alvaro de Mendonça, seventeenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1566. Diogo Lopes de Mesquita, eighteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1569. Iskandar Sani, fifth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>15</sup>

1570. Sultan Hairun murdered by a Portuguese in the fortress by order of de Mesquita.<sup>16</sup> Babulah Datu Sah, fourth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>17</sup> Under this ruler the sultanate of Ternate extends: to the south as far as Bima, to the west as far as Makassar, to the east as far as Banda, and to the north as far as Mindanao. Rubohongi, the son of Samaraw, as Salahakan, introduces a more regularized administration on the Ambonese islands.<sup>18</sup>  
[p. 154]

1571. Alvaro de Ataide, nineteenth Portuguese Governor-General.

1574. Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, twentieth Portuguese Governor-General.<sup>19</sup>

1575. The Portuguese are ousted from Ternate and go to Tidore. Sultan Babulah occupies the fortress at Gamlamo.

1579. Francis Drake at Ternate.<sup>20</sup>

1580. Babulah conquers Banggai, Tobungku, and Buton, and even goes as far as Makassar, where he concludes a treaty with the ruler of Goa and seizes Saleyer.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> [p. 153, n. 1] Elsewhere given as Tadu Iskandar Sani Amiril Madlemi.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 153, n. 2] Tiele's report of this murder (*TKI*, IV:442) is more reliable than Valentijn's. The picture given by Valentijn is not very clear.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 153, n. 3] Valentijn calls this ruler Babu or Babulak, though according to him the name, if correctly pronounced, should be Baab Ullah. In van der Crab (1862, p. 295), Sultan Baab is the first Sultan. According to both writers he came to the throne in 1565, which is not possible since Tiele (*TKI*, IV:442) gives the day and year of the murder of Hairun. That Tidore and Bacan were subjugated under him (see Temminck 1849, III:124) is completely without foundation.

<sup>18</sup> [p. 153, n. 4] According to Tiele (*TKI*, IV:446) and Valentijn (1724, Iib:18), Rubohongi was at Ambon in 1570. In Part Ib:207, however, Valentijn mentions 1576 as the year of this visit.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 154, n. 1] He seems to have been the last Governor-General; later Portuguese commanders were mere captains of the troops (see Tiele, *TKI* VI, *passim*).

<sup>20</sup> [p. 154, n. 2] According to Valentijn (1724, Ib:207) and Crawford (1820, II:505), Drake arrived at Ternate about 1578. The source quoted by Veth in Wallace (1870-1871, II:14, note 7) is more reliable, however, and he gives November 4, 1579, as the date of Drake's arrival (cf. also Tiele *TKI*, V:164).

<sup>21</sup> [p. 154, n. 3] According to European writers he was called "Lord of the Seventy-two Islands" after this conquest. Nothing is known about this on Ternate.

1583. Babulah is taken prisoner by the Portuguese in a treacherous manner. He dies while in transit to Goa.<sup>22</sup>

1584. Saidudin, fifth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>23</sup> Born about 1563, he lives, as did his father, in the fortress at Gamlamo. Sabadin leaves for Ambon as Salahakan.

1586. Gapi Maguna, sixth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>24</sup> [p. 155]

1599. The first Dutchmen arrive on Ternate on the ships *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht* under the seafarer Wijbrand van Warwijk. They reach the roadsteads of Talangami<sup>25</sup> on May 22 and go ashore for the first time on June 2.<sup>26</sup> Frank van der Does remains behind with five Dutchmen.<sup>27</sup> Mole Majimu, seventh Sultan of Tidore.<sup>28</sup>

1601. Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck with the ships *Amsterdam* and *Gouda* in the roadsteads of Ternate.

1602. Wolphert Harmenszoon with five ships at Ternate.

1605. Two English ships under Henry Middleton visit Ternate and Tidore. The Portuguese under Pedro Alvarez de Abreu are attacked on Tidore by the Dutch under Cornelis Sebastiaanszoon together with the Ternatense.<sup>29</sup> The Portuguese are defeated and retreat to the Philippines, permanently leaving the Moluccas.

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<sup>22</sup> [p. 154, n. 4] Tiele (*TKI*, V:180) is of the opinion that Valentijn made a mistake and that Sultan Babulah died on Ternate. Locally no details are known about this.

<sup>23</sup> [p. 154, n. 5] In Valentijn and de Jonge the name is Sahid Berkat, and in van der Crab it is Saiudin. Robid  van der Aa calls him Sultan Berkat (*Indische Gids*, IV:506) and Tiele refers to him as Sahid (*TKI*, VI:148) which may be an abbreviation of the name given in V:180. Van der Crab (*TKI*, p. 470, n. 47) draws the wrong conclusion from this confusion of names.

<sup>24</sup> [p. 154, n. 6] Elsewhere given as Gapi Baguna Sirajul Arafin; see further p. 151, n. 6 [i.e., note 10 above—Trans.].

<sup>25</sup> [p. 155, n. 1] Written incorrectly in Valentijn as Telingamu.

<sup>26</sup> [p. 155, n. 2] Temminck (1849, III:126) fantasizes that the Portuguese were expelled on this occasion, and according to the chronological list given by Keijzer, Houtman had arrived at Ternate a year earlier!

<sup>27</sup> [p. 155, n. 3] It appears from a letter written by Wijbrand van Warwijk that some weapons were bartered on the roadsteads of Bantam on January 20, 1600, and that the Sultan was in debt for 212 bars of cloves (de Jonge 1872-1875, II:378). Valentijn says that the first cloves were bartered for "small glasses" worth not more than 3 or 4 farthings.

<sup>28</sup> [p. 155, n. 4] Elsewhere given as Molama Jimo Jumaldin. On the authority of the Portuguese writer Argensola, quoted by Tiele (*TKI*, V:198), the date of his accession to the throne is given as 1599.

<sup>29</sup> [p. 155, n. 5] Van der Lith (1875, p. 171) says that on this occasion a Spanish fortress was assaulted, but neglects to mention from whom he got this information.

*1606.* The Spanish at Ternate, under Don Pedro da Cunha, capture the fortress Gamlamo and take Sultan Saidudin as prisoner. The Sultan is taken to Manila,<sup>30</sup> where apparently he dies, though when is not known. [p. 156] Daya or Hidayat, the Viceroy,<sup>31</sup> sends Kaicil Ali to Bantam to notify the Dutch of the Spanish conquest and to ask them for help.

*1607.* Kornelis Matelief de Jonge arrives at Ternate and builds a fortress called Malayu. He concludes a treaty with Modafar on June 26, with the main provision that they will help each other against the Spanish and have the monopoly in cloves.<sup>32</sup> Gerard Gerardszoon van der Buis is appointed headman, with a Council of Eight to assist him.<sup>33</sup>

*1608.* Paulus van Caerden at Ternate. He brings Makian once again under the domination of Ternate, after first annexing Tafasoho. Eruption of the mountain at Ternate in July.

*1609.* François Wittert builds a fortress on Moti, named Nassau, and changes the name of Fort Malayu to Oranje.<sup>34</sup> [p. 157] He concludes a new treaty in July.<sup>35</sup> After the conquest of Bacan the Kayoa Islands are returned to Ternate.

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<sup>30</sup> [p. 155, n. 6] De Jonge (1872-1875, III:53) speaks of the combined powers of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, but nothing indicates that the latter participated in this action. [note continues, p. 156 bottom] In fact, there is evidence to the contrary (see de Jonge 1872-1875, III:37 and 235). The "Rapport over 's Compagnies Recht op de Groote Oost" ("Report on the Rights of the Company in the Great East") [in de Klerk et al. 1868], page 5, incorrectly states that the Spanish came to Ternate in 1607. Keijzer dates that conquest a year earlier (see chronological list at the end of his Vol. I [in Valentijn 1862]).

Robidé van der Aa says the name of the commander was Don Pedro Bravo de Acuna, which is probably more accurate since he consulted Spanish writers.

<sup>31</sup> [p. 156, n. 1] According to Valentijn (1724, Ib:215), Modafar was six years old in 1606, and (p. 239) fifteen years old in 1610!

<sup>32</sup> [p. 156, n. 2] This treaty is mentioned in Valentijn (1724, Ib:224). From what he writes on p. 239, however, it appears that Modafar did not come to the throne until 1610, so that in fact it was Matelief who came to this agreement with the Viceroy.

<sup>33</sup> [p. 156, n. 3] In de Jonge (1872-1875, III:57) that commander is called Gerrit Gerritszoon van der Buijs.

<sup>34</sup> [p. 156, n. 4] At that time there were four forts on the island of Ternate: Malayu or Oranje, Toloko or Hollandia, Takome or Willemstad, and Kalamata. On Makian there were three: at Tafasoho, Tabalolo, and Ngofakiaha or Mauritius. In addition there were: on Moti, Fort Nassau; at Bacan, Fort Barneveld; on Halmahera, a fort at Jailolo; and on Tidore, one at Mariku (cf. Valentijn 1724, Ib:248 and Gerlach 1859, p. 20, note).

<sup>35</sup> [p. 157, n. 1] This treaty is mentioned in Valentijn 1724, Ib:231. As with the previous one, it does not completely correspond with the contracts in de Jonge (1872-1875, III:226 and 334). In de Jonge, Modafar is not mentioned by name.

It is remarkable that at present only a few clove trees grow in one or two places in the whole residency of Ternate.

1610. Paulus van Caerden, first Dutch Governor-General in the Moluccas.<sup>36</sup> Modafar, sixth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>37</sup>

1612. Pieter Both, first Governor-General of the Indies and second Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>38</sup>

1613. Both concludes a treaty with the rulers of Makian and later an agreement with Sultan Modafar.<sup>39</sup>

1616. Joris van Spilbergen at Ternate. Laurens Reaal, third Governor of the Moluccas. Until Batavia is founded, Ternate remains the seat of highest authority in the Indies.

1620. Hidayat is appointed Salahakan over the Ternatense possessions in Ambon.

1621. Frederik Houtman, fourth Governor of the Moluccas.

1623. Jacques le Fèvre, fifth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>40</sup> The fleet of Nassau at Ternate.<sup>41</sup> [p. 158]

1624. Leliato takes the place of Hidayat as Salahakan.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> [p. 157, n. 2] According to Valentijn (1724, Ib:239), van Caerden became Governor-General on June 1; de Jonge (1872-1875, III:106) places the event on June 6.

<sup>37</sup> [p. 157, n. 3] Van der Crab claims that Sultan Modafar ruled from 1611 to 1627 (1862, p. 295); van der Lith (1875, p. 172) changes the name to Motafar.

<sup>38</sup> [p. 157, n. 4] Perhaps it goes without saying that Both arrived at Bantam on December 19, 1610, and became Governor-General at once. The date here refers to the year of his arrival on Ternate (see Valentijn 1724, Ib:240).

<sup>39</sup> [p. 157, n. 5] Valentijn gives the text of these contracts in Ib:244 and 245. De Jonge claims that he could not find them in the Public Records office, but Tiele found both in the book of contracts (*TKI XXXV*:263 note 5, and 264 note 1).

<sup>40</sup> [p. 157, n. 6] This is according to his letters, included in Bokemeijer 1888, Appendix III ff.

<sup>41</sup> [p. 157, n. 7] This is according to Valentijn. It is only important because the first extirpation [note continues, p. 158 bottom] of clove trees was done with the help of the fleet. Van de Graaff gives 1635 as the year of this event (*TNI*, p. 177). He reports, moreover, that the extirpation was also carried out during hongi expeditions by Commissioner-Extirpators who were ordered to scour the lands where clove trees grew, under military cover, and destroy the trees.

<sup>42</sup> [p. 158, n. 1] The contract concluded by him with Governor Jan van Gorcum can be found in Valentijn 1724, IIb:58. It only contains stipulations regarding the cessation of hostilities in those regions.

According to the "Rapport over 's Compagnies Recht" ("Report on the Rights of the Company") [de Klerk et al.], page 6, a contract was concluded on July 15, 1625, between the King of Ternate and the Company, under which a duty of 10 percent was fixed for the production and

1626. Ngora Malamo, eighth Sultan of Tidore.

1627. Gilles Zeijst, sixth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>43</sup> Sultan Modafar dies. Rumor has it that he was poisoned. Kaicil Hamja, seventh Sultan of Ternate.<sup>44</sup>

1628. Pieter Wagensveld, Commissioner.<sup>45</sup>

1629. Gijsbert van Lodestein, seventh Governor of the Moluccas. He concludes a treaty with Sultan Hamja on August 14, which is ratified on March 1, 1630, by Governor-General Jacques Specx.<sup>46</sup> [p. 159] Luhu becomes Salahakan of Ternate at Ambon.

1633. Advocate-Fiscal Antoni van den Heuvel inspects the territory of the Eastern Governorships. Johan Ottens, eighth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>47</sup> Kaicil Gorontalo, ninth Sultan of Tidore.

1635. Jan van Broekom, ninth Governor of the Moluccas. Eruption of the mountain of Ternate.

1636. Governor-General Antonie van Diemen visits the Moluccas.<sup>48</sup>

1638. After van Diemen returns from Batavia to Ambon, the contracts are renewed and confirmed on the ship *Frederik Henrik*, in the roadstead of Hitu.<sup>49</sup> The whole of the island of Ceram comes under Ternatese rule.

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transport of sago and for other goods imported, independent of the Company service, with junks, kora-koras and other vessels. Half of this duty was for the King and the other half for the Company. This agreement is not reported elsewhere.

<sup>43</sup> [p. 158, n. 2] It is not clear to me how this agrees with the dates given by Valentijn, according to whom Le Fèvre governed the Moluccas for eight years (1724, Ib:258).

<sup>44</sup> [p. 158, n. 3] Valentijn notes (1724, Ib:281) that we do not know whether this ruler died a Christian or a Muslim; and that priests never say a prayer for him for that reason. This is probably the reason why his name was not on the list given to me by the Sultan.

According to Tiele, Hamja was a son of the brother of Sultan Saidudin (*TKI*, VI:203); this is a mistake, however, for he was in fact the son of the brother of Sultan Babulah Datu Sah.

<sup>45</sup> [p. 158, n. 4] Keijzer, in his chronological list, seems to ignore this interim administration completely.

<sup>46</sup> [p. 158, n. 5] This verbal contract is mentioned in Valentijn 1724, Ib:262 and the ratification on p. 264.

<sup>47</sup> [p. 159, n. 1] He became Governor of Ambon in 1637, and was the first Governor to bear the title of Indies Council-Extraordinary. He was also the first head of government to die there and was also buried there (*Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* XIV:527).

<sup>48</sup> [p. 159, n. 2] He does not seem to have visited Ternate (cf. Valentijn 1724, Ib:269, top).

<sup>49</sup> [p. 159, n. 3] This renewal is given in Valentijn 1724, Ib:270, dated June 20, 1638.

1640. Anthonij Caen, tenth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>50</sup>

1642. Wouter Seroujen, eleventh Governor of the Moluccas.

1643. Salahakan Majira replaces Luhu at Ambon.

1647. With the help of the Company, Ternate reconquers the disloyal Gorontalo.

1648. Mandarsah, eighth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>51</sup> Gaspar van den Bogaerde, twelfth Governor of the Moluccas. Eruption of the mountain of Makian on July 13.<sup>52</sup> [p. 160]

1651. Sultan Mandarsah goes to Batavia with de Vlaming<sup>53</sup> and concludes a contract with Governor-General Karel Reinierszoon on January 31, 1652, to abolish the proconsuls at Ambon and to extirpate the clove trees. In return, recognition money is to be given.<sup>54</sup>

1653. Jacob Hustaart, thirteenth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>55</sup> Magiau, tenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>56</sup> Eruption of the mountain at Ternate.

1656. Simon Cos, fourteenth Governor of the Moluccas.

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<sup>50</sup> [p. 159, n. 4] Keijzer writes this name as Antoni Kaan.

<sup>51</sup> [p. 159, n. 5] Valentijn also calls him Manlarsjah or Mandarsjah, corrupted by Riedel (1886?, p. 3) to Mandarasahang.

<sup>52</sup> [p. 159 n. 6] This detail was listed under the year 1647 in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* XIV:524 ff. The date is different from that given by Valentijn of 1646 (1724, Ib:90), [note continues, p. 160 bottom] which was then copied unquestioningly by later writers. Bickmore even adds that in 1646 all the villages on the slope of the mountain were destroyed and that the population had been estimated at 7,000. He does not mention his source.

Whether this eruption ever occurred remains doubtful, since Valentijn would never have neglected to mention the destruction of clove and nutmeg trees. Moreover, at Ternate there exists neither oral nor written tradition about it as there does for the eruption which occurred in 1760.

<sup>53</sup> [p. 160, n. 1] De Vlaming had the title of Superintendent-Commissioner and Admiral of the Moluccas. His instructions can be found in Bokemeijer, Appendix 43.

<sup>54</sup> [p. 160, n. 2] This contract can be found in Valentijn 1724, Ib:292. The Sultan would receive 12,000 rijksdollars annually, Prince Kalamata 500, and the other nobles collectively 1,500, while the chiefs of Makian would be paid off in a single sum of 500 rijksdollars. The islands of Moyau and Tofure are said to have come under Ternatese rule at about this time (Valentijn 1724, Ib:96 and 304).

<sup>55</sup> [p. 160, n. 3] Sometimes written Hustard or Hustard.

<sup>56</sup> [p. 160, n. 4] In places also recorded as Saida, Sahidi, or Saidi "s Compagnies Recht" ["Rights of the Company," de Klerk et al.], p. 29; Haga 1884, I:75; Valentijn 1724, Ib:306 and 311, and Robidé van der Aa (in van Dijk) [sic] p. 465).

1657. Saifudin, eleventh Sultan of Tidore.<sup>57</sup> Sultan Saifudin establishes his seat at Tohula and concludes a verbal agreement with Simon Cos.<sup>58</sup> [p. 161]

1660. Simon Cos concludes a perpetual treaty between the rulers of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan.

1662. Anthonij van Voorst, fifteenth Governor of the Moluccas.

1663. The Spanish leave Ternate, after which the Dutch raze the fortress of Gamlamo by order of the nobility.<sup>59</sup>

1667. Maximilian de Jong, sixteenth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>60</sup> Admiral Cornelis Speelman concludes the first contract in writing with Sultan Saifudin.<sup>61</sup>

1669. Abraham Verspreeet, seventeenth Governor of the Moluccas.

1672. Cornelis Franks, eighteenth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>62</sup>

1673. [Eruption of the mountain Gamkonorah](#) on the west coast of the northern peninsula of Halmahera.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> [p. 160, n. 5] In van der Crab (1862, p. 317) he is considered to have been the first Sultan of Tidore and is called Sifuddin. In “s Compagnies Recht” (“Rights of the Company”) p. 29, his name is given as Kaicil Golofino, which most probably was his name as prince (cf. Haga 1884, I:76, note).

<sup>58</sup> [p. 160, n. 6] The purpose of this verbal contract was primarily the extirpation of clove and nutmeg trees, for which the ruler and nobles received the sum of 2,400 rijksdollars (Valentijn 1724, Ib:102).

<sup>59</sup> [p. 161, n. 1] Veth (in Wallace 1870-1871, II:13, note 5) erroneously states that in this year the fortress at Gamlamo was vacated by the Portuguese. Keijzer, in his chronology, dates the departure of the Spanish to one year later.

<sup>60</sup> [p. 161, n. 2] The Governor had, at that time, the title of Commander (cf. *Realia* I:446 and *Plakaatboek* [*Collection of Edicts*] II:357). One can read on a tombstone in the present warehouse (the former governor’s and resident’s house): “Here lies buried the good Susanna Cater, wife of the Commander Anthonij van Voorst. Died in childbirth and risen to the Lord on January 20, 1667.”

In *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* IX:78, under the year 1669, there is also mention of a Commander or Commissioner, the latter title usually being used in older contracts. At the end of the eighteenth century, at Ternate, the heads of government were given the title of Lord [Dutch, *Heer*].

<sup>61</sup> [p. 161, n. 3] This is dated March 29 and can be found in Valentijn 1724, Ib:108.

<sup>62</sup> [p. 161, n. 4] By the orders of the Seventeen Lords, in that year a political council on Ternate was formed. It was comprised of the following members: a president, a chief merchant (*secunde*), a captain, a judge advocate, the garrison bookkeeper, the storekeeper, and a secretary (*Plakaatboek* [*Collection of Edicts*] II:553). This was later amended (*Plakaatboek* III:18).

1675. Kaicil Sibori Amsterdam, ninth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>64</sup> [p. 162] Willem Korput, nineteenth Governor of the Moluccas.

1676. Jacob de Ghein is appointed Commissioner, since the twentieth Governor, David Harthouwer, dies on the journey from Makassar to Ternate.<sup>65</sup>

1677. Robbert Padtbrugge, twenty-first Governor of the Moluccas.

1680. Sultan Amsterdam rebels against the Dutch and flees.

1681. He is apprehended at Sawu [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] and taken to the fortress of Oranje, and then sent to Batavia.<sup>66</sup> Padtbrugge brings the Sangi Islands, Menado, Gorontalo, and other areas once again under the rule of the Sultan of Ternate.

1682. Jacob Lobs, twenty-second Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>67</sup>

1683. According to the contract with Sultan Amsterdam concluded at Batavia, the sultanate of Ternate becomes a fief of the Company.<sup>68</sup> Sultan Amsterdam returns to Ternate.

1686. Johan Henrik Thim, twenty-third Governor of the Moluccas. [p. 163]

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<sup>63</sup> [p. 161, n. 5] One can find a very vivid representation of this eruption in Valentijn 1724, Ib:332. The unknown writer of the Notes states that this eruption occurred in 1736 (see Ib:210).

<sup>64</sup> [p. 161, n. 6] According to van der Crab, Sultan Amsterdam ruled until 1691, but according [note continues, p. 162 bottom] to Valentijn he ruled until 1690 (1724, Ib:360). He sent an envoy to Batavia in 1675, with whom the Supreme Authorities concluded a treaty on January 7, 1676; it was then ratified by the Sultan on October 12 of that year. In this treaty the Sultan abandoned all rights and claims ever made to all lands, islands, and places in the provinces of Ambon. This was due to the shameful rebellions of his proconsuls, especially on Buru, Amblau, Boano, and Kelang (“Rapport over ‘s Compagnies Recht” [“Report on the Rights of the Company”], p. 10). On that occasion the Sultan was given a gold medal and chain (*Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* XIV:187).

<sup>65</sup> [p. 162, n. 1] Keijzer failed to point out that this Governor never reached Ternate.

<sup>66</sup> [p. 162, n. 2] Concerning his reception at Batavia, see Valentijn 1724, Ib:350.

<sup>67</sup> [p. 162, n. 3] By a deed of sale dated May 9, 1682, the Island of Obi and its dependencies were handed over to the Dutch East India Company by the Sultan of Bacan, Alwadin, for the sum of 700 rijksdollars.

<sup>68</sup> [p. 162, n. 4] The chief contents of this contract can be found on p. 11 of the “Rapport van’s Compagnies Recht.” To bind the Sultan closer to the Company, the following sums were given in place of the earlier recognition money: the Sultan received 6,400 rijksdollars, the Ternatese nobles 600, the Makian chiefs 2,000 and the Sangajis of Moti 150 (see Valentijn 1724, Ib:352). The contract is dated July 7.

1689. Johannes Cops, twenty-fourth Governor of the Moluccas. Dirk de Haas is sent from Ambon to Ternate as Commissioner of the three eastern governorships.<sup>69</sup> Hamja Faharudin, twelfth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>70</sup>

1690. Death of Sultan Amsterdam; state affairs are supervised by the nobles for the interim period.

1692. Kornelis van der Duin, twenty-fifth Governor of the Moluccas. Kaicil Toloko, tenth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>71</sup>

1696. Salomon le Sage, twenty-sixth Governor of the Moluccas.

1700. Abul Falalal Mansur, thirteenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>72</sup>

1701. Pieter Rooselaar, twenty-seventh Governor of the Moluccas.

1705. Dampier taken prisoner at Bacan and sent to Batavia.

1706. Jacob Claaszoon, twenty-eighth Governor of the Moluccas.

1708. Hasanudin, fourteenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>73</sup>

1710. David van Petersom, twenty-ninth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>74</sup>

1714. Rajalaut, eleventh Sultan of Ternate.<sup>75</sup> [p. 164]

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<sup>69</sup> [p. 163, n. 1] In "Rapport van 's Compagnies Recht," p. 56, the name is recorded as De Haze.

<sup>70</sup> [p. 163, n. 2] Elsewhere this ruler is called Asam Hamja Fahrudin or Hamja Vaharudin. The contract was renewed when he came to the throne on July 31.

<sup>71</sup> [p. 163, n. 3] In van der Crab, the name is given as Sultan Said Fathulah. This is one of his titles, not his name. Van der Crab does not know how long this ruler reigned; nor does he know the duration of the rule of the next six rulers. The Sultan of Ternate told me that Toloko ruled until 1126 A.H. = 1714 A.D.

<sup>72</sup> [p. 163, n. 4] Valentijn confuses this ruler with his predecessor, for he reports (1724, Ib:112) that Hamza Faharuddin was also called Abul Falal el Mantsuri. Therefore, what he says about the Sultan's relations with the governors applies in part to Abul Falalal Mansur. In van der Crab he is called Abal Vadrilal Mansur, and the duration of his reign is uncertain.

<sup>73</sup> [p. 163, n. 5] The contract is dated January 2, 1709.

<sup>74</sup> [p. 163, n. 6] The tombstones of Petersom and Happon can be found in the present church of the Protestant congregation. According to the engravings on these tombs, Petersom died on June 24, 1714, and Happon on February 5, 1727.

<sup>75</sup> [p. 163, n. 7] In van der Crab it is not stated how long this Sultan reigned, although it is mentioned in the Notes on Naidah. According to the records of the Sultan, he reigned until 1165 A.H. = 1751 A.D.

1715. Jacob Bottendorp, thirtieth Governor of the Moluccas.

1720. Antoni Heinsius, thirty-first Governor of the Moluccas. Cornelis Hasselaar sent to Ternate as Commissioner.

1723. Jacob Cloeck, thirty-second Governor of the Moluccas.

1724. Joan Happon, thirty-third Governor of the Moluccas.

1728. Amir Bifallilajij, fifteenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>76</sup> Jacob Christiaen Pielat, thirty-fourth Governor of the Moluccas. As part of a peace treaty between Ternate and Tidore, the Company is granted the right to build a fortress at Patani, and the district is returned to Tidore.

1731. Elias de Haeze, thirty-fifth Governor of the Moluccas.

1734. Johannes Bernard, Counsellor-Extraordinary and Commissioner.<sup>77</sup>

1735. Paulus Rouwenhoff, thirty-sixth Governor of the Moluccas.

1737. A lava stream from the mountain causes the “Burned Corner” on the island of Ternate.<sup>78</sup> Martinus Storm, thirty-seventh Governor of the Moluccas.

1739. Marten Lelieveld, thirty-eighth Governor of the Moluccas.

1744. Gerrard van Brandwijk van Blokland, thirty-ninth Governor of the Moluccas. [p. 165]

1748. Through the mediation of the Governor, a reconciliation is effected between Ternate and Tidore.

1750. J.E. van Mijlendonk, fortieth Governor of the Moluccas.

1751. Kaicil Outhoorn Insah, twelfth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> [p. 164, n. 1] In van der Crab this Sultan is called Amir Mohidin, and in Haga he is called Mira Bisalalihi. The contract is dated June 21.

<sup>77</sup> [p. 164, n. 2] Governor de Haeze and Commissioner Bernard concluded new contracts on June 23, 1733 and December 11, 1734, the chief contents of which can be found in Haga 1884, I:213 ff.

<sup>78</sup> [p. 164, n. 3] According to the archives of the Sultan, [the Burned Corner](#) (better known at Ternate as Duko Gulaba) came into being on the 22nd of *Dulkangidah*, 1149 A.H., which is March 10, 1737 A.D., when red hot stones streamed at intervals for three days in large quantities down this mountain ridge towards the sea. Since I do not have a more reliable source, I have used this archival information; the dates given by Bleeker, von Rosenberg, and van der Crab (the latter, more detailed, in *TKI*, p. 481) may be considered unreliable. The thickness of the layer of stones has never been examined. Bik's statement in *TBG XIV:150* is mere supposition.

1752. Makian reunites with the Sultanate of Ternate (contract of June 24).

1754. Abraham Abeleven, forty-first Governor of the Moluccas. Sahmardan, thirteenth Sultan of Ternate.

1756. Jamaludin, sixteenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>80</sup>

1758. Jacob van Schoonderwoert, forty-second Governor of the Moluccas.

1760. Violent eruption of Mount Makian on September 11.<sup>81</sup>

1763. Zwaardekroon, fourteenth Sultan of Ternate.

1766. Hendrik Breton, forty-third Governor of the Moluccas.

1767. Hermanus Munnik, forty-fourth Governor of the Moluccas.

1768. Sultan Jamaludin gives up all claims to Ceram and surrounding islands.<sup>82</sup> Beginning of the discord with Nuku.

1771. Paulus Jacob Valckenaer, forty-fifth Governor of the Moluccas.

1777. Kaicil Arunsah, fifteenth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>83</sup> The practice of sending Alfuru troops to Menado to prevent pirate attacks dates from this time (see under 1864). [p. 166]

1778. Jacob Roeland Thomaszen, forty-sixth Governor of the Moluccas.

1779. Sultan Jamaludin and the nobles commit the sovereignty of the Sultanate of Tidore to the Company in a public memorandum.

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<sup>79</sup> [p. 165, n. 1] The dates for his reign and for those of the next three Sultans were given to me by the present Sultan. A few of the dates given by van der Crab (in *TKI*) are less correct.

<sup>80</sup> [p. 165, n. 2] According to van der Crab, he came to the throne on February 7, 1757. It is, however, the date of the confirmation of his appointment by the Government.

<sup>81</sup> [p. 165, n. 3] This is the earliest eruption of that mountain that is known on Ternate. According to the Chronicle of the Sultan, it took place on Monday night on the 11th of the month of Safar in the year 1174 A.H. How many people lost their lives on this occasion was not mentioned, but it was reported that the people who fled from Makian lived for seven years at Daulasi on the island of Ternate. (Cf. Veth, in Wallace 1870-1871, I:29 note 6, from which it appears that Pijnappel was well informed.)

<sup>82</sup> [p. 165, n. 4] He did this in a contract dated June 12, 1768, ratified on July 20 by the Sultan in a separate deed (see Haga 1884, I:262).

<sup>83</sup> [p. 165, n. 5] In van der Crab, p. 296, the name is given as Arum Syah or Hinun Syah. (See note 79 above [p. 165, n. 1].)

1780. Alexander Cornabé, forty-seventh Governor of the Moluccas. Ahral, sixteenth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>84</sup> Patra Alam, seventeenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>85</sup>

1783. Tidorese revolution; Tidore taken by surprise and punished. Sultan Patra Alam deposed and sent into exile on Java.

1784. Kamaludin, eighteenth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>86</sup>

1793. J. Ekenholm, forty-eighth Governor of the Moluccas.

1796. Johan Godfried Budach, forty-ninth Governor of the Moluccas. Sarka or Sarkan, seventeenth Sultan of Ternate.

1797. Sultan Kamaludin flees from Tidore to Ternate. [p. 167] The English come to Ternate under E. Packenham and demand that the British protectorate be acknowledged. After Budach's refusal they leave for Menado. Nuku captures Tidore and becomes the nineteenth Sultan of that state under the name of Mohamadani Mabus Amirudin.

1798. Second demand for Ternate by the English, again refused by Budach.

1799. Third demand by the English under Commodore Hills; Budach refuses to surrender Ternate. Willem Jacob Cranssen, fiftieth Governor of the Moluccas.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> [p. 166, n. 1] In van der Crab: Achraal. In *TKI*, p. 472 note 57, van der Crab claims that this Sultan came to the throne in 1793.

<sup>85</sup> [p. 166, n. 2] The deed of investiture for this ruler was drawn up in Batavia. It was signed and the oath was taken on July 17, 1780, at Castle Oranje on Ternate. Article 16 reads: "The King and Nobles promise in their capacity as vassals to the Company, in its capacity as Liege Lord and Protector, to send annually to the Governor-General and the Indies Councils, as a token of their loyalty and obedience, and as homage, besides their letters, two male slaves, two female slaves, ten cockatoos, and ten parrots with red heads, without the Company desiring more than that, as is described in the letters of the King and the Nobles, and that these serfs and birds will be sent there and given to the Governor or whoever is in authority on Ternate."

Article 25 fixes the annual payments at 2,800 rijksdollars for the Sultan and Nobles of Tidore, 362.5 for the officials of Maba, 387.5 for those of Weda, and 237.5 for those of Patani.

The appointment of this ruler took place in April 1780, after the death of Prince Gaigira, who had been provisionally appointed Regent by the authorities at Ternate. Haga (1884, I:296) wrongly writes of "Sultan" Gaigira, though a Sultan bearing this name is not known in the Sultanate of Tidore.

<sup>86</sup> [p. 166, n. 3] He was appointed at Batavia, in a deed of investiture signed on October 18 by the Governor-General, Dr. W.A. Alting, and the Council. The next year he returned to Ternate.

<sup>87</sup> [p. 167, n. 2] The heroic defense of Ternate under Governor Budach has been described in detail by Leupe (*BKI*, p. 262). According to an old escutcheon, preserved at Ternate, Budach died there in January 1800.

In recognition of the help given by the Ternatense, the Jogugu (as Major-Prang) Saptu and the Marsaole (as Captain-Prang) Patuseranga received, to wear on the left breast, a silver shield with a

*1801.* Mohamad Yasin, eighteenth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>88</sup> Ternate surrenders to the English on June 21, after Cranssen is treacherously taken prisoner by van Dockum and Rodijk.<sup>89</sup> [p. 168] K.T. Farquhar, British Resident of Ternate. The accession of Nuku to Sultan of Tidore is recognized by the English.

*1803.* H. Webber, British Resident of Ternate. Retrocession of Ternate to the Dutch.<sup>90</sup> Peter Adrianus Goldbach, fifty-first Governor of the Moluccas.

*1804.* Carel Lodewijk Wieling, fifty-second Governor of the Moluccas. Ternate is provisionally subordinated to Ambon.

*1805.* Complications with Tidore; death of Sultan Amirudin. Mohamad Jainalabidin, twentieth Sultan of Tidore.<sup>91</sup>

*1806.* The Tidorese forts captured by the Dutch; Sultan Mohamad Jainalabidin flees. The headmen of Makian place themselves directly under the European administration. This action, however, is later rejected by the supreme authorities.

*1807.* Mohamad Ali, nineteenth Sultan of Ternate.<sup>92</sup> The authorities receive notice that in 1806 the Batavian Republic had changed its status and elected the French [p. 169] imperial prince Louis Napoleon as King of Holland.

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gold lion in the center, rounded by a gold wreath with the circumscription "Ternatese loyalty in the year 1800." Saptu died on October 27, 1843, and Patuseranga on August 22, 1839; their shields are still kept by their descendants. Van der Crab's claim (1862, p. 262) that on this occasion Fort Oranje was afraid to resist has been sufficiently disproved by Leupe, cited above.

<sup>88</sup> [p. 167, n. 2] In van der Crab: Mohamad Jassim.

<sup>89</sup> [p. 167, n. 3] For [this event](#) see: de Roo, "J.W. Cranssen at Ternate," *TBG* p. 503, and [Appendix IV](#), below, "A Native Opinion concerning the Dutch Betrayal." Until now van der Lith (1875, p. 226) is the only one who has dated the subjection of Ternate to the English as occurring in 1802.

<sup>90</sup> [p. 168, n. 1] The commission designated to take over and reestablish the three Eastern provinces on behalf of the Batavian Republic consisted of W.J. Cranssen, Esq., entitled Governor and Director of Malacca, C.L. Wieling, Esq., Deputy Chief Merchant and entitled Deputy Commissioner of the province of Ambon, and Abraham Melissen, Esq., Colonel and Commander of the Fleet. They arrived at Ternate with the brig *Avonturier* and the corvette *The William* in the month of August, after the preliminary work had been carried out by A.A. Buijskes and P.A. Goldbach in May (see Leupe in *TKI*, pp. 202 ff.).

<sup>91</sup> [p. 168, n. 2] It is said that he was never acknowledged since he had proclaimed himself Sultan without prior knowledge of the authorities.

<sup>92</sup> [p. 168, n. 3] The contract with this ruler is dated Castle Oranje, May 16, 1807. Sub. art. 14 says: "The King and Nobles promise to supply annually to their Liege Lord and Protector, the East India Company, as a token of their loyalty, free of cost, two male slaves, two female slaves, ten cockatoos, and ten parrots with red heads." Later contracts do not have this obligation.

1809. R. Coop à Groen, fifty-third Governor of the Moluccas. Joh. P. Von Mittmann, civil and military Commissioner.

1810. Surrender of Ternate to the English under Captain Tucker.<sup>93</sup> Mohamad Tahir, twenty-first Sultan of Tidore.<sup>94</sup>

1811. Captain Forbes, civil and military Commander, and after him W. Ewer, British Residents of Ternate.<sup>95</sup>

1813. W.G. Mackenzie, British Resident of Ternate.

1814. Through the mediation of W.B. Martin, the representative of the British Government in the Moluccas, a treaty of peace and friendship is concluded between the Sultans of Ternate and Tidore.<sup>96</sup>

1815. R. Stuart, British Resident of Ternate.

1816. W.G. Mackenzie, British Resident of Ternate.

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<sup>93</sup> [p. 169, n. 1] This surrender has been described by J. Bousquet in *TBG*, p. 87.

<sup>94</sup> [p. 169, n. 2] Erroneously called Mohamad Tahor by van der Crab.

<sup>95</sup> [p. 169, n. 3] Resident Ewer, authorized by W.B. Martin, Resident for all affairs of the Honorable East India Company in the Moluccas, concluded a treaty with Sultan Mohamad Ali on November 5, 1811.

<sup>96</sup> [p. 169, n. 4] The main articles of this treaty can be found in Haga 1884, I:459.

### III

#### **From the Restoration of Dutch Authority to the Present Time, 1817-1888**

1817. Resolution passed by Commissioners on April 5 to take over the islands.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with that Resolution, the following are appointed [p. 170] Commissioners to take over Ternate and its dependencies: J. Groot, Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of H.M. the King of the Netherlands, commanding officer of the frigate *Maria Reigersbergen*, and J.A. Neijs, Administrator of Ambon. The latter is also appointed provisional Resident.

The frigate *Maria Reigersbergen* arrives at Ternate on April 24 and the handing over from the British Resident W.G. Mackenzie is effected on April 30.

The sale of linen continues, with the stipulation that it be conducted by a dealer who agrees on a five percent return.

The Resident Neijs is temporarily placed at the disposal of Rear-Admiral and Commissioner-General of the Dutch Indies A.A. Buijskes; during this period Neijs is replaced by J.P. Hulft van Hoorn (September).

Departure to Ambon of twenty kora-koras with approximately fifteen hundred Alfurus to serve as auxiliaries to our troops during the revolt at Saparua (September).<sup>2</sup>

Spices continue to be supplied by the rulers to the Government of the Dutch Indies at the price of 20 rijksdollars per picul of nutmeg and 30 rijksdollars per picul of mace.

The Commissioner N. Engelhard concludes a treaty with Sultan Mohamad Ali on September 16. Article 14 provides for the total extirpation of clove and nutmeg trees; article 20 grants an annual subsidy of 16,320 Indies guilders, of which 11,200 are for the Sultan; [p. 171] 1,600 for the nobles; 3,200 for the headmen of Makian; and 320 for the headmen of Moti.

A day later a similar treaty is concluded with Sultan Mohamad Tahir of Tidore: an annual subsidy of 12,800 Indies guilders is granted and the original division is later changed as of January 1, 1821, so that the Sultan receives 6,400, the nobles 2,000, the headmen of the island of Tidore 2,200 and those of Maba, Weda, and Patani also 2,200 guilders.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 169, n. 5] The Commissioners were N. Engelhard and J.A. van Middelkoop; Middelkoop also acted as Governor. Article 3 of the treaty concluded on August 17, 1814, between the United Netherlands and H.M. the King of Great [note continues, p. 170 bottom] Britain stipulated: "Les places et forts dans les colonies et établissements, lesquels doivent être cédés et échangés par les deux Hautes parties contractantes en vertu des deux articles précédents, seront remis dans l'état où ils se trouveront au moment de la signature de la présente convention."

<sup>2</sup> [p. 170, n. 1] The medal and chain with which Sultan Mohamad Ali was rewarded for this assistance is described in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* XI:233.

1818. Sultan Mohamad Tahir and the nobles of Tidore complain to the Commissioner-General about the cession of the districts of Maba, Weda, and Patani on Halmahera to Sultan Muda, Prince Mohamad Jamaludin, during the British rule.<sup>3</sup>

Sultan Muda is brought from Bicoli on the barque *Venus*, commanded by van Schuler; he is exiled to Java. The above-mentioned districts are returned to Tidore (February and March).

J.A. Neijs returns to Ternate and takes over the administration from Hulft van Hoorn; he acts as first Resident (August).

1820. Commission for the Moluccas, consisting of Mr. H.J. van de Graaff, Chief Inspector, and G.F. Meijlan, Inspector of Finances (April to September, on Ternate).<sup>4</sup> [p. 172]

1821. Death of Sultan Mohamad Tahir (November 17).

1822. The former Sultan of Palembang, Makhmud Badarudin, arrives at Ternate, where he has been exiled with his retinue, on the frigate *Melampus*, commanded by de Man.<sup>5</sup>

On April 16, Sarmole van der Parra is proclaimed twentieth Sultan of Ternate; on April 19, Akhmadul Mansur is proclaimed twenty-second Sultan of Tidore. New agreements are concluded with both rulers.

The village of Kolongcucu on the island of Buton is plundered and destroyed by the people of Tobungku with the help of pirates from Mangindano and the so-called Rajah Jailolo. The inhabitants are carried away as slaves.

1823. Death of Sultan van der Parra (October 11).

Mohamad Jain, twenty-first Sultan of Ternate (December).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> [p. 171, n. 1] These complaints were mainly based on violation by England of the contracts of 1810 and 1814, by which the Sultan had been left in undivided possession of the Tidorese State.

<sup>4</sup> [p. 171, n. 2] The Report of this Commission, the historical overview of which was included in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* XI, later appeared in its entirety in *Ibid.* XVIII:73 ff.

<sup>5</sup> [p. 172, n. 1] In addition to a subsidy of f 800 per month, the Sultan and his retinue received food and clothing at the Government's expense. He always behaved very peaceably and died at the age of 89 on November 26, 1852. The survivors returned to Palembang in 1864.

Van Rijn van Alkemade is probably correct in calling this ruler Makhmud Bahaudin (*Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* VII:68), but I have followed the official spelling.

<sup>6</sup> [p. 172, n. 2] Van der Crab confuses this ruler with his predecessor (p. 226). His coming to the throne occurred without the agreement of Abu Hair, who had earlier been designated as successor to the throne by the Government. The treaty concluded with him is dated April 8, 1824.

1824. Governor-General van der Capellen visits Ternate (May).

The contracts with the Sultans Mohamad Jain and Akhmad are confirmed [p. 173] with a few amendments in one deed of investiture by the Governor-General in Castle Orange<sup>7</sup> on May 27.<sup>8</sup>

According to article 19, the Government will pay 10 pennies per pound for cloves, 12 pennies for mace, and 8 pennies for nutmeg.

The practice of giving recognition money to the Sultan of Tidore is continued unchanged; the amount for Ternate is increased to f 17,400, to be divided as follows: the Sultan receives f 11,200 annually, the nobles and heads of Moti f 3,000, and the heads of Makian f 3,200.

During the visit of the Governor-General it is decided that the residency of Ternate will consist of Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera, and Bacan with its dependencies extending from the islands of Rau and Morotai in the north to the Sula Islands in the south and including the Papuan Islands (Waigeu, Salawati, and Misol) and that part of New Guinea which is under the sovereignty of Tidore, as well as the districts of Batanta and Mandonu, which are situated on the east coast of Celebes to the south of Cape Valsch or Taliabu and ruled by the Sultan of Ternate. The Rajahship of Banggai, consisting of the islands of Peleng and Banggai, and the Rajahship of Tombuku (Tobungku), which lies further south, are also included in the residency.

Establishments are set up at Galela and Bicoli on Halmahera, under delegates with the rank of Assistant-Resident, both of whom have a garrison at their disposal consisting of one sergeant and fifteen men. These are later replaced by [p. 174] civilians who volunteer in return for payment.<sup>9</sup>

1825. The Rajah of Tobungku, Kaicil Papa, tries to break away from the authority of the Sultan of Ternate by not paying him the usual homage, which he had paid to the former Sultan. After his death in mid-1825 his widow succeeds him according to the custom of the country. She immediately sends a delegation to Ternate to announce her accession to office, professing her submission to the Ternatese Sultanate, and at the same time asking for help against the opposition party.

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<sup>7</sup> [p. 172, n. 3] This is the present Fort Oranje, where the heads of government lived until the earthquake of 1840 (see *Journal*, p. 309). In official documents it is always called "castle" and then usually "Orange" instead of Oranje.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 173, n. 1] The major differences between this and earlier contracts are: final abolition of the practice of extirpating spice trees; the promise of the rulers to have their administration follow the advice and directions of the Dutch officials; the stationing of officials at Galela and Bicoli; and the supply of all spices at fixed prices to the Government (cf. *Journal*, p. 314).

<sup>9</sup> [p. 174, n. 1] In order to economize, these posts were eliminated on January 1, 1827.

1826. A kora-kora fleet leaves for Tobungku under the command of Lieutenant G. Lockemeijer, captain of the H.M. schooner *Daphne*, and the Ternatese headman, Kapita Laut Prince Abu Maha. The recalcitrant elements are subdued.<sup>10</sup>

1827. Under escort by Major Kayanu, two hundred and fifty-two men, women, and children return via [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] Sailolof to Salawati, professing that they had been forced to take refuge in Ceram because of the high-handedness of Rajah Jailolo.

An agricultural commission is set up for Ternate (September); at the initiative of this commission, clove and nutmeg trees, coffee, cocoa, cotton, and pepper are planted on a small scale.<sup>11</sup> [p. 175]

As desired by H.M. the King, the Board of the N.H. Company sends the American ship *Logan* under Captain Coffin on an expedition to the Pacific to investigate whale hunting. The Resident of Ternate receives the order to treat the ship, upon arrival, in the same manner as Dutch ships, with the exception that no payment of dues should be demanded.<sup>12</sup>

1828. Articles 18, 19, and 20 of the treaty concluded with the Sultans of Ternate and Tidore on May 27, 1824, are declared void, and the subjects of these rulers are given the authority to sell their spices, on the explicit condition that these spices be transported to Ternate.<sup>13</sup>

The brig *Nederland* and the ship *Jadulkarim* leave on May 21 for Samarang with five hundred and sixty-two Alfurus and Ternatese under a Major of the Ternatese court to serve as auxiliary troops in the Java war. They are followed, on July 23, by the brig *De Hoop* with two hundred and ninety Tidorese.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> [p. 174, n. 2] From this time dates the sojourn of many refugees from the Butonese kampong of Koloncucu in the kampong of the same name at Ternate. They wanted to return to their land in 1855 because of dissatisfaction with the Sultan's administration. Their disputes were settled through the intermediary assistance of Resident Tobias.

<sup>11</sup> [p. 174, n. 3] These crops are found all over the Residency, but there is neither the money nor the labor force to expand their cultivation.

It is odd that Temminck (1849, III:130) explains these and other measures in 1849 as "d'avoir contribué si puissamment à la prospérité de ces parties intéressantes de nos possessions."

<sup>12</sup> [p. 175, n. 1] This experiment seems to have failed. I have not been able to find any record of this ship visiting Ternate.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 175, n. 2] The agreement concluded between the two rulers on the one hand and the Governor of the Moluccan Islands, Dr. P. Merkus, on the other hand is dated February 19, 1828, at Castle Oranje on Ternate.

<sup>14</sup> [p. 175, n. 3] The Tidorese returned on June 3, 1830, with the ship *Johanna Maria Wilhelmina* under Captain Ross; the Ternatese returned on June 29 with the Nawam Ali Usur and Captain K. de Looper.

1829. The Rajah of Banggai, incited by some roving Bugis, among whom is a certain Daeng Mangajae, rebels against the Sultan of Ternate. He drives away the Sultan's envoy with two kora-koras, then flees to Mandonu where he is captured. He is taken to Ternate and deposed as Rajah.

1830. J.H.J. Moorrees, second Resident of Ternate. The handing over of the administration does not take place until April 30, 1831, [p. 176] as the Governor of the Moluccas keeps the new functionary waiting for some time.<sup>15</sup>

*Cholera morbus* claims many victims.

1833. The cultivation of spices is completely abandoned by the natives, in spite of the fact that the monopoly has been abolished. The agricultural commission exists in name only.

1834. A fierce fire, fanned by a strong northwesterly wind after a prolonged drought, destroys a part of the Chinese camp and many houses belonging to Christian natives at the capital Ternate (January 23). The fire could not be extinguished by human effort.

A.J. van Olpen, third Resident of Ternate (May).<sup>16</sup>

Founding of a government primary school in the capital (August).

1837. On board H.M. frigate *Bellona*, Prince Hendrik of the Netherlands visits the main villages of Ternate and Tidore (April).

1839. D.F.H. Helbach, fourth Resident of Ternate (April).

A kora-kora fleet of the Sultan of Ternate leaves for Tobungku, where a rebellion has broken out. The mutineers are defeated.

1840. Violent eruption of Ternate's volcano. On February 2, tremors are felt which recur on the 3rd and become shocks on the 13th. On the 14th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the most severe shaking occurs, after which not a single house in the capital is habitable.<sup>17</sup> [p. 177]

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<sup>15</sup> [p. 176, n. 1] The retired Resident Neijs stayed on at Ternate. Two pyramid-shaped pillars in the old European graveyard indicate the place where he and his wife were buried.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 176, n. 2] In a Resolution of the Indies Government dated November 10, 1834, No. 12, a carriage, painted yellow with gilded edges, was to be sent to the Sultan of Ternate as a token of the Government's affection. While the same carriage is still used as the state carriage, the step has been replaced with a lamp step because it had become rotten.

<sup>17</sup> [p. 176, n. 3] Years later, a thanksgiving day was held on February 14 by the local residents in the church of the [note continues, p. 177 bottom] Protestant congregation in remembrance of their good fortune in not having perished with their wives and children in 1840 in the subterranean fire.

In recognition of the help provided during this earthquake, the Government gave to the Sultan of Ternate a set of table silver, and to the Sultan of Tidore a silver tea service.

Destruction from the eruption itself is less significant, since the ejection of ash and stone occurs to the northwest, a side of the mountain that is not inhabited.

The station of the Sultan of Ternate at Tobungku is ransacked by the people with the help of the Bugis, and most of the garrison are murdered.<sup>18</sup>

1841. During the first few months of this year more than six thousand people die of infantile disease on the Banggai Islands alone.

A hongki fleet leaves for Tobungku in October and, with the help of Banggai, succeeds in quelling the revolt. The Ternatese hongki plunders Peleng and the villages of Mandono and Kentong, which had remained loyal.

1842. The foundation stone is laid for the present residency (May 30), although the move is not made until two years later.<sup>19</sup>

1843. The mountain emits a lot of ash and smoke, but only a few tremors occur (April and May).

Disarmament of the forts at Kayumerah, Kotabaru, Toloko, and Bululu ma-Dehe or the so-called King's Head.

1844. The English war frigate *Samarang*, commanded by E. Belcher, sends sloops into the Strait of Patience, near the shore. They come to blows near the isle of Woda [p. 178] with a hongki fleet returning from New Guinea (June). The English later claim that the Tidorese started the hostilities.

1845. The Kapita Kie Hamja is sent with the hongki of Tidore to Ceram to capture the leaders of the agitators there (February). This expedition is successful and he is back in July.

1846. Riots in Banggai; Rajah Agama rebels against the rule of the Sultan of Ternate; two war kora-koras leave for Banggai (October).

1847. C.M. Visser, fifth Resident of Ternate, arrives in February, although appointed in June of the previous year.

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<sup>18</sup> [p. 177, n. 1] On this occasion Rajah Dukakombi, appointed by the Sultan, was deposed and replaced by a Buginese prince, Daeng Makala, who was replaced in turn by Rajah Papa on January 5, 1848.

<sup>19</sup> [p. 177, n. 2] In earlier days the heads of government lived at Fort Oranje in a building whose upper story was later demolished and which has since served as a warehouse. A marble slab in the front wall of the present house indicates that Jan Helbach, son of the Resident, laid the foundation stone.

The Rajah of Banggai, with the help of the Bugis, flees to Tojo, where he is followed by the expedition sent after him (April). From there he manages to escape to Boni.

The Resident of Borneo's west coast, A.L. Weddik, becomes Government-Commissioner for the Moluccas.

He visits Ternate from August 11 to September 5 and leaves Assistant-Resident Willer behind to carry out an investigation into the affairs of Halmahera. Weddik comes back on October 3; he visits the villages of Sawu, Jailolo, and Sidangoli from October 14 to 19; discusses the Papuan affairs with the head of Gebe on the 27th; and leaves for Surabaya on H.M. schooner *Pylades* on November 9.

A few headmen of Makian come to Ternate to complain about the Sangaji of Ngofakiaha (December).

*1848.* Several headmen of Makian request to be placed directly under the administration of the Government. The request is denied.

*1849.* Continued revolt against the Ternatese administration. The Utusan of the Sultan and a clerk are turned out by the population (February). [p. 179]

The Resident proceeds to Makian in April on H.M. brig *De Zwaluw*, commanded by Noordduijn, but has to return with nothing achieved. A few rebels even go to Mare under the Sultan of Tidore, but he allows them to be taken from there.

On June 28, *De Zwaluw* leaves again for Makian with a detachment of soldiers and an armed fleet of the Sultan of Ternate. After some resistance the main culprits are apprehended and calm is restored.<sup>20</sup>

*1850.* H.M. schooner *Circe*, commanded by Brutel de la Rivière, goes to New Guinea with the delegate D.J. van den Dungen Gronovius (March).<sup>21</sup>

Sea captain C. van der Hart makes a journey with the ships *Argo* and *Bromo* to the east coast of Celebes, the Banggai Islands, and the Sula Islands.<sup>22</sup>

Resident Visser, appointed Governor of the Moluccas, leaves for Ambon (August). The Secretary is entrusted with the administration.

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 179, n. 1] Lauts, who reports this expedition (1866, III:332), neglects to mention the date. Bokemeijer (1888, p. 342) makes of this rebellion a *blütige Erhebung*.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 179, n. 2] See Haga 1884, II:97 for the failure of this journey and further details. Escutcheons were placed at Ati-Ati, Merkusoord, Lakahia, Doré, Ron, Ansus, and Soweik.

<sup>22</sup> [p. 179, n. 3] The report submitted to the Government about this trip contains little that furthers our knowledge of these regions.

Repeated piracies in the Banggai archipelago and on the east coast of Celebes. Revius is sent there to take stock of the situation. He proposes to set up a station in the Salampe area of the Bay of Tomori.

1851. C. Sluijter is inaugurated as sixth Resident of Ternate on February 12.<sup>23</sup>  
[p. 180]

Alleged claims by Boni to the possessions of the Sultan of Ternate in Banggai and Tobungku are dismissed by the Government as illegal.

Resident Sluijter is transferred to Banda.

W.L. van Guericke, seventh Resident of Ternate (October).

1852. Jhr. C.F. Goldmann, eighth Resident of Ternate (June).

H.M. steamer *Vesuvius*, commanded by P.A. Matthijsen, with the Assistant-Resident C. Bosscher on board, is sent to Banggai and Tobungku to inaugurate the newly appointed Rajahs and at the same time to look for a suitable place for an establishment (November).

1853. The *Vesuvius* returns to Ternate (January), having failed to find a suitable place for an establishment since the Bay of Tomori consists of marsh and steep rocks.<sup>24</sup>

Repeated reports concerning pirates in Moluccan waters (December).

1854. The ports of Ambon, Banda, Ternate, and Kayeli are opened for free trade.<sup>25</sup>

Severe fevers resulting in death rage almost the whole year throughout the islands as far as New Guinea.

1855. Pirates penetrate as far as Makian, Moti, and Mare, kidnapping many people and burning several villages (May).

J.L. de Dieu Stierling, ninth Resident of Ternate (June).

Severe earthquake; heavy tremors with subterranean [p. 181] noise; all Government buildings are damaged (June 14).

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<sup>23</sup> [p. 179, n. 4] For succeeding Residents, it is the month in which the administration was taken over from their predecessor or the secretary, and not the decree of appointment, that is followed.

<sup>24</sup> [p. 180, n. 1] The Report on this trip was given by the Government to the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* and included in Vol. II of its *Tijdschrift*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>25</sup> [p. 180, n. 2] See the statement dated June 30 (Statute Book, no. 46). Haga (1884, II:102) confuses the date of the decree of September 1853 with the date of promulgation.

A second shock on July 14, more severe than the first, results in several houses collapsing and the death of a few people.<sup>26</sup>

Tobelo on northeast Halmahera is bombarded by H.M. [ship] *Vesuvius* and set on fire because the population refuses to hand over the escaped pirate leader Laba (July).<sup>27</sup>

Governor-General Duijmaer van Twist visits Ternate (September).

1856. J.H. Tobias, tenth Resident of Ternate (April).

Expedition to Tomori to end the continual disputes with Tobungku; the kampongs Ensaondau and Umasimbatu are stormed and taken (May and June).<sup>28</sup>

Death of Sultan Akhmadul Mansur of Tidore (July 11).

1857. Akhmad Safiudin, twenty-third Sultan of Tidore (March).<sup>29</sup> [p. 182]

C. Bosscher, eleventh Resident of Ternate (November).

Suspension of hostilities between Tomori and Tobungku (December).

1858. Ternatese and Tidorese auxiliary troops are sent to Ambon to fight the insurgent Alfurus on Ceram (January). They contribute much to the victory over the rebels of Mani, Sahulaut, and Elpaputi.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> [p. 181, n. 1] Bleeker (1856, I:166) seems to have doubted the severity of these earthquakes. The report in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* XVII(2):415 estimates the damage at f 50,000.

<sup>27</sup> [p. 181, n. 2] He was later captured and exiled to Benkulen.

<sup>28</sup> [p. 181, n. 3] In the *Feestuitgave (Celebration Publication)*, this expedition was described by A.W.P. Weitzel, who [corrupted the names](#) of the kampongs to Usondau and Usonbatu—a rendering copied by later writers out of ignorance. He does not mention that one hundred and twenty-four men, women, and children, who had asked to be allowed to return with our troops, were given a place for settlement near the village of Labuha on Bacan, where their descendants still live. Nor does Veth know anything about this settlement (in Wallace 1870-1871, II:78, note 11). Van Musschenbroek imagines that these people, who moved for fear of their headmen, were from a garrison which had been left behind and claims, quite wrongly, that this settlement of native people is a thorn in the side of the Government (*TAG*, p. 95).

<sup>29</sup> [p. 181, n. 4] The contract concluded between this ruler and the Governor of the Moluccan Islands, Jhr. C.F. Goldmann, was approved and ratified by Governor-General Ch. F. Pahud on April 13, 1861.

<sup>30</sup> [p. 182, n. 1] By Government Decree of November 5, 1858, no. 23, in recognition of their brave deeds, gold medals were given to the Government's first native clerk of Ternate, Soleiman bin Salahudin, brevet captain of the Ternatese militia, to the Kapita-Laut of Loloda, Soniya, and to the Captain of Tobaru, Hadi. To the clerk of the Sultan of Tidore, Hasanudin, and to the Sangaji of Maba, Salamudin, were given a silver medal each. Monetary rewards amounting to f 3,450 were given to several chiefs and relatives of chiefs who had died in the war. Majors Ali of Tidore and

1859. Riots at Kau on Halmahera because the people are forced by a few princes to surrender their sago dusuns for little or no payment to foreign divers [*sic*] from Banggai and Koloncucu. The fortified village of Biang is attacked and burned (September) and the rebellion is thus suppressed.

Death of Sultan Mohamad Jain of Ternate (November 20).

1860. C.J. Bosch, twelfth Resident of Ternate (January).

Once again Ternatese auxiliary troops leave for Ambon to quell the Ceramese insurrection (October).

1861. Governor-General Pahud visits Ternate (January).

Complete abolition of the hongis unless taken with permission of the Governor-General (February). [p. 183]

Mohamad Arsad, twenty-second Sultan of Ternate (May).<sup>31</sup>

J. Blok, thirteenth Resident of Ternate (July).

Enormous devastation on the island of Makian due to an eruption of the volcano, with more than three hundred people dead. The population flees to the surrounding islands (December).<sup>32</sup>

1862. Eruption of the mountain of Ternate (June).

H.M. steamer *Citadel van Antwerpen* captures a few pirates on the south coast of the island of Obi Mayor.

1863. P. van der Crab, fourteenth Resident of Ternate (April).

Experiments with the planting of paddy in wet fields fail for lack of water.

The friendly disposition of the population of Banggai and Tobungku is evidenced by the help rendered to the war steamer *Amsterdam* when it is shipwrecked in that area.<sup>33</sup>

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Abdul Wahab of Ternate each received a ceremonial sword, and Captains Mohamad Yasin of Ternate and Hamja of Tidore each received a cutlass with worked belt.

The two Sultans were granted the title of Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion.

<sup>31</sup> [p. 183, n. 1] The contract concluded with this ruler was approved and ratified by Governor-General L.A.J.W. Baron Sloet van de Beele on November 4, 1862.

<sup>32</sup> [p. 183, n. 2] Bickmore (1873, II:3) shifts the date of this disaster to 1862 and says that almost everyone died.

<sup>33</sup> [p. 183, n. 3] For their actions the Rajah of Tobungku and two other chiefs received from the Government silver trays bearing the royal coat of arms and an appropriate inscription.

1864. After the rorehe expeditions are cancelled, the Ternatense serving on board return from Menado.<sup>34</sup>

Severe earthquake and undersea quake in New Guinea; Dore and Mansinam destroyed. [p. 184] Fort Toloko, north of the capital Ternate, is disarmed due to deterioration.

1865. Death of Sultan Akhmad Safiudin of Tidore (November 29).

1866. Ternatense and Alfuru auxiliary troops sent to Ceram; the expedition is said to be completely successful.<sup>35</sup>

The military establishment at Dodinga is withdrawn.<sup>36</sup>

Dissolution of the Government of the Moluccas; Ternate becomes an independent residency.

1867. M.H.W. Nieuwenhuijs, fifteenth Resident of Ternate (March).

Johar Alam, twenty-fourth Sultan of Tidore (August).<sup>37</sup>

Several places in this region are stricken with smallpox and enteric fever (December).

1868. The sale of salt on behalf of the Government at the capital Ternate is stopped (February).

1869. D. Boes Lutjens, sixteenth Resident of Ternate (May).

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<sup>34</sup> [p. 183, n. 4] Beginning in 1777, the Sultan of Ternate had to supply one hundred and fifty men for the rorehes in the residency of Menado, namely one hundred from Makian and fifty in rotation from the villages of Loloda, Gamkonora, Kau, and Tubaru. This obligation was revoked by Government decree of October 17, 1863, no. 41, which also ended the annual subsidy of f 800 to the Sultan at the Government's expense as a compensation for the loss of the services of his subjects.

<sup>35</sup> [p. 184, n. 1] For help rendered in this expedition, Prince Mohamad Yasin received the Military Order of William Fourth Class; the Hukum Soahsio [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] of Ternate a gold medal; the Sangaji [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] of Limtohu a silver medal; the captain of Galela (named Bualemo), Lieutenant Dulhaji, and the Jogugu of Gamkonorah [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] (named Kamar), a bonus of f 300 each; Lieutenant Musa a bonus of f 200; and the Galelarese Libacina, who became disabled because of his wounds, a stipend of f 6.- per month.

<sup>36</sup> [p. 184, n. 2] For more than a century there had been a fortress there with a garrison consisting of a corporal and six men. The fort was disarmed and has since fallen into ruin. Later a postholder lived there, but he has since been stationed elsewhere.

<sup>37</sup> [p. 184, n. 3] The decree of appointment is dated June 8, no. 2 (not November 13, as stated in Haga 1884, II:5), but the inauguration did not take place until August 26. The contract can be found at the back of Vol. II of Haga's *Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea* (1884), but the copy used by Haga seems not to have the signature of the Sultan and the great seal. Ordinarily this Sultan was known as Sultan Akhmad, the name he had had as a prince.

Sultan Mohamad Arsad is made a Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion. [p. 185]

1870. F. Schenck, seventeenth Resident of Ternate (September).

1871. Severe earthquakes, together with a severe eruption of the mountain on Ternate on the north side, continuing for several days and spreading terror among the inhabitants (August).<sup>38</sup>

1872. The number of agricultural estates increases to four: three on the island of Ternate (Mariana, Tongoli, and Wattendorf) and one at Oba on West Halmahera; the main crops are coffee, cocoa, and nutmeg.

1873. Mr. S.C.J.W. van Musschenbroek, eighteenth Resident of Ternate (July).

1874. Regulation on the Administration of Justice for Subjects of the Sultan (Statute Book, no. 144).

1875. A.J. Langeveldt van Hemert, nineteenth Resident of Ternate (May).

1876. The Obi Group is declared government territory by official proclamation.

Dano Baba [as corrected in Errata—Trans.] Hasan, a descendant of the last Sultan of the Ceramese Sultanate (dissolved in 1832), persuades a large part of the population of Halmahera to join him in founding a new state, Jailolo (June).

P.F. Laging Tobias, twentieth Resident of Ternate (October).

Death of Sultan Mohamad Arsad of Ternate (October 25).

1877. Dano Baba [as corrected in Errata—Trans.] Hasan taken prisoner and exiled to Muntok.<sup>39</sup>

In several districts on Halmahera, [p. 186] the contribution to be paid in kind to the rulers is replaced by a taxation in money, in the amount of f 4 for a married man annually and f 2 for an unmarried man annually.

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<sup>38</sup> [p. 185, n. 1] Described in detail by Teijsmann in *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift van Nederlands-Indië* XL:196 ff.

<sup>39</sup> [p. 185, n. 2] In recognition of their actions during this rebellion the following people were rewarded: the native official serving the Resident, Raden Mas Nursewan, with a gold medal and a bonus of f 250; the native clerk Hayul Arifin bin Soleiman, with a silver medal and f 250 bonus; [note continues, p. 186 bottom] Captain-Hongi Said Mohamad, with a silver medal and a bonus of f 1,500 (of which f 500 were to be divided among his subordinate headmen); the Captain-Prang of Ternate, Amam, with a cutlass and belt; Haji Jafar of Ternate with a Koran in sumptuous binding; the Kapita-Laut of Tidore, Prince Mohamad Tahir, with a sporting-gun; and Prince Ajoan of Tidore with a gold watch and chain. The official reports on the piracy in the Banggai archipelago and its suppression are collected in the *Indische Gids* V:474 ff.

*1878.* Subjugation of the pirate chief Medom, who later settles on Tobelo with his followers after swearing to refrain from piracy.

Abolition of slavery in the state of Bacan (August).

*1879.* O.M. de Munnick, twenty-first Resident of Ternate (March).

Abolition of slavery in the Sultanates of Tidore and Ternate, with the exception of New Guinea (July and September).<sup>40</sup>

Ayanhar, twenty-third Sultan of Ternate (October).

*1880.* Appointment of postholders at Sanana on Sulabesi and at Banggai.

The island of Moari is allotted to the Sultanate of Ternate.

*1881.* Jhr. T.G.V. Boreel, twenty-second Resident of Ternate (April).

*1882.* A new regulation concerning the administration of justice takes effect.

The district court is replaced with a state council (July). [\[p. 187\]](#)

*1883.* D.F. van Braam Morris, twenty-third Resident of Ternate (January).

Haji Hias, younger brother of Dano Baba [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] Hasan, attempts to start another revolt at Maba, but this is immediately suppressed (December).

*1884.* The whole residency is stricken with a smallpox epidemic which lasts for months.

*1885.* F.S.A. de Clercq, twenty-fourth Resident of Ternate (January).

*1888.* J. Bensbach, twenty-fifth Resident of Ternate (September).

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<sup>40</sup> [p. 186, n. 1] Bokemeijer (1888, Preface, XII) doubts whether the emancipated slaves are sufficiently protected against a return to dependency and oppression. This surmise, which is based on scant familiarity with local conditions, can be answered in the affirmative.

[p. 188 (blank), p. 189, 190 (blank)]

### **C. The Ternatese Language**

[p. 191]

## I

### INTRODUCTION

One can say that the Ternatese language is, in a narrow sense, the *lingua franca* of the Moluccan archipelago, since the original language of the Ternatese on Ternate is understood by almost all the subjects of the Sultan in the coastal villages of his extensive territory. It is generally used by traders in their dealings with the population and is often preferred to their own language by those Alfurus who have embraced Islam.<sup>1</sup>

The reason for this dominance of the Ternatese language is that for many years senior and junior ranked officials, together with their adherents and soldiers, would be sent from Ternate to various places to preserve the authority of the Sultan. They would remain there for several years or might marry and settle there permanently. As representatives of the royal person in power, they were too proud to learn the local language and demanded instead that those who wanted to make a request or inquiry do so in the Ternatese language. In addition, when inhabitants of the islands were summoned to the capital, they often had to stay in completely Ternatese surroundings for a prolonged period, since the native antipathy to making a quick conclusion to business would prevent them from returning to their islands. [p. 192] Another contributing factor was that if an inhabitant desired an appointment to some lucrative post, when making his application he would have to pay homage to the ruler in that ruler's own language.

Because of the many similarities between the Ternatese language and local languages or dialects, and as the language of the dominant race in the western half of the residency of Ternate, it was natural and indeed almost inevitable that it should spread more widely than did Tidorese or the Bacan language. Ternatese has managed to maintain its position as a general means of communication up to the present time.<sup>2</sup>

It is understandable that the language did not develop further when the majority of the population in the coastal areas came into contact with foreigners; but it is completely untrue to claim, as did van der Crab (1862, p. 310), that at the Ternatese court Malay is spoken, mixed with words of Low German, Spanish, and other origins.<sup>3</sup> De Hollander

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<sup>1</sup> [p.191, n. 1] Many examples of this can be found in the *Aanteekeningen op een Reis naar Halmahera (Notes on a Journey to Halmahera)*, pp. 216 ff., where the quoted sentences, however poorly understood and full of printing mistakes, are all pure Ternatese. The anonymous writer was unable to check this because of his unfamiliarity with the language—this is apparent from what he writes on p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 192, n. 1] The language of Bacan is restricted to that island and is spoken by fifteen hundred people at the most. This Sultanate never ruled in more distant areas.

<sup>3</sup> [p. 192, n. 2] Valentijn 1724, Ib:130, says: "The Ternatese language is very grandiloquent and in solemnity and sound is close to Spanish. Out of pride, and to show that they are not under any domination, they will use only their own language in their writings and no other." Actually this is a rather strange way to reproach someone for preferring his own mother tongue.

seems to draw the wrong conclusion from this (1877, 4th ed. [*sic*], p. 383) when he says that Ternatese is a corrupted form of Malay. Certainly it is true that Malay words often replace the original ones and that Arabic, after the conversion to Islam, asserted its rights on religious grounds, just as a corrupted form of Dutch plays an important role in all Indonesian languages for more recent affairs. I am of the opinion, however, that these influences have now drawn to a halt, since trade is not expanding appreciably, there is no Moslem propaganda, and the [p. 193] self-government of the rulers keeps European influence within narrow limits.

In my opinion Ternatese, although closely related to other dialects of this region and perhaps originating from them, has claim to the name of language, since it has a wealth of words and linguistic forms totally sufficient for the people who speak it. Indeed, it is an important language because of many peculiarities which have until now escaped the attention of linguists.

With the conversion of the inhabitants to Islam and their acquisition of Arabic script, the Arabic alphabet came to be used to write Ternatese as it was used to write Malay, and has spread so much since then that every headman with even minimal education knows the Arabic characters. Since they have little or no inclination to adopt Latin alphabetic writing from us and documents with Arabic characters can be read without any problem on Sumatra, I have retained that writing in my study of Ternatese idioms and have followed the spellings as they were given to me. This is done without any intention to defend or agree with the practice, but only because it has resulted in a uniformity of spelling.

Except for the glossary in van der Crab's [1862] "De Moluksche Eilanden" ("The Moluccan Island") and the material by the same author in "Geschiedenis van Ternate" ("History of Ternate [by Naidah]", van der Crab, *TKI*), what is known about the Ternatese language is limited to a few narratives published by Riedel in the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands-Indië*, 3rd series, V, and a few *Pantuns* reported by Campen and included in the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap XXX*. Campen, in his many contributions to the knowledge of Halmahera, did better than most other writers by reporting the native names of many things, although on a few occasions he confused Ternatese with the Alfuru dialects. A comparison of these sources for the study of the Ternatese language leads me to the conclusion [p. 194] that van der Crab's glossary was compiled very carelessly and contains a large number of mistakes; that the "Geschiedenis" ["History"] has been poorly transcribed and is often unintelligible due to incorrect punctuation—nor does the Malay (and to a lesser extent the Dutch) text explain the obscurities in the book; that the narratives have been reprinted very incompletely and corrected by a person who did not understand anything of the language (a Tidorese song in it is called Ternatese, for example), although it is readily admitted that the translation faithfully reflects the text; and finally that the words given by Campen from the *Pantuns* are generally reliable, although many forms are often difficult to recognize, in part because of their peculiar spelling.

The reader will have to excuse me for not trying to justify these opinions with examples, but anyone who occupies himself with the study of the Ternatese language will see these defects soon enough, and, I trust, appreciate that I have tried to avoid the

mistakes of my predecessors by giving a few original examples in their own alphabetic writing.<sup>4</sup> [p. 195]

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<sup>4</sup> [p. 194, n. 1] On second thought, it seems better to elucidate my opinion about the *Pantuns* of Campen in a few words. For this purpose I take the first two of the second series (See *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* XXX, p. 625).

**Campen:**

|                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Horru horru ka toma Dissa</i> | Row (hard) to Dissa                   |
| <i>Iha ino toma Susuppu</i>      | (And) put it at Susuppu.              |
| <i>Nagee anna sari susuppu</i>   | You there, who wants to say something |
| <i>Susuppu adi la soma duga</i>  | (Come forward and) show your love.    |

This song is a rather plain hint for a “blöden Schäfer” to declare himself.

Written and translated better, it reads like this:

|                                |                                   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Horu-horu ka toma Disa</i>  | Push on to Disa                   |
| <i>Iha ino toma Susupu</i>     | Along the coast as far as Susupu; |
| <i>Nagi ana sari susupu</i>    | He who shows something,           |
| <i>Susupu adi la simadugah</i> | Do it in moderation.              |

In Ternatese, as in other languages, the first two lines do not have a special meaning, and moreover *pantuns* are almost always puns between young men and women. This is also the case here; because of the similarity with the name of the place Susupu, one has used the same word in the third and fourth lines instead of *sisupu*: that is the joke. For that matter, it is a reminder to girls to do things with attentiveness and not in a hurry: the erroneous division of words does not make it easily understood.

*Horu* is less “rowing” than “paddling;” *iha*, which Campen does not translate, is specifically “going close to the coast;” *ka* and *la* are complementary words.

**Campen:**

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Horru ka toma Todahee</i>      | Row (hard) to Todahee                             |
| <i>Hou hou ma njano Sakko</i>     | (And) angle for <i>Sakko</i> fishes               |
| <i>Kaai tara la ma kudahee</i>    | The previous night they embraced                  |
| <i>Mommi ijee la makku tjakko</i> | (And in the morning) risen, they beat each other. |

Written in a better way it becomes:

|                                 |                             |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Horu-horu ka toma Todahe</i> | Paddle hard to Todahe       |
| <i>Hau-hau na njau sako</i>     | Cast the line for sea pike  |
| <i>Kai tarah la maku-dahe</i>   | At night they are as one,   |
| <i>Momi ie la maku-tjako</i>    | Risen they beat each other. |

The intention of the hint is well explained. *Hau-hau* is not “angling” (that is *hohate*), but “fishing with a line;” and *maku-dahe* and *maku-tjako* are reciprocal forms, which is not immediately clear in Campen.

It is an old custom at the Ternatese court to record important events, and while the records have not always been maintained and have been badly damaged through the neglect of clerks and subordinates, in what was left of the court chronicle (which was always put at my disposal for perusal most willingly), I found many items which could help to clarify less well-known events in Ternatese history. When I asked the present Sultan about the possibility of obtaining copies of old letters and manuscripts, he offered to have copied for me, from the extant papers, a text known as “[An Account of the Earthquake in 1840](#),” and also a description of the ceremony which took place at his [own accession to the throne](#). These documents, together with an [ordinance of the Sultan](#) Mohamad Jain, have been included in this book together with a translation. In the translation I have aimed more at a literal rendering than at form or style, and have added [\[p. 196\] a detailed glossary](#) [“Word-List”] containing all the words occurring in the story of my travels. The two most striking peculiarities of the Ternatese language, the exclusive use of prefixes and the use of different forms for the genders, are explained in the glossary with many examples.<sup>5</sup>

About the contents I can be brief. It hardly needs mentioning that small matters which interest us very little are repeatedly emphasized in native documents. For the sake of comparison, however, I have included an abstract from [the diary of the Resident](#) during the catastrophe in 1840 and an abstract from “[Note on the Ceremony during a Funeral](#),” each dealing briefly with the subject matter stated.

I must point out that it has been claimed that a few words belong to an old language which is little known at present and no longer spoken. Whether this is Old Jailolo, as Campen claims on page 443 of his first series of *pantuns*, I am not sure—especially since in neither this nor his second series can a single obsolete word be found.

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<sup>5</sup> [p. 196, n. 1] I came across a list of Ternatese plant names with short notes on their medicinal use, and have included it in the “Word-List” together with the corresponding words in Miquel’s *Flora van Nederlandsch-Indië* and Filet’s *Plantkundig Woordenboek (Botanical Dictionary)*, the latter a continuous “cacography” of Indies plant names, corrected when possible.

[p. 197]

## II

**Synopsis of the Grammar****Vowels**

a e i o u

The *a*, *e*, and *i* are long or short; the *i* has an “ee” sound (as in “deep”) in both open and closed syllables. Combined, the vowels occur as *ae*, *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *au*, and *ou*, but these are not real diphthongs.

**Consonants**

h  
k g ng  
c j y ny  
t d s r l n  
p b f w m

Consonants which occur in words of foreign origin have not been included; the local pronunciation is sufficiently clear from the glossary.

**Nouns**

Each noun is given in the singular form. The plural is formed by adding *dofu* (many) or numerals, and often must be understood from the context of the sentence.

The gender is indicated, when necessary, by the addition of *nonau* (masculine) or *fofoheka* (feminine).

Of the cases, only the genitive need be mentioned, in which the words are connected by the particle *ma*, e.g. *jou ma-falah*, “the house of the man.”

Changing verbs into nouns is often done by repeating the first letter and simultaneously changing the vowel, e.g., *lolahi*, “request,” derived from *lahi*, “to request;” [p. 198] *momote*, “follower,” from *mote*, “to follow;” *ngongaje*, “story,” from *ngaje-ngaje*, “to tell.”

**Adjectives**

The adjective immediately follows the noun which it modifies. The degree of comparison is formed by adding *lebe* or *foloi*, the first before and the second after the adjective.

## Pronouns

The pronoun is the most important part of speech, giving the language its singular character.

### Personal Pronouns

#### a. Singular

| person     | masculine   | feminine   |
|------------|---|--|
| <b>I</b>   | ngori <i>to</i><br>fangare <i>to</i><br><i>to</i> | ngori <i>to</i><br>fajaro <i>to</i><br><i>to</i> |
| <b>II</b>  | ngana <i>no</i><br>ngana<br><i>no</i>             | ngana <i>no</i><br>ngana<br><i>no</i>            |
| <b>III</b> | una <i>o</i><br><i>o</i>                          | mina <i>mo</i><br><i>mo</i>                      |

#### b. Plural

| person     | masculine  | feminine  |
|------------|--|---|
| <b>I</b>   | <i>mi</i><br>ngomi <i>mi</i><br>fangare ngomi <i>mi</i><br><i>fo</i> | <i>mi</i><br>ngomi <i>mi</i><br>fajaro ngomi <i>mi</i><br><i>fo</i> |
| <b>II</b>  | ngoni <i>ni</i>  | ngoni <i>ni</i>   |
| <b>III</b> | ana <i>i</i><br>ana<br>nga<br><i>i</i>                               | ana <i>i</i><br>ana<br>nga<br><i>i</i>                              |

[p. 199]

The italicized forms are pronominal forms, which are used in combination with a verb and which also serve to indicate reciprocal forms.

## Possessive Pronouns

These come immediately before the noun and are much the same as the ones above.

### a. Singular

| person     | masculine              | feminine                    |
|------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>I</b>   | ngori (ri)<br>fangare  | ngori (ri)<br>fajaro        |
| <b>II</b>  | ngana ni               | ngana ni                    |
| <b>III</b> | una ge i<br>una i<br>i | mina ge mi<br>mina mi<br>mi |

### b. Plural

| person     | masculine         | feminine          |
|------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <b>I</b>   | ngomi ma<br>ngomi | ngomi ma<br>ngomi |
| <b>II</b>  | ngoni nia         | ngoni nia         |
| <b>III</b> | ana ge nga<br>nga | ana ge nga<br>nga |

The demonstrative pronouns are: *enane*, “these, this;” and *enage*, “those, that.” The interrogative pronouns are: *nagi* for persons and *kogah* for inanimate objects and animals. The relative pronouns are rarely used.

## The Verb

The verbal form is based on the combination of the personal pronoun with the stem. [p. 200]

For the tenses, the past tense is formed by *maruah* or *maraha*, the past participle by *pasa maruah*, and the indefinite future tense by *domaha*. All these words come after the verb.

In the imperative, one uses particles such as *no* and *ni*, and for the negative form the word *afah* or *riafah*.

To make the active voice one places *ma* before the stem. There is no definite passive voice, except for causative verbs with which it is signalled by the prefix *i*. This usage, however, is not completely certain.

There is no transitive voice, but there is a causative voice, which is formed by adding *si* as a prefix. In many cases the initial consonant will change, e.g., *kodiho* becomes *sigodiho*, *wosa* becomes *singosa*, *tego* becomes *sidego*, *pane* becomes *sibane*, etc. If the word starts with a vowel, a letter is added for the sake of euphony, e.g., *uni* becomes *siwuni*, *ise* becomes *sigise*, *uci* becomes *siguci*, etc. The reciprocal is formed by the prefix *maku*. As particles for destination one uses *kane* and *kage* and for direction *ie* and *tarah*, *isa* and *hoko*.

## Numerals

|          | for persons                      | for things and animals       |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1        | <i>amoi</i>                      | <i>rimoi</i>                 |
| 2        | <i>ngamodi</i>                   | <i>romdidi</i>               |
| 3        | <i>ngarukange</i>                | <i>raange</i>                |
| 4        | <i>ngaruha</i>                   | <i>raha</i>                  |
| 5        | <i>ngamotoha</i>                 | <i>romotoha</i>              |
|          | [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] |                              |
| 6        | <i>ngarura</i>                   | <i>rara</i>                  |
| 7        | <i>ngatomod</i>                  | <i>tomodi</i>                |
| 8        | <i>ngatofkange</i>               | <i>tofkange</i>              |
| 9        | <i>ngasio</i>                    | <i>sio</i>                   |
| 10       | <i>nganyagimoi</i>               | <i>nyagimoi</i>              |
| 11       | <i>nganyagimoi si amoi</i>       | <i>nyagimoi si rimoi</i>     |
| [p. 201] |                                  |                              |
| 12       | <i>nganyagimoi si ngamodi</i>    | <i>nyagimoi si romdidi</i>   |
| 13       | <i>nganyagimoi si ngarukange</i> | <i>nyagimoi si raange</i>    |
| 20       | <i>nganyagiromdidi</i>           | <i>nyagiromdidi</i>          |
| 21       | <i>nganyagiromdidi si amoi</i>   | <i>nyagiromdidi si rimoi</i> |
| 30       | <i>nganyagiraange</i>            | <i>nyagiraange</i>           |
| 40       | <i>nganyagiraha</i>              | <i>nyagiraha</i>             |
| 50       | <i>nganyagiromtoha</i>           | <i>nyagiromtoha</i>          |
| 60       | <i>nganyagirara</i>              | <i>nyagirara</i>             |
| 70       | <i>nganyagitomodi</i>            | <i>nyagitomodi</i>           |
| 80       | <i>nganyagitofkange</i>          | <i>nyagitofkange</i>         |
| 90       | <i>nganyagisio</i>               | <i>nyagisio</i>              |
| 100      | <i>ngaratumoi</i>                | <i>ratumoi</i>               |
| 200      | <i>ngaraturomdidi</i>            | <i>raturumdidi</i>           |
| 1,000    | <i>ngacalamoi</i>                | <i>calamoi</i>               |
| 2,000    | <i>ngacalarumdidi</i>            | <i>calarumdidi</i>           |
| 10,000   | <i>ngacalanyagimoi</i>           | <i>calanyagimoi</i>          |

These numerals come after the noun. With a given quantity of some things one uses other words for clarification: e.g., for “houses,” *hutu*; for “trees,” *hate*; for “fruit,” *sofo*, etc.

The ordinal numbers do not differ from the cardinal numbers. For multiplication the word *walo*, “time,” is used; *dofu* and *moi-moi* belong to the indefinite numbers.

## Other Parts of Speech

Adverbs of time are: “today,” *sowange*; “tomorrow,” *difutu*; “in the morning,” *lofo nitah*; “in the afternoon,” *wange cako*; “in the evening,” *sofutu* or *wange lobi*; “at midnight,” *futu konorah*. Adverbs of place are: “here,” *kane*, “there,” *kage*; “where,” *kasaha*; “downward” or “southward,” *tarah*; “upward” or “northward,” *ie*.

Adverbs of negation are: “not,” *uwah*, *riuwah*, *malo*, *hangu*; “still,” *adi*; “not yet,” *hangu moju*.

Among the prepositions, *toma* and *si* are the most common.

There are many synonyms for the conjunctions: “and,” [p. 202] *mara*, *simarah*, *silom*, *so*, *sarta*; “but,” *mai*, *tatapi*, *dugah-dugah*; “for,” *karana*, *sababu*, etc.; “or,” *bolo*.

The main interjections are *O*, *He*, and *Sio!*

For further details I refer the reader to the “[Word-List](#),” in which the correct meanings are explained with examples; hence it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

### III

## The Earthquake of 1840

### An Account of What Happened

During the time that the lord sovereign, the Sultan, the crown of the state, the head of the religion, Iskandar, the blessed, Sah Putra<sup>6</sup> Mohamad Jain and his father, the honored and distinguished Lord Dirk Frederik Hermanus Helbach,<sup>7</sup> ruled, it happened that the Almighty brought down a disaster on the mountain of Ternate in the form of a severe earthquake, the account of which is given below in detail.

In the year 1255 A.H.,<sup>8</sup> at the end of the last [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] year of *Dal*, in the month of *Dulhaji*, the tenth night of the moon, on a Thursday night at ten o'clock, the earthquake began with [p. 203] a continual rocking movement, which stopped for a few moments and then started again; but it was not very severe. Moreover, there was rain that night, it was pitch dark, and there was a strong wind blowing. Here in the village it drizzled, but in the Christian and Chinese quarters, and also at the back of the mountain, it rained very hard and the water poured down—in the *brangka* Togorara it turned into a torrent.<sup>9</sup> The earth tremors continued and nobody in the town slept.

At one o'clock the Sultan ordered the *Kali* of Bangsa, named Ilham, to tell the imams, khatibis, and modins to assemble in the mosque and start praying. At that time the Commander, Mr. Le Bron,<sup>10</sup> fired the cannon once at Fort Oranje. The Sultan sent down a guard to get news of the situation from the soldiers who stood guard at the gate of the fort. The guard was informed by the soldiers that the Commander had fired the gun so that people would not go to sleep, for once at Ambon during a severe earthquake the houses had collapsed a second time and had fallen on the people, resulting in many deaths.

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<sup>6</sup> [p. 202, n. 1] The spelling  is considered less correct, but is commonly used.

<sup>7</sup> [p. 202, n. 2] When a new Resident takes office, his first names are asked. These are usually written in full in addresses and in the heading of letters; the use of initials is less acceptable.

<sup>8</sup> [p. 202, n. 3] The Christian system of dates is never followed in native writings; therefore, although the local people do know the current year and the names of the months, they are always rather slow about using them. As a matter of fact, the Moslem dating system is used even less here than it is elsewhere in the Indies archipelago. The tenth of Dulhaji 1255 A.H. corresponds to February 14, 1840

<sup>9</sup> [p. 203, n. 1] *Brangka* or *barangka* is a word indicating ditch, canal, dried-up brook, or gully in the Malay of the Moluccas. According to some it is of Portuguese or Spanish origin. In Ternatense, the word *nguai* is used instead.

<sup>10</sup> [p. 203, n. 2] Captain Le Bron de Vexela was military commander in the capital at that time.

At three o'clock the tremors became three times more severe with the sound like that of a storm, but they were still not too bad. Then the tremors became shocks and the roaring continued, as if a storm were raging. About five o'clock, at dawn, at the time of the morning prayers, the *lebes* said their prayers in the mosque. A true-born Arab from Mecca, Mohamad Said, son [p. 204] of Ahmaduljami Almaki Assalah,<sup>11</sup> led the prayers and recited the chapter of the Koran called "*Alama Tanjil*." The genuflections were not yet finished and he was still standing when a severe jolt occurred and the ground moved as if someone had moved it up and down; and at the top of the mountain a noise like thunder was heard. The people living on this side of the mountain thought it was lava streaming down, but it was really an earthfall and stones rolling down. The *lebes* were praying and had said the *salam* when another jolt was felt. It was just as severe. The imams, khatibis, and modins in the mosque jumped to their feet, frightened, and ran outside through the back door. A few came back inside to finish their prayers; others did not. Only the *Sekh* of Mecca and the Imam-Secretary Haji Abdulhaib stayed inside; they went outside afterwards. The Kali of Bangsa was not feeling well and did not participate in the prayers in the mosque. When it was past five o'clock the Sultan ordered the clerk Haya to go to the Resident and ask him to fetch a woman named Buniu who lived in the kampong of Mangkasar, because she had committed adultery with her own father-in-law, a son of the Sultan of Palembang,<sup>12</sup> called Prabu Jain. Throughout the whole day and night the Sultan and the Resident sent people up and down to inform each other of what was happening. When the clerk Abdul Haya went to inform the Resident, as said, about Buniu, [p. 205] it was past six o'clock, and the Sultan of Palembang sent two of his sons up to pay their respects to the Sultan; but since they had not first asked the permission of the Resident, the Sultan did not receive them and they were told to go down to ask permission. Once down they did not return.

At the same time the Commander of the fort went up on horseback to the big gate and asked: "Where is the Sultan?" The officers on guard duty answered: "Up in the palace." After that he went to the guard's gate, gave a few orders to the bodyguard and went down again.

About the same time, at six o'clock, the Sultan ordered the *Sekh* of Mecca and the Imam-Secretary to be brought to him. They came to the palace, but the Sultan was no longer there: all living souls had moved into the houses on poles in the square in front of the palace near the sea.<sup>13</sup> He gave alms and instructed the Khatibis of Bangsa, Tosi, and Ali, the Imam of Takome, Abdul Aman, the *Khatibi-Jurtulis*, Haji Abdul Fatha, and the Khatibi of Moyau, Sidik, to all go and worship at the holy graves and places of sacrifice of the Sultans.

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<sup>11</sup> [p. 204, n. 1] In the spelling of names derived from Arabic, the local pronunciation has been conserved.

<sup>12</sup> [p. 204, n. 2] In the text is written: *kolano Palembang mangofa nonau*. Actually this should be *ingofa*, but such variations often occur in the spoken language.

There is presumed to be a reason for each earthquake, and forbidden love relationships are thought to play a big role in this. By taking away the guilty woman, the Sultan hoped to remove the source of the problem—a sentiment shared by everyone born on Ternate.

<sup>13</sup> [p. 205, n. 1] Because the palace of the Sultan has high brick walls more than one meter thick, there is much less fear of possible accidents in the *gabah* dwellings set on poles.

Moreover, at seven o'clock that day, the Sultan received word that a Tidorese of Mariku who had slept with his own child was staying at Tobona.<sup>14</sup> The Sultan then ordered the clerk Abdul Haya to notify the Resident of this fact, after which the latter instructed the Sultan to have the man detained as soon as [p. 206] possible on the Resident's behalf. The Sultan ordered the clerk Abdul Mothalib and Sarjeti Hayun to go with two police guards and arrest both of them, but they could not be found. They had already fled.

At seven o'clock every conceivable type of proa [boat], big and small, *rorehes*, and *pakatas* were pushed out into the sea.<sup>15</sup> To the south at Toboko and Kota-Baru, as well as to the north as far as Toloko, a few were still tied to the stakes and others were already busy paddling. It looked as if pieces of wood were floating on the sea.<sup>16</sup> The people who lived here on the mountain were terrified and bewildered—they had lost their capacity to think because they had never seen anything like this. Some of them dressed in patches of clothes, others fully dressed, some even without shirts, in flight they ran into each other throughout the village. But none of the believers were frightened.

The bewilderment of some people made us afraid and we laughed because many did not have proas and ran about in confusion. However, I will make it brief. More than one hundred Chinese children, women, and girls went up north and took shelter in a sea-going junk of the Captain-*Laut* Putra Mohamad Daud, which was still on dry land; a few who had pushed it along sat down next to it on the ground. And a few Chinese, more than sixty I guess, got into a rorehe [boat]. The sea there was not deeper than an elbow's length. They grabbed the paddles and started paddling. Others, who were still on shore, seeing that the proa did not sink, ran into the sea and raced with each other to climb aboard. As soon as they were in it, they started paddling immediately; but the proa got stuck and they could not get away.

There was a certain Badi in the Makassarese camp who told his relatives to get into a rorehe with other people. He [p. 207] had a sword in his hand and he did not allow the owner of that proa to come near it. Then there was someone of good birth, a certain Dano Jou, who helped the owner of the proa. He seized one of the outriggers and lifted it, and the proa sank into the waist-deep water. All that was human in this village went into the proas, except a few people who were still on the beach. The Sultan ordered the bobatos to go to the beach to stop the people, but they did not listen to them. A few answered, "Bobatos, your power is finished! Do not come too close to us." More to the north, at Hiku, men and women, adults and children, had already pushed proas into the sea and fled before five o'clock; when, at five o'clock, the bobatos were ordered to go north, they did not find anybody. Nevertheless, a few of the headmen and some of the common people (those who

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<sup>14</sup> [p. 205, n. 2] The subjects of the Sultan of Tidore are summoned for the Sultan of Ternate, and vice versa, through the intermediary agency of the Resident. Since Tobona is part of this Sultanate and since Resident Helbach had most probably gotten fed up with this gossip, he let the Sultan deal with it.

<sup>15</sup> [p. 206, n. 1] The normal place for proas when not in use is on dry land on the beach.

<sup>16</sup> [p. 206, n. 2] Actually it says "we say," which is a little too stiff, as the narrator does not express his personal opinion elsewhere.

were on duty as soldiers) had not yet fled. Lieutenant Jumati of the kampong Ngofaudu, who at dawn waited upon the Sultan, was ordered to go northward at once to stop the people who were still there and not allow them to run away. He set out to fulfill the Sultan's orders, but then he himself ran away.

At seven o'clock, after everything had happened as reported, the news was sent up from down south that the kampong of Falah-Jawa had sunk into the sea. The people became even more terrified, but this news was not true. At eight o'clock the Sultan of Palembang, together with his children and retinue, consisting of more than twenty persons, made his rounds through the street on the sea side, northward, and then landward; when he reached the big gate, he went south again.<sup>17</sup>

The Kali instructed the Imam of Takome to ask the Sultan if the people should be advised [p. 208] to leave the village at once, but the Sultan did not want to do this. After summoning the Jogugu, the Captain-Laut, the hukums, and all the bobatos, he said to them: "At this moment, you people, nobles and bobatos, are in doubt as to whether to stay or to leave, because of the situation in the village; but I, the Sultan, and my wife and children will stay in the palace until we die. We will not leave." Then the headmen answered: "We, nobles and bobatos, cannot be separated from the Sultan. Whatever may happen to us, either good or bad, how could we leave you, O Sultan!" They were then told to rise and they went to the big gate. Those who were locked up in the big gate because of crimes were released from the prison.

At this time the Resident requested<sup>18</sup> the Sultan to keep in mind that he had to have a proa ready, but the Sultan asked the Resident to wait for a while, for otherwise the people would grow even more alarmed and leave the village, and Tidore would then soon conquer on sea as well as on land. When the Resident asked this, some people sent one of the guards up to see whether the Sultan also would go in the proa. The Resident remained in the shed of his *rumbai*; his wife and children got into a vessel floating in the sea, though tied to a stake on the beach.

The Commander had a cannon loaded at Fort Oranje. If a ship, brig, or proa from the Christian, Chinese, or Makassarese quarters was seen to leave, the gun was to fire at it. All officers and soldiers were told that they would be allowed to leave only if they saw the Sultan leave. In spite of this strict order, the Secretary, Mr. Hendrik Otto, [p. 209] managed to flee to Tidore with his wife and children, where they stayed in the kampong Rum, while the Captain of the citizens, Mr. Duivenbode, and Mr. Willems fled in a proa to the beach at Pasilamo.

By the time eight o'clock had past, all the brick houses had collapsed, although no serious accidents had occurred in Ternate itself. A few houses were damaged. Other

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<sup>17</sup> [p. 207, n. 1] There is often little connection between the successive reports; they appear to have been written consecutively, as they are here.

<sup>18</sup> [p. 208, n. 1] Here and in normal correspondence one always reads that the Resident ordered or commanded the Sultan. As a matter of fact such an order is a polite request, as demanded by etiquette.

buildings, such as Fort Oranje, the mosque at Ternate, the balcony of the palace, the fort at Toloko, and the fort at Kayumerah had only a few cracks. The big gate and the brick wall near Cape Bululu were also damaged, but not badly. Only the side gate of Fort Oranje on the north side had partly collapsed for a length of more than four fathoms. Moreover, the corner of the palace down near the sea side had cracked, but not much, from top to bottom for a little more than a fathom. In the Christian, Chinese, and Makassarese quarters, all the houses were damaged, many had collapsed and a few had been leveled to the ground.

If the Almighty had not sent this disaster to the mountain of Ternate on that day, the festive mood would have been very high, for the holy day of *Haji* fell on that Friday and in the Sultan's procession the guards and musicians were all going to wear more ornaments than usual and even silver tassels. Moreover, the Commander wanted the battalion to go up to drill and fire their rifles in the big square in front of the Sultan's compound. The Sultan had also arranged the *Haji* and Friday prayers for that day to be performed with all possible ceremony, and after the prayers the musicians were to go around, as on New Year's Day, and give a musical performance in front of the houses of the nobles and their children and relatives. In the afternoon at five o'clock the *dodengo*, *lego-lego*, and *dadangsa* were all to take place. All this coincided with the Chinese New Year. But since the will of God brought down this disaster, the festivities were [p. 210] not held. Only the drum was beaten at night at eight o'clock and the next morning at five o'clock.<sup>19</sup>

The local customary prayers, held successively on feast days, did not take place; nor did the nobles and *bobatos* come ceremoniously for the Sultan to accompany them for prayers. Alms were collected, however, for the *lebes* of the *langgar* of Hiku had assembled in the big mosque and together they collected the alms. When the *takbir* was being pronounced, they left the mosque and went up and stopped at the guards' gate. The *Sadaha-Kadatu* and a *Sarjati* were told to take the gifts further. They went through the small gate on the land side and took them to the sea side near the guards' gate. There the *lebes* took the gifts from them, but without a sunshade being held over them. Nor were the gifts accompanied by a large number of people or the troops.

The *Haji* and Friday prayers did not take place in the mosque that day. The Sultan ordered the mats to be spread in the front yard, close to the beach, near Cape Matiti. The *Sekh* of Mecca led the prayers and the *Khatibi* of Bangsa, Ali, read the sermon. When the earthquake came, they were still praying and felt as if their bodies had inclined to one side, but because of the help of the Almighty there was no interruption in the prayers at sunset. The sermon during the Friday prayers was started by the *Khatibi* of Moti, Maksud, and up north in the *langgar* at Hiku it was the Imam of Ngofaudu, named Lare, who led the *Haji* prayer. When the earthquake struck during the prayers, the *maamumams*, *khatibis*, *modins*, *saraas*, and *marinyos* all fled, returning when it was over. Some found the Imam still standing there, but others did not see him. [p. 211]

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<sup>19</sup> [p. 210, n. 1] In imitation of what takes place in the garrison, a drummer who is on duty at the big gate of the palace "beats the tattoo" (the signal for soliders and sailors to return home for the night—usually signalled by drum or bugle, in this case probably drum) when the sunrise and sunset gun is fired.

On that day the Sultan, by the help of the Almighty, was strong in his belief and sat calmly. If this had not been the case and the Sultan had gone from the palace or, by way of the big square, to the sea, then all Moslems, Christians, and Chinese would certainly have left Ternate and only the believers would have stayed behind in the village. Even an important man like the Kali of Bangsa, Ilham, fled to Sidangoli. Of those who occupied a post and were subordinate to the Sultan, or sat at his feet and had his affection and love, only Jurtulis Kamah of Takome fled to Halmahera. Fathers and sons, children and their mothers, husbands and wives suddenly forgot their relation to one another. It became known that the clerk Kamah had fled leaving his mother and his own brothers and sisters behind. The Khatibi of Ngofaudu, Jaronga, took his family with him and put them in another proa; when his own father, the Imam of Takome, Abdul Aman, called to him to come back, he answered: "Are you tired of life? I am not, although I know later I will be put in irons." The *Soseba* Ajahari fled leaving his father, a lieutenant of the Soah-Sangaji named Batai. A goldsmith of Takofi named Bapu fled and got into a proa (a different one from the one bearing his wife); a Sarjeti of the Soah-Ngofangare ran to the sea with nine companions, and they pushed away a *prahu-bangku* of the Sultan's with seven seats for rowers until it drifted away into the sea. All of the above happened out of fear. And up north at Hiku, women and small children without their husbands, more than thirty souls in total, climbed into a *prahu-cakalang* which belonged to the Khatibi of Takome, named Atimu. This proa had nine seats for oarsmen, and the Khatibi's niece, a girl named Rahimah, was at the helm, while many women paddled as far as Sidangoli. When the earthquake came and jolts followed, the Khatibi Jawah Amil clutched the Imam of Moti, Ismael, and screamed, since the jolts were very severe. [p. 212] Pushed by a jolt, Jogugu Major-*Prang* Saptu and Jurtulis Sadang, who were sitting at the big gate, fell to the ground.

Near the gate on the sea side of Fort Oranje, the road which runs from north to south developed cracks. The road which runs seaward between the fort and the boundary of Kampong Mangkasar also cracked. The earth split in the compound of the big mosque on the north side, and the road cracked from the palace landward near the small gate behind the office of the guards. The same was the case in the Soah-Limatahu, on the road which runs up and down, but not in the village itself; and in the gardens and on the mountain ridge there were cracks everywhere, with the edges not very far apart. Some of these cracks were just wide enough for a finger to fit; others, from the feel of them, were bigger. Some were as deep as an elbow's length; others more than a fathom, while some were even deeper.

When it was past ten o'clock, the order was given to call the Imam-Secretary and the Imam of Bangsa, Said. They entered the palace via the small gate on the land side. The Sultan ordered them to go around and read the *salawati*, starting from the guards' gate and proceeding southward, then turning seaward along the boundary of Ternate and the Makassarese camp, then going back to the guards' gate. It was found that a few lebes did not follow them; but the Khatibi of Bangsa and the Khatibi of Moti, Maksudu, as well as that of Tarangarah, Mahadum Samudin Abdul Karim, and Jurtulis Jamul Dabas were, by the grace of the Almighty, not hurt by the earthquake during the tour.

The Resident then gave orders to allow the women and children to get into the proas. The Sultan permitted this and had the *prahu-bangku* and the *rumbai* launched. He instructed the bobatos to give the order everywhere that those who were in the [p. 213]

proas were not allowed, for the time being, to paddle; they had to wait until they saw that the Sultan with the nobles and bobatos had come to the beach and gotten into a proa. Only then could they pull the stakes out of the ground.

At five o'clock the Resident and Mr. Laurens went up to pay a friendly visit to the Sultan. The Sultan asked after Buniu, and the Resident said: "Do not speak about her now or about anyone else!" The Sultan, however, requested that he hand the woman over. The Resident answered, "I will have her brought here. Keep her in Fort Oranje and send her up tomorrow morning." The Sultan objected to this and requested that the Resident deliver her to be exiled to Kau. The Resident agreed, saying that it would be done according to the wishes of the Sultan. After talking for some time longer, the Resident begged leave of the Sultan.

The same Friday evening at seven o'clock the Resident had Buniu taken to the big gate accompanied by a sergeant and two soldiers of the Makassarese.<sup>20</sup> There she was given written orders to go seaward in the proa with her small daughter and to reach Dodinga the same evening, and to go farther northward to Kau and remain there in the village. She was absolutely forbidden to come outside the mouth of the river. When Buniu and her daughter were taken toward the sea near Cape Bululu to be put into the proa, they were very frightened, thinking they were to be drowned, and they screamed. Many people sitting in the moored proas heard the screaming of the mother and the daughter, and thought that another earthquake had struck. They called out to their friends who were still ashore to hurry and get into the proas. Those who were ashore sped toward the sea and shouted: "Wait after getting into the proas!" [p. 214] But many of them did not want to wait any longer. It was also observed that a mason from the kampong of Olufolah<sup>21</sup> named Nagarah, who had gone ashore to bring food from his house for his children, ran back to the sea on hearing the noise, but he did not find his wife and children, for they had already rowed away.

That evening at eight o'clock the Resident sent someone up to ask the Sultan for a crew for his proa, for the Resident with his wife and children wanted to sleep in the rumbai which was anchored on the road. The Sultan immediately gave him twenty persons, all Ternatese, with an officer in charge, to stand guard down below at night, but not during the day. Those who were on guard during the month received payment at the rate of ten farthings a head for each night.

That Friday night the children and grandchildren of the Sultan, women and children, were afraid and slept on the beach, and the Sultana asked the Sultan respectfully to sleep with them in the prahu-bangku and the rumbai. Many proas with oarsmen were readied under the supervision of the bobatos of Hiku and Cim. The Sultan, however, remained in the palace.

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<sup>20</sup> [p. 213, n. 1] All Makassarese are citizens and therefore have to serve in the militia.

<sup>21</sup> [p. 214, n. 1] On the northeast coast of the island there are a few kampongs inhabited by Sulanese who moved there many years ago.

During that night people were still found in a few houses on the boundary of populated areas from Santosa southward, but not from the brook Santosa northward, except for one woman named Jijah, in the Takofi quarter, who had not left her house. I entered the village, which looked deserted; the proas on the sea, tied to the stakes from Toboko and Kota-Baru in the north to Toloko, looked like floating tree trunks. On shore the doors of a few houses were shut, but most houses had been left with their doors open. The [p. 215] Sultan ordered the bobatos and officers to make their rounds in the compounds of each house. At that time thieves and other criminals lost their talent due to God's help, and all the people who had fled found not a single thing missing upon their return.

During the earthquake the descendants of the rulers, the three different kinds of ngofangares, and the members of the royal families<sup>22</sup> did not, according to the custom of secular and religious leaders, immediately find the place appointed for their rank; but the bobatos of Soahsio [as corrected in Errata—Trans.], Sangaji, Hiku, and Cim with their four officials, the Jogugu, the Captain-Laut, and two Hukums, stayed together at the big gate and did not go beyond the sea reefs.<sup>23</sup> Not a single one of the lebes was missing during the Haji and Friday prayers. When the prayers were over, many left. That night a few slept in the mosque, others in the proas; still others fled. Those who were on duty to pray in the mosque during the five waqtus were the Imam-Secretary, the Imam of Bangsa, Said, the Imam of Moti, Ismael, and a few other khatibis and modins. A few of the officers came to the big gate, but others fled. At the big gate, however, Lieutenant Pé and Sarjeti Jamal Udin were on duty. At the guards' gate, Sarjeti Haji was on duty, and not a single person had deserted the posts at Toloko, Bululu ma-Dehe and Benteng-Raja. Of the Jurtulises, a few were at the entrance of the palace, but only during the next morning after Friday. After that they did not come. Only the Jurtulises Abdul Hair, Abdul Karim, Abdul Morid, Abdul Jabir, and Jamul Dabas, with the Imam of Takome, Abdul Aman, the Ngofamanyira of Koloncucu, Abdul Karim, and the head of the royal [p. 216] descendants, the grandson of the Sultan, Jou, all eight of them, remained with the Sultan and were seen day and night at the entrance of the palace. Of the royal descendants only the Danos Abdul Kabir, Jubah, Babah, and Abdullah came that Friday evening to the gate of the palace, but they left at twelve o'clock. The retired Major Putra Ismulnadar went down to his house that evening only for a short time. Then he came back and was for some time in the palace and also at the big gate.

There were many who fled, but a few of the nobles were clever enough to return during the night, which explains why their names do not appear in this book.<sup>24</sup> The Kali of Bangsa, Ilham, Lieutenant Solo, Jurtulis Kamah, the Khatibis of Madu, Lahababah and Abdul Samadi, the Khatibi of Cim [named] Tini, the Soseba Ajahar, the Modins Dodati, Jepi, Mohiudin, Abdul Jabar, Baksu, Ahamadi, Ali, Baha, Adah, and Abdul Basir, and Lieutenant Jumaati were also there until the Sultan ordered Major Putra Ahamadi to

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<sup>22</sup> [p. 215, n. 1] Since these titles are unnecessarily repeated in several places, they have been given in abridged form here and elsewhere.

<sup>23</sup> [p. 215, n. 2] Meaning, they did not leave the place where the vessels were tied to stakes in the sea and thus did not try to flee.

<sup>24</sup> [p. 216, n. 1] This, of course, means the book from which this narrative is taken.

paddle ashore and assemble the people. Then many ran away from the sea and returned to the mountain of Ternate, to follow later on seaward—from this it is clear that they had fled and left their mountain.

When, in that general flight, the Soseba Ajahari reached Jailolo, he said: “We don’t know anything about Ternate, but Toboko and Falah-Jawa have already sunk, so we fled here.” When the people who had relatives at Ternate heard this, they were extremely distressed and all wept. When the Jurtulis Bajawarati from Soah-Ngofangare, who was administrator at Jailolo, heard this news, he went at once by sea to Ternate that Friday night. He collected his mother and brothers and sisters from his house and the same night all of them fled to the mainland. Many were [p. 217] afraid of the earthquake and, fleeing, told very strange tidings, because they were so scared. The news spread that the earthquake had also been felt along the coast of Halmahera and on the mountain of Makian, but that it had not been very severe. On Tidore the earthquake was almost as severe as on Ternate, but of the Tidorese, neither the important people such as the bobatos and the nobles nor the common people wanted to admit or say that an earthquake had occurred,<sup>25</sup> until Ternatese and government subjects who had been there during the Haji festival returned and said that the earthquake had also been felt there.

The Sultan paid a friendly visit to the Resident on Saturday morning at about six o’clock, without ceremony, with four guards, one Sarjeti and four Sosebas and Jurtulises. Major Putra Ismulandar and the Imam-Secretary also went down, and the Resident and the Sultan entered Fort Oranje to assess the situation.

The next Sunday of the month Dulhaji, on the twelfth night of the moon, the Sultan of Tidore came with a few officials and common people to help the Resident and Europeans. They all returned to Tidore after a few days. The Sultan of Tidore did not visit Ternate’s Sultan, nor did he send anyone in his stead.

On Tuesday, the fourteenth night of the moon in Dulhaji, the Resident requested a kora-kora with people and an official to take a letter to the Governor at Ambon, informing him of the earthquake. The Resident also requested that everything needed for a kora-kora, including provisions, be made available at the normal rate of f 60 in copper coins. The Sultan then ordered his officials to get a proa ready with oarsmen under a chief, the Ngofamanyira of Saki, named Tobarō; and they soon left to deliver the letter to the Governor. [p. 218]

That same Tuesday a warship called the *Nihalenia* [as corrected in Errata—Trans.], under the command of a lieutenant colonel, entered and anchored in the Government roadstead. At five o’clock the Resident and his wife, the Lieutenant Colonel and the Commander<sup>26</sup> of the warship paid a friendly visit to the Sultan, without any ceremony; only

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<sup>25</sup> [p. 217, n. 1] That this claim has to be attributed to the rivalry between Ternate and Tidore is sufficiently clear from the Resident’s journal.

<sup>26</sup> [p. 218, n. 1] The explanation of this seeming contradiction can be found under the word “commander” in the “Word-List.”

the Major and the Imam-Secretary were with the Sultan and, like him, wore plain clothes. The Sultana also came outside to greet the wife of the Resident.<sup>27</sup> The Sultan went down with the Major and Imam-Secretary to receive the Resident and his wife and the other gentlemen at the bottom of the stairs, as is customary. Then they went up, entered the gallery, and sat down on chairs close to the land side. When they were seated, tea and cakes were served. They ate and drank until six o'clock, when they begged leave of the Sultan.

On Friday, the seventeenth day of the moon in the month of Dulhaji, the Sultan gave f 50 in copper coins as a *sedekah* to be shared among the lebes of the big mosque and the langgar at Hiku.

On the same Friday, at seven o'clock, the Resident instructed the Secretary, Mr. Otto, and the Captain of the civilians, Mr. Duivenbode, to form a deputation and go to the Sultan. They were to notify him that the Resident and all the Europeans wished to move to Halmahera. The Resident sent his greetings and respect, and wanted to know what the Sultan thought of this proposition. The Resident and all the Europeans also requested the Sultan to allow the warship to remain there<sup>28</sup> and to appoint a committee to look [p. 219] for a location for a settlement at Dodinga, Sidangoli, or Jailolo.

The Sultan answered those two gentlemen, saying: "Convey my greetings and respect to our father and inform him that his son, the Sultan, agrees to let the warship remain and will appoint a committee to look for a place for a settlement, but that he is not in agreement with the proposition to move the village."

In the same month of Dulhaji, on the twenty-first night of the moon, a Tuesday, the Resident, together with the Sultan and the Lieutenant Colonel, appointed a committee of three officers of the warship, the Captain of the citizens, Mr. Duivenbode, the former doctor, Mr. Coldenhoff, the Lieutenant of the artillery, Mr. Krause, and Mr. Laurens, with Major Putra Ahamadi, the Hukum of Soahsio, Bo, and Jurtulis Sadang, to look for a suitable spot for a village at Dodinga, Sidangoli, or Jailolo. The committee returned after two nights, on Thursday.

That same month, after six o'clock on Saturday evening, the twenty-sixth night of the moon, the Resident instructed the customhouse officer Pruis Boekhouwer and the clerk Soleman to take a letter to the Sultan. This letter from the Resident informed the Sultan, on behalf of the Government and all the Europeans, that they had asked to move to Halmahera.

On Monday, the twenty-seventh night of that moon, the Sultan ordered the Imam-Secretary and Jurtulis Sadang to take a letter to the Resident in which it was stated that the Sultan and his nobles and officials apologized, but they did not agree with the plan of

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<sup>27</sup> [p. 218, n. 2] The Sultana never appears during a visit of men.

<sup>28</sup> [p. 218, n. 3] The goal was probably to persuade the commander of the warship, through the request of the Sultan, not to leave too soon. One gets a mistaken impression from what is reported here.

the Resident and the Europeans to move with the Sultan and his officials to Halmahera. In that letter, every proposal was refuted point by point.

That same Monday, at four o'clock, the Sultan paid a friendly visit to the Secretary, and the latter showed him a book in which an account was given of an eruption, earthquake, and [p. 220] hurricane during the time of the Sultan Zwaardekroon. During that Sultan's reign earthquakes had occurred three times, and two governors were appointed successively. From that eruption until this big earthquake, seventy Christian years had passed.<sup>29</sup>

On Saturday, the Resident and the Lieutenant Colonel paid a friendly visit, without ceremony, to the Sultan at a little after four o'clock. The Sultan received them in the same manner as on the previous occasion. The Lieutenant Colonel asked permission to sail back, which the Sultan granted. They drank tea and talked until six o'clock, when the visitors left.

On Sunday, the Sultan instructed Jurtulis Abdul Hair to go to the Resident to give him provisions for the Lieutenant Colonel, namely three dozen chickens, two dishes with oranges, two dishes with hens' eggs, two dishes of potatoes, a tray with shaddocks, thirty bunches of green coconuts, thirty baskets with oysters, a few milk jugs of *bikah* shells with a tray and a pinang box. The Resident instructed Jurtulis Abdul Hair to bring these articles on board immediately and hand them over to the Lieutenant Colonel.

The same Sunday, at nine o'clock, the Sultan instructed the Jogugu Major-Prang Saptu, the ex-Major Putra Ismulandar, and the Imam-Secretary Haji Abdul Khaib to wear full dress and, together with the Jurtulises Jamul Dabas and Abdul Khabir, to form a delegation and row southward [lit. "downward" —Trans.] in a decorated rumbai carrying a flag and pennant. They were to ask the Resident's permission to go to the warship to convey the thanks of the Sultan to the [p. 221] Lieutenant-Colonel. They rowed southward [downward] and stepped out near the house of the Resident, and the Secretary conveyed the greeting and respects of the Sultan to the Resident and informed him that, regarding the request of the Dutch Government for thirty people, ten thousand dried gabah stems, four thousand strips of katu, and one hundred balks of lolaro wood, no payment was asked either for the people or for the goods. That was the Sultan's help to the Government; but the Government had to give 10 farthings a day for the food for these people.

Concerning the request of the Resident and Europeans during the earthquake for katu, gabah, bamboo, wood, lathes, posts, and planks (as the parts of a house on poles are called), and a few dozen workers together with overseers, the Sultan would help without charging anything. As for the food for the workers, those who were working for other people would receive their food from their employers and the katu would be paid for as usual; but those working on the house of the Resident would not receive payment for their food, since the Sultan had already distributed food among them for twenty days. The Resident then expressed his gratitude, and tea, milk, and sugar were brought outside; and the Jogugu, the Major, and the Secretary drank the tea.

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<sup>29</sup> [p. 220, n. 1] The Secretary must have read this wrong or the Sultan misunderstood, for in 1770 no eruption occurred. The point, however, is of little importance.

At ten o'clock they got up, said good-bye to the Resident, and went seaward in the rumbai. They rowed out to the warship, where two sailors came down to hold the stairway. As they were going up, a sentry stood ready and presented arms, and four soldiers with a sergeant and drummer stood in line and shouldered rifles, but the drum was not beaten.

When they went up, Captain Jayasis and a Lieutenant were waiting for them.<sup>30</sup> They greeted each other on deck, and the Lieutenant went below to inform the Lieutenant-Colonel [p. 222] of their arrival, after which he came up and called them and they followed him down below to his cabin.

A Sergeant stood with sword in hand near the door of the cabin as a mark of honor, and they entered, greeting in the customary manner. Then the Imam-Secretary conveyed the greetings and respects of the Sultan to the Lieutenant-Colonel, and, with regard to what had happened on and around the mountain of Ternate, the Resident on behalf of the Government and the Sultan with the nobles and bobatos and the people, all together, resigned themselves to God's will. When the Lieutenant-Colonel had arrived with his ship unexpectedly, the Sultan was very pleased and had asked for help; the Lieutenant-Colonel and his crew and the warship had stayed for six days. For that the Sultan tendered his best thanks to the Lieutenant-Colonel, his crew, and the Dutch Government, saying that he, the Sultan, would never forget their kindness.

The Lieutenant-Colonel answered that he was very grateful to the Sultan. The Lieutenant-Colonel and the Commander and all the officers, dressed in uniforms, sat talking and drinks were served. When they had finished, the Lieutenant-Colonel and the Commander took the delegation around the ship. Going down from the deck, the delegation found that the ship had two floors, and there were two rows with fifty-two cannons—those weighing thirty pounds were down below and those weighing twenty pounds were on deck. There were also fifty *koyans* of gunpowder. Then they returned to their seats.

The Lieutenant-Colonel said that he sent his greetings and respects to the Sultan, and thanked the Sultan for bringing a delegation to the ship, and thanked him also for the provisions. For all this he expressed his gratitude to the Sultan, whose beneficence, he said, would not be forgotten. Then they got up and said goodbye to the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Commander, and all the officers. The Lieutenant-Colonel went up on deck with them as they left the ship at twelve o'clock.

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<sup>30</sup> [p. 221, n. 1] They appear to have been unfamiliar with the correct titles of the naval officers. I have not been able to find out who Mr. Jayasis was—perhaps Janssen.

[p. 223]

#### IV

### **Installation of the Present Sultan of Ternate**

In the year *Alif* of the Moslem era 1296, during the month of *Sawal*, on a Thursday night, the seventeenth night of the moon, it was past six-thirty when a steamer of the Dutch Indies Steamship Company sailed through the strait between Hiri and Babua and cast anchor in the Government roadstead. At midnight the distinguished and respected Mr. Owen Maurits de Munnick sent Lieutenant Abdul Halik to the house of the Prince Captain-Laut Putra Ayanhar.

At that time the Malay clerks were not there. The clerk, Captain of the Makassarese,<sup>31</sup> had been ordered to go to New Guinea on the warship, and the clerk Lieutenant Babah had gone with the district officer to take some redemption money for slaves to Sula, Taliabu, Tombuku, and Banggai. Since the clerks had not yet returned, the Resident could not send them on his behalf. He therefore requested the Lieutenant of the Makassarese Abdul Halik to inform, with regards and respect, the Prince Captain-Laut that H.E. the Governor-General and the Indies Council at Batavia had made a choice and decided that of the princes no other than the Prince Captain-Laut would become Sultan of Ternate in the place of his father. That same night after Lieutenant Abdul Halik had left, the Prince Captain-Laut sent for the Imam-Secretary Abdul Ajij and told him the news which he had received from the Resident.

The next Friday, the Prince Captain-Laut told the Imam-Secretary to go to the Resident to [p. 224] hear the latter's orders and to ask for more details. After returning to the palace, the Imam-Secretary said that the Resident had told him that he had sent Lieutenant Abdul Halik along to tell the Prince that the Government had decided to make him Sultan, but that there were no plans to do so immediately because the Resident wanted both the installation and the presentation of the contract to occur on the same day. The Resident had requested the Committee to come down the next Saturday to discuss the matter.<sup>32</sup>

The Prince Captain-Laut immediately sent for the Jogugu Major-Prang Bungah and the Hukum Sangaji Makdum. The first begged to be excused, saying he could not go out because of illness. The Hukum Sangaji came alone, and they agreed that the three of them would go there the next morning at nine o'clock in accordance with the wishes of the Resident.

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<sup>31</sup> [p. 223, n. 1] That these two positions were held by one person was mere accident. The two titles are reported with real native accuracy, however.

<sup>32</sup> [p. 224, n. 1] That is, a committee in charge of daily procedures pending the appointment of a new Sultan.

Thus the Prince Captain-Laut, the Imam-Secretary, and the Hukum-Sangaji visted the Resident on Saturday. The Resident said: "I would like to install you at once as Sultan, but the contract is not yet ready. Be patient until it is ready, and then I will install you. I request that you wait for three months." The Imam-Secretary replied: "We will do as you order, but here at Ternate the presentation of the contract for the late Sultan did not take place during the installation. In fact, it did not take place until the arrival of the Governor of Ambon."

The Resident answered: "Go back to the palace and first see what is written about this in the book.<sup>33</sup> I will also make inquiries at the office and when you come back on Tuesday, I will decide." [p. 225]

The committee returned and that same day called the Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis Sau who, together with the Imam-Secretary, opened the office and then the book of ceremonies. In that book they found that when the father of the Prince Captain-Laut was installed as Sultan, the contract was not concluded until fifteen months after the installation.

On Tuesday, the twenty-first night of the moon, in the month of Sawal, three members of the committee of four, namely the Captain-Laut, the Imam-Secretary, and the Hukum-Sangaji (the fourth member, the Jogugu Major-Prang, was still unable to go out) took the book in question to the Resident to discuss the matter with him. The Resident had already discovered in his own books that the contract had not been presented until fifteen months after the installation of the late Sultan. He then informed the committee of his decision that the Sultan would be installed on Tuesday, the fourth night of the moon, in the month of *Dulkaidah*, but ordered that the committee make a request to that effect by letter on Monday, addressed to him in his capacity as representative of the Government. The Resident also told them to assemble the notables, headmen of the kampongs, and royal descendants, and according to the custom, notify them of this, and to get everything ready in accordance with custom and the rank of the Sultan, and also to repair anything in need of repair outside the palace as well as inside. Moreover, the Resident ordered the Prince Captain-Laut to send the Imam-Secretary down the next Wednesday to receive the seal and the key to the royal chest.<sup>34</sup> The Secretary recalled that it was also customary, when a Sultan was installed, to draw up a letter to send to the villages to inform the headmen [p. 226] and to summon them. The Resident agreed that a letter to this effect should be drafted. After that the committee members gave the Resident their greetings and left.

Then they went to the house of the Prince Captain-Laut and greeted the Jogugu Major-Prang, who had plodded seaward [to that place], and communicated to him the orders of the Resident as reported above. The committee members then made a salam and called the Kali, the *Kapita-Ngofa*, the Kapita Kie, the Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis [as corrected in Errata —Trans.] —the Imam-*Sowohi* Abdul Hair was taken ill and could not come—and all these notables assembled in the house of the Prince Captain-Laut. The

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<sup>33</sup> [p. 224, n. 2] This is the Chronicle of the Sultan in which important events are recorded.

<sup>34</sup> [p. 225, n. 1] The regalia are kept in this box. The key for the box and also the great seal remain in the Resident's keeping after the death of a Sultan.

committee notified them of the order of the Resident, that the Government would install their Sultan in fourteen days, and each of them was ordered to inform their subordinate headmen, on that very day, of this program. The Jogugu would instruct the *Marinyo* to inform the bobatos of Soah Sio, Sangaji, Heku, and Cim; the Kali would instruct the Modin to inform the Imams and Khatibis of the big mosque and those of Sula Takomi and of the langgar of Koloncucu; both the Majors would order the Kapita-Kie to inform the Kapita-*Ngofa* and the Lieutenant-*Ngofa*; the Majors would also order the soldiers to inform all the officers. As far as the nobility was concerned, the Jogugus would inform their own headmen through a *marinyo*. Dano Abdul Ajij was not present on that occasion, and the person who informed the nobles was Dano Mahyub, who sent his children and his brother's children to notify the nobles. As for the princes, the Prince Captain-Laut would order the *Sadaha-Kie* to go with a guard and inform them. A guard would also take the news to the *sosebas* and *jurtulises* and all were ordered to assemble at the big gate at eight o'clock the next Wednesday. Moreover, the Prince Captain-Laut ordered the *Sadaha-Kadatu*, [p. 227] the same day, to send for the *Sangajis* of Fagudu and Waiolah and their subordinate officials. When they had arrived, he ordered them to send people to make two cooking places near the palace and to put in order two sheds and the fence of the palace. With the help of sailors from the schooner, they numbered more than fifty people in all. The Lieutenants-*Ngofa Aman* and *Alwi* had to supervise and the Prince Captain-Laut provided the food. The latter also ordered the *Sadaha-Kadatu* to set the young men to work in the palace, to whitewash the building, wash the floors, and clean everything.

On Wednesday, at eight o'clock, the secular and religious leaders of the kampongs of Soah Sio, Sangaji, Cim, and Heku, the princes and royal descendants, and the three *Ngofangares* came to the big gate. The Jogugu and the *Hukum* discussed everything once again with the Prince Captain-Laut, and then the two of them went to the big gate. The lieutenant on guard duty put the benches in a row and the notables and bobatos and the royal descendants entered and sat down. The Jogugu Major-Prang, standing at the upper end, told all of them<sup>35</sup> that the Resident, on behalf of the Government, had told the committee that the installation of the Sultan would take place in ten days with the customary ceremonies and that all of them had to carry out their duties and help in the preparations so that everything would be ready in time. When asked, they answered that they understood. He then allowed them to return, but there were a few bobatos and officers who stayed behind at the big gate. The bobatos agreed that each soah would provide two *baru-baru* to be stationed as soldiers under the command of the *Kapita-Kie*, [p. 228] and that the kampongs which had not sent the guards and statute laborers required of them should arrange to have these persons sent immediately. The processionists of Heku and Cim, being the *jojaro ici* and the *ngongare ici*, were told to get ready—the officers decided among themselves which men from the battalion would join the guards. The twenty-six *upas garnati ahi* all came from the Soah *Ngofangare* and were under the command of the *Kapita-Kie*; the thirteen *upas salakah* were all selected men. When the bobatos and officers had arranged everything, they left. The Jogugu and the *Hukum* went to the Prince Captain-Laut to tell him of the arrangements and afterward returned home.

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<sup>35</sup> [p. 227, n. 1] All the titles of the people, whether in these meetings or being addressed, are repeated every time in the text. This was not considered necessary in the translation.

When, on that Tuesday, the committee was allowed to return, it called upon the Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis, together with the Imam-Secretary, to draft thirteen letters to be sent to Dodinga, Kau, Tobelo, Galela, Lolodah, Tolofuo, Tobaru, Gamkonorah, Sawu, Jailolo, Gaane, Marah, and Kayoa. It was the custom that these letters be written by the Imam-Secretary in his own house; but since he was extremely busy, he asked other clerks to help him. The letter read as follows:

“Since the respected and distinguished Mr. Owen Maurits de Munnick, Resident of Ternate, who on behalf of the Dutch Government holds office in Fort Oranje, has ordered us four committee members, Captain-Laut Putra Ayanhar, Jogugu Major-Prang Bungah, Imam-Secretary Abdul Ajij, and Hukum Sangaji Makdum, to write you this letter, we inform you, Khatibi-Jurtulis Abdul Kadir, Jurtulis Abdul Tahir, Alferes Babah, Sarjeti Hamiru, Sangaji of Sawu Aksam, Gogugu of Sawu, headmen of the four soahs and headmen of Talai, Palasoah, Tacim, and Balasuan, and all who live in the district of Sawu, that in this month of Dulkaidah, the fourth day of the moon, on a Monday, the Government will install your Ruler; and when you [p. 229] have read this letter, you, Khatibi Jurtulis, Sarjeti Hamiru, and the Sangaji of Sawu, should come without delay to Ternate by sea, and the headmen and people of the four soahs and the headmen of Talai, Palasoah, Tacim, and Balasuan should come with you. The Jurtulis and Alferes and Gogugu of Sawu will remain there to hold office. Moreover, we notify you that the people of the district of Sawu have to carry out statute labor for the procession of the Sultan. They will have to provide guards and people to carry out statute labor, and an additional one hundred people and everything that is needed for the ceremonies. You should bring all this with you by sea, and you absolutely may not deviate from these orders.”

The Prince Captain-Laut had these thirteen letters taken to the Resident by the Imam-Secretary that same day. The Resident put the government seal on them, and the Imam-Secretary took them up again, and the Resident handed the Imam-Secretary the two Sultan's seals and the great seal to hand over to the Prince Captain-Laut. He would receive instructions regarding the use of the seals on the day of the installation.

The Resident gave him the seals early, however, saying, “When the committee writes a letter or signs a pass, impress the seal.”

When the Prince Captain-Laut returned, he had the great seal impressed on the thirteen letters, namely the Company seal on the right and the Sultan's seal on the left, and he called the committee to send the letters. The Alferes Siha took the letters to Makian, Kayoa, and Gaane; the Alferes Mohamad went to Dodinga, Kau, Tobelo, and Galela; and the Sarjeti Jidun went to Jailolo, Sawu, Gamkonorah, Tobaru, Tolofuo and Lolodah. As for the remote villages such as Sula and Taliabu, Banggai and Tombuku, they would not be summoned to pay homage as was customary until after the installation and the granting of the titles.

When the Imam-Secretary took the letters to the Resident, [p. 230] he also talked about payment of the recognition money, to the effect that, after the announcement that the Government had decided to install a Sultan,<sup>36</sup> the money would not be handed over to the

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<sup>36</sup> [p. 230, n. 1] At that time there had been correspondence about the desirability of bringing the Ternatense islands under direct rule.

committee but to the Prince Captain-Laut. The Resident agreed that this should be done, but not during the current month. The Prince Captain-Laut also asked for an advance, which the Resident allowed, so the Imam-Secretary took the monthly amount for the Sultan with him and it was received by the Prince Captain-Laut.

On Wednesday, after five o'clock, the Resident ordered the Fiskaal, Mr. Razoux Kuhr, to take the keys of the royal chest up and hand them over to the Prince Captain-Laut.

After the Resident had fixed the month and day for the installation of the Sultan, he instructed the committee to meet again to draft a letter and present it to him, requesting him to install the Sultan. The letter was to state the month and day as well as the titles of the Sultan. Accordingly, on Friday, the twenty-fourth night of the moon in the month of Sawal, the committee conveyed the titles, which were as follows:

*Assultan tajulmahsul banayatullalalihan sirajulmulka amirudin iskandar manurusadik wahuwa mina aladalin sah.*

In the same letter the committee requested that the installation take place on Monday, the fourth night of the moon, in the month of Dulkaidah.

The next Saturday, the Resident replied to this letter and had the native clerk take his reply to the Prince Captain-Laut. The answer was to the effect that the Resident, on behalf of the Government, approved the request of the committee [p. 231] and at the same time informed it that the secular and religious leaders with the princes and nobles and the three Ngofangares, all with their attendants, should be present at the Residency at ten o'clock that Monday.

On the above-mentioned Tuesday the committee was also ordered to make the necessary arrangements for the installation of the Ruler, and the Resident asked the Prince Captain-Laut to give a party at the palace on the eve of the installation. The Prince Captain-Laut agreed to this, but said that the customary arrival of notables, bobatos, and nobles to pay their respects would have to wait until the Prince Captain-Laut had discussed it with the committee. The Secretary was sent down, and when he returned, that same day the Prince Captain-Laut discussed with the committee the matter of the usual customs and homage and what they thought about the request of the Resident. The Jogugu and Hukum said, "It is better that you first carry out the request of the Resident, even if the local practices have to come later." [sentence added in the Errata —Trans.] The Prince Captain-Laut then sent the Imam-Secretary to the Resident to inform him that the request to give a party on the evening of the inauguration had been accepted with the greatest pleasure. He requested the Resident to invite the ladies and gentlemen, and said that he himself would ask the notables and bokis. The Resident assented to this.

During the month of Sawal, on Tuesday the twenty-seventh night of the moon, the Prince Captain-Laut sent the Imam-Secretary to the Resident to ask if he could have his share of the recognition money for the next three months in advance. The Resident allowed this. He had the money handed over to the Imam-Secretary to take up, and the Imam-

Secretary gave it to the Prince Captain-Laut. After the inauguration, f 330 would be deducted each month from the normal amount until the advance had been cleared.

The same month of Dulkaidah, the first night of the moon, at six-thirty on Tuesday evening, the Prince Captain-Laut moved into the palace with his wife *Boki Cina*, his elder brother, the retired Major, the Kapita-*Ngofa Janafi*, the Lieutenants-*Ngofa Aman*, *Mohamad Daut* and *Alwi*, the *Kali Mahdum*, [p. 232] the *Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis Sau*,<sup>37</sup> and the Arab *Mohamad bin Abdul Rahman Albar*, as well as the princes, younger brothers, and blood relations of the Sultan and their male and female servants. All these people came with him, and the two brother princes went in the carriage drawn by statute laborers.

On Sunday, the *bobatos* of *Heku* and *Cim* brought their attendants, young boys and girls, and the headmen of the *soahs* and their wives accompanied them; but they took them first to the *Jogugu Major-Prang* and he had them taken up to the *paseba* by a *marinyo*, followed by the headmen of the *soahs* and their wives, so that they could hand over their attendants to the *Sadaha-Kie* and the *Sahbandar* [added in the Errata —Trans.] and the *Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis*. For this purpose, *Heku* had provided three boys and girls, and *Cim* the same number. When the *Sadaha-Kie* examined them it was found that there was one girl from *Ngofaudu* and one boy from *Labuah*, and also one boy each from *Cim*, *Siko*, and *Ngofatake*. In all, there were two boys and one girl missing. The *Sadaha-Kie* and the *Sahbandar* would not accept this and sent them back to the *Jogugu*, who was to complete their numbers and then take them to the *paseba*. When they came back to the *Sadaha-Kie* and the *Sahbandar*, they were then handed over to the *Sadaha-Kadatu*, who took them to the brother of the Sultan at the palace.

In the month of Dulkaidah, on the fourth night of the moon, on Monday, at six o'clock, the *Kapita-Kie*, the *Kimalaha* of *Tomagolah*, *Pé*, had the pipers and drummers play together, going from the big gate down along the main road on the sea front as far as the boundary of the *Makassarese* camp, then turning landward up to the main road on the landward side, [p. 233] going up as far as the *Santosa* culvert and then returning to the big gate. The *tatabuan* normally kept in the big gate was taken along with the "tattoo" as is customary, so that the notables, headmen, higher and lower officials, and common people could be notified of the installation of the Sultan, according to custom.

At seven o'clock, the secular and religious leaders, princes, nobles, and three *Ngofangares*, with their processions, stood in readiness at the big gate and at the gate of the palace in such a way that the *bobatos* of *Soah Sio*, the *Sangajis* of *Heku* and *Cim* and the headmen of the people were in the palace; the officers, princes, and noble descendants were assembled in the big gate; the *lebes*, *imams*, and *khatibis* were in the big mosque; and the *sosebas* and *jurtulises* were at the guards' gate.

At eight o'clock the Major *Putra Abdulwahab* came with a large company consisting of sixty soldiers, four *halberdiers* from *Sula*, and four from *Toboko*; behind the *Kapita-Kie*

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<sup>37</sup> [p. 232, n. 1] This *Sau*, who at the time performed the three-fold functions of *sahbandar*, *khatibi*, and *jurtulis*, later became Secretary and died in early 1887. He often gave me very good information about the language, country and people of Ternate.

came the Lieutenant-Adjutant Tamadi, the Lieutenants Kamis and Mohamad, and a sarjeti carrying the flag, with a sergeant on each side, all three wearing swords hanging from their belts. While the drum and fife were playing, they marched up and halted underneath the balcony. Not until the large company turned out did the upas garnati ahi enter, twenty-six in number, together with four halberdiers from Sula and a piper, the head of the drummers, the Alferes Berhan, and the upas garnati salakah, thirteen in number, under the command of the Lieutenant-Ngofamanyira. These all lined up, as is customary, to pay respect. The large company and two musicians did not go down but waited for the honors to be paid beneath the balcony, under the command of the Major, who marched the company up and then returned alone to the big gate to go down together with the nobles and bobatos for the installation of the Sultan. After the decree had been read, he returned and waited for the command to pay honors to the [p. 234] Sultan beneath the balcony. When he went down, the Kapita-Kie and the officers remained with the battalion at the big gate to supervise the battalion.

At half past ten the Imam-Secretary Abdul Ajj and the Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis Sau first took the *kabesaran* (high-ranking people) down, preceded by guards wearing helmets of tortoise shell. The *kabesaran-kie* was led by the children of the bobatos of Soah Sio and of the Sangaji, supervised by the *Marinyo-Kie* Sabda and two persons with silver trumpets and two sticks with silver knobs, these items being carried by the youths from the kampongs. Then came the sosebas and jurtulises, then the four high sunscreens, carried by the children of the bobatos of Falarah, who were dressed in turbans of the type worn by young men, and white kabayas, with a cloth tied around the body—in this manner they were taken down. When they had returned, four young sosebas took the royal sunscreens. The pinang box, the spittoon, and the fan were carried by the jurtulis, and the empty carriage of the ruler was drawn by twelve people from Heku, dressed in blue kabayas, violet head shawls, and white trousers. There were upas salakah on both sides of the carriage, followed by the Imam-Secretary, the Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis, and the former sosebas and jurtulises, who all went down as far as the Soah Sio culvert. The notables and bobatos, the princes, nobles, and officers left the big gate, and all went down. They stopped for a short time near the mosque, where the lebes joined them. The notables and headmen passed the gate of the mosque. When the Prince Captain-Laut came out of the palace, he was wearing the attire of a Captain-Laut. At the same time the Resident had sent up eight Javanese soldiers and a corporal from the fort to walk beside the *bendi* of the Prince.

When the guards arrived at the entrance of the Resident's house, they stood in a row, as is customary; [p. 235] the kabesaran ranged themselves in the gallery, close to the upper end, facing downwards. The officers of the fort, the citizens, Christians, Chinese, Makassarese, and Arabs, the militia, the guard of the garrison, and the delegates from Tidore, consisting of the Hukum of Soah Sio, Abdul Rasid, and two bobatos, two khatibi-jurtulises, and two ordinary jurtulises, and one man of their honor guard, were all waiting at the Resident's house. The headmen of Bacan were still down below, and the Resident ordered that these delegates should come up as well, namely the Jogugu and Ngofamanyira of Latah-Latah, two princes in civilian clothes, and a jurtulis.

When the kabesaran and the secular and religious leaders, princes, and nobles had entered, the Prince Captain-Laut left and went down in his carriage from the Sultan's square. When he descended from the carriage, the Fiskaal received him at the bottom of

the stairs, greeted him, lifted his foot, took his hand, and arm-in-arm they went inside. The Captain-Laut was greeted by the Resident in the inner gallery; he sat down in a chair and had a few minutes' rest facing the sea. The Resident sat in the middle with the Captain-Laut and the Fiskaal on the left [the Resident's right] at the upper end; the Captain-Commander of the militia and the Jogugu Major-Prang Bungah, the Kali, the Major, the Kapita-Ngofa and the delegates from Tidore and Bacan sat facing south; on the right sat the Captain-Commander of the garrison and the officers and citizens, facing north; the notables, the bobatos, and nobles stood in the gallery with their faces towards the land—a few of them were sitting. A few minutes after being seated, the Resident stood up and the Prince Captain-Laut and all the gentlemen followed his example. The Resident began to speak:

“I notify all of you at this moment that the Government will appoint a Ruler over Ternate today and that the crown reverts to the Prince Captain-Laut, [p. 236] designated for that station by the late Sultan, his father. The Government has not appointed a ruler for more than three years, owing to the fact that on Halmahera a revolt had taken place, led by Hasan. This revolt is now finished and the distinguished Governor-General and Indies Councils at Batavia have informed me that they have approved and announced the appointment of none other than the Prince Captain-Laut as the Ruler. He will assume his high position because he is the legitimate eldest son of the late Sultan. The titles and names given to him are as follows: *Sultan tajulmahsul banayatullalalihan sirajulmulka amirudin iskandar manurusadik wahuwa mina aladalin sah*. A new contract with the Government will be concluded at a later date.”

After the Resident had said this, the Sultan placed his signature and impressed the seal on the statement, and the Jogugu, the Hukum, the Kali, the Imam, the Major, the Kapita-Ngofa, and the Lieutenant-Ngofa all signed it. The Resident told the Imam-Secretary to place the crown on the head of the Sultan. The Prince Captain-Laut took off his head shawl and the *Sosowohi* Nasarudin took it, placed it on a silver tray covered with a napkin, and took it back to the palace. After the Prince had taken off his head shawl, the Kali and the Imam-Secretary took the crown and placed it on the head of the Ruler with deep respect and homage, while thirteen shots were fired from Fort Oranje. After this they put the gold chain on the Ruler. Then the Resident congratulated the Sultan, who thanked the Resident in the name of the Government. Then all the officers and civilians congratulated the Sultan. The secular and religious leaders, the three Ngofangares, the princes and nobility all paid homage, followed by the delegates from Tidore and Bacan, and then everyone sat down again. The Imam-Secretary gave a [p. 237] sign to the Resident and the Lebe Ahgrah and the Kali Mohamadum read the prayer, and after they had gone out with their hands over their faces the guards brought in a small table with a silver pinang box on it and placed it before the chair of the Sultan. Then they brought a silver bowl with water to the Sultan and also tea and all kinds of cakes and the Resident and the Sultan and all the gentlemen took tea. After tea, the Resident accompanied the Sultan outside, the two walking arm-in-arm, and they remained standing in the gallery with their faces turned toward the sea. The Fiskaal read the decree of appointment while the garrison and the civil militia and the upas salakah and ahi were lined up, according to custom, as a mark of honor. They went inside again and sat down and talked for some time. The Resident told the Sultan that the ceremony was completed, so they both stood up again and, arm-in-arm, went outside. The civil militia, the garrison, and the guards presented arms.

When they came to the gallery stairs, they greeted each other by each lifting a foot and shaking hands, and they kissed each other on the right, left, and right cheek again.<sup>38</sup> The Sultan got into the carriage, while four young *sosebas* held the *payungs*, and the children of the *bobatos* of Falarah held the *payung* over the Sultan. The *Fiskaal* accompanied the Sultan back to the palace. The *upas ahi* led the procession, followed by the guard of honor from Tidore, the *kabesaran-kie*, two trumpeters, the *kabesaran* of the *sosebas* and *jurtulises*, and two heralds. Then came the Sultan with the guard of honor and the *upas salakah* on both sides; the *Jurtulis* followed with the *pinang* box, the spittoon, and the fan, and afterwards came the Imam-Secretary and the *Sahbandar-Khatibi-Jurtulis* along with the *sosebas* and the *jurtulises* [as corrected in Errata —Trans.]; then came the secular and religious leaders, princes, and nobles, with the delegates from Tidore and Bacan in the rear. They all went up. Near the gate of Fort Oranje, [p. 238] a salute was fired thirteen times. When they came to the road near the graves, the *tatabuan* and the small and large cymbals were beaten as a mark of honor. Near the big gates the small cannons were fired twice, and at Cape Bululu thirteen times. The big company stood in a row as far as the gate of the guard room and beat the drum, and the pipers played and the *upas salakah* and *ahi* and the guard of honor from Tidore presented arms. The musicians and violin players paid their respects beneath the balcony; the musicians, trumpeters, and clarinet players, who were standing at the bottom of the stairs on the seaward side, paid their homage in that place.

The *Fiskaal* and the Sultan descended from the carriage and went up, while the Turkish drums were beaten at the bottom of the stairs as a mark of honor. The secular and religious leaders, princes, and nobles, and the delegates from Tidore and Bacan all went inside with them. The Sultan sat down in the inner gallery in the middle, near the entrance, with his face toward the sea. In front of him was a small table covered with a red velvet cloth. To the left, on the north side, sat the *Fiskaal*. The *Jogugu Major-Prang*, the *Hukum*, and the delegates from Tidore and Bacan sat on chairs facing northward with their backs toward the land. On the landward side, on four rows of benches, sat the *bobatos* of *Soah Sio* and the *Sangajis* of *Heku* and *Cim*. To the north and the south of the nobles, the *Kali*, the four imams of the big mosque, and the four *khatibis* sat on chairs facing south; on four rows of benches sat the *lebes* and officers with their backs toward the landward side. The Major, the *Kapita-Ngofa* and *Lieutenant-Ngofa*, and the sons of the Sultan of Bacan and of the two *danos*, who were in civilian clothes, sat on chairs on both sides of the entrance; the princes sat on chairs on both sides of the entrance near the wall on the lower end and facing the sea. All the nobles were seated on chairs against the wall. A few sat in the middle on benches. Among them were many [p. 239] *bobatos* and officers. Of the latter, a few were also seated in the balcony. The headmen were seated on the north and south sides and all the *modins* were in the shed in front of the palace. When the large company with the *upas salakah* and the *ahi* had paid their respects to the Sultan upon his arrival, the Major ordered the drummers to beat a roll and the piper to pipe, and they marched to the balcony with their faces toward the sea. As a mark of honor, they joined the ranks of those who were facing the landward side while the decree of appointment for the Sultan was being read.

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<sup>38</sup> [p. 237, n. 1] Kissing during meetings on ceremonial occasions exists only in the manual; the origin of this custom is not known.

When everything was properly in order, the Hukum Jadi Abdul Rasid began with a *sembah* (respectful bow) and said a prayer in the manner customary for Tidore and Ternate; the Hukum Sangaji Makdim, the *Kimalaha-Marsaole* of Tidore, the Kimalaha-Marsaole of Ternate, the Kimalaha of Tomacalah Todore, the Ngofamanyira of Latah-latah Bacan, and the Ngofamanyira of Tasumah Todore each made a *sembah*; then the lebes, the imams and the Sangaji Bian did the same and prayed. Then the Fiskaal took the arm of the Sultan and they went outside on the balcony, near the balustrade and facing the sea, and the Fiskaal read the decree of appointment of the Sultan in Malay, and the Imam-Secretary Abdul Ajj read it in Ternatese, and it read as follows:

### **Memorandum of Confirmation**

of the Prince Captain-Laut Putra Ayanhar, who, as Sultan of Ternate, will bear the name and title of

*Sultan tajulmahsul banayatullalalihan sirajulmulka amirudin iskandar manurusadik wahuwa mina aladalin sah.*

The Government of the Dutch Indies has chosen and appointed at Ternate, in the place of the late Sultan Mohamad Arsad, the Prince Captain-Laut Putra Ayanhar, the legitimate eldest son of the late Sultan. Therefore, the aforesaid Putra Ayanhar, Captain-Laut, has today, the twentieth of October in the year 1879, sworn the oath before us, Owen Maurits de Munnick, Resident of Ternate, and has affixed his seal [p. 240] and signature and handed over to us a memorandum of allegiance like the one given by the Captain-Laut Ayanhar, and we have installed him in the high office of Sultan of Ternate, with the name and title of,

*Sultan tajulmahsul banayatullalalihan sirajulmulka amirudin iskandar manurusadik wahuwa mina aladalin sah.*

After the reading, everyone went inside again and sat down on the chairs. The large company and the guards marched back and fell in line as before to honor the Fiskaal when he left. After the company had formed lines, the Major went up and sat down on a chair. Tea was served, and the Fiskaal and the Sultan drank it, and the servants went back and gave tea to the secular and religious leaders of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan, and to the princes, nobles, and officers. Then the heads of the honor guard from Tidore were called inside and they also drank tea.

Then the Sangaji of Limatahu, Ahmar, made a *sembah*, greeted and paid his respects, and partook of what was offered to him. The Fiskaal asked permission to leave and the Sultan ordered the Major Abdul Wahab to accompany him downstairs. The large company and the guards were lined up; the drummers beat the drums; the pipers played; and the Turkish drum was beaten.

After the Fiskaal had left, the Sultan went into another room to remove the crown and put on a kerchief with a turned-up corner, and also a Sulanese hat. Once outside, the nobles and bobatos seated themselves, waiting to be given tea, and the sosebas brought pinang and sedekahs outside, in the amount of fifty guilders on a silver tray covered with a white napkin to be given to the delegates from Tidore; and ten guilders on a silver tray

covered with a napkin to be given to the honor guard from Tidore. A soseba carried this. The Khatibi-Jurtulis accompanied them and gave the money to the headmen at the bottom of the stairs. [p. 241]

The delegates from Bacan received eight guilders in accordance with the agreement reached at the time of the installation of the Sultan of Bacan, when the delegates from Ternate had received eight guilders.

The secular and religious leaders of the kampongs of Soahsio, Sangaji, Heku, and Cim, to the north, and the princes and nobles, and the three ngofangares to the south did not receive their gifts until they had come up and congratulated the Sultan.

After the notables and bobatos had had pinang, the Sultan allowed the delegates from Tidore to leave, sending with them his good wishes to the Sultan of Tidore. Then the delegates from Bacan also asked permission to leave; they left together with the delegates from Tidore and their honor guard.

The Sultan gave permission that that night the Resident and his wife and all the ladies and gentlemen could come to the palace for a visit, but not yet for a celebration. The celebration would take place the next evening. It was also ordered that the kabesaran, however many there were, should come that evening, except for the kabesaran-kie, and that the Jogugu, the Hukum, the Major, the Kapita-Ngofa, and the Lieutenant Ngofa should come in uniform. The princes and relatives, however, were allowed to wear civilian clothes. All were to be assembled on the balcony at seven o'clock. The Sultan also ordered the Major-Prang to have a marinyo go to the houses along the main road on the seaside, from the boundary of the Makassarese quarter to the big gate, to say that everybody should have pisang stems filled with resin placed in front of their houses. The space from the big gate to beneath the balcony was the responsibility of the Sadaha Kadatu.

After that, the notables, bobatos, princes, and nobles were allowed to leave and return home. They made a sembah and went down. After this the Sadaha-Kie and the sosebas departed, and then the Jurtulis, taking the kabesaran-kie with him. The Kapita-Kie sent the large company back to the big [p. 242] gate and the upas salakah and ahi went landward to the office, as is the custom.

## V

**Abolition of a Few Pagan Practices**

In the year A.H.<sup>39</sup> 1261, the year *Ba*, on the seventeenth night of the month of *Sawal*, on a Sunday, the Sultan ordered that all the notables and bobatos of Soahsio, Sangaji, Heku, and Cim be summoned, and also the *Lebe-Kali*, the imams and khatibis, with the princes and nobles and the three ngofangares.

At nine o'clock all were assembled at the big gate, and when the word came that they had been summoned, they entered the palace and sat down in the inner gallery according to custom.

The Sultan addressed them in this manner:

“I, the Sultan, have summoned you people, notables and bobatos, Kali, imams, khatibis, princes, nobles, and ngofangares, here today to effect a few arrangements for the country. The customs and attitudes adopted during the times of our fathers and forefathers, notables, and heads of kampongs, continue to exist unchanged. Also, from the time of the founding of the village of Foramadiahi until the founding of the village of Malayu it has been customary for each to be given a place according to his profession and that the customs be maintained in these ranks. A few of these rules are forbidden by the law, and have not been laid down in the Koran. Therefore, I ask you, notables, and headmen, whether it is better to keep on following the customs or to see what things are forbidden and then abolish them?”

The Jogugu Major-Prang Gamsungi and the Hukum of Soahsio and the Hukum of Sangaji, the Captain-Prang, [p. 243] and the bobatos of Soahsio, Sangaji, Heku, and Cim said: “Of whatever nature the considerations of Your Highness may be, we will honor them and follow them, and if it is permitted we will abolish the customs and ceremonies which are forbidden by the law.”

When the Sultan asked for the opinion of the *Lebe*, the Kali of Bangsa, Ilham, and the imams and khatibis, they answered: “The customs and ceremonies which are forbidden by the law date from the times of ignorance and they have not been laid down in the Book of God. If they remain in force, it is the same as the worship of idols, which is a great sin.”

When the notables and bobatos were asked for their opinion, they answered even more strongly that they held the same views.

And the Jogugu Major-Prang and the aforementioned notables and bobatos all answered: “We request Your Highness to abolish all the customs and ceremonies forbidden by the law, and we rejoice and are very happy that it has come to this, for it is easy and

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<sup>39</sup> [p. 242, n. 1] I have left the صم in the text untranslated; they are the first and last letters of the well-known صلى الله عليه وسلم.

good for us; we will only maintain those customs and ceremonies which are not forbidden by the law, and in this way we will attain a state of purity.”

Then the Sultan and the notables and bobatos and the Lebe agreed that the following regulations and customs should be amended as follows:

1. It is not permitted for the notables and bobatos to venerate and pay homage to the dead body of the Sultan, as they did when he was alive.
2. The wives of the notables, bobatos, and ngofangares are not permitted to wear sarongs of sagu leaves; neither are they permitted to dress in this manner when following the body of the deceased Sultan to the graveyard.
3. Women are no longer allowed to wear large hats and balls of red cloth during the procession. These items are to be worn by men when the dead body of a Ruler is buried.
4. Singing of the lego-lego in the palace or near the grave is not allowed.
5. It is not permitted for a guard of honor with two bobatos to call for the father and the [p. 244] mother of the deceased Ruler—actually a kimalaha from Marsaole and a woman from Marsaole (who act as such); nor may (another) kimalaha from Marsaole pay homage (to those persons); neither is it permitted for women from the kampong of Marsaole to weep inside the palace or at the gravesite.
6. Covering the palanquin and the riding-horse of the deceased ruler with black linen and having them follow the funeral procession is not allowed.
7. Making a kind of canopy in the palace after the burial is not permitted; neither is it permitted for women wearing high hats and red balls to sing the lego-lego there. Similarly, it is not allowed for any woman to accompany the dead body to the graveyard; neither is it allowed to make a bier in the house.

As a result of these prohibitions, these invalid customs and ceremonies will not be observed following the death of the Sultan’s younger brothers Captain-Laut Putra Abu Maha and Prince Major Putra Ahmad, and his elder brother Captain-Laut Putra Muhamad Daud.

The decision made by the Sultan, the notables, and the bobatos of Soahsio, Sangaji, Heku, and Cim regarding the customs and ceremonies that fall under religious law, as indicated in this document, is that they are not allowed to be followed in the palace and that one should abide by the Book of God. Other customs and ceremonies remain valid and are not abolished since they are not forbidden.

As proof of the authenticity of this arrangement, the Sultan will place his seal at the top and all the headmen will place their signatures under it; furthermore, it will be presented to our Father, the Resident of Ternate, who represents the Government, and he will be requested to sanction this decision.

(Followed by signatures)

## VI

**Ternatese-English Word-List<sup>1</sup>**

## A

**aci**, to crack, break or split, of walls and the ground.

**adat**, custom, habit (from Arabic).

**ade-ade**, appearance, outward shape.

**adi**, still, besides, moreover; *gila-gila ofiriadi*, he then also ran away.

**adu**, under, below; *enane ma-adu*, underneath; *toma ngote ma-adu*, at the bottom of the stairs.

**adu**, spleen.

**afah**, not (vetative); *afah waje mina*, do not.

**riafah**, *id.*; the prefix *ri* does not seem to have a special meaning but appears to be added only for the sake of euphony, unless it is used for superiors and equals to make the interdiction sound less strong.

**afo**, a tree, *Hernandia sonora* L.; the bark is put in the wash-water of newly born children. In Miquel and Filet it is wrongly called “*Asso*” and “*Bifi mafalla*.”

**ahadi**, Sunday (from Arabic).

**ahali**, family, blood-relationship (from Arabic).

**ahi**, rind, shell, skin, cover; *lemo ma-ahi*, the rind of a lemon; *bia ma-ahi*, the shell of a shell-fish; *upas garnati ahi*, the guards with tortoise-shell head-covering.

**ajaib**, wonderful (from Arabic).

**akal**, ingenuity, cleverness (from Arabic).

**akbar**: **bia akbar**, a kind of pearl-shell, in which small pearls are found; some call these *bia akar bahar*.

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 245, n. 1] Titles given to the present Sultan at his accession have not been included in this list, since on Ternate the prevailing view is that the transcription followed in the Government almanac is not correct. For the spelling of foreign words, I refer to what has been noted on pages 193 and 197 [of the original work —Trans.].

**ake**, water; for want of another word, “river,” and in this case even *ake lamo* for small stream; sometimes a place name.

Van Musschenbroek (*Tidschr. Kon. Inst.*, 4th series, Vol. VII, p. 30) is undoubtedly carrying things too far when he says that this word is derived from the Spanish *agua*!

**akherat**, spiritual (from Arabic).

**aktir**, decree of appointment (corruption of *akte*).

**aku**, can, may; *aku uwah*, it is not allowed.

**albahdir**, four soldiers with metal breast-plates and copper helmets, who march in front of the troops of the Sultan on formal occasions (corruption of *hellebardier*, halberdier).

**alferes**, ensign (from Portuguese).

**Alif**, the first year of a year-cycle of the Mohammedan era. The other years are *Ha, Jim, Je, Dal, Ba, Wau*, and *Dal*; the fifth and eighth years both have the number 4, as is more often found in the Malay countries. The calculation of the first day of the different months is done for the successive years in the well-known manner.

**aliguro**, a shrub, *Tabernaemontana coronaria* R. Br.; people who suffer from smallpox are sprinkled with water in which the flowers have been soaked.

In Filet it is incorrectly called “*Alligurua bonga*,” neither in the latter nor in Miguel is the medical use stated.

**Allah taala**, God Almighty (from Arabic).

**amo**, a tree, *Artocarpus integrifolia* L.; the fruit is eaten. It is incorrectly called “*ambi*” by Filet.

**amoi**, one, the first (used for people); see also *rimoi*. The ordinal numbers do not usually differ from the cardinal numbers.

**ampun**, forgiveness (from Malay); *lahi ampun*, to ask for forgiveness, apologize; as in Malay this is the usual polite form to a superior when refusing a request.

**amral**, pennant (perhaps from the Dutch *admiraal*); *pake bandera si amral*, provided with flag and pennant.

(See “Ceremonial Flags” for the use of pennants.)

**ana**, they, them; personal pronoun, masculine-feminine plural, and usually joins with *i*, e.g. *ana dero* or *ana idero*, they get; *si jou kolano tarima ana hangu*, the ruler did not receive them. To form a possessive pronoun *nga* and sometimes also *ge* are added, e.g. *ana ge ngafalah*, their houses.

**angah**, crevice, split.

**antarah**, the Malay *antara*; *ma-antarah wange rau*, after a few days; *ma-antarah futu romdidi*, with an interval of two nights.

**arah**, moon, month; *bia arah*, the *Conus* shell.

**ari**: 1. to weep, cry. 2. abbreviation of *hari raja*.

**artape**, corrupt form of the Dutch *aardappel* (potato).

**asal**, origin, descent (from Malay); *kodiho toma asal*, to return to the place of origin, die.

**asan jawa**, the familiar tamarind.

**astanah**, habit, custom (from Arabic).

**asu**, except, other than; sometimes joined with *bolo*, to become *bolo asu*.

**atas**, in, in accordance (from Malay).

**atawa**, or (in writings) (from Malay); or (in the spoken language), *bolo*.

**atis**, a shrub, *Anona squamosa* L.

**aturan**, arrangement, order (from Malay).

**awo**, blood; *awo bobudo*, *fluor albus*; *sidagi awo*, bloody diarrhea.

**awu**, sailor, oarsman; in the Malay of the Moluccas, often *masanai* or *masnait*.

**ayah**, mother.

**ayat**, verse from the Koran (from Arabic).

## B

**Ba**, the sixth year of a year-cycle.

**babah**, father; unknown natives are addressed with this word; those of Chinese descent are addressed with *nyong*. Since the titles of son and father are used in the epistolary style between the Sultans and the Head of the Government, this form is sometimes retained in the appended documents.

**babu**, to fall, be overthrown; *ibabu toma kaha*, they fell on the ground.

**Babua**, name of a sizable rock to the north of the island of Hiri, separated from it by a strait.

**bacah**, to read (from Malay).

**Bacan**, the sultanate and island of that name. This is the correct spelling, and is found in the letter of Valentijn (Ib, p. 122); I have never observed the  of van der Crab (in Naidah [van der Crab, *TKI*], p. 462).

**badan**, body (from Malay); *ibadan saki uwah*, he did not feel well.

**badu**, to stop, detain.

**bai**: 1. to show; *sibai*, display. 2. *bai marsaole*, women from the kampong of Marsaole, who hold a high rank in the native society since in former days the highest positions were held by people from this kampong.

**bailele**, the yelling noise of oarsmen or fighters, with which they express their joy and produce an artificial excitement.

**baju**, baju (from Malay).

**baki**, salver, tray (the Dutch *bakje*).

**bala**, the people, as opposed to the headmen (from Malay); sometimes also *rayat bala*.

**bala**, disaster, accident (from Arabic).

**balacai**: **B. roriha**, a bush, *Ricinus communis* L.; the leaves are used against fits in small children.

**B. hisah**, a bush, *Iatropa Curcas* L.; an extract of the bark is used as a remedy against thrush.

It is less correctly called "*Balletjaai*" by Filet.

**balas**, to reply (from Malay).

**balibi**, a tree, *Averrhoa carambola* L.; the fruits are eaten, and the leaves are spread on the mats on which people who suffer from small-pox sleep.

It is less correctly called "*Bilimba*" by Filet.

**Balisoan**, name of an Alfuru kampong in the district Sawu on North Halmahera.

**balkon**, balcony of the palace (from Dutch).

**bandah**: 1. to sing, e.g. *lego* or other songs; also a tune to lull a child to sleep, then usually pronounced as *bondah*. 2. band, belt, drone, boom; to rumble, crack; *maa-buau dokasaha rato*, the roar of it was like a storm.

**banderah**, flag (from Malay). *Banderah kompani* or *banderah batalyon*, troop-flag or battalion-flag; on this topic, see the description of ceremonial flags [[Appendix VIII](#)].

**bangah**, forest, wood.

**Banggai**, the islands situated between the Sula archipelago and the east coast of Celebes; ruled by a Raja who lives on the island of that name, and belongs to the Sultanate of Ternate.

**bangku**, the Dutch *bank* (seat); *otibangku*, a proa *bangku* (perhaps from the Portuguese *banca*).

**bangsa**, someone of noble birth (from Malay); also name of a kampong on the island of Ternate where only nobles live and whose name is actually Salero.

**bangsa ma-dopolo**, descendant of a headman or someone with the rank of headman.

**bantah**: **tolu bantah**, see *tolu*.

**bantung**, the Malay *bantu* (help).

**baracinta**, sorrowful, distressed (from Malay); the lengthening of *bertobara* is most probably adopted from Makassarese.

**barajaha**, constipation, obstruction.

**barangkali**, perhaps (from Malay).

**barhalah**, idol (from Malay).

**baris**, to drill (from Malay).

**barisi**, the Malay *bersih* (clean).

**baru**, a tree, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.; an extract from the leaves is given to prevent diarrhea. **baru-baru**, soldiers of the Sultan, who form one company of more than one hundred men under ten or more officers. Campen erroneously calls them "*orang baru*," which was then copied by de Hollander.

**baruah**, wooden box; *baruah ma-kuci*, the key of the box.

**basarta**, the same as *sarta*.

**basu**, to feel, perceive.

**basusu**, to bring forth, give birth to.

**bata**, tile, flagstone (from Malay).

**batakah**, a plant, *Kaempferia Galanga* L., the root is a medicine for small children.

**bataku**: **juru bataku**, servant or helper in the kitchen, which is a statute labor requirement for household services.

**bati**, tree-trunk, pole, piece of wood; therefore also boundary, since this is often indicated by a pole, and in the capital by a gun-carriage stuck in the ground.

**bato**, also, only, likewise.

**bawah-bawah**, a plant, *Euryeles amboinensis* Herb. It is less correctly called "*Bawafuru*" by Filet.

**baya**, a plant, *Amarantus tristis* L.; the roots are used as a remedy against dizziness. In Filet it is "*uge baya*," but *uge* is the vegetable prepared from it.

**bedah**, difference, distinction (from Malay).

**belo**, stake or pole, to which, among other things, a proa is tied in the sea (from Malay); *ma-belo* and *mamabelo*, being tied to a pole of proas; *tobelo*, to do this oneself; *nobelo*, to order

somebody else to do it.

N.B. One could also say *sibelo* for the latter, but that is rather stiff and is not used.

**bendar**, village, land, place (from Malay).

**bendi**, the familiar two-wheeled vehicle.

**beno**: **ngarah ma-beno**, door-post.

**besa**, rain; *besa foforai*, drizzle.

**besa-besa**, a creeper, *Aristolochia indica* L.; to strengthen their skin, babies are washed in water in which the tendrils of this plant have been soaked.

It is less correctly called "*Bessa magumi*" by Filet.

**bete**, a plant, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schtt.; the tuberous root is eaten.

**bia**, shellfish, shell; *bia arah*, the *Conus* shell; *bia akbar* or *akar bahar*; *bia fefe*, *bia kakapis*, *bia ngoco* and *bia ligi-ligi*, different species of pearl-shells described in detail on p. 60, n. 2 [of the original work —Trans.].

**biasa**, usual, customary (from Malay).

**bibilatu**, scorpion.

**bicarah**, to deliberate, consult with (from Malay).

**bido**: **bido ma-rau**, *Chavica Betle* Miq.; scabies wounds are cleaned with a decoction of the leaves.

**bido ma-sofo**, *Chavica siriboa* Miq.; the fruits are ground with a stone, mixed with lazulite and rubbed on the teeth to prevent dental decay.

As is well-known the leaves of the first species are never chewed in the Moluccas but rather the fruits of the second species together with lime and gambier.

It is incorrectly called "*Bida maran*" and "*Bida masofo*" by Miguel. The reason given by him, taken from Rumphius, as to why *Ch. siriboa* is preferred to *Ch. Betle*, is not plausible.

**bido rica**, *Chavica Roxburghii* Miq.; the small roots are put in the mouth like a quid to ward against toothache.

**bifi**, ant.

**bifi ma-falah**, stalk-bearing tubers, which belong to the *Rubiaceae*.

**bikah**, *Nautilus*; **bikah ma-ahi**, the shell of that animal.

**biki**, tail.

**biludu**, velvet (from Malay).

**bingun**, bewildered, confused (from Mal.).

**birah**, rice without husk; *birah ma-ahi*, paddy, *Oryza sativa* L.; *birah era*, boiled rice. In Filet only the latter is given, and it is corrupted to "*Biarera*."

**biraro**, a creeper, *Psophocarpus tetragonolobus* DC.; the seeds are eaten.

**biri**, to take away, bring.

**biru**, a blue coloring-matter obtained from indigo leaves.

**bitu**, lip.

**bobane**, see *pane*.

**bobato**, collective name of oarsmen or fighters, such as heads of kampongs and the like.

**bobatu**, a plant, *Millettia sericea* W. et Arn.; the roots are used to drug fish, which come floating to the surface of the water to be caught with the hands.

**bobu**, a tree, *Nipah fruticans* Wrmbs.; the wood of the trunk is cut into small pieces and put in the wash-water of babies, and the leaves are used for roof-covering.

**Bobo ma-dehe**, Cape Bobo, the southernmost point of the island of Tidore.

**boboocah**, 1. a kind of squid with long tentacles; the smaller species are eaten, the bigger ones are said to be dangerous to proas because they entwine them and drag them along. It is claimed that they live in coral-rock cavities and take on the color of that rock so that only experts can catch them. 2. a creeper, *Roxburghia javanica* Kunth.; the leaves are put on swollen parts of the body.

It is less correctly called "*Bootsja*" by Filet.

**boboso**, prohibited, holy, unclean (the Polynesian *tabu*); sometimes corrupted to *foso* and *poso*.

**bobudo**, white.

**bodigah**, bewitched, under a spell.

**bodito**, accident, disaster.

**boi**, to throw away, throw down; *siboi*, *id.*; *masiboi*, to do that to oneself, thus to jump, leap; *siboi tapu*, to cast the anchor, anchor.

**bok**, a kind of *Pandanus*, with big leaves, which plaited together in strips forms the familiar *kokoya* mats.

**boki**, a female descendant of the ruler.

**Jou boki**, the Sultana, usually called *Tuwan Putri* in Malay.

**boki ma-gutele**, a climber, *Clitoria ternatea* L. It is less correctly called "*Bokima kotele*" by Filet.

**boko**, big drum, Turkish drum.

**boleo**, big reef which extends far into the sea.

**bolo**, or (in contradistinctions); *ngana mina ena bolo uwah*, did you see it or not?

**bololo**, a kind of sea-snail, which is eaten.

**bongo**, side; *bobongo*, both sides.

**borakah**, a piece of black cotton cloth, worn round the left upper arm during mourning rites.

**borede** and **boborede**, to spit upon, namely by chewing roots or leaves and spitting the saliva upon somebody's body; especially used when it is suspected that a spell has been cast or that someone is haunted by evil spirits.

**borgor**, the Dutch *burger* (citizen), or the free people, not subjects of the Sultans, all enrolled in the citizen soldiery.

**kapitein borgor**, the captain-commander of that corps.

**bori** a plant, *Anamirta flavescens* Miq; the fruits are used to drug fish.

Filet confuses this plant with the *Millettia sericea*.

**sibori** or **sibori nyau**, to drug fish in this manner.

**boro**, egg; *namo ma-boro*, chicken's egg.

**boro-oli**, a plant, *Entada Pursaetha* DC; the tendrils are a remedy against stomach ache. It is less correctly called "*oli-oli*" by Filet and Miquel.

**brek**, the vessel of that name, brig, (from Dutch).

**brenti**, to stop, leave off (from Malay); *brenti cai-cai*, to stop for a short while; *brenti uwah*, without stopping.

**buau**, big beetle, *Euchirus longimanus*; it is attracted to light at night and tries to commit suicide in the flame; also drinks from the bamboo container on the arenga palm in which it is collected.

**bubone**, tree, *Cassia fistula*. It is less correctly called "*Bubuni*" by Filet.

**bubu**: **njau ma-bubu**, dorsal fin of fishes.

**bubuau**, a beetle; see also *buau*.

**budi**, good deed, obligation (from Malay).

**bugis**, Buginese.

**buk**, book (from Dutch).

**bukan**, not at all (from Malay).

**buku**, hill.

**bulah**, a skin affliction resembling scabies.

**Bululu**: **Bululu ma-dehe**, Cape Bululu, in front of the palace where a small brick wall has been built.

**bunga**, flower (from Malay); in plant-names more often *sayah*.

**buro-buro**, a kind of *Pandanus*, the small leaves of which are used to make the ordinary sitting-mats.

**busa**, wet, as opposed to dry.

**buta**, for hair to fall out.

**butu**, 1. market, market-place; erroneously called “*bunton*” by Valentijn (Ib, p. 207). 2. To press, impress; *osibutu cap kompani*, he impressed the seal of the Government.

**buah lawah**, the clove tree, *Caryophyllus aromaticus* L.  
It is less correctly called “*Bobolawa*” by Filet.

## C

**cai-cai**, just, a moment, at once, immediately; *domaha cai-cai*, wait a moment.

**cakah**, a kind of evil spirit (*suwanggi*), who appears in all manner of shapes to harm people.  
**cakah ma-bido**, a plant, *Chavica majuscula* Miq., used as a remedy against being bewitched (*gogolah setang*).

**cakah ma-namo**, a kind of nightjar [Dutch, *geitemelker*, “goat-milker”].

**cakaibah**, mask.

**cako**, to strike; *oras cako raha*, the hour strikes four; *wange cako*, late afternoon, early evening; *maku-cako*, to strike each other.

**calaibi**, honeysuckers.

**calamoi**, thousand, of animals and things; of people, *ngacalamoi*; *calamoi si raturomdidi*, one thousand two hundred; *calamoi si ratutofkangi si nyagitomodi si sio*, 1879.

**calana**, trousers (from Malay).

**calanyagimoi**, ten thousand, of animals and things.

**calaraange**, three thousand, of animals and things.

**camah**, neck.

**campadah**, a tree, *Artocarpus polyphema* Pers.; the fruits are eaten.

**cangah-cangah**, pirate.

**cap**, seal, signet; *cap segel*, royal seal.

**capilong**, the fruits of the *fitako* tree, see *fitako*.

**capu**, to mix (the Malay *campur*).

**carah**, in the manner of (from Malay); *carah sobat*, as a friend.

**carita**, story, to tell (from Malay); *ma-carita*, the story behind it.

**catu, cocatu**, to give, of a ruler to his subject; *catu idin*, to order, instruct.

**cidaku**, a strip of bark to cover the genitals (from Makassarese).

**cikabu**, a little, part.

**ciko**, to turn, lean over, list; *ciko hoko*, to curve towards the sea, usually with reference to the road.

**Cim**, name of a big kampong on the territory of the Sultan, subdivided into twelve sub-kampongs.

**cina**, Chinese (from Malay).

**cingah-cingah**, a plant, *Wollastonia strigulosa* DC.; an extraction of the leaves and roots is used against *fluor albus*.

**ciru**, to scrape off, shave.

**cobah**, so, if, in case (from Malay); *cobah aku*, if it is allowed.

**cobo**, touch for moment with the hand, e.g. the Koran when an oath is taken.

**cocatu**, also *catu*.

**cocoo**, also *coo*.

**coho**: 1. seize, catch. 2. *sijoho*, to bathe, dab.

**coho-coho tiru**, a bird, *Ceblepyris aureus*.

**coo**, to serve, serve a master, be in service; *co-coo*, a servant.

**coro**, a tree, *Urostigma lucescens* Miq.; on Java *rujak* is sometimes made of the fruits, but over here one says that they are poisonous.

**coro papuwah**, a plant, *Gynandropsis pentaphylla* DC; the finely ground stem is put in hot water drunk by women in childbirth. It is less correctly called "*Tsjorro boboa*" by Filet.

**coudu**, to take something under the arm, walk arm-in-arm; an odd custom between heads of government and rulers.

**cum: sicum**, to sew together, sew on to, see also *jum*.

**curum**, to prepare or cook in a pot.

## D

**dabu-dabu**, a kind of side-dish: a mixture of chilis, onions, *tamate* and salt, in which fish is dipped.

**dadangsa**, a dance with a regular tempo, performed by specially trained men and boys from the kampong of Radia during visits to the Sultan by officials and on festive occasions.

**dadi**, to happen, come about, occur (the Malay *jadi*); *dodadi*, ancestors.

**dafah**, to catch, seize; also, captured person or prisoner-of-war who later became a slave.

**dagilom**, friend, comrade, companion, follower; also *dagimoi*.

**daha**, inside; *toma kamar ma-daha*, inside the room; *ngaparentah ma-daha*, during their administration.

**dahe**, to hit, strike, emerge; also implements, everything which goes with something; *maku-dahe*, being at one, in harmony.

**dahengorah**, a plant, *Codiaeum moluccanum* Decaisne; an extract is made from the leaves and used as a remedy against prolonged fever.

A few of the regalia (made of gold and shaped like the leaves of this tree) are also called by this name.

**dahu**, below, opposite of *daku*; see also *daku*.

**dai**, sea, opposite of land, the same as *hoko*; *dai-tai*, on the seaside (the Polynesian *tai*).

**dakah**, there, at that place.

**daku**, at the top, high; *dahu si daku*, up and down.

**Dal**, the fifth and eighth years of the year-cycle; *tahun Dal awal*, the first year *Dal*; *tahun Dal ahir*, the last year *Dal*. This distinction of two years *Dal*, instead of two years *Jim*, is also followed in the Malayan countries.

**dano** or **danu**, a noble title for all male royal scions; *jou ma-dano*, grandchildren of the ruler.

**dari**, knife.

**darō: madarō**, to pop, roast.

**dastar**, turban; the black turban is worn by headmen and notables.

**dau**, a tree, *Bruguiera cylindrica* Bl.; the fruits are used against thrush in children. It is less correctly called "*Dau-dau*" by Filet.

**dau-dau**, a kind of skirt worn by women over the *kabaya* and *sarong*, which goes under the armpit and is tied above the breasts.

**dau-dau side**, a similar garment of sago leaves, worn only during special state ceremonies.

**daulasi**, a plant, *Urtica ovalifolia* Bl.; the leaves are put on wounds.

**daun kage**, mimosa (from Malay) or "the sensitive plant," "the herb that moves me not" (referring to the emotions).

**dayang**, female servant at court (from Malay); this word is rarely used.

**degi**, a shrub, *Abelmoschus Manihot* Med.; a juice pressed from the leaves is given in cases of poisoning.

**dego-dego**, a couch made of bamboo (from Makassarese).

**dehe**, cape, always placed behind the name and connected by *ma*, e.g. *Bululu ma-dehe*, Cape Bululu; *Baru ma-dehe*, Cape Baru.

**deho: nyau deho**, the fish which is called *tongkol* on Java, and which can always be found where the *cakalang* is.

**dek**, deck of a ship, also written  sometimes.

**dera: dodera**, to sit, rest, e.g. of birds on branches.

**dero**, to find, experience, or to obtain, acquire, get; *madero*, during, at the time of; *tatapi dero ana riuwah*, but one did not find them.

**dia**, land, opposite of sea; the same as *isa*.

**diahi**, see also *tiahi*.

**dibah**, to think about something, deliberate, e.g. *simarah ngoni ngadibah dokasaha*, what do you people think about it?

**dihutu**, owner; *falah ma-dihutu*, the owner of the house; also genuine, pure, real, e.g. *ngofa Mekah ma-dihutu*, a true-born Arab; *walanda ma-dihutu*, Dutch by birth; *mihodo ma-dihutu*, her own father-in-law.

**Jou ma-dihutu**, the Supreme Being, usually used as an exclamation and in this case meaning, “God is my witness that I speak the truth” or “May I drop dead if it is not true!”

**dingo**, to send, forward; *sidingo*, dispatch.

**dino**, loom; see also *tino*.

**disawu**, the big land-crab, *Birgus latro*, which is fed on *santan kalapa*, especially by the Chinese, and which becomes a very tasty food for Europeans.

**diti**, lizard; *diti cako*, gecko.

**diti-diti**, goods or bundles, which can be carried under the arm.

**doda**, to press, come down of a heavy object.

**dodai**, box, similar to the Malay *tempat*; *moku ma-dodai*, *pinang*-box.

**dodemo**, copulation, sleeping with; *sidodemo*, to order, instruct; *sudo sidodemo toma sagala manusia*, to give orders everywhere.

**dodengo**, a fight between men armed with rattan, *gabah*, or pieces of bamboo; it is performed on festive occasions, and is the most popular form of entertainment of the people.

**Dodingah**, name of a district on the west coast of North Halmahera, with a small kampong where this peninsula connects with Central Halmahera and from where traders usually cross to the east coast. Campen writes this place-name incorrectly as Dodingga, and this spelling is copied by de Hollander in his 4th edition of *Guide for Geography and Ethnography*.

**dodoku**, bridge, abutment of a bridge.

**dodutu**, rice-pounder (the mortar); *dodutu ma-ngofa*, rice-pounder (the pestle).

**dofa**, to fasten, attach, join together.

**dofomah**, stock, supply, provisions during a journey; *tofomah, id.*; however, it is not for one's own personal use but for others.

**dofu**, many, in abundance; *talalu dofu*, very many.

**dogo**, to add, enclose, append; *sidogo, id.*; *ngapakean mai dogo ena ma-hunya*, their clothes were decorated with even more ornaments.

**doho**, and usually *doho-doho*, small presents such as fruits, fish, etc.; *dodoho*, to know, be familiar with something.

**dokage**, then, thus, there was once; the stress is on the last syllable.

**dokane**, also, even, only.

**dokare**, as, for instance; the stress is on the last syllable.

**dokasaha**, as, like, just as; *dokasaha bolo dokasaha*, however it may be.

**doko**, a tree, *Areca glandiformis* Houtt. It is less correctly called "Doka" by Filet.

**dolosi**, a fish species, *Caesio erythrogaster*.

**domaha**, to wait, will, and as auxiliary verb to indicate the future tense; *domaha mina*, we will see; *domaha tosudo oro mina*, I will have her fetched; *madomaha*, to wait for, await.

**dono**: **madono**, to wash, rinse; see also *tono*.

**dopolo**, head (part of the body), also head of administration.

**bangsa ma-dopolo**, see also *bangsa*.

**doro**, gully, fissure, gap.

**dorofu**, a plant, *Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.; the dried and hollowed-out fruits, filled with the seeds of the *Guilandina Bonduc*, are sometimes used as toys.

**dosa**, sin, crime (from Malay).

**dosin**, dozen (from Dutch).

**doto**, to teach, instruct.

**doturu**, thunder; *doturu ma-ingi*, thunder-stone.

**dou**, a tree, *Bruguiera cylindrica* Bl., used for many purposes.

**douru**, follower; also *uru*.

**douru**, followers, minor headmen, who belong to a sub-kampong and walk behind the headman in the street.

**dowongi**, sand.

**doworah**, a tree, *Intsia amboinensis* Thouars.; the bark is soaked in hot water and drunk by women in childbed.

It is less correctly called "*Dawora*" by Miguel.

**dubo**, seed-leaves; *namo hate dubo*; also *namo*.

**dudu**, back, backside; *toma kie ma-dudu*, the back of the mountain, i.e. the west side, which is uninhabited; *ana itego ngadudu*, i.e. they sat with their backs toward the north; *njau ma-dudu ma-opo*, dorsal fin of fishes.

**due**, share to which someone is entitled, has or possesses (perhaps from Javanese); *nganani due (mina mi due)*, it is your property.

**dufah**, landslide.

**dugah**, to gauge, be accurate (from Malay).

**dugah-dugah**, but, however, nevertheless.

**duko**, stream of lava, red-hot stones spewed by a volcano.

**Duko Gulaba**, the so-called Burned Corner, most probably caused in 1737 (compare "Short Chronicle," p. 164, n. 3 [of the original work —Trans.]).

**Dulhaji**, the last month of the Mohammedan year.

**dungi**, scales of a fish.

**dunia**, world, the secular (from Arabic).

**duriang**, the well-known tree (from Malay).

**dutu**, fire-wood.

## E

**elah-elah**, *pisang* stem (banana stem).

**ena**, it; pronoun third-person singular, of animals and things; e.g. *ogasaena*, he brought it.

**enage**, these.

**enage**, that, this; in this way, likewise.

**enage**, this, that; see also *ena*. Also "it," of animals and things; see also *ge*.

**enane**, these, this.

**enane**, these, this; see also *ena*.

**esi: siesi**, to rub, polish.

## F

**faici**, child; *faici si fofoheka*, women and children.

**fajaro**, I; personal pronoun feminine singular, of an inferior to superiors and then usually with *to*, e.g. *fajaro to oki*, I drink. Before nouns it becomes a possessive pronoun, e.g. *fajaro ngofa*, my child.

**fajaro ngomi**, we; feminine plural and with *mi* added, e.g. *fajaro ngomi mi dero*, we got.

**fakat**, to agree, deliberate (from Arabic).

**falah**, house, dwelling; *falah mare*, brick house; *falah ngasu-ngasu*, pile-dwelling; *falah fargol*, see *fargol*; *falah gabah*, house with *gabah* walls; *falah Sultan*, Sultan's house or rest-house in the country.

**falah-jawa**, the compound in the capital belonging to the house of the Sultan of Tidore where there are also many other houses.

**falalum**, slave.

**Falarah**, name of a sub-kampong of Soahsio in the capital, where the *bobato* ranks first.

**fane**, to come up, rise (of the moon); *arah ifane futu nyagimoi*, the tenth night of the waxing moon.

**fangare**, I, me; personal pronoun masculine singular, of lower people to superiors (also sometimes *ngofangare*); for emphasis sometimes *to* is added, *fangare to* or *ngofangare to*, e.g. *mai ngofangare to sipodo khabar bato*, I will not dwell on this.

**fangare ngomi** or *ngofangare ngomi* (more polite to superiors), we, us; masculine plural and for emphasis with *mi*, e.g. *fangare ngomi mi tagi kage*, we are going there. Also possessive pronoun, e.g. *fangare oti*, my proa.

N.B. *Ngori* also means "we" but more haughtily, as from the Sultan to his subjects, similar to the Malay *kita*.

**fango**, payment, to pay; *fango gurua*, harbor-fees. This was abolished at the capital after Ternate was declared a free port in 1854; at Tobungku and Banggai they are still known as *labuh batu* or anchorage fees, which perhaps refers to the customary wooden anchor to which a big rock has been tied.

**fao**, to pull out; always with *belo*, it means pulling out the stakes to which the proas are tied at sea so they do not drift off.

**faranggarang**, simultaneous playing of drum and flute, as a sign that the Company is summoned.

**fardu**, see *ruru*.

**fargol: falah fargol** (usually *folah fargol*, since those are most commonly found on Tidorese territory), house with a double bamboo wall, filled with coralite and plastered inside and outside with a thick layer of lime; such houses look like houses of brick and perhaps that is the reason for the strange name. Campen, in *Tiidschr. Kon. Inst.*, 4th series, Vol. VII, p. 164, says that these houses are only proper to the districts of Maba, Weda and Patani, which is an error since they are also found, among other places, in the capital Tidore and some places on

Ternatese Halmahera; however, he does not give the names.

**fasik**, thief (from Arabic).

**fato**, in a row, lined up, something ordered; to place something in a certain order.

**fatu**, grip, handle; *dari ma-fatu*, the haft of a knife.

**fefe: bia fefe**, a sort of pearl shell.

**fere**, to climb, mount, ascend; *ifere toma kadatu*, they entered the palace (literally “climb,” as there is a stone staircase with thirty-four steps that leads to the actual living quarters).

**sibere**, to make climb or ascend.

**festa**, party, the Dutch *feast*.

**fete-fete**, a plant, *Crinum asiaticum*; the leaves are laid on burns and pieces cut from the fleshy bark frequently serve as bait when fishing with a line.

**fiki: sifiki**, to purify, cleanse.

**fiolah**: violin (the Dutch *viool*); as accompaniment at European dances the Sultan has several youths trained to play the violin, flute and triangle.

**firah**, relations, brothers and sisters; *firah ma-dihutu*, brothers and sisters of the mother and father.

**firi**, to walk away, flee; *ifiri maruah*, they already left. This word is written the same as *fer*; therefore, the meaning must be ascertained from the sentence.

**fiskal**, the regional, provincial secretary (the Dutch *fiskaal*), different from the secretary to the Sultans.

**fitako**, a tree, *Calophyllum Inophyllum* L.; the fruit is called *capilong*, and the bark is steeped in warm water and given to nursing babies to drink.

It is less correctly called “*Fidakka*” and “*Tsjopelon*” by Filet.

**fo**, we; personal pronoun masculine and feminine plural; e.g. *fo tagi*, we are going; *fo mina*, we see. The use of the prefix *fo* seems to be the informal way of expressing this; examples in this text are, therefore, not very clear due to the lack of other pronominal prefixes.

**foeo**: a plant, *Phaseolus radiatus* L.

It is less correctly called “*Fuo*” in Filet’s work.

**fofoheka**, see *foheka*.

**fofoheka**, woman (in general), feminine. See also *kawin*.

**fofoki**, a plant, *Solanum menlongena* L. The fruit is cooked and, prepared in different ways, then eaten.

In Filet’s work, it is less correctly called “*Fokki-fokki*.”

**foforai** or *besa foforai*, drizzle or light rain.

**foheka**, woman, wife; *nonau foheka tagi kasaha*, where are the woman and man going?; *ge oriki ana ma-ngofa si foheka riuwah*, he rarely meets with his wife and children any more.

**foloi**, more, more than; it is always placed after the adjective or counter, e.g. *lamo foloi, ngaratumoi foloi*. In common speech it is most often *lebe*, and placed before the adjective, e.g. *lebe laha*.

**fonai, oti fonai**, a proa, used for the *cakalang* fishing.

**forah**, plain; *forah madiahi*, large plain; also the place of the earliest settlement on a lower rise on the Ternate mountain.

**fores**: front room, inside vestibule of a European house (the Dutch *voorhuis*).

**forskot**, to advance (as in money, loans or goods) (the Dutch *voorschot*).

**foso**, same as *boboso*, see earlier entry.

**foturu**, severe, serious, to a high degree; *talalu foturu*, very severe.

**frei**, free (the Dutch *vrij*); *sifrei*, to free.

**freiman**, private person, private; *pake freiman*, normal civilian clothes, neither uniform nor ceremonial dress.

**futu**, night, evening; *difutu*, the morning, the following day; *sofutu*, at night, in the evening; *sofutu si wange*, night and day (from these forms it would seem that an inland system of calculation, in which the day followed the night, already existed before the coming of Islam); *sofutu tarah*, the same evening; *futu konorah*, midnight.

## G

**Gaane**, a district, which forms the southern part of the island of Halmahera, and belongs to the Sultanate of Ternate. It has been mistakenly written as Ganu, Gani or Ganeh by several writers.

**gabadi**, left, to the left.

**gabah**, leaf-stalk and mid-vein of the sago palm (in the Malay of the Moluccas, *gabah-gabah*), which is used to make walls, lofts and floors.

**falah gabah**, a house of which the above-mentioned parts consist of *gabah*.

**gaburah**, duck.

**gadi**, pay, salary (the Dutch *gage*).

**gagah**, fever, the so-called *apue*.

**gahu: magahu**, to germinate; *gogahu*, concern, business, profession, function, position.

**gai**, worm, maggot.

**gaku**, high; *pangkat yang gaku*, a high position.

**galala**, a tree, *Erythrina picta* L., the alburnum is a remedy for fish bites.  
**galala bangah**, the *E. lithosperma*, much more rare.

**Galela**, district on the east coast of North Halmahera which belongs to the Sultanate of Ternate.

**galeyasa**, a plant, *Alpinia Galanga* Swartz; the young roots are eaten, the older roots are used for stomach complaints.  
 It is less correctly called "*Galiassa*" by Filet.

**galib**, custom, habit (from Arabic).

**gamamu**, dark, dim.

**Gamkonorah**, a district on the west coast of North Halmahera, belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate; the village of Ibu belongs to this district.

**gamu**, village, place, city. Generally pronounced as *gam*.

**ganapu**, more, still more; *ganapu kolofino*, even more frightened.

**gandaria**, gallery (the Dutch *gaanderij*).

**ganemu**, a tree, *Gnetum gnemon* L.  
 It is less correctly called "*Gnemon*" by Filet.

**gapo**, a freshwater fish, *Ophiocephalus*.

**Gapi**, the former name of Ternate, still used sometimes in solemn speeches, and then as *kie Gapi ma-tubu*, the top of the mountain Gapi.  
**Mare Gapi**, see *Mare*.

**garak**, to take fright, frighten.

**garamakusu**, a plant, *Andropogon Schoenanthus* L.; fish is cooked in the leaves.  
 It is less correctly called "*Gumarukussu*" and "*Kamarakussu*" by Filet.

**garandi**, railing of iron bars.

**garnati: upas garnati ahi**, guards who wear pointed head-gear made of tortoise-shell (*ori ma-ahi*) and who are twenty-six in number; *upas garnati salakah*, guards who wear silver helmets, thirteen in number. Both belong to the ceremonial procession of the Sultan on state occasions.

**gasa**, to bring, bring with one; *sigasa*, recite, e.g. *osigasa sabea*, he read the prayer; *gasa tuan resident ironga*, in the name of the resident.

**gasi**, salt; *gasi jawa*, salt brought from Java; *gasi boso*, salt obtained by evaporation of strongly concentrated sea-water in *balangans*; *gasi soropu*, salt mixed with ashes, obtained by burning wood sprinkled with sea-water. The *hasi ma hohu*, which Valentijn translates (Ib, p. 206) as saltish food, makes no sense.

**gate**, stomach; *gate fere*, heavy feeling in the stomach.

**gawayah**, a tree, *Psidium guajava* L.; the fruits are eaten. In the Malay of the Moluccas it is called *goyawas*.

**ge**, this, that; relative pronoun; also a simple connective word added for the sake of euphony, e.g. *una ge*, he; *mina ge*, she (feminine singular); *ana ge*, they (masculine and feminine plural); *ena ge*, it, of things and animals.

**geger**, noise (from Malay).

**geha**, to place, put; *sigeha, id.*, to have something put or placed.

**genae**, that is to say, such as; the word is archaic.

**gete-gete**, a freshwater fish, *Anabas scandens*.

**gia**, hand; *gia ma-raga-raga*, the fingers; *gehaigia*, to place one's signature.

**gidi**, saliva; *gidi ma-dodai*, spittoon.

**giki**, human being (this is the purely Ternatese word, *manusia* was introduced by foreigners); *giki lamo*, a notable; *faici si giki lamo*, children and adults.

**giki amoi**, a kind of curse, is similar to *jou ma-dihutu*.

**gila**, long, opposite of short; *ma-gila moho tomodi*, its length is seven fathoms.

**gila-gila**, then, thereupon.

**ginado**, to ask, examine, inquire; *ma-babah oginado*, her father asked.

**gobu**, a plant, *Commelina benghalensis* L.; the leaves are applied to boils. It is less correctly called "*Gobbo*" by Filet.

**goco**, yield, product; *kaha ma-goco*, garden-rent, land-tax.

**godeho**, regulation, instruction.

**godiho**, a *Codiaeum* species. It is less correctly called "*Kodiho*" by Filet.

**gofasa**, a tree, *Vitex punctata* Schauer.; the bark is a remedy against abdominal complaints. It is less correctly called "*Kofassa*" by Filet, which led Robidé van der Aa to think that this tree did not appear in his dictionary.

**gofelah**, mosquito.

**gofu**, weeds, grass.

**gofu jelah-jelah**, grass species, *Orthopogon Burmanii* R. Br.

**gofu gurumi dodo**, a shrub, *Ruellia discolor* Nees; the leaves are used for babies upon whom a spell has been cast.

**gofu hairan**, a plant, *Leucas linifolia* Spreng.; Miquel records this name for Timor.

**gofu uku ma-nyefo**, a plant, *Eragrostis plumosa* Link.

It is less correctly called "*Uku-manjoffu*" by Filet.

**gogohu**, unripe, raw.

**gogolah**, ill, illness, being ill; *gogolah se-tang*, illness caused by a spell.

**gogolaha**, see *golaha*.

**gogoroahe**, see *goroahe*.

**gogoru**, affection, love; to love.

**gogugu**, title of the person who, in the outer villages, is the next in rank to the *sangaji*. This is actually the original title (derived from *gugu*), but in the capital one has, out of courtesy, changed the first syllable into *jo* or *jou* and, therefore, the *jogugu* is the highest non-royal dignitary selected from the people; see also *jou*.

**gohi**, a shrub, *Ficus Wassa* Roxb.; an extract from leaves in warm water is given to women in childbed.

**golaha**, to do, make, work; *gogolaha*, *id.*

**golden**, the Dutch *gulden* (guilder).

**golobah**: **golobah papuwah**, a plant, *Amomum villosum* Lour. It is less correctly called "*Globba boppo-lulu*" by Filet.

**golobah kusi**, a plant, *Alpinia gigantea* Bl.; the fruit is eaten. It is less correctly called "*Globba*" by Filet.

**goloudu**, armpit.

**gomate**, ghost-seer, mistakenly called "*gomahate*" by campen.

**gomu**, a tree, *Artocarpus incisa* L.

**gonaga**, appearance, semblance, face; *ma-gonaga*, it seems.

**gonorah**, waist, body, hip; see also *konorah*.

**gonyirah**, right, to the right.

**gorah**, general name for the *Jambosa* species.

**goraka**, a plant, *Zingiber officinale* L.; the root is eaten.

**gorango**, shark.

**gorap**, see *orang*; since these people do not have their own language, but rather speak Malay, they are called *orang Gorap* by the population.

**goro**, a bird, the *Noctus* species.

**goro-goro**, a tree, *Cerbera lactaria* Ham.; the leaves are rubbed into the most sensitive places in cases of backache.

**goroahe**, refuse, such as fallen leaves in a yard, pieces of paper, etc., on floor of a house, pieces of coconut or fruit in a proa, also articles of little value (in the latter case, usually *gogoroahe*).

**goroho**, oil.

**gosau:** **njau gosau**, a small fish used as bait when fishing for *cakalang*.

**gosau ma-dungi**, a plant, *Phyllanthus Niruri* L.; given this name because of its similarity to the scales of the *gosau*.

**gosorah**, the nutmeg tree, the *Myristica* species.

**gosungi**, a plant, *Enhalus Koenigii* Rich.

It is less correctly called “*Gossongi*” by Miguel and Filet.

**gotolo**, a kind of paddy-bird.

**gowigu**, basket in which chickens hatch their eggs.

**gowou**, a shrub, *Dendrolobium umbellatum*; the leaves are pressed and the juice is given against constipation.

It is less correctly called “*Gou*” and “*Goe*” by Miguel and Filet.

**gudu**, far, distant.

**gufernement**, government; during this century it has been used in place of *kompani*.

**gufernur**, the same as governor.

**gugu**, to hold, seize; *una ogugu sabel*, he held a sword in the hand.

**gogugu**, deputy-administrator.

**guhebah**, hen-kite, *Pandion haliaetus*.

**guhebah camah bobudo**, a species with a white neck.

**guhebah ma-golo cifi**, a shrub, *Trevesia moluccana* Miq.; the juice of the chewed roots is spit upon the bodies of those who are bewitched.

It is less correctly called “*Koheba magolotsiffi*” by Filet.

**guhi**, torrent, see *uhi*.

**gumi**, rope, or what can be used for it, also tendril of tree or plant.

**gumirah**, a shrub, *Premna foetida* Rwdt.

**gundi**, the corrupt form of *gundik*.

**guraci** 1. gold, golden (not to be confused with *kuraci*, yellow). 2. a plant, *Curcuma longa* L.; the root-stock is a liniment.

**guraci karabangah**, a plant, *Curcuma Zerumbet* Rxb.

**gurah**, garden, plantation; *gurah ma-ngofa*, island.

**guru**, father; like *haji*, used only for rulers.

**guruah**, harbour, anchorage.

**fango guruah**, harbour-fees.

**Guruah Ping**, the only kampong on Kayoa.

**gurumi**, shadow, shade.

**guti**, corruption of the Malay *gunting* (scissors).

**guwae**, general name for *mangga* (mango), the *Mangifera* species.

## H

**hadlir**, to appear (from Arabic).

**hafo**, a tree, *Canariopsis decumana* Bl.; the fruits are eaten.

**hagi**, debt, claim.

**hai**, centipede; *hai jangah-jangah*, earwig.

**haja**, to sprinkle with water; *singaja*, to sprinkle, spatter with the fingers.

**haji**, father (used for rulers).

**hajrat**: **hajrat al nabi**, the Mohammedan era (from Arabic).

**haka**, to give, present with; *haka waro*, to notify; *sihaka waro*, to let know; see also *catu*.

**haku**, itch, to itch.

**hal**, matter, condition (from Arabic).

**halal**, lawful, genuine, real; *ngofa halal yang ma-nyirah*, the legitimate eldest son.

**Halmahera** or *Hale ma-herah*, half-Tidorese and half-Ternatense name of the biggest island. (For more about the name, see Ch. IV, p. 45, n. 2 [of the original work —Trans.] )

**hami**, to kiss, embrace; e.g. *sarta hami gonyirah si gabadi*, and they embraced each other first left and then right. (This is a formality during the greeting of the Resident and the Sultan on state occasions.)

**hange**, a tree, *Alstonia scholaris* R. Br.; the bark is boiled and the water drunk for afflictions of the spleen.

It is less correctly called "*hangi*" by Filet.

**hangi**, lower part, e.g. the saucer of a cup.

**hangu**, see *hangu*. [This entry written in Ternatense with short "a" and "u;" refers to next entry with long "a" and "u" in Ternatense —Trans.]

**hangu**, not; *hangu moju*, not yet; see *uwah*; *sababu mina-mina dokage walomoi hangu moju*, because they had never seen anything like it.

**hanya**, but (from Malay).

**haram**, prohibited (from Arabic).

**hari: hari rajah**, festival day (from Malay).

**haro**, to, as far as; *haro ika*, arrived in that place.

**hasa**, war-dance or mimic battle, in the Malay of the Moluccas known as *cakalele*.

**hasi**, a lie, to tell a lie; *khobar hasi*, a false message.

**haso**, heavy of weight.

**hasta**, length of the forearm (from Malay); *ma-ngidu hasta rimoi*, its depth is the length of a forearm.

**hate**, wood, woodwork; *hate gila*, plank; *hate bangah*, forest tree; *hate ma-jaga*, *hate ma-ahi*, *hate ma-rau* and *hate ma-sofo*, see under the second words; *namo hate dubo*, see *namo*.

**hate bosuah**, a tree, *Inocarpus edulis* L.; the fruits are eaten.

**hate buwah yakis**, a tree, *Anacardium occidentale* L.; the fruits are eaten.

**hate buwah kira-kira**, a tree, *Xylocarpus granatum* Koen.; the bark is put in sagwire to make it bitter; putting together the parts of the fruit after it has been taken apart is a favorite recreation.

**hate bido-bido**, a *Rhizophora* species.

**hate besi**, a tree, *Blackwellia foetida* Wall.; the bark is put in warm water and given to women who are giving birth.

It is less correctly called "*Hate bassi*" by Filet.

**hate toteo**, a tree, *Cordia Myza* L.; the leaves are put on wounds caused by scabies.

It is less correctly called "*totebo*" by Filet.

**hate turi**, a tree, *Agati grandiflora* Dsv.; an extract of the leaves is given to women in childbed to drink.

**hate tome-tome**, a tree, *Flacourtia* sp.; the fruits are eaten.

**hate coro**, a tree, *Covellia racemifera* Miq.; an extract of the bark in warm water is given to women in childbed.

It is less correctly called "*tsjorro*" by Filet.

**hate dofah maboro**, a tree, *Melanolepis calcosa* Miq.; the juice obtained from the leaves is a remedy for poisoning.

It is less correctly called "*Hate doffal madoro*" by Filet.

**hate dingah**, a plant, *Polypodium quercifolium* Wlld.

It is less correctly called "*dinga-dinga*" by Filet.

**hate sonyiha**, a tree, *Caesalpinia Sappan* L.; an extract of the alburnum is given in cases of dysentery.

It is less correctly called "*sunia*" by Filet.

**hate fisa furu**, a parasitic plant, *Ficus sariiegata* Bl.

**hate namo-namo**, a tree, *Cynometra cauliflora* L.; the fruits are eaten.

**hatibi** or **khatibi**, preacher (from Arabic).

**hatubah**, sermon (from Arabic).

**hau-hau**, fishing with a line at a depth of several fathoms, with a stone attached to a *seho* leaf, which is sunk to the bottom and pulled loose with a jerk.

**heer**, the former title of heads of government.

**heku**, to hide, hidden; *mahiku*, to order somebody to hide something or put something away.

**Heku** or **Hiku**, the name of a large kampong, in the Sultan's territory on Ternate, to which twelve smaller kampongs belong.

**helah: helah kaki**, to place the two feet together when greeting someone, sometimes lifting one leg slightly while doing this (from Malay).

**hele**, to step, walk.

**hemah**, seat for rowers in a proa; *oti ma-hemah ngasio*, a proa with seats for nine oarsmen.

**henah**, the *pinang* tree, *Areca catechu* L.; its nut is used when chewing betel (*moku*).

**herah**, keel of a vessel; *oti ma-herah*, outrigger proa if only consisting of the bottom-piece without the sides being raised.

**heran**, surprised (from Arabic).

**hida**, to look; *ohida ika*, he looked in that direction.

**hiku**, to hide, conceal; *mahiku*, to instruct someone to hide or conceal something.

**himo**, old, opposite of young; *mahimo*, a title for elders, position under the head of the kampong.

**himo-himo**, old people, usually ancestors.

**hio: mahio**, to blow, whistle.

**hirah**: 1. to lose, disappear, be lost; *sihohirah*, to make disappear. 2. *hirah-birah*, close relations, one's own brother and sister.

**hiri**, to catch, take in.

**hiri harah**, the Malay *huruhara*.

**hisa**, hedge, fence.

**hitu**, kitchen, cooking place.

**hobu**, swelling of injured spot, lump.

**hodo**, 1. to water; *mahodo*, to sprinkle water on oneself near a well. 2. father-in-law.

**hodu**, do not want.

**hohe**, to laugh.

**hohoro**, boil (blood blister?).

**hohu**, foot, paw; *mejah ma-hohu*, the legs of the table.

**hoi**, to take off, divest oneself of; *mahoi*, to move house; *mai jou kolano hodu mahoi*, the ruler did not want to move.

**hoko**, to burn.

**hoko**, seaward, toward the sea-side.

**horu**: 1. to paddle; a paddle (also, *sari*). 2. sea-crabs, the *Palinurus* species, e.g. *horu jubi*, *horu boso*, etc.

**hotu**, to sleep; *sihotu* and *masihotu*, to lie down on something to sleep.

**hudah**, sago-flour; *hudah raro*, sago-bread or cookies.

**hukum**, title of headmen; also law, regulations; *hukumul adat* and *hukum saraa*, human and divine law (from Arabic).

**hunyah-hunyah**, ornaments, decorations.

**hutu**: 1. hair of the head. 2. one (used for houses), the same as the Malay *sabuwah* [i.e., a counter word—Trans.]. 3. Also the origin of something, e.g. *ake ma-hutu*, source, well. Perhaps there is some connection between this word and *dihutu*, but there is not generally thought to be.

## I

**i**, they; personal pronoun, masculine and feminine plural; usually used together with *ana*, e.g. *simarah iwaje*, they said; *ana iino*, they come.

It is sometimes used if there is no plural form, so that one would be inclined to think that the prefix is used for the sake of euphony, e.g. *kapal iwosa mote Hiri si Babua ma-soah tarah, iumo tapu toma labuan*, the ship went southward through the strait between Hiri and Babua and cast anchor in the roadstead.

Placed before nouns *i* is the possessive pronoun of the third person, masculine singular, e.g. *ironga*, his name; *ibabah*, his father.

It gives a passive meaning to causative verbs, e.g. *isinyata*, to be explained; *isingongaje*, to be narrated.

**ibn**, son (from Arabic).

**ici**, small, insignificant; *ici si lamo*, big and small.

**idi**, to yell, make a noise or sound.

**idi-idi**, a kind of starling, *Lampitornis*, with red eyes, which feeds on the fruits of the *campaka* tree. It is caught with a special kind of trap.

**idi-idi ma-lako**, a trailer, *Abrus precatorius* L.; the leaves are a remedy against a cough. In Filet and Miquel it is less correctly called "*Ide-ide malako*."

**idin**, permission, also order, charge; therefore, to say or speak of a superior (from Arabic).

**ido: nyau ido**, a fish of the *Thymnus* species, called *cakalang* in the Malay of the Moluccas. For more details see p. 45, n. 3 [of the original work—Trans.].

**ido waho**, plant, a kind of *alang-alang* or *glagah*; the ears are eaten; the Dutch *bloempluimen*. It is incorrectly called "*Idomahu*" by Filet.

**ie**, going up, upward; at Ternate this means northward, in the direction of the palace of the

Sultan (on northwest Halmahera it is just the opposite, about which van der Crab in *Naidah*, p. 467, makes a mistake; such usage is also found on Celebes). *Ie tarah*, to go upward and downward, up and down. It sometimes has a verbal meaning, e.g. *oie*, he goes up or northward. See also *mie* and *kore*.

**igi**, fish-trap.

**igo**, coconut; *igo ma-ake*, coconut water, also green coconut; *igo ma-hate*, coconut tree, *Cocos nucifera*. *Igo-igo*, a plant, *Phyllanthus urinaria* Willd.

**iha**, to navigate a proa along the coast or, as the natives usually do, follow each inlet close to the shore.

**iho**, muck.

**ijah**, value, price; *kai ma-ijah*, the price of a marriage, e.g. dowry.

**ika**, there; *ika-ino*, here and there.

**imah**, general name of the *Dioscorea* species.

**imah kastela**, *Batatas edulis* Chois.

**imam**, leader of the prayer (from Arabic).

**iman: bariman**, to have faith in; believing (from Arabic).

**ingi**: 1. tooth; *ingi lamo*, molar; *doturu ma-ingi*, thunder-stone. 2. the place where a reef ends in the sea; thus it can only be compounded with *nyare* to form *nyare ma-ingi*.

**ino**, to come, e.g. *oino si kolano*, he came to the ruler; *pasa toma enage iino uwah*, they did not come later.

**ika-ino**, see *ika*.

**si ino ge**, until, then.

**io** or **iy**, elder brother or sister; *io ma-ngofa*, child of brother or sister.

**irah**, bad, evil.

**isa**, ashore, on shore; the opposite of *hoko*, to the sea.

**ise**, to hear, e.g. *iise idin enage riuwah*, they did not listen to that order; *sigise* or, better, *sigogise*, to listen.

**iskilm**, the clarinet-shaped instrument on which the key is given when the *lego* is performed in the royal palace (corruption of *schalmei* [the Dutch *shawm*, "reed-pipe"]).

**iskunyer**, schooner (the Dutch *schoener*).

**islam: manusia islam**, Mohammedan.

**isnen**, Monday (from Arabic).

**iso**, tuber, root-tuber, root-stock.

**iste: iste litnan**, first lieutenant.

**istiadat**, custom, usage (from Arabic).

**istinjah**, ring-finger; see also *ragah*.

## J

**jaga**: 1. *hate ma-jaga*, tree branch. 2. to guard, keep watch (from Malay).

**jaha**: 1. wave; *mie ma-jaha*, waves from the north; this is what one calls (at Ternate) the swell on the beach during the months of December and January. 2. to sink; *jojaha*, to submerge (of persons only).

**jahaliah**, ignorance (from Arabic).

**jahe**, lid, cover; e.g. *sosaha salaka rimoi si jahe serwet bobudo*, a silver salver covered with a white napkin.

**jai-jai**, fast, soon, prompt; *sudo una ie jai-jai*, ordered him to go up quickly.

**jaij**, to approve, choice (from Arabic).

**Jailolo**, in former days, according to tradition, an independent state on Halmahera; at present it is the name of a district on that island, belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I have always had the impression that European writers attached more importance to the Rajaship of Jailolo than it actually had. The administration of Jailolo, as is still the case with Lolodah, would have been in the hands of a Raja and more or less subordinate to Ternate. Most probably both parties clashed with each other on several occasions and because of instigations by discontented refugees or exiled royal relatives, resulting in many revolts, that rajaship was eventually abolished. However, this must have happened very long ago, since it is very difficult to obtain reliable information about these events on Ternate.

**jairat**, to worship or pray, when visiting a holy place (from Arabic).

**jaji**, to promise, vow (the Malay *janji*).

**jalanggaro**, a shrub, *Hibiscus surattensis* L.; for eye diseases the eyes are dabbed with the shoots of the young leaves. It is less correctly called "*Djalam-garo*" and "*salam-garo*" by Filet.

**jalu-jalu**, a plant, *Sesuvium repens* Willd.; juice pressed from the leaves is drunk by consumptives. It is less correctly called "*Djallo-djallo*" by Filet.

**jaman**, time (from Arabic).

**jangah**, to glitter, flicker.

**jango**, beautiful, fine, pretty.

**jarah**, horse; *pane jarah*, to mount a horse, ride a horse. Perhaps this word has been taken

from Javanese or Makassarese, since horses are not found on any of the Ternatese islands, except for a few, imported by Europeans or Chinese.

**jere**, place of sacrifice, grave of a saint or someone who is considered a saint.

**jih**i, oyster, a somewhat different species which attaches itself to the roots of *Rhizophores*.

**jiko**, inlet, bay; also used for district, after the place always situated in a bay where the main kampongs are close together.

**jo**, abbreviation of *jou*, see also *jou*.

**jogugu**, governor, regent; see also *jou* and *gogugu*.

**jojaha**, see *jaha*.

**jojaro**, girl, unmarried woman; *jojaro ici*, young girl.

**jongih**i, place, abode.

**jou**, gentleman; also abbreviated as *jo*.

**jou boki**, Sultana, as distinct from the princesses who are only called *boki*.

**jogugu**, governor or the highest of the people, the first person after the Captain-Laut.

**jou kolano**, ruler.

**jou ma-ngofa**, prince.

In the Malay of the Moluccas respectable natives are often addressed as *jo*.

**jua: juadanya**, the same as in Malay.

**juanga**, a kind of vessel, called *kora-kora* in the Malay of the Moluccas.

The latter word is, as is known, of Portuguese origin.

**juba**, a long *baju* (from Arabic).

**juju**, to fill, load a gun.

**jum**, to announce, notify (used alternately in the colloquial speech with *cum*).

**jumaati**, Friday (from Arabic).

**jumutufah**, a plant, *Ophioglossum ovatum* Sw.; the leaves are eaten as a vegetable.

It is less correctly called "*Tjomu-tuffa*" by Filet.

**jungku: oti jungku**, a kind of vessel, junk.

**jungutu**, mat, sleeping-mat; *sosi jungutu*, to unroll a mat.

**jurtulis**, a corruption of *juru tulis*, clerk (from Malay).

**jurtulis lamo**, the first clerk of the Sultan, usually called Secretary.

**jurtulis malayu**, native clerk in the Residency office. See further under *ngofangare*.

**juru-mudi**, helmsman (from Malay).

**K**

**ka**, so that, until, for; e.g. *ka matogu riuwah*, so that it did not finish; *lahi manusia ka una ioti ma-awu*, asked people to be oarsmen of his vessel.

**kaarah**, first then; *sikaarah, id.*

**kabasaran**, procession, retinue (from Malay).

**kabi-kabi**, a shrub, *Graptophyllum hortense* Ness.; the leaves are pressed and the juice is drunk for fevers.

**kabila**, box plaited from *pandan* or *tabisasu* leaves (the same as the Makassarese *kambilo*).

**kabo**, police-guard.

**kadatu**, also *kadatung*, the palace of the Sultan (from Malay).

**Kadatu Todore**, the house where the Sultan of Tidore stays when he visits the capital.

**kado**, until, to; *sigado, id.*

**kadudi**, scabies.

**kage**, there; *nagi kage*, who is there?

**kage-kage**, the Malay *kaget*.

**kagungah**, the big sultan's proa for sixty oarsmen.

**kaha**, land, region; e.g. *kaha Halmahera, kaha Yabah*, etc.

**Kaha Lamo**, the big land, the colloquial name for Halmahera.

**kaha ma-goco**, the tax paid by people from other islands or districts to the head of a district for the permission to cultivate a garden.

**namo kaha**, see *namo*.

**kahandak**, to wish, desire (from Malay).

**kai**, to marry (the Persian *kawin*); *kai ma-ijah*, dowry.

**kaicil** (also *kaicili*), title of a ruler or someone of royal birth, in Malay usually translated as *prins* [prince].

Tiele (*Tiidschr. Kon. Inst.*, 4th series, Vol. I, p. 357) is mistaken when he says that this title does not apply to sultans.

**kailupah**, a tree, *Eriodendrumfractuosum* DC.; the fibers are used to fill pillows.

**kalababah**, a plant, *Alocasia macrorrhiza* Schott.; the rind of the stems is put in hot water which is drunk for stomach disorders.

It is less correctly called "*Kaba*" by Miquel and Filet.

**kalafah**, a kind of *teredo*, which bores through the poles placed in the sea.

**kalafangare**, statute laborers who are drafted as *upas* or *kabo*, or set to work as *juru batak*

by the princes or headmen.

**kalakuan**, conduct, attitude (from Malay).

**kalanjingah**, a scaly skin disease. The loosened scales have a blackish hue.

**kalari**, ready, to get ready (the Dutch *klaar*).

**kalaudi**, headman of a kampong.

**kalawai**, a lance with iron barbed hook.

**kalawarnet**, clarinet.

**kaleha**, a parrot species, *Eclectus megalorhynchus*.

**kali**, religious head (from Arabic).

**kalonde**, an edible snail, called *simping* on Java.

**kamalengah**, a creeper, *Benincasa cerifera* Savi.

**kamar**, room (the Dutch *kamer*).

**Kamis**, Thursday (from Arabic).

**kamo-kamo**, blue.

**kampung**, quarter; used only for the Chinese and Makassarese quarters in the capital.

**kamu: ake ma-kamu**, water-cask, water-jug, also thick bamboo in which to store water.

**kanangah**, a tree, *Cananga odorata* Hook.; the flowers are used for decoration.

**kanange**, just now, recently.

**kanapu**, three-legged occasional table (the Dutch *knaap*).

**kane**, here, in this place (the stress falls on the second syllable); in colloquial speech usually *kanemarah*.

**kano-kano**, a reed species, the *Arundo* sp.; the stems are scraped and then ground and applied externally for eye diseases.

**kantor**, office (from Dutch).

**kapah**, the cotton-shrub, *Gossypium indicum* Lam.; the leaves are pressed and applied to the abdomen during intestinal disturbances.

**kapal: kapal prang**, war-ship (from Malay); *kapal mel*, mail-steamer, whose arrival, according to the people, is always announced by a rain-shower.

**kapita**, original form of the word *kapiten*, now more common; see *kapiten*.

**kapita kie**, the person in charge in the big gate, who conveys the orders of the Sultan to the

officers on duty.

**kapiten; kapiten-laut** (the native *kapita* has become *kapiten*), the highest authority after the Sultan, whose duties correspond with those of *sahbandar* in the Malay countries; only the nobles, usually close relatives of the Sultan, are appointed.

There are also captains in the company of the Sultan, and the Head of the Makassarese also holds the titular rank of captain in the citizen soldiery.

**kaporal**, corporal; corrupt form of the Dutch *korporaal*.

**karamat**, holy grave, holy place (from Arabic).

**karana**, for (from Malay).

**kare**, to look for, examine, seek.

**kareta**, carriage (from Portuguese).

**kasaha**, where, where to (interrogative pronoun); *tagi kasaha*, where are you going?; *kasaha si no ino*, where are you (sg.) coming from?; *kasaha si ni ino*, where are you (pl.) coming from?

**kastelah**, "Turkish wheat," *Zea Mays* L. [i.e., maize]; perhaps the name is due to the fact that Castilians introduced maize into these regions. *Milu* is the name in the Malay of the Moluccas.

**kasuba**, the color violet (from Malay).

**kata**, to accompany, go with someone.

**katalah**, the white cockatoo.

**kate-kate**, a creeper, *Guilandina Bonduc* L.; the leaves are rubbed into the back against backache.

**kati**, the weight of the same name, or catty; also to weigh (from Malay).

**katu**, thatch, for which mainly the leaves of the sago palm are used, sewn together in strips one fathom in length and overlapping a hand's breadth, to form a roof-covering which can last five to six years.

**Kau**, a district on the east coast of North Halmahera, which belongs to the Sultanate of Ternate. In the text it is indicated as a place of exile, since it has long been the custom to exile people who misbehaved on Ternate to Halmahera.

**kaus**, stocking (the Dutch *kous*); see also *saha*.

**kawin**, wife or spouse of a highly-placed person; for lesser people, see *foheka*.

**kayu lasi**, a tree, *Semecarpus Forstenii* Bl.; the wood is used to make furniture. It is less correctly called "*Lassi-Iassi*" by Miquel and Filet.

**keho**, a general name for mushrooms.

**keler: maku-keler**, to go arm-in-arm (from Malay).

**kelo**, the *Moringa pterygosperma* Grtn. (from Malay).

**khabar**, information, news; *sikhabar*, to inform (from Arabic).

**khalifat**, to raise, appoint as ruler (from Arabic).

**kiau**, young, opposite of old; *ngofa kiau*, a newly born child.

**kie**, mountain; *kie Tarnate*, the mountain of Ternate (the only name by which this mountain is known in these regions).

The four hilly elevations on the top are known by the names of Mekah, Medina, Terkan and Wakaf; the last is the crater-wall. (For more details, see the description of the capital on p. 2, n. 2 [of the original work —Trans.] )

**kimalaha**, head of a kampong or head of several kampongs, but lower than *sangaji*. Campen claims somewhere that this word is derived from *kiema-laha*, but he is mistaken for *ki* is an abbreviation of *giki*, which is apparent from the fact that the Tidorese use the first syllable of this word in calling such a head *gimalaha*.

**kintal**, compound, yard of a house (from Malay); *sigi lamo ma-kintal*, the yard of the big mosque.

**kipas**, fan (from Malay).

**kirah-kirah**, to think, suppose; *sakirah-kirah*, at a guess (from Malay).

**kitab: kitab Ullah**, Book of God (from Arabic).

**kobu**, the Dugong.

**kodiho**, again, anew, once more, return; *tagi kodiho*, to return; *ikodiho ie*, they went back to the palace.

*Sigodiho* and *masigodiho*, causative forms of *id*.

**kofo**, the outer cover of a *pisang*-stem.

**kofo sangi**, a wild *pisang* species, *Musa mindanensis* Rumph.; bait is tied to the fishing line with fibers of the stem.

It is less correctly called "*Fana*" by Miquel and Filet.

**kogah**, what, why (interrogative pronoun); *kogah-kogah*, something, some, only one; e.g. *ohaka titah kogah-kogah si ana lewak*, he gave only one order to the guard of honour.

**koi**, general name for *pisang*, the *Musa* species.

It is less correctly called "*Kojo*" by Filet.

**koi ma-rau**, leaf of *pisang*; also a kind of ceremonial flag.

**kokaro**, to call; *sudo kokaro*, to send for someone.

**kokehe**, cough, to cough.

**koko**, to get up from a sitting posture; *kokoko*, the substantive form, also used as an imperative; see *oko*.

**kokotu**, black.

**kolano:** 1. ruler; the people seldom use the title of Sultan, but they use *jou kolano*, Lord Ruler.  
**kolano ma-ngofa**, son of the ruler.

**Kolano Palembang**, the Sultan of Palembang, exiled to Ternate in 1822.  
 2. little finger, see *ragah*.

**kolder:** **makolder**, to be under the command of.

**kolofino**, afraid, apprehensive; *talalu kolofino*, very alarmed.

**kololi**, the Malay *kuliling*; *sigololi*, rowing or paddling around, being a mark of honor shown to officials who approach a village by the headmen who come out in a proa to meet them.

**koloncucu:** 1. a tree, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir.; it is grown everywhere in graveyards in these regions.

It is less correctly called “Kulong-sjutsju” by Filet.

2. name of a kampong on the island of Ternate.

**kolotadah**, a shrub, *Leea sambucina* Willd.; the leaves are put on wounds. It is less correctly called “*Kollotala*” by Filet.

**komadant**, the commanding officer of Fort Oranje; generally an officer with the rank of captain, since the commanding officers of the citizen soldiery and the garrison also have that rank.

**kome**, a tree, *Morinda bracteata* Roxb.

It is less correctly called “*Komi-komi*” by Miquel and Filet.

**komisi**, the well-known Committee, in the usual sense, and also everyone who has a special assignment, Europeans as well as natives.

**kompania**, company (the Dutch *kompagnie*), also the Government or the former Company; *kompania lamo*, the big company of the Sultan and troops, consisting of sixty men, divided into six *taropo*; *kompania ma-orang*, government subjects, as opposed to the real native population.

**konah**, pity.

**konorah**, middle; *soah konorah*, a quarter or kampong situated in the middle; *futu konorah*, midnight.

**kontoler**, controller.

**kontrak**, contract.

**Koraan**, the Koran (from the Arabic).

**kore**, wind; *kore mie*, north wind; *kore sarah*, south wind; *kore maruahe*, variable wind and therefore also transition.

**kore mie ma-namo**, a kind of *Merops*, so named because it only appears when the north wind blows.

**koreho**, to return, go back; *sigoreho*, to turn, e.g. *sigoreho to gonyirah*, turn right.

**koro**, to call for, agree to go some place; perhaps a contraction of *ka oro*, but one is not sure

about this.

**koru**, to put to death.

**kota**, fort, stronghold (from Malay); *benteng* is not commonly used and is not understood by many.

**koyang**, the Malay *koyan*.

**kuat** or **sikuat-kuat**, as quickly as possible (from the Arabic).

**kubur**, grave (from the Arabic).

**kuci**, the corrupt form of the Malay *kunci*.

**kucubu**, the *kecubung* shrub, *Datura alba* Nees.; the wetted leaves are applied to wounds.

**kuge**, a plant, *Ipo moea peltata* Chois.; the extract of the leaves is a remedy against fever. It is less correctly called "*Kuge*" by Filet.

**kukuu**, crowing of a cock.

**kulambur**, curtains of a bed or nuptial bed; opposite of *lolance*, see *lolance*.

**kupang**, fictitious coin, with a value of approximately seven cents, thus 1/24 of a real.

**kuraci**, the color yellow.

**kurang**, to be wanting, missing (from Malay).

**kurun-kurun: ngofa kurun-kurun**, virgin, maiden (perhaps from the Malay *kurung*).

**kurusi**, chair, also *kursi* (from Arabic); in the Malay of the Moluccas one always uses the word *kadera*, derived from Portuguese.

**kuso**, general name for several of the *Phalangista* species, not differentiated further by the population since as a rule only one species occurs on any island.

**kusu**, the *alang-alang* grass, *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill.; called *kusu-kusu* in the Malay of the Moluccas.

**kutika**, time, point of time (from Malay); *toma kutika enage*, at the time.

**kuwas**, brush (Dutch, *kwast*).

## L

**la**, an expletive without meaning, used for the sake of euphony.

**labah**, to run, run away.

**Labuah**, name of a kampong near Ngofaudu.

**labuan**, roadstead (from Malay); *labuan gufernement*, the government roadstead, i.e. the one in front of the European settlement.

**lage-lage**, a plant, *Lomaria scandens* Willd.

**laha**, good, well; *una owaje laha*, he said it was good; *tarima laha*, to approve, allow, join.

**lahan**, palm-wine, sagwire.

**lahi**, to request, ask; *silahi* and *masilahi*, to ask someone something; *lolahi*, to ask constantly, also request or question and, therefore, prayer.

**lahir**: **silahir**, to pronounce, reveal (from Arabic); *lahir idin*, to order.

**lako**, eye; *wange ma-lako*, or also *wange*, the sun; *ake ma-lako*, the mouth of a river.

**lamo**, big, opposite of small; *gam lamo*, big city.

**malamo**, someone of high birth, an important person.

**langgar**, place for praying (from Malay).

**lapas**, to free (from Malay).

**lapas surat**, sending of a letter.

**lapi**, low (from Malay).

**larang**, forbidden (from Malay).

**lasa**, the well-known tree, *Lansium domesticum* (the Malay *langsat*).

**Latah-Latah**, name of a kampong on Bacan.

**lebe**: 1. more (from Malay); *lebe laha*, *lebe jango*, in purer Ternatense it is *laha foloi*, etc. 2. a lower priest.

**lefo**, writing, to write.

**leger**, culvert (from Dutch?).

**lego**, a stately dance, performed in the palace of the Sultan by gracefully dressed women and girls while singing with the accompaniment of *gong* and *tifah*; named after the manner of singing, also called *lego-lego*, by which one understands improvised songs, recited by the fastest persons during festive meetings.

**lehe**, crippled, lame.

**lekah-lekah**, a plant, *Zingiber amaricans* Bl.; the tuber is a remedy against abdominal pain.

**lele**, a plant, *Chavica densa* Miq.; the leaves are sometimes chewed with *pinang*.

**lelei**, a tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia* Forst.; the roasted seeds are given against dysentery. It is less correctly called "*Liluwi*" by Filet.

**lemo**, general name for the *Citrus* species.

**lemo jawah**, *Citrus Limonellus* Hassk.; its fruits are eaten for cramps in the stomach area. It is less correctly called “Lemon java” by Filet.

**lemo jobatai**, *Citrus papeda* Miq; the fruits are a remedy against numbness of the limbs. It is less correctly called “*Lemen-jabba*” by Filet.

**lemo kabi**, *Citrus Bergamia* Risso; the fruits are eaten.

**lemo lolamo**, grapefruit pomelo?

**lemo pinagarah**, *Citrus Limonellus* Hassk.; the leaves and peels of the fruits are used for decoration.

It is less correctly called “*L. tinigara*” by Filet.

**lemo sangkari**, orange.

**lemo titigilah**, *Citrus Limetta* Risso; the peel of the fruits is used as a liniment.

**lempe**, sago cookies; actually a Moluccan-Malay word.

**lepah-lepah**, a Bajo proa without outriggers, rarely used by Ternatense.

**lesa-lesa**, dish.

**letnan**, lieutenant; the officers of the Sultan have these and other titles, even that of lieutenant-adjutant.

**lewak**, body-guard (corruption of *lijfwacht*); also *lewak jawah*, guard of honor, consisting of a corporal and five men of the garrison, which has a guard-room behind the so-called guards' gate.

The Sultan of Tidore has a similar guard of honor which is replaced every month; the one from Bacan gets one orderly from the small garrison for the fort of Barneveld.

**libuku**, corner.

**ligi-ligi**: **bia ligi-ligi**, a pearl-shell, in which very big pearls are sometimes found.

**liguah**, a tree, *Pterocarpus indicus* Wild. (*lenggua* in the Malay of the Moluccas); the leaves are pushed into the nostril nearest the site of the pain during a migraine to induce sneezing or create a distraction.

It is less correctly called “Lingoa” by Filet.

**Limatahu**, name of a kampong, which belongs to Soahsio.

**limau**, village; *toma limau ma-dada*, in the village. This word has now become obsolete and is generally replaced by *gam*.

**lire**, a plant, *Ruellia repanda* L.; a leaf extract is given to babies.

**lito-lito**, a creeper, *Oxalis corniculata* L.; an extraction from the leaves is given for throat infections.

**liwangkah**, shackles, fetters; *masaki madouru liwangkah fangare*, even if I will be clapped in irons later on.

**lobi**, shade, pitch-dark, and thus evening or night; *malobitarah*, the same evening.

**loci**, to swing, oscillate.

**lofiti**, a shrub, *Acalypha densiflora* Bl.; the flowers are a remedy against cough.

**lofo**, almost; *lofo nitah*, daybreak.

**lofo-lofo**, about, approximately; *lofo-lofo matero*, almost the same.

**lofu**: **malolofu**, two, both; e.g. *ana jou bobato mufakat soah rimoi-rimoi haka baru-baru malolofu*, the *bobatos* agreed that each kampong would give two soldiers.

**lohoko**, landwind, a wind that blows seaward at night along the coasts of Halmahera and is called *sibu-sibu* in the Alfuru language.

**Loladah**, a district on the northwest coast of Halmahera which belongs to the sultanate of Ternate; its head has the title of *Raja*.

**lolade bangah**, a tree, *Mangifera laxiflora* Desr.; the bark is scraped off and used as a medicine for babies.

It is less correctly called "*Lolaru toma banga*" by Filet.

**lolahi**, see *lahi*.

**lolance**, curtain of cotton cloth or linen that makes a separate sleeping-corner in a room (the Malay *langse*).

**lolangah**, place on the beach where proas and small crafts are hauled onto dry land.

**lolangi**, a piece of cloth made of *gabah* which is stretched against a ceiling (the Malay *langit-langit*).

**lolaro**, a tree, the *Bruguiera* species; the trunk is used for firewood, the roots are used for house-building.

**lolebah**, a bamboo species, *Bambusa verticillata* Bl.; thatch is sewn together with the fibers of the bark.

**loleo**, anchorage for small crafts.

**loloro**, a plant, *Ipomoea pescaprae* Sweet.; the leaves are pressed and applied externally for diarrhea.

**lomu**, to collect, assemble; *sudo malomu*, to order someone to assemble the people; *imalomu toma ngarah lamo*, they assembled in the big gate.

**lopu**, big stick with a silver knob; two of these sticks are carried before the troops during ceremonial processions.

**lou**, a plant, *Melocanna humilis* Rupr.; the stocks are used for lath-work of houses and hedges.

**lowah**: **lowah-lowah**, real, referring to a position, and meaning not in title only; e.g. *jurtulis lowah-lowah*, a real *jurtulis*, who is neither a *khatibi* nor has any side-employment.

**lolowah** and **silolowah**, greeting upon departure.

**lufe-lufe**, a plant, *Ocimum gratissimum* L.; the leaves are a medicine for babies.

**lukudi: silukudi**, to determine, establish.

**lule**, to roll, unroll, roll together; also to grind with a stone over a hard object.

**lulu**, the bang of a thunderclap.

**lupa**, to forget (from Malay).

**luri: luri denngo**, the *Lorius garrulus*; *L. sarau*, a smaller species, also spotted yellow.

**lusiang**, lumbar pain.

**luti**, smallpox, *variola*.

## M

**ma**, prefix which indicates a possession, e.g. *kie ma-dudu*, *kamar ma-daha*. Placed before verbs it has the same meaning as the Malay *ber*, e.g. *ma-dero*, from *dero*; *malomu* from *lomu*, etc.

**maabad**, unclean, prohibited (from Arabic). Explained to me as a word from the Koran with the same meaning as *haram* (taboo).

**maamuman**, those persons who mutter a little too loudly after the *imam* during the prayer (from Arabic).

**madah**, mouth.

N.B. Nobody could give an explanation for Valentijn's (Ib, p. 13) "*callabocca*."

**madakakah**, a plant, *Phanera lingua* Miq.

**madero**, at the time of; see also *dero*.

**madikapu**, a shrub, *Conyza balsamifera* L.; the leaves are a remedy against diarrhea.

**madouru**, later, see also *uru*.

**Madu**, name of a kampong near Toloko.

**maha**, to allow, permit; *simaha*, *id*.

**mai**, but, only.

**mait**, dead body (from Arabic).

**maku**, a word to indicate the reciprocal form, e.g. *maku-piara*, to look after each other; *maku-sikhabar*, to notify each other. In the Malay of the Moluccas the word *baku* is used for this purpose.

**makutali**, to walk slowly or stumble along, from tiredness or weakness.

**malam**, evening, night (from Malay); *malam jumaati*, Thursday evening.

**malawan** to refute (from Malay).

**malinkan**, except (from Malay).

**malo**, not; means the same as *uwah*.

**mamabelo**, see *belo*.

**mamanarah**, see *manarah*.

**mamanusia**, see *manusia*.

**mame** and **mame-mame**, sweet; *momame*, sweets, cake, cookies.

**mamfrou**, madam (the Dutch *mevrouw*); sometimes used especially for the wife of the Resident, other ladies being called *nyonya*.

**mamoi-moi**, the same as *moi-moi*; see *moi*.

**mamua**, the *Megapodius* species, which lays eggs in the sand on the beach.

**manarah**, deed, act, work, tool; to do something, carry out work; *ma-manarah*, *id.* but with emphasis; *sababu kolofino bato mamanarah*, it was done out of fear.

**mangaku**, to confess, admit (from Malay).

**mange**, thrush.

**manggustang**, the well-known tree (from Malay).

**Mangkasar: kampung Mangkasar**, Makassarese quarter; *orang Mangkasar*, a Ternatense Makassarese; *kapitein Mangkasar*, the head of the Makassarese who holds the titular rank of captain in the citizen soldiery.

**manjangah**, deer (from Javanese).

**mano**, bat; called *paniki* in the Malay of the Moluccas.

**manusia**, human being (from Malay); *mamanusia*, all kinds of people; see *giki*.

**mara**, and; the same as *simarah*, although written differently.

**Marah**, the name the Ternatense give to the island of Makian.

**maraha**, always placed after the verb and indicates a past tense, e.g. *golaha maraha*, it has been done.

This word means the same as *maruah*, but in colloquial language the former seems to be used more often than the latter.

**marasai**, to feel, perceive (from Malay).

**mare**, stone, made of stone; *mare gapi*, antimony or mica, which is called *batu Banggai* in Malay, and small pieces of which are attached to the outside of plaited baskets and hats as

decoration.

Also the name of an island to the south of Tidore belonging to this sultanate, where a kind of earth is found which is used by the population to make pots and pans.

**Marieku**, name of two kampongs on the west coast of Tidore.

**marinyo**, guard (from Portuguese); *marinyo kie*, head-guard.

**marsel**, march; the corrupted form of *marcheeren* (from Dutch, “to march”).

**maruah**, already; indicates the past tense and is placed after the verb, e.g. *oino maruah*, he came; *pasa maruah*, that finished, afterwards, long ago.

**maruahe: kore maruahe**, changeable, variable (of wind); see *kore*.

**masaki**, although (from Malay).

**masilahi**, see *lahi*.

**matai**, collectively, together; *falah mare matai rubah*, all the brick houses collapsed.

**matengo**, alone; *no matengo bolo sini douru*, are you alone or with your retinue?

**matero**, see *tero*.

**matros** or **mantros**, name for the Dutch sailors, as opposed to the native oarsmen or paddlers who are known as *awu* or *masanai*.

**mawu**, to want (from Malay).

**mayoor** or **majoor prang**, highest in rank of the troops of the Sultan. The other ranks are: *Kapita*, 1st *Luitenant*, *Alferes*, *Ajudant*, *Sarjeti*, *Korporaal* and *baru-baru* (soldiers).

**mehe-mehe**, slowly.

**mejah**, table (from Portuguese).

**Mekkah**, the holy city.

**mener**, mister; *tuan* is more stately and more common for officials.

**mesa**, see *tolu*.

**mesel**, wall (from Dutch).

**mi**, we; masculine and feminine plural but usually with *ngomi*, e.g. *ngomi mi waje*, we speak. Also possessive pronoun of the third person feminine singular, e.g. *mironga*, her name; *motika mifalah*, she left her house; see also *mina*.

**miantu**, head of the *danos*.

**mie**, north, to the north; *mie si sarah*, north and south; see also *ie* and *kore*.

**mie ma-jaha**, see *jaha*.

**milter**, military.

**mina**: 1. she; feminine singular pronoun; often *mina mo*, for emphasis, like *una o* for men. Also a possessive pronoun together with *mi*, e.g. *mina mi faneti*, her hairpin; for more emphasis *ge* is added, e.g. *mina ge mi faneti*. 2. to see, e.g. *mina mo mina manusia dofu*, she sees many people.

**minuman**, drinks (from Malay).

**mo**, she; personal pronoun feminine singular; *mogolaha*, she does or she makes; *motika mifalah uwah*, she did not leave her house.

It is usually joined with *mina* and becomes *minamo*.

**moah**, a plant, *Maranta dichotoma* Wall.; *katu* strung together with the veins of leaves; the stem is used for eye diseases.

**modin**, the person who gives the call for prayer (from Arabic).

**mohegah**, to jump, jump up.

**moho**, fathom, also to measure; *ma-gila moho moi foloi*, its length is more than a fathom.

**moi**, abbreviation of *rimoi*, see *rimoi*; *moi-moi*, all, everything, e.g. *laha mamoi-moi irah mamoi-moi*, everything good or everything bad.

**moju**, still, to be busy with something; *hangu moju*, not yet; *toma kokoko madaha moju*, still standing.

**mojui**, a tree, *Barringtonia speciosa* L.

It is less correctly called "*Madjo*" by Miquel and Filet.

**moku**: 1. *pinang*, *Areca catechu* L., also to chew *pinang*; *moku ma-dodai*, *pinang* box. 2. to carry over the shoulder.

**mologotu**, a tree, *Maba Ebenus* Spreng; it supplies the well-known ebony. It is less correctly called "*Botolina*" by Filet.

**momame**, see *mame*.

**momi**, to awake, wake up; *simomi*, to waken.

**momote**, see *mote*.

**montere**, dressing up (a corrupted form of *monteering*); *montere lamo*, ceremonial dress, copied from the army, because princes and notables all have a rank in the troops of the Sultan. On Ternate, however, the coat has been replaced by a dress-coat and instead of the cap a head-shawl is worn.

**monyikah**, some, a few; *monyikah iwosa kodiho*, a few entered again; *monyikah ipane oti monyikah uwah*, a few went into the proas, others did not.

**moonafik**, hypocrite, deceiver (from Arabic).

**morofala**, a tree, *Echinus trisulcus* Lour.; the bark is a remedy against dysentery.

It is less correctly called “*Morifalla*” By Filet.

**morookah**, a tree, *Sterculia foetida* L.

**moso-moso**, early the next morning.

**mote**, to follow, accompany; *momote*, follower; *mote kaha*, level with the ground.

**Moti**, an island near Makian, which belongs to the sultanate of Ternate. The name has been changed by foreigners, even to Mortier.

**Moyau**, name of a kampong near the boundary of the Makassarese quarter.

**mucikan**, musician (Dutch, *muziekant*), e.g. those who play the western musical instruments.

**muhutu**, a tree, *Commersonia echinata* Forst.; the bark is a remedy against burns caused by resin.

**mujah**, ornament, decoration.

**mulain**, to begin.

N.B. The Batavian-Malayan form is generally followed.

**muleu** or **moleo**, a *Megapodius* species, makes small hills of sand and leaves in the forest in which to lay her eggs.

**mulia**, distinguished, notable (from Malay).

**mumurari**, see *murari*.

**murari** and **mumurari**, soon, speedy.

**musum**, year (from Arabic); *pipi musum*, see *pipi*.

## N

**nagi**, who (interrogative pronoun).

**namo**, hen, bird; for further differentiation also *namo kaha*, hen or cock and *namo hate dubo*, bird.

**nan-nan: rete-rete nan-nan**, successively from the earliest time til the present. This word is never used by itself.

**naro**, to pull, drag.

**nasarani** or **sarani**, Christian; *kampong sarani*, quarter where the most Christians live (from Arabic).

**nga**, they; personal pronoun, masculine and feminine plural, e.g. *ngawaje*, they said; *ngaparentah*, they govern.

Also used as a possessive pronoun, e.g. *ngafalah*, their houses; *ngapuji*, their prayers; *ana ifiri taka ngakie si ngakolano*, they fled and left their mountain and their ruler behind.

**ngaai**, a beach-bird, *Sterna* species.

**ngaai ma-dodera**, a floating piece of wood or some other thing on which these birds sit.

**ngade**: 1. *mangade*, to change, change one's clothes. 2. lake. In the Malay of Ternate a lake is usually indicated with the word *laguna*, derived from Spanish.

**ngaje-ngaje**, or usually *ngongaje*, story, to tell; *isingongaje*, being narrated.

**ngali**, case, event, circumstances; *haka waro ma-ngali sudidi*, to report what happened during the earthquake.

**ngamodi**, two, of people; see also *romdidi*.

**ngamotoha**, five, of people; see also *romotoha*; *sudo ana ngamotoha tagi jairat*, ordered the five of them to go and make a sacrifice.

**ngana**, you, masculine and feminine; also possessive pronoun, but then with an added *ni*, e.g. *ngana ni kabi*, your goat. Before verbs it is used either alone or with an added *no*, e.g. *ngana no oho huda*, you eat sago.

**nganyagimoi**, ten, of people; see also *nyagimoi*.

**nganyagiraange**, thirty, of people; see also *nyagiraange*.

**nganyagirara**, sixty, of people; see also *nyagirara*.

**nganyagiromdidi**, twenty, of people; see also *nyagiromdidi*.

**ngarah**, door, gate, entrance, doorway.

**ngarah lamo**, the big gate (also guard-room, prison and council-chamber) at the end of the main road leading to the palace.

**ngarah ici**, the small gate at the side of the palace which leads to the outbuildings.

**ngarah upas**, the guards' gate, near the entrance to the fenced-in compound of the Sultan.

**kota ma-ngarah**, the gate of the fort.

**ngarah ma-beno**, door-post, and therefore the name of a passage between two rocks near Lolodah on Halmahera, in Valentijn mentioned as Gate of the Moluccas; the latter description is not known on Ternate.

**ngaratumoi**, hundred, of people; see also *ratumoi*.

**ngaro**, a tree, *Kleinhovia hospita* L.; the bark is a remedy against diarrhea.

**ngaruha**, four, of people; see also *raha*.

**ngarukange**, three, of people; see also *raange*.

**ngaruo**, how many, of people; e.g. *lomu ngaruo kage*, how many people are together?; see also *rau*.

**ngarura**, six, of people; see also *raha*.

**ngase**, a plant, *Calodracon terminalis* Planch.; the stems are a remedy against loose stools.  
**ngase koloomi**, shrub, *Cordyline Rumphii* Hook.  
 It is less correctly called “*Ngassie kolotidi*” by Filet.

**ngasio**, nine, of people; see *sio*.

**ngasu**, post of a house, pole; *falah ngasu-ngasu*, a house on poles.

**ngato**, boss (on vessels only); *ngatohema*, the man who stands at the forward part of a proa, and watches for rocks and shallows; *ngatohudi*, head of the oarsmen. One could say that the first is in charge of the people who work in the front of the vessel and the second of those who work in the back.

**ngatomodi**, seven, of people; see also *tomodi*.

**ngele**, to hang, hang down; *ngele sabel*, sword-belt.

**ngidu**, deep, depth.

**ngitu**, to be of the opinion, think, assume, guess.

**nglafadl**, the manner in which the prayer is to be read (from Arabic).

**ngoco: bia ngoco**, a pearl-shell, especially in demand for the mother-of-pearl.

**ngofa**, child; *ngofa nonau*, son; *ngofa fofoheka*, daughter; *ngofa Tarnate*, a Ternatese person; *ngofa Mekah*, someone born in Mecca; *ngofa herah*, woman in childbed; *ngofamanyirah*, head of a kampong; *ngofa si nongoru*, children and relatives (used for persons of royal descent).

**ngofamanyirah**, the head of the kampong, or the one who is under him (literally, “eldest child”).

**Ngofangare**: 1. name of a kampong situated behind the big mosque. 2. collective name for those who hold the positions of *ofsir*, *jurtulis* and *soseba*; even more common is *ngofangare pehak raange*. 3. see *fangare*.

**Ngofatake**, name of a kampong in the territory of Heku.

**ngofataro**, common people as opposed to the people who hold a position; this includes men, women as well as children in a kampong.  
 It is actually an abbreviated form of *ngofa si taro*.

**Ngofaudu**, name of a kampong near Toloko.

**ngogu**, food, to eat.

**ngohia**, snake; see *ngoowora* for some different kinds of snake.

**ngoko**, road.

**ngolo**, sea, the opposite of land.

**ngomi**, we; personal pronoun, masculine and feminine plural; *fangare ngomi* for men and *fajaro ngomi* for women.

The possessive pronoun *ma* is often added, e.g. *ngomi gura* or *ngomi ma-gura*, our garden. Before verbs *mi* is added, e.g. *ngomi mi waje*, we speak.

**ngongaje**, story, see also *ngaje-ngaje*.

**ngongare**, a youth or unmarried man; *ngongare ici*, young man.

**ngongiri**, children of brothers or sisters, or of other relatives.

**ngongudi**, helm; *singongudi*, to man the helm, steer.

**ngoni**, you; personal pronoun, masculine and feminine plural; also possessive pronoun with *nia* added, e.g. *ngoni nia nyau*, your fish.

Before verbs *ni* is added instead of *nia*, e.g. *ngoni ni waje*, you say.

*Ngoni* is also used in its singular form when one does not want to address an inferior with the coarse *ngana*.

**ngoomi**, green pigeon.

**ngoowora**, the patola snake, *Python reticulatus*; it is the most dangerous of snakes since the bigger ones attack even women and children.

Harmless species on Ternate are: the *wange-wange*, with green spots; the *saiboro*, with yellow stripes, which feeds especially on chickens' eggs; and the *matabuta*, which wriggles like a blind man not knowing the way.

**ngori**, I; personal pronoun, masculine and feminine singular, used for inferiors; also possessive pronoun, e.g. *ngori falah*, my house.

When used as a personal pronoun placed before verbs, *to* is added between the two, e.g. *ngori to golaha*, I did it.

**ngosa**, see *wosa*.

**ngote**, stairs, step; *ngote ma-adu*, at the bottom of the stairs.

The palace of the Sultan is built against the slope of a hill: at the back it is on the same level as the ground; in the front it has a set of stairs with thirty-four steps.

**ngowaro: nyau ngowaro**, a fish species, *Hemiramphus*, dried and salted, marketed especially by the people from the villages of Marieku on Tidore.

**nguai**, ditch, ravine, gully, dry brook with stony bed. In the Malay of the Moluccas, it is commonly known as *brangka*.

**ngudu**, a tree, *Evia amara* Commers.; the fruits are eaten.

It is less correctly called "*mudu*" by Miguel and Filet.

**ngusu**, a tree, *Terminalia Catappa* L.; the bark is a remedy against thrush in children.

In Miquel and Filet it is called "*nusu*," which is Moluccan Malay.

**ni**, you; masculine and feminine plural, seldom used alone; usually combined with *ngoni*, e.g. *ngoni ni waje*, you say.

Used alone it implies an order, e.g. *ni tagi*, go away; *ni tego*, sit down.

Before a noun it indicates a singular form, masculine as well as feminine, then usually with *ngana*, e.g. *ngana ni falah*, your house.

Like *no* it is sometimes used for the third person; see the example under *no*.

**nia**, as possessive pronoun the plural of *ni*, masculine and feminine, e.g. *ngoni nia diti*, your goods.

**niscaya** certainly, undoubtedly (from Malay).

**nitah**, daylight; *nitah laha*, it has become day; *lofo nitah*, dawn.

**no**, you; personal pronoun masculine and feminine singular, usually with *ngana*, e.g. *ngana no cako jarah*, you beat the horse.

When used alone with verbs it implies an order, e.g. *no tagi*, go away; *no tego*, sit down.

It also appears to be used for the third person, e.g. *no dadi kolano*, he becomes ruler; *no tiadi ni haji*, he replaces his father.

**nonai**, bait for fishing.

**nonau**, man, male, masculine; opposite of *fofoheka*; a radical *nau* is not known.

**nongoru**, the youngest child, also a younger brother or sister and their descendants, thus relatives in the side-line; *nganongoru*, the youngest of many.

**norah**, pillow.

**not**, invitation to a party.

**nyabu**, wound, festering; *nyabu hoko*, a burn.

**nyagi**, ten or so.

**nyagimoi**, ten, of things and animals; *nyagimoi si raha*, fourteen.

**nyagiraange**, thirty, of things and animals.

**nyagirara**, sixty, of things and animals.

**nyagiromdidi**, twenty, of things and animals; *nyagiromdidi si rara*, twenty-six.

**nyagiromtoha**, fifty, of things and animals.

**nyanyata**, the same as *nyata*; see *nyata*.

**nyare**, reef, sand-bank; *nyare ma-ingi*, place where a reef ends in sea.

**nyata** and **nyanyata**, to be clear (from Malay); *sinyata*, to explain, elucidate; *isinyata*, to enunciate, set forth.

**nyau** or **nyao**, fish.

Besides the species already mentioned there are: *rajabau*, striped grey and white with yellow gills; *mami*, blue with grey cross-lines; *botila*, spotted green and red; *lado*, a kind of eel; *singaro*, red with black eyes; *gurapo*, the Jacob-Evertsen.

**nyawah**, living soul (from Malay); *kogah si ma-ronga nyawah*, all that could be called a living creature.

**nyemo-nyemo**, to talk, chat, converse.

**nyiha**, 1. land, opposite of water; also remainder, rest, end, and then recognizable by its connection with *ma to ma-nyiha*, the remaining part of it, e.g. *tahan manusia ma-nyiha-nyiha*, to stop the remaining people; *tahun Dal ahir ma-nyiha*, the end of the last year *Dal*. 2. a tree, *Canarium commune* L.; it is mistakenly recorded as “*nia*” by Filet and van Musschenbroek. Only on Makian is oil obtained from the fruits.

**nyiku**, on top, upper side.

**nyinga**, to think, rejoice; *sinyinga*, to think of, ponder something.

**nyirah**, old, eldest; *ngofa ma-nyirah*, eldest son, also head of a quarter or small kampong.

**nyiru**, to cook.

**nyong**, people of Chinese descent are addressed with this word.

**nyonyohi**, to count, compute.

## O

**o**, he; personal pronoun masculine singular, only used before verbs, e.g. *owaje*, *oino*, etc., but for emphasis and clarity often joined with *una* to form *unao*.

**obos**, lieutenant-colonel (from Dutch).

**ofo**, a tree, *Urostigma nitidum* Miq.; the boiled bark is rubbed onto swollen parts of the body. It is less correctly called “*Gofforu*” by Filet.

**ofsir**, officer; *ofsir jaga*, officer on duty. The ranks of the officers of the Sultan are the same as those in our army; those who serve in the Company have almost the same uniform. Placed in a civilian post the trimmings on the shoulder and sleeves are what is distinctive. See also *ngofangare*.

**ofu**, bee, honey-bee.

**ogo**, quiet, silent.

**oho**, to eat.

**oki**, 1. to drink. 2. cluster of fruit or stalk of paddy ears.

**oko**, to stand, stand up; *sigoko*, to set up, establish, build; *sigogoko*, *id.*; see also *koko*.

**Olufolah**, name of a kampong on the island of Ternate, inhabited by Sulanese.

**omah**, inflammation of the throat with coughing and mucus secretions.

**opo**, bone, bones.

**orang**, human being, person (from Malay); see also *giki*.

**orang Gorap**, people who were captured by pirates and later followed that profession themselves, who at present live with their descendants near Dodinga and on the Lolodah Islands.

**Oranje**, name of the fort in the capital which was, in 1609, given by François Wittert to the then-powerful Malayu.

**oras**, hour (from Spanish or Portuguese); *oras cako romotoha*, the hour strikes five, it is five o'clock.

**ori**, turtle; *ori furu*, tortoise.

**oro**, to take, fetch, take up; *oro fakat*, to agree.

**oru**, belly.

**oti**, vessel, proa; *oti ma-hera*, outrigger proa; *oti bangku*, a bigger proa.

**otu**, dry as opposed to wet.

**ou: nyau ou**, a kind of fish, often found in coral reefs.

## P

**pacedah**, bracelet made of Conus-shell, which is called *bia arah* in Ternatese. This is done by wringing in a turning movement a three feet long piece of bamboo to which stones or heavy pieces of wood are attached through the middle piece of the shell with a cut-off cleaver. There is a little bit of sand in the bottom of the shell to increase the friction; a skilled man can make a bracelet in one day. The price differs from f 0.80 to f 2.50, depending on the size. In a few Alfuru dialects such a bracelet is called *basani*.

**paduka**, honorific title for statesmen and the Resident (from Malay).

**pajabeya**, round box or bowl for the peeled *pinang*-fruits, offered to guests during visits.

**paji-paji**, the state flag (from Malay).

**paka**, to hit something with the palm of one's hand.

**pakata: oti pakata**, kind of vessel.

**pake**, to use (from Malay); *pakean*, cloth, clothing; *pake akal*, to devise a trick, ruse; *pake freiman*, civilian clothes.

**palah**, to loose, undo, let go, e.g. *opalah idastar*, he took off his turban.

**palakat**, to sound, ring (the Dutch *plakkaat*).

**palangki**, palanquin (in many languages).

**Palasoah**, Alfuru kampong in the Sawu district on Halmahera.

**palisi**, to pass, cross; *palisi toma soah nyie*, he crossed the big square.

**paludi**, the cover of the branches of the sago palm, folded to form a basket, in which tobacco, sago, *damar*, etc. is carried.

**pane**: **pane jarah**, to mount or ride a horse; *pane oti* or *pane toma oti*, to get into a proa; *sibane*, to make someone get in, or ascend, load into something; *bobane*, a place near the beach where proas can be hauled up a slope on dry land.

**pangjaraan**, prison (from Malay).

**panimbur**, charm, amulet.

**pantah**, see *usperah*.

**papacedah**, a shrub, *Scaevola Koenigii* Vahl.; the leaves are a remedy against fever. It is less correctly called "*Boppatseda*" by Miquel and Filet.

**papaitah**, a plant, *Curanga amara* Juss.; the leaves are used against the so-called black psoriasis.

**papo**, close, close by; *papo ie*, near the top; *papo tarah*, near the bottom.

**sibapo**, to place next to something or against something.

**Papuwah**, general name for New Guinea and its inhabitants.

**par**, pair (the Dutch *paar*).

**para**, for (the Dutch *voor*).

**paracayah**, to trust (from Malay).

**pareksa**, to examine, investigate (from Malay).

**parentah**, command, rule; to govern, rule (from Malay).

**pariama**, the Pleiades and thus a year; used interchangeably with the words *tahun* and *musum*.

**paro**, to paste, adhere to; *siparo*, to paste something up somewhere.

**partadah**, overseer, *mandur* of gardens and houses.

**pas**, the Dutch *pas*.

**pasa**, ended, finished; *oras cako rara pasa*, it is past six; *enage pasa*, that which is brought to an end.

It is always used at the end, but if linked to *maruah* one says *pasa maruah*.

**pasamaruah**, used to indicate past tense; see also *pasa* and *maruah*.

**pasanter**, to present, as in "to present arms."

**paseba**, big shed, meeting-place (from Malay).

**pasiar**, to walk, visit (from Malay).

**Pasilamo**, a sand-bank in front of Sidangoli on Halmahera.

**pasisir**, coastline (from Malay).

**patalion**, battalion (a corrupted form of the Dutch *bataljon*).

**patoko**, a tree, *Cycas circinalis* L.; the leaves are eaten, the fruits are finely ground and applied to wounds.

**patroli**, a corrupted form of [Dutch] *patrouille* (patrol).

**payung**, sunshade (from Malay).

**pea-pea: bia pea-pea**, a pearl-shell, in demand because of the mother-of-pearl.

**pece**, mud, muddy (the Malay *becek*).

**pedah**, cleaver, broad-sword.

**pehak**, rank, sort, section (from Malay); *pehak ma-jongihi*, the rank someone holds according to his status or birth; *ngofangare pehak raange*, see also *ngofangare*.

**peper**, piper, flute-player (from Dutch).

**perban**, ban (the Dutch *verbannen*).

**permisi**, permission (from Dutch); *lahi permisi*, to ask permission.

**piarah**, to maintain, look after (from Malay).

**pilah**, wing.

**pili**, to select, pick out, check; *popili, id.*

**pilo**, blind.

**pindah: mapindah**, to move house (from Malay).

**pipi**, farthing, old farthing, also money; *pipi tambaga*, brass farthing; *pipi musum*, the recognition-monies paid to the Sultan and headmen on behalf of the Government in accordance with the contract.

**podiku**, to bind, tie.

**podo (popo)**, short, opposite of long; *sipodo*, to shorten something.

**Dehe podo**, name of the cape on the west coast of South Halmahera, which forms the boundary between Tidorese and Ternatese territory.

**pont**, pound (Dutch, *pond*).

**popare papuwah**, a creeper, *Momordica muricata* M.; the fruits are eaten.

**popedah**, porridge of sago.

**popili**, see *pili*.

**popo**, short, same as *podo*.

**poro-poro**, a kind of ball of red cloth, carried in the hand by women during ceremonial processions on festive occasions, and often decorated in a special manner.

**pos**, post, out-station.

**posi-posi**, a tree, the *Sonneratia* species; occurs especially in muddy soil near the mouth of rivers.

**prestil**, inauguration of ruler or official (perhaps the corrupted form of the Malay *persil*).

**prins** or **prinsi**, title of the male descendants of the ruler (from Dutch), see also *kaicil*.

**puji**, praise (to the Lord, thus used metaphorically for prayer) (from Malay; perhaps a misunderstood *puja*).

**pulah**, to give; *mapulah*, to divide, distribute.

**pulang-pulang**, to return, die (used for rulers) (from Malay).

**putra**, prince, son of a ruler (from Malay).

**putri**, princess, in particular the Malay title of the Sultana, since the Ternatese word is *jou boki*. (Valentijn gives the unusual title of *jou putri*; Ib, p. 361.)

In the rare case that the Sultan marries a woman from a lower class, she has the title of *jou fajaro*. (At Tidore, on the other hand, it is *jou pingi*.)

**putus**, to decide (from Malay); decision, however, is *pitusan*.

**puwas**, satisfied (from Malay).

## R

**raange**, three, of things and animals; of people, *ngarukange*.

**raci**, poison.

**ragah**, finger; *gia ma-ragah-ragah*, the fingers of the hand. They are: *tuguherah*, thumb; *sahadat*, forefinger; *kolano*, middle finger; *istinjah*, ring-finger; and *tugudeki*, little finger.

They are never mentioned separately but always as follows: *gia ma-ragah-ragah ma-tuguherah*, the thumb, literally, "the thumb of the fingers of the hand."

**raha**, four, of things and animals; of people, *ngaruha*.

**rai**, then, after that.

**rai-rai**, a grass species, *Achyranthes bidentata* Bl.

**Raja**, title of the heads of Banggai and Tobungku and of the Lolodah district on Halmahera. The Tidorese Sultanate only has subordinate *Rajas* in New Guinea.

**raka**, husband, spouse.

**ram**, to sweep, stroke; *ramagonaga* (or better, *ram igonaga*), to pass both hands over the face, at the end of prayer.

**rambuta**, the well-known tree (from Malay).

**ramean**, cheerfulness, festive mood, gaiety (from Malay).

**rangi: sirangi**, to tie, attach.

**rante**, chain (from Malay); *rante guraci*, gold chain.

**rapi**, piece of cloth, tied as a belt around the loins to keep the *kabaya* closed.

**rara**: 1. six, of things and animals; of people, *ngarura*. 2. lonely, deserted, e.g. *ma-ade-ade dokasaha nyiha rara*, it looked like an uninhabited place.

**raro: huda raro**, baked sago, sago-bread.

**rat**, India Council.

**rato**, storm, gust of wind.

**sirato**, to finish, bring to an end.

**ratumoi**, one hundred, of things and animals; of people, *ngaratumoi*.

**raturomdidi**, two hundred, of animals and things; of people, *ngaraturomdidi*.

**rau**: 1. how much, of things and animals; of people, *ngaruo*; *oti rau bodito dai toma ngolo*, how many proas were lost at sea?

**rau-rau**, so many; *nyagirau-rau*, so many dozens; of people, *nganyagirau-rau*.

2. *id.* or *hate ma-rau*, leaf, tree leaf.

**rau cagah**, a plant, *Bidens peduncularis* Gaudich.; the juice of the pressed leaves is a remedy against fever.

It is less correctly called "*Rutyaga*" by Miquel and Filet.

**rau paroro**, a shrub, *Nothopanax cochleatum* Miq.; the leaves are applied to bruises or swollen parts of the body.

**resident**, head of the administration, the Resident.

**rete**, row, layer, floor, story.

**rete-rete**, united, serried, piled up.

**ri**, our; possessive pronoun; abbreviation of *ngori*, but more familiar, e.g. *ri ngofa*, our child; *niwaje ri tabea si ri hormat*, convey our regards and respect.

Sometimes added for the sake of euphony, such as *riuwah* and *riafah* (see also *uwah*).

**rial**, the “real,” a fictitious coin, with a value of f 1.60; it is subdivided into 4 *suku* and the *suku* into 6 *kupang* of approximately 7 cents.

**ricah**, red pepper, the *Capsicum* species.  
**ricah jawah**, the seeds of *Piper nigrum*.

**riha**, to flame, flicker, glint.

**rihi**, to run aground (in reference to a proa), to get into shallow water.

**riki**, to reach, meet with, come across (from Dutch).

**rimoi**, one, of things and animals, see *amoi*; *rimoi ma-sonangah*, one and one-half; *rimoi-rimoi*, one-by-one, after the other; *marimoi*, together, likewise. N.B. *Rimoi* can also be abbreviated to *moi*.

**rio: mario**, to help; e.g. *una omario*, he helped him or her.

**Robo**, Wednesday (from Arabic).

**rofol**, roll, ruffle (the Dutch *roffel*).

**rofu**, to pull, tug, pluck, e.g. grass, shaking of an earthquake.

**romdidi**, two, of things and animals; of people, *nga modi*.

**romotoha**, five, of things and animals; of people, *ngamotoha*.

**ronga**, name (to be called); *ironga*, his name; *mironga*, her name; *ngaronga*, their name; *ma-ronga*, its name, e.g. *koga si ma-ronga oti*, everything that could be called a proa.

**ronga-ronga**, headmen who have a name, as for example the notables (in Malay, *mantri*) all of whom co-signed the contract of the Government of the Dutch Indies with the Sultan.

**rongamoi**, something, a matter; the same as the Malay.

**rorako**, a shrub, *Parkinsonia aculeata* L.; juice obtained from the leaves is used as a febrifuge.

**rorano: marorano**, to squeeze out, wring out.

**rore**, millet, cultivated in a few places on Halmahera.

**rorebe**, to do something intensely, as hard as possible; *marorebe*, to complete.

**roregu**, other, others; it is placed after the noun, e.g. *una ofiri pane oti roregu ma-foheka mopane oti roregu*, he fled in one proa and his wife in another.

**rorehe**, kind of vessel, a big proa.

**roriha**, red; *si ma-jahe biludu roriha*, with a red velvet cover.

**roro**, long-lasting, prolonged; *ma-roro wange tomodi*, for seven days.

**rorum**, a tree, *Heritiera littoralis* Dryand.; the bark is used as a remedy against stomach complaints.

It is less correctly called "*Ruremu*" by Filet.

**rotah-rotah**, a plant, *Cissus repens* Lam.; the different parts of the plant are used externally for the severe itching caused by pustules, etc.

In Filet it is less correctly called "*Gumi rotto-rotto*," a name Miquel says is common on Timor.

**rubah**, to fall down, collapse (from Malay); also to disperse or split up, with reference to people, e.g. *ana jou bobato si ofsir moi-moi imarubah hangu ibrenti toma ngarah lamo moju*, the *bobatos* and officers did not leave and remained in the big gate.

**rubi**, earthen *tampayan*.

**rukuu**, obeisances during prayer (from Arabic).

**rumbai**, a kind of proa; Europeans have corrupted this word to *orembai* and *orangbai*.

**rumbai sayah-sayah**, a *rumbai* with carved figures.

**rupah-rupah**, all kinds of (from Malay).

**ruru**: 1. *huda ruru*, sago flour, which is transported in *tuman* or packets of forty or more cattles; such packets are also called *fardu*. 2. *id.* or *maruru*, to float, float away; *siruru*, to let float.

**rutu-rutu**, pitcher-plant, the *Nepenthes* species; sometimes parasitic plants in general.

## S

**sababu**, because (from Arabic).

**sabar**, document, writing (from Arabic).

**sabea**, to pray (corruption of *sembahyang*); *ana jou lebe isabea*, the *lebes* are busy praying.

**sabebah**, a piece of linen, worn as a *cidaku* between the legs.

**sabel**, sword (the Dutch *sabel*).

**sadaha**, title of the person who has authority over all that occurs in the buildings of the Sultan, and over all those who work in them.

**sadang**, as, since (from Malay).

**sadekah**, alms, offering (from Arabic).

**safo**, bowl, cup.

**sagala**, all (from Malay); strictly speaking, it only indicates a plural form.

**sagu-sagu**, lance or spear, usually made of wood, although sometimes with an iron point. Earlier writers on the Moluccas call them *asegaiy* or *hasegaiy*.

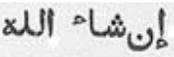
**saha**, the under-surface of something, and thus of the feet, the foot-sole; *kaus ma-saha*, the underside of the stocking, in imitation of the Malay *di bawah tapak kaki*, here used in the same sense, since the Sultans, when fully dressed, wear stockings. This custom already existed more than two hundred years ago. Compare Valentijn, Ib, p. 112.

**sosaha**, salver, tray.

**sahadat**, forefinger; see *ragah*.

**sahbandar**, title of the person who is in charge of the royal vessels and the crews.

**sahu**, warm, hot; *ake sahu*, warm water, which, however, also means tea; *sosahu*, very warm, thus a hot fever.

**sallah**, probably a corrupted form of the Arabic  .

**sajah**, only (from Malay); *parasajah*, for nothing.

**sakali-kali**, absolute (from Malay).

**saketah**, a tree, *Aleurites triloba* Forst.; the bark is used against thrush in children; oil is made from the seeds.

**saki**: 1. nice, pleasant, well; *ibadan saki uwah*, he did not feel well. 2. name of a kampong behind Soashio on the island of Ternate.

**sala-sala**: **manusia sala-sala**, people who committed a crime (from Malay); see also "prison."

**salahakan**, title of the former viceregents of the Sultan at Ambon, at present still used for the highest official on the Sula Islands.

**salai**, good spirit, particularly one who helps during illness; *tuniru salai*, to conjure up spirits, see also *tuniru*.

**salakah**, silver (from Malay).

**salam**, greetings (from Arabic).

**salimuli**, a tree, *Cordia subcordata* Lam.; the leaves are used against *fluor albus*. In Filet it is less correctly called "*Salimuri*," "*Salungeri*" and "*Tsjali-muri*."

**salo**, resin.

**salo bobudo**, a tree, *Dammara alba* Rumph. In Miquel and Filet it is less correctly called "*Salo-baboda*."

**salwati**, prayer to invoke charity (from Arabic), said by those who go round the houses during festivals to collect money.

**samah**: 1. outriggers of a proa, in Malay of the Moluccas, *sema*. 2. Crocodile.

**sambiki**, a plant, *Lagenaria hispida* Ser.; the fruits are eaten.

**sangaji**, title of the head of a district or head of several kampongs.

**Soah Sangaji**, the kampongs to the north of the palace, as opposed to Soah Sio or the

kampongs to the south of the palace.

**sangat**, very, extremely (from Malay).

**sangkari**, sweet; *lemo sangkari*, orange.

**sangkole**, pear-shaped basket, plaited from *seho* leaves and carried on the back to transport fruit, vegetables, etc.

**sango**, to answer.

**Santosa**, name of a brook near the palace of the Sultan.

**Saptu**, Saturday (from Arabic).

**saraa**, priest who sees to it that the religious laws are kept (from Arabic).

**hukumul saraa**, religious law, opposite of *hukumul adat* or secular laws, which are based on local customs.

**saragi**, metal cymbal, gong, namely the biggest kind, which hangs by a rope and is played that way.

**sarah**: 1. to light, ignite;  *festa sarah tocah*, to inaugurate a new house by burning candles. 2. south, to the south; see also  *tarah* and  *kore*.

**saraha**: **masaraha**, to hand over (from Malay).

**sari**: 1. to scoop; a piece of wood for paddling ( *horu*). 2. to desire, wish, want, intend.

**sarjeti**, see  *serjant*.

**sarsan**, a corrupted form of sergeant; non-commissioned officer of the army or the citizen soldiery.

**sarta**, and (from Malay).

**sasi**, to swear, take an oath.

**satanya**, palace (a corruption of  *astanah*).

**satar**, writing (from Arabic).

**satengah**, half (of hours);  *oras cako satengah tomodi*, half past six.

**sau**, to suck out, e.g. sugar-cane eaten as a tidbit.

**saubah**, wooden betel-box for keeping tobacco,  *sirih*-fruits,  *pinang* nuts, etc.; often used at sea, with a wooden lid so that its contents do not get wet.

**Sawal**, the tenth month of the Mohammedan year.

**sawan**, convulsion, fit of children (from Malay).

**Sawu**, the name of a district on the west coast of North Halmahera which belongs to the island

of Ternate.

Many writers confuse this name with *Sahu* and therefore translate it incorrectly as “warm.”

**sayah**, flower; *rumbai sayah-sayah*, a *rumbai* in carved figures.

**sayah bake**, an orchid, *Grammatophyllum scriptum* Bl.

**sayah dodopola**, a grass species, *Kyllingia monocephala* Rottb.

It is less correctly called “*Tolatopolo*” by Filet.

**sayah kastela**, a plant, *Pentapetes phoenicea* L.; the flowers are used for decorations, the bark is a remedy against abdominal pain.

**sayah matahari**, ornamental plant, the *Pentapetes* species.

**sayah manuru**, a shrub, *Iasminum Sambae* Ait.; the flowers are put in the hair.

In Miquel and Filet they are less correctly called “*Saja manuri*.”

**sayang**, affection (from Malay).

**sebah**, to come near something or someone, approach (from Malay); also to pay one’s respects (to the rulers).

**segel**, seal (the Dutch *zege*l).

**seh: tuwan seh**, a title for Arabs and their descendants.

**seho**, a tree, *Arenga saccharifera* Lab.; the leaves are used as cleaners in cases of *fluor albus*.

**sekretaris**, secretary, the highest rank of the clerk working at court, also called *jurtulis lamo*. To differentiate him from the western Secretary the latter is popularly called *fiskaal*.

**Selong**, Ceylon, known only because of the fake gems which come from there.

**sepe**, earthenware or wooden trough; in the Malay of the Moluccas usually pronounced as *sempe*.

**serjant**, usually *sarjeti*, a non-commissioned officer of the Sultan’s troops.

**serwet**, napkin (the Dutch *servet*).

**si** (also *se*, but that is less correct), with, on, at, by, to.

Placed before the verb it gives it a causative meaning, e.g. *gasa*, to bring; *sigasa*, to have someone bring; in this case the first letter of the radical sometimes changes and a letter is added, e.g. *ise* becomes *sigise*, *kodiho* becomes *sigodiho*, *wosa* becomes *singosa*, *uni* becomes *siwuni*, *uci* becomes *siguci*, *pane* becomes *sibane*, *tego* becomes *sidego*, etc. Often *si* is put in a sentence for the sake of euphony, e.g. *madero si jou kolano*, *toma si futu enage*; meaning when connective words are added, although the first letter changes, e.g. *simarah*=*marah*, *sigado*=*kado*, *sibapo*=*papo*, *sikaarah*=*kaarah*, etc.

**sibai**, see *bai*.

**sibane**, see *pane*.

**sibere**, see *fere*.

**siboi**, see *boi*.

**sibori**, see *bori*.

**sibu-sibu**, a tree-fern, *Cyathea arborea* L.  
N.B. This word means “landwind” on Halmahera.

**sibuah**, shed shelter on a proa; in many coastal villages, *nagarees*, a roofed-in space where strangers can stay and store their goods and cook, or a meeting-place to discuss orders given by the headmen.

**sidagi**: 1. watery stool; *sidagi awo*, bloody diarrhea. [Bloody diarrhea is usually a symptom of amoebic dysentery, although there are other causes in which case the symptom would still be called *sidagi*. —Trans.] 2. causative form of *tagi*, see *tagi*.

**Sidangoli**, a region on the west coast of North Halmahera, where there is a Ternatese settlement and the Sultan has a house.

**side**, sago-leaves strung together to form a kind of skirt (see also *dau-dau*) or an auxiliary sail on small boats.

**sidego**, see *tego*.

**sidi**, to sail, depart (of a ship).

**sidoah**, to hand over, pass, deliver, present.

**sidu**, torch, usually bamboo filled with *damar*.

**sigado**, until, also; see *kado*.

**sigaro**, to order, direct; for emphasis, sometimes *sigaro sudo*.

**sigi**, mosque (from Arabic).

**sigise**, to listen; see *ise*.

**sigololi**, see *kololi*.

**siguci**, to come over; see also *uci*.

**sijafu** or **sayawu**, a plant, *Dioscorea aculeata* L.; the tubers are eaten, the leaves are a remedy against *bulah*.

**sijoho**, see *coho*.

**sikilwak**, sentry.

**Siko**, name of a kampong near Ngofaudu.

**silagi**, to stand up, pertaining to officials and rulers; of lower people *kokoko* is used. This distinction, however, is not strictly followed and it appears to me that *silagi* is more getting up, e.g. of people who sat down to eat.

**silahi**, see *lahi*.

**silom**, and.

**simarah**, and; see also *si*. Although all of it means the same as *mara*, the latter is still generally written as  .

**simore**, pleasant, pleasurable, glad.

**sinapan**, gun (the Dutch *snaphaan*, flintlock).

**singaja**, to splash, (be)spatter; see also *haja*.

**singosa**, to bring in; see also *wosa*.

**sinole**, sago prepared with grated coconut.

**sio**: 1. nine, of things and animals; of people, *ngasio*. 2. ah!, alas!

**sioko**, one, just one; *sisioko*, one or other, everyone, someone or other; *ngasisioko giki bariman bato simarah ibingun uwah*, all the believers were not bewildered.

**sirato**, to finish; see *rato*.

**sisiko**, see *sioko*.

**sisupu**, see *supu*.

**siwuni**, to show; see also *uni*.

**so**, and, with.

**soah**, quarter, kampong; *soah nyie*, a big square in front of the compound of the palace; also strait, channel, e.g. *mote Hiri si Babua ma-soah*, going through the strait between Hiri and Babua.

**Soah Sio** (abbreviation Soasio), the nine kampongs which comprise the main village and thus the capital.

**Soah Raha**, the four kampongs of the main village of Sawu.

N.B. How imprudent it can be to explain the derivation of words without knowing the language is apparent from the essay of Teijsmann on Halmahera, p. 506, where “Soah konorah” is explained as *swako* (village) and *norah* (middle)!

**sobat**, friend (Malay form of the Arabic word).

**sofo** or *hate ma-sofo*, fruit; *ma-sofo oho*, its fruits are eaten.

**sofo manyi-manyi**, a shrub, *Dartus perlarius* Lour.; the leaves are pressed and the juice is given against fever.

It is less correctly called “*Soffo mani-mani*” by Filet.

**sofo mutiara**, a plant, *Vernonia leptophylla* DC.; all parts of the plant are used against lumbar pain.

**sofu**, the dried skins of Birds of Paradise, like those supplied by traders from New Guinea, differentiated according to kind in *Sofu guraci*, *Sofu waigeu*, etc.

**sogili**, general name for the eel species, *Anguilla*.

**soho**, pig.

**soki**, a tree, *Bruguiera Rumphii* Bl.; the trunk is used for fire-wood and making posts of laths for houses.

**soldadu**, soldier.

**somaha**: **somaha dika**, without delay, at once.

**sonangah**, aside, on the side, on one side; *tego ma-sonangah*, to sit on the side of something. Also a part, half, e.g. *domaha oras ma-sonangah adi*, to wait for half an hour; see also *satengah*.

**rimoi si ma-sonangah**, one and one-half.

**sondorbelong**, sun-flower (the Dutch *zonnebloem*); a model for hair-pins, etc.

**sone**, death, to be dead or dying.

**soro**, to fly; *sisoro*, to fly away with something.

**sosaha**, tray; see also *saha*.

**sosahu**, hot fever, see also *sahu*.

**soseba**, the people who accompany the Sultan when he goes somewhere and who carry his stick, sword, *pinang*-box and spittoon; with the officers and *jurtulises*, they belong to the *ngofangare pehak raange*.

**sosi**, to spread, unroll.

**sosirah**, previous, before, earlier; *ifiri sosirah pasa maruah*, they had already fled earlier; *aku uwah sakali-sakali ana ihoru sosirah*, it is absolutely not allowed that they paddle earlier.

**sosoro bobudo**, a plant, *Fleurya interrupta* Gaud.; an extraction from the leaves is given against fever.

In Filet it is less correctly called "*Sosuro bobuto*."

**sosuko**, teredo; there is another species called *kalafah*.

**sou**, remedy, medicine.

**soweko**, heron.

**sowohi**, title of the person who looks after the regalia and oversees the persons working in the palace; a kind of supervisor who, before he orders anything, first has to ask the orders of the Sultan.

**stampah**, crown; worn only during major ceremonies by the Sultans.

**suba**, the same as the Malay *sembah*, to pay respect to notables; *tede suba*, to lift up the hands as a sign of respect.

**subuh**: **waktu subuh**, the time for the morning-prayer.

**sudidi**, earthquake, particularly horizontal shocks.

**sudo**, to order, charge, instruct; *sosudo*, to do this repeatedly, and also messenger; see also *suso-sohi*.

**suhadan**, the well-known Malay word that begins a sentence.

**suku**, fictitious coin, with a value of 1/4 “real;” see *rial*.

**Sula**, the name of the group of islands in the sea of Celebes and also of a few kampongs on Ternate, inhabited by Sulanese.

**sungi-sungi**, new.

**supu**, to come or go outside; *sisupu*, to show, emphasize, hand around.

**surat**, letter (from Malay).

**susa**, poor, needy, having difficulty (from Malay).

**susoshi**, envoy of the ruler, someone sent somewhere on behalf of the Sultan; on behalf of other people, *sosudo*, see also *sosudo*.

**susu**, milk (from Malay); *basusu*, to give birth to.

**suwisa**, drum, to drum.

## T

**taadim**, homage, tribute (from Arabic).

**tabadiko**, the *Bambusa* species.

It is less correctly called “*abatiko*” by Filet and Miguel.

**tabadiko nani**, *Bambusa fera* Miq., used for making tools.

**tabadiko tui**, *B. longinodis* Miq., for fences.

**tabadiko ake**, *B. aspera* R. et S., for water-casks.

**tabako**, tobacco.

**tabea**, greeting, to greet (from Malay); *so imaku-haka tabea*, and they greeted each other.

**tabisasu**, a kind of orchid; its thickened leaf-sheaths, after being dried, are cut in strips for plaiting hats, *kabilas*, etc. This is done mainly on the Sula Islands and at Maba and Patani on Halmahera.

There are four different species: *tabisasu uguh*, *tabisasu mumu*, *tabisasu koi* and *tabisasu guti*; the leaf-sheaths of the first and third species, the most sought after, are found especially on Halmahera and Peleng.

**tabu**, to shoot, fire; *tabu si usperah*, to fire the gun.

**Tacim**, name of an Alfuru kampong in the Sawu district on Halmahera.

**tagah**, to wash ashore, wash up, flow down; *bati tagah*, a washed-up tree-trunk.

**tagalngana**, a grass species, *Anthistiria ciliata* L.  
It is less correctly called “*Tagalngama*” by Filet.

**tagalolo**, a tree, *Ficus septica* Rumph.; the roots are a remedy against dizziness and fainting.  
It is less correctly called “*Tagallo*” by Filet.

**tage-tage**, a species of grass, *Cyperus rotundus* L.  
It is less correctly called “*Takki*” by Filet.

**tagi**, to go, walk; *tagi kasaha*, where are you going?; *sidagi*, to make somebody go, let somebody go; also, watery stool.

**tahan**, to stop (from Malay).

**tahun**, year (from Malay); see also *pariama*.

**takabir**, saying the words: “Allah is great” (from Arabic).

**Takofi**, name of a kampong on the island of Ternate.

**Takome**, name of a kampong on the northeast side of the island of Ternate.

**takowah**, long *kabaya*.

**taksumah**, *baju* without sleeves, worn by women over the *kabaya* during the *tuniru salai*.

**Talai**, name of an Alfuru kampong in the Sawa district on Halmahera, belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate.

**talalu**, too, very (from Malay); *talalufoturu*, very severe.

**talangah**, between; *maku talangah lamo uwah*, the space between was not large.

**Taliabu**, the biggest of the Sula Islands.

**tamate**, a plant, *Lycopersicum esculentum*.

**tambaga**, copper (from Malay).

**tambaru**, a corruption of the Malay *tahun baharu* meaning “festivals,” particularly at the end of the fast; a similar contraction is observed in Makassarese.

**tambur**, drummer (from Dutch).

**tamo**, earthenware pot or pan.

**tandah**, sign, marker (from Malay).

**tapak**, street, road.

**tapu**, anchor, to cast anchor; *matapu toma labuan*, anchored in the roadstead.

**tarah**, downward, southward; opposite of, i.e. West Halmahera, on the other hand, northward. In colloquial speech it means in the direction of the palace of the Sultan, and *tarah* in the direction away from the palace, e.g. *jou kolano sudo upas tarah ginado*, the ruler sent a guard down (i.e. to the fort, thus to the south of the palace) to inquire. Also, going down, e.g. *itarah*, they go down; see also *sarah*.

**kai tarah**, last night, tonight.

**Tarangarah**, name of a kampong behind the Makassarese quarter.

**tarima**, to take (from Malay); *tarimakaseh*, to thank; *tarima laha*, to think fit, approve.

**tarompét**, trumpet (the Dutch *trompet*); also trumpeter.

**taropo**, troop, division consisting of ten men, guard (from Dutch); in the latter case, the guard of the Sultan's own soldiers, while that of the garrison is usually called *lewak*.

**tasa**, small cymbal or gong; a few are placed on a wooden base and then played (from Arabic).

**Tasumah**, name of a kampong on the island of Tidore.

**tatabuan**, a set of cymbals, played on special occasions (from Malay).

**tatah**, a kind of cylindrical basket, made of bamboo, in which, among other things, *pinang* and fruits are transported.

**tatap**, fixed, persevering (from Malay).

**tatapi**, but, yet (from Malay).

**taujah**, tripang, the *Holothuria* species.

**tawaf**, to go round, go about (from Arabic).

**te**, tea (the Dutch *thee*).

**tede**, to take up, lift up.

**tego**, to sit, stay, sojourn; *notego* (of men) and *nitego* (of women), sit down, take a seat.

**sidego**, causative form of *id.*; *sidego lolahi toma sigi*, to get down for prayers in the mosque.

**terhormat**, respected (from Malay).

**termadkur**, reported, stated (from Arabic).

**Ternate**, the most current pronunciation, although one hears Tarnate and Taranate. It is generally denied that the original name was Tahinate (compare Gapi). Temminck (III, p. 142) says that the name is derived from an expression used when the first Mohammedans arrived and claims that Ternate was called Leinaugopie before the introduction of Islam!

**tero**, to hit, strike; *matero*, corresponding with, equal to, the same as.

**terpili**, and also *pili*, chosen, to choose (from Malay).

**tersubut**, mentioned, reported (from Malay).

**tiadi**, to replace, change.

**tiahi**, in order, ready, smooth, even; e.g. *malolofu tiahi bolo foloi*, one of two, odd or even?

**madiahi**, to dress, get dressed.

**sidiahi**, to prepare, get ready, clear away; in the imperative, often abbreviated to *diahi*.

**tibah-tibah**, at once, suddenly (from Malay).

**tifah**, drum or tambourine of native-make, manufactured from *seho-* or *ligua-* wood in the form of a hollowed-out cylinder, the top brace with snake- or deerskin, to which a few pieces of hardened gum are stuck. One beats on it with the right hand with a piece of wood and by holding the skin with the left hand, the sound can be muted.

**tikah**, to stay, be left, remain behind; *maku-tikah*, to leave each other; *fo maku tikah aku uwah*, we should not leave each other.

**sidikah** and **sidodikah**, to leave behind, leave.

**tike**, to search, look for; *sitike*, to make or let someone else look for.

**tinggalu**, the *Viverra zibetha*, from whose testes musk is obtained. One also calls it *bura*, but I think that that is more Tidorese.

**tino**, to weave; *dino*, loom.

**titah**, order, to order (from Malay).

**titi**, to change, replace.

**to**, I; used by itself or as emphasis with another pronoun of the first person, e.g. *fangare to waje maruah*, I have said; *fajaro to tagi*, I went.

**Tobelo**, name of a district on the east coast of North Halmahera, belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate.

**Toboko**, name of a place and *brangka* to the south of the capital, on the road to Kastela.

**Tobona**, place of the earliest settlement on the island of Ternate, almost directly north of the present kampong of Fitu; Valentijn less correctly calls it Tabona while he mentions (Ib, p. 180), among other things, a relocation of this village, which seems at present to have been forgotten.

**Tobuku**, a region on the east coast of Celebes, under the administration of a Raja and belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate; called Tobungku by the local population and often Tombuku by others.

**tocah**, wax, coming almost exclusively from the western dependencies of the Sultanate of Ternate.

**Todore**, the native pronunciation of the foreign bastardization of Tidore.

**toduku**, transverse, diagonal.

**tofan**, hurricane, squall (from Arabic).

**tofangi**, tingling sensation [lit. Dutch, “tickling by ants”], when the limbs “fall asleep.”

**tofkangi**, eight, of animals and things; of people, *ngatofkangi*.

**tofomah**, see *dofomah*.

**togu**, to stop, leave off; *togu riuwah*, continuously; *sidogu*, to make a stop.

**tohoko**, ground-thrush, the *Pitta* species, given this name because of the sound it makes.

**tolah**, to stop, interrupt; *ka ma-tolah uwah*, uninterrupted; also, to decrease or diminish one’s salary (the Malay *tulak*).

**Tolofuo**, name of a district on the west coast of North Halmahera, belonging to the sultanate of Ternate.

**Toloko**, name of a place and an old fortress to the north of the capital, changed by all writers to Terlucco.

**tolole**, dry of bamboo, *gabah* of newly chopped wood.

**tolu**, hat; *tolu bantah*, the Sulanese hat, made of *tabisasu* leaves, unlike the ordinary hat which is made of *buro*; *tolu mesa*, a big hat, worn by women during the *tuniru salai*.

**tom**, a plant, *Indigofera tinctoria* L.; fabrics are dyed blue with a decoction of its leaves.

**toma**, in, on, at, near; *toma wange enage*, on that day; *toma enage*, in the meantime; *tego toma kurusi*, to sit on a chair; *toma ngarah*, near the door or gate.

**tomodi**, seven, of animals and things; of people, *ngatomodi*. (N.B. The stress falls on the last syllable.)

**tono**, to soak in water or liquid; compare *dono*.

**torarah**, to shout.

**torare**, to pay one’s respects to a superior, or appear before a superior; turned with the front toward something.

**totarah**, lath, rafter.

**toto-toto**, to get ready, prepare or keep ready.

**totofuko**, a tree, the *Averrhoa* species.

**totori**, strips of *katu* sewn together.

**touru**, to come later; see also *uru*.

**tsalatsa**, Tuesday (from Arabic).

**tuadah**, a tree, *Artocarpus polyphema* Pers.; the fruits are used for beating on the cymbal.

**tualah**, cloth, kerchief, handkerchief; *tualah wari*, a kerchief with one of the corners turned up.

**tuan**, gentleman, lord, sir; the rulers are always addressed as *tuan Sultan*; they call the Resident *tuan*, and for other people add the title or name; people who are not officials are usually called *mener*.

**Tuan Sekh**, Arab.

**Tubaru** or **Tobaru**, name of a district on the west coast of North Halmahera, which belongs to the Sultanate of Ternate.

**tubu**, top, extreme point; *kie ma-tubu*, the top of the mountain.

**tubu-tubu**, mixed up, against each other, in confusion.

**tudu**, to start.

**tufah**, to fall over.

**tugudeki**, thumb; see also *ragah*.

**tuguherah**, little finger; see also *ragah*.

**tukan**, corruption of the Malay *tukang*; *tukan batu*, mason.

**tulung**, to help (from Malay).

**tuniru**, to play, amuse oneself; *tuniru salai*, to exorcize spirits or raise spirits. The latter is done only during illness to either a person who can cure the sick or some medicine which will lead to recovery. Usually they are girls who sniff incense and other narcotics to become entranced and who while jumping and shouting say the desired name. Compare with Campen in *Tijdschr. Batav. Gen.*, Vol XXVII, p. 440.

**turihi**, to run aground (in reference to a proa), get into shallow water.

**tuso**, with holes, notched.

**tutu**, to mash, pound.

## U

**ubah**, gun powder (from Malay).

**ubo**, a parrot species, *Electus grandis*.

**uci**, to come down, descend; *siguci*, to shower down upon; *sabea uci*, when the prayer is finished; *uci isa*, to go ashore (disembark).

**uduru**, to excuse oneself because of illness (from Arabic).

**ugah**, sugar-cane; the most frequently cultivated species is brownish in color with yellow stripes, and besides being eaten as a tidbit, is pressed to make sugared water.

**ugah-ugah**, a plant, *Costus speciosus* Smith.; the stem is used as a remedy against dizziness and loss of consciousness.

**uge**, a side-dish made of vegetables.

**uhi**, to stream down, ooze down.

**guhi**, torrent.

**uku**, fire.

**umo**, to throw out, cast out; *umo tapu*, to cast anchor.

**una**, he, him, as in *o*; often both together, e.g. *una o waje*, he said. Also possessive pronoun and then with the prefix *i*, e.g. *una ifalah*, his house; *una ioti*, his proa; for emphasis even *ge* is placed in between, e.g. *una ge ifalah*.

**uni**, to look; *siwuni*, to show.

**upah**, dizziness together with fainting and unconsciousness.

**upas**, guard of the Sultan, recognizable by the yellow *kabaya*.

**upas salakah**, the guards who are decorated with silver ornament.

**upas garnati ahi**, the guards who wear the tortoise-shell headgear.

**uriyomah**, a plant, *Flagellaria indica* L.; the tendrils are a remedy against fits in children.

**uru**, edge, border, bank; e.g. *ake ma-uru*, the bank of the river.

**douru**, followers, low-level headmen, who walk after the headman on the street.

**madouru**, later, afterward.

**touru**, to come later than agreed upon or expected (used only of people).

**usperah**, gun; *tabu usperah walonyagimoi si raange*, the gun was fired thirteen times; *usperah pantah*, small copper gun in the form of *rantaka*.

**utu**, 1. root. 2. to gather, pick, pluck.

**utusan**, envoy, minister (from Malay).

Title of the highest of the Ternatese officials, who represents the Sultan in the districts and looks after the latter's interests.

**uwah**, not; *riuwah*, *id.*; on the prefix *ri*, see under *afah*.

Like *malo* and *hangu*, it is placed after verbs and adjectives to which it refers.

There is no difference in meaning among these negatives, but custom demands that each of these be used in specific cases.

## W

**wadakah**, to rub, rub in, rub into.

**Waiolah**, name of a kampong on Ternate.

**waje**, to speak, say; *una owaje*, he said; *iwaje*, they said.

**waktu**, time, time for prayers (from Arabic).

**Walanda**, Dutchman.

**walo**, time; *walomoi*, once, for the first time; *walo raange*, three times, for the third time; *walomoi si walomoi*, one after the other, successively; *kawalomoi*, together, collectively.

**wange**, day; *sowange*, today; *wange lamo*, during the day; *wange cako*, late afternoon, early evening; *wange tjako*, late afternoon, early evening; *wange lobi*, evening; *wange nitah*, tomorrow morning; *wange rimoi*, the whole day; *wange ma-lako*, sun, although also *wange* alone; *besa wange*, rain when the sun shines.

**wange-wange**, a green-spotted harmless snake.

**wari**, to fold, open.

**tualah wari**, see *tualah*.

**waringi**, a tree, the *Urostigma* species.

**waro**, to know; *haka waro* and *sihaka waro*, to modify.

**wele-wele**, to hang off of, referring to rope, aerial roots, climbers, etc.

**wigu** or **wigu-wigu**, to swing.

**witu**, to push, push along; *witu hoko*, to push towards the sea, launch, e.g. referring to a proa, which lies on the beach.

**wokah**, a palm species, *Livistona rotundifolia* Mart.

**wokah-wokah**, a bird, the *Corvus* species.

**wongi**, collective name for the souls of those who have died; *wongi ma-falah*, place where these souls are said to be staying, in, under or outside the house.

**wosa**, to enter, go in; *wosa bangah supu bangah*, into the forest and out of it; *singosa*, to bring in.

**ngosa** and **ngosa-ngosa**, someone who conveys messages or brings letters, also the regular statute laborer who does this work.

**woto**, to bury, burial.

**wuru**, a small species of hen-harrier (kite).

## Y

**yaadi**, same as *adi*.

**yaane**, it is namely, to know (from Arabic).

**Yabah**, name given by the Ternatese to Ambon; see also Tiele, second volume, p. 22.

**yang** (from Malay); sometimes added to other Malayan forms for clarification.

**yayah**, mother.

[p. 319]

## Appendix I

### List of the Rulers of Ternate and Tidore (As Stated by the Sultans)

[in Ternatese or Tidorese script]

[Translator's note: This appendix, found on pages 319-323 of the original publication, lists the names of the rulers of Ternate (a.) and the rulers of Tidore (b.). The list is divided into two parts: I. Before the coming of Islam; and II. After the coming of Islam. The lists are in Ternatese or Tidorese script, and though some footnoted annotations in Dutch are provided, these are not translated here.]

[p. 324]

## Appendix II

### Titles of Chiefs and Other Officials

Kapitein-Laut: Guardian of the fleet

Jogugu (Ternatese); Jojau (Tidorese): royal governor

Hukum: highest head of a village (kampong)

Sekretaris: Highest clerk [secretary]

Mayor, Kapitein, 1st. Luitenant [First Lieutenant], Alferes, Ajudant, Sarjeti, Korporal: ranks in the Sultan's troops

Raja: vassal

Utusan: Representative of the monarch

Sangaji (Ternatese), Songaji (Tidorese): District (or Nagaree) head

Gogugu (Ternatese); Jojau (Tidorese): deputy governor

Ngofamanyirah (Ternatese); Famanyirah (Tidorese); Kimalaha (Ternatese); Gimalaha (Tidorese): village (kampong) chiefs

Kalaudi: chief of a small village

Mahimo (Ternatese); Simo (Tidorese): oldest

Sowohi; Sadaha; Sahbandar; Kapita-Kië: foremen (overseers) for the Sultan

Kapitein-ngofa; Luitenant-ngofa: sons of Rajas. [*ngofa* is “child” in Ternatese, Tidorese —Trans.]

Jurtulis: clerk [secretary]

Miantu: chief of the “dano”

Madiadi: acting (substitute) official [“place-holder”]

Punggawa: head of the Bajos

Soseba: sword- or betel-carrier

Marinyo Kië: head of the caretakers

Marinyo; Kabo: caretakers

Ngosa: Messenger; errand-runner

Baru-baru: soldiers

Whenever the Sultans represent themselves by a Committee, the Committee is made up of the four first named chiefs, and almost all the princes who are invested with military rank. [p. 326]

### Appendix III

#### Revised Spelling of the Names of the Islands Belonging to the Sultanate of Ternate

[Translator’s note: This partial list of island names, appearing on pages 326-327 of the original publication, is not translated here because these names and many others appear elsewhere in this text (with updated spellings) and can be found by searching the text. In a note at the end of the list, de Clercq states that he has not included the names of the islands belonging to the Sultanate of Tidore, since those should be included in another publication on New Guinea. He is referring to his later 1893 publication, “Ethnographische beschrijving van de west- en noord-kust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea” (Leiden: P.W.M. Trap).]

[p. 329]

## Appendix IV

### Native Opinion Concerning the Dutch Betrayal<sup>1</sup>

Maka pada masa itoe sahingga moelai tahoen 1216, toedjoeh hari deri boelan Safar,<sup>2</sup> maka di takdirkan oleh Allah, Rat jang memegang Goefernoer Kransel menaroh kadalam ares dengan tengah malam.

Komedien datang Rat jang membri tahoe pada anakda Sri Soeltan kadalam astananja, dengan alat sendjata bagi orang jang hadapan moesoeh, serta mengatakan pada anakda Sri Soeltan: “Pada masa ini kami Rat soedah menarohkan Goefernoer kadalam ares, sopaja kami menjerahkan tanah ini kapada tangan toewan kompani inggris, agar boleh dapat makanan; deri sebab kami Rat tiada beroleh menahan kalaparan dan lagi Goefernoer tiada soeka mendengarkan pada sekalian kami Rat ampoenja perkataan; djadilah kami membri tahoe kapada toewan Soeltan, serta mengatakan poela pada anakda Sri Soeltan, djanganlah soesah, menanti djoega kami Rat berboewat betoel ini kapada toewan kompani inggris, sopaja toewan Soeltan dapat sabagimana adat dahoeleoe.” Maka menjahoet anakda Sri Soeltan kapada Rat: “Djikalau perboewatan bagi demikien itoe tadapat tiada melainkan toewan<sup>2</sup> Rat sendiri timbang deri hal perboewatan jang soedah meroesakkan soempahan, jah itoe anakda Sri Soeltan dan sekalian wazir man [p. 330] tri<sup>2</sup>-nja jang sangat katakoetan, djanganlah mendjadi tjelaka negri kami; deri karna pada masa nenekmojang toewan Soeltan Modafar dan sekalian wazir mantri<sup>2</sup>-nja jang bersatiawan dengan sahabat jang berkaseh<sup>2</sup>-an kapada oleh padoeka ajahanda toewan amiral Flaming deri nama toewan kompani welandawi, jang mengadakan kontrak dan hormat jang termashoer pada Soeltan dengan wazir mantri-nja dalam Maloko ini dengan hadjat jang terlebeh kaentoengan dalam tahoen<sup>2</sup>; serta berboewat poela perdjandjian boenji dalam kontrak dengan beberapa fatsal jang menegohkan dengan soempahan mendjabat Alkoran alathim akan hidoep bersatiawan toewan kompani dan Ternate dengan damei tiada bertjerei, seperti darah dan daging, koekoe dan koelit; salagi berlindoeng di bawah parentah toewan kompani ampoenja sendjata jang sangat koewat dan tadjam sahingga hilanglah doenja ini, pada antaranja lebeh doewa ratoes tahoen ini sabelom sakali melihat atawa menengar bagi Rat ampoenja perboewatan demikien itoe.” Tetapi Rat tiada soeka menengar anakda Sri Soeltan ampoenja perkataan, laloe pergi lantas ka kota Kajoemerah, sahingga pada besoek hari djoega kapal<sup>2</sup> samowanja masok ka laboehan, serta Kapitan Walker masok dengan sekalian soldadoe kadalam kota Oranje, maka di toeroenkan bandera Kompani di naekkan bandera inggris. Laloe anakda Sri Soeltan dan wazir mantri<sup>2</sup>-nja jang melihat bandera itoe dengan sangat mashgoel, djikalau Rat tiada

<sup>1</sup> [p. 329, n. 1] I found this description of the violence done to Governor Cranssen by J. Rodijk and D.J. van Dockum (see “Short Chronicle,” Period II, *sub* 1801) in one of the documents on the earlier history of Ternate which the Sultan gave me to read. I think it important that this description be reproduced here in its untranslated entirety.

<sup>2</sup> [p. 329, n. 2] This should be *tujuh belas hari*, since the seventh of *Safar*, 1216, corresponds with June 9, 1801, and the heroic deed (!) took place on June 19.

menganiaja oleh Goefernoer, jah itoe orang inggris tiada dapat masok kadalam tanah Ternate; deri sebab daja anakda Sri Soeltan dan sekalian mantri<sup>2</sup>-nja jang memandang pada sahari<sup>2</sup> akan perboewatan oleh Goefernoer Jacob Kransel, jah itoe laki<sup>2</sup> bidjaksana pada berdiri pakerdjaan dalam paperangan dan menoeroet titah padoeka ajahanda toewan bangsawan Goefernoer Djindral dan toewan Rat fan India deri nama toewan kompani welandawi, dengan hati jang soetji dan bidjaksana, berikoet bagi segala boenji kontrak perdjandjian dan lagi mengaloewarkan ongkos dengan beberapa poeloh kojan beras dan beberapa riboe fardoe [p. 331] sagoe, pada menganoegerahi orang<sup>2</sup> dalam isi negri kadoewa pihak, jah ini dalam kampong sarani dan islam, dan beberapa poeloh kora<sup>2</sup>-krois pergi datang dengan beberapa poeloh kali, jah itoe samowanja Goefernoer Kransel, mengadakan balandja dan makanan serta minoeman pada sahari<sup>2</sup> jang tiada boleh hisab banjknja.

[p. 332]

## Appendix V

### Provisional Agreement<sup>1</sup>

concluded between the chief merchant  
Carel Lodewijk Wieling  
district commissioner, together with the Council of the Moluccas,  
in the name of and on behalf of His Excellency the Right Honorable  
Albertus Henricus Wiese  
Governor-General, together with Their Excellencies the Members of the Indies Council  
on the one side,

and some of the officials of Makian, such as,

#### the sengahjes

|             |         |
|-------------|---------|
| Ngoffakiaha | Kodarat |
| Ngoffagita  | Ali     |
| Tahane      | Didi    |
| Tahane      | Maana   |

#### the kimalahas

|          |           |
|----------|-----------|
| Sabale   | Songaiy   |
| Peleweri | Halilu    |
| Tafasoha | Galuga    |
| Pawate   | Uria      |
| Mailoa   | Dara      |
| Talapoa  | Than      |
| Bobawa   | Singa Isa |
| Malopi   | Samsie    |
| Tagono   | Samaun    |

<sup>1</sup> [p. 332, n. 1] For more information, see p. 85 [of de Clercq's original text —Trans.].

|              |        |
|--------------|--------|
| Ngoffabobawa | Sugie  |
| Samsuma      | Panawa |

**the Ngoffamanyira**

|          |       |
|----------|-------|
| Tobalola | Ronga |
|----------|-------|

**the kimalaha**

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| Kayoa | Kasim |
|-------|-------|

on the other side.

1. Firstly, the district commissioner and council hereby testify that this agreement [p. 333] is concluded with the Islands of Makian and Kayoa which belong to the Sultanate of Ternate, with the knowledge and permission of His Highness the Sultan of Ternate and the Notables.

2. This proceeding takes place only with the permission of His Highness as mentioned above, to bring under direct rule of the Company the people of Makian and the few natives of Kayoa who, during the recent wars and the subsequent English interregnum, fled from obedience to Ternate and sought the protection of the Tidorese Sultanate, out of fear of Ternatese rule, under which, they claim, they had suffered much, until such time as, with the help of God, peace and order were restored in the Moluccan states.

3. This, however, does not imply that the Company recognizes as lawful the headmen of the Island of Makian, those sengahajes and kimalahas who are there at present.

4. The following officials are still under the authority of the Sultan of Ternate:

the sengahajes of Ngoffakiaha Wilan, and Ngoffagita Sade,

the kimalahas of Tofasiho Bunga, Talapoa Badien, Bobawa Gula, Peleweri Samath, and Samsuma Mustari.

These officials, along with some of their subordinates, did not follow the example of the others but remained faithful to their lawful ruler. For that reason and because their appointments were made with the knowledge and approval of the Company, they shall remain in office. [p. 334]

5. The headmen who were appointed after the break-away, with the permission of the Sultanate of Tidore, will be only provisionally acknowledged in their positions for as long as the Island of Makian remains under direct rule of the Company or until such time as other arrangements have been made in this regard.

6. The headmen and subordinates who at present come under the jurisdiction of Ternate shall remain under this jurisdiction. The others, along with their subordinates, shall come under the direct rule of the Company. No one is allowed to change sides except as a whole, and in order to do so a request must first be presented to the District Commissioner and

Council, since changing from one party to the other would cause nothing but confusion and discord.

7. By their revolt, the majority of the population of the Island of Makian have forfeited their extirpation money, which had been given to them for years, ever since the eruption of the mountain of Makian, without sufficient proof that spice trees have since grown on the islands. It will therefore depend on the kindness of the High Government of the Indies whether or not recognition money will be given to the population once they are again assembled under one authority.

8. The headmen of Makian who are at present under the protection of the Company promise, for themselves and for their subordinates, to regard the friends of the Company as their own friends and the enemies of the Company as their own enemies.

9. They will not have any communication with any foreign nation whatsoever; they will oppose all collective purchase of spices and all spice trading; [p. 335] and they will render all possible assistance to Company ships and trading vessels which may be shipwrecked or damaged near the Island of Makian. If these regulations are not observed they will suffer the penalties set forth in the contracts made with Ternate.

10. In compliance with earlier contracts, they agree to supply three hundred measures of lime annually to Ternate at the price received during the last few years, namely fifteen pennies per measure. But in addition to the aforementioned quantity, they agree to prepare, on Makian itself if possible, another two to three hundred measures which the Company must collect and for which the Company will pay a price of twenty pennies per measure.

11. They will keep fifty men constantly engaged in felling timber to be used for wood products such as totaras, gabba-gabba lathes, atap, etc., for which the same price will be paid as was previously paid to His Highness the Sultan of Ternate, who allows the collecting and cutting of building material on his lands without laying claim to anything, so long as the Makians take it upon themselves to provide food during that work.

12. The above-mentioned headmen also agree, for themselves and for their subordinates, to supply thirty hirelings every month to carry out daily work. These hirelings will receive six pennies per day, as do Ternatense subjects.

13. Moreover, they will supply, when the Company needs them, men to load and unload ships and vessels, and these men also will receive six pennies per day. [p. 336]

14. The above-mentioned headmen agree to hand over to the Sultan of Ternate those Ternatense subjects who have left their country (except for Makians and people from Kayoa) and who are living at present on Makian or who want to settle there; but it will be left to the discretion of those Makians who are scattered at present here and there on Tidorese lands, whether or not they wish to be under the authority of the Sultan or prefer to join those who will henceforth come under the protection of the Company.

15. Lastly, for the time that Makian and Kayoa are under the immediate protection of the Company, all offenses committed by Makians or Kayoans will be examined by a court of

justice of this Government and tried according to the laws of the Company, for the observance of which the sengahjes and kimalahas of Makian and Kayoa will have to take the following oath:

“We, the collective sengahjes, kimalahas, and other heads and inhabitants of the Islands of Makian and Kayoa promise and swear to submit faithfully and sincerely to everything which has been determined above, to be obedient and loyal to the Dutch Company, not to hide or conceal any spices which might be found or discovered on our lands but to notify the Esteemed District Commissioner in Castle Orange at once, and whenever and as often as the Dutch Company deems it necessary, to allow the extirpation of the spice trees on the Island of Makian; [p. 337] to do this faithfully and to the best of our abilities; and furthermore to obey and carry out promptly all orders of the Dutch Company.”

This done, decided, and sworn on the Island of Ternate at Castle Orange on March 20, 1806.

(Followed by the signatures of the District Commissioner and the Members of the Council and the crosses of the native headmen and the seal of the Company

[p. 338]

## Appendix VI

### Excerpt From the Diary of the Resident of Ternate Regarding the Eruption of the Mountain in February, 1840<sup>1</sup>

*Sunday, February 2.* At half past eight in the morning a severe eruption occurred, which started with a noise from the crater sounding like rolling thunder, followed by a column of ash and smoke of amazing proportions. This column was belched forth with tremendous force. In spite of a strong northwesterly wind, it soared sky-high with such force that it remained in that position for quite a while before the wind could blow it away. It was constantly replenished from the continually active crater, all the while accompanied by a roar resembling an approaching thunderstorm. Just before eleven o'clock, the activity of the eruption lessened. Then, at half past eleven, it started again with tremendous force, throwing an astonishing amount of smoke and stones high into the air. Here and there light blue flames could be seen under that mass, while on the north side a strong stream of lava flowed in the place of earlier eruptions, but now taking a new course, more to the east than the previous one and falling into a ravine which runs toward the sea. This terrible eruption lasted more than an hour and then lessened slightly. Soon after one o'clock, it started again with the same harsh noise, and continued until about nine o'clock at night. There was nothing visible after sunset but dark masses of black clouds of smoke, red-hot ash, and stones, together with a fiery stream of lava. The volcano's activity slowly lessened

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<sup>1</sup> [p. 338, n. 1] This excerpt has been included to elucidate this event, less clearly represented in the preceding account.

after nine o'clock [p. 339] and the noise diminished. The whole night long, however, a large quantity of smoke and columns of ash kept coming from the mountain, while, at intervals, a rumbling noise could be heard, although not as loud as before.

*Monday, February 3.* Like last night, this morning the mountain again spewed forth massive columns of smoke and ash with an intermittent thundering noise, which increased again for half an hour at about twelve o'clock.

According to the first reports which have come in, the eruption has not caused any loss of life, which can be attributed to the fact that the people had time to flee from the mountain before the lava came down. It was also a fortunate coincidence that the stream of lava fell into a ravine, so that it was closed in and could not spread; otherwise, by taking a new course, it could have ravaged the land. Because of the strong northwesterly wind, the northeastern side of Ternate as far as the lower part of the mountain was not troubled by the stones and ash, but the southeastern and eastern parts were much affected. In these areas, stones and ash came down in such quantity that all the gardens were destroyed, the crops were ruined, and the natives had to leave their houses, since several roofs collapsed under the weight of the stones and ash which had fallen onto them. This eruption caused a lot of damage. According to the information received, the rain of ash also made itself felt on the island of Tidore.

There was no earthquake felt during this eruption; but from time to time there was a slight trembling of the earth, as though a carriage were passing.

For the rest of the day the crater continued to emit columns of smoke, with repeated roars, which slowly lessened during the night.

*Tuesday, February 4.* This morning the mountain was still and only a small amount of smoke was being emitted. [p. 340]

*Wednesday, February 5.* About ten o'clock this morning, a slight earth tremor was felt.

*Tuesday, February 11.* Accompanied by the Sultan of Ternate and a few other gentlemen, I went to the north of Ternate to have a look at the course of the lava flow caused by the eruption on the 2nd of this month.

*Friday, February 14.* A slight earth tremor was felt during the night at half past twelve. It was immediately followed by more jolts, which became increasingly more severe. They were preceded by a strong subterranean noise, like rolling thunder in the distance. Since the shocks were vertical, the hanging glass bells did not even move. At half past one a severe shock occurred, and the ground continued to tremble, so that all the inhabitants left their homes. The shocks became more and more severe, with the most severe shock occurring at ten o'clock in the morning. Afterward, there was not a single brick house left on Ternate that was fit for habitation, either in the Christian or in the Chinese and Makassarese quarters. The house of the Sultan of Ternate, the house of the commander, and a few smaller houses can be repaired, but not the church. The few other houses which did not collapse completely have walls which are damaged or partly collapsed, so that one is afraid to live in them. They will have to be leveled. Even Fort Oranje, which has been

standing for almost two centuries, was not able to withstand this severe earthquake. It is irreparably damaged and the brick barracks are uninhabitable. In ten hours Ternate has been changed into a heap of ruins and the inhabitants who lived in about five hundred brick houses have all, without exception, become homeless. They have had to move into the few sheds which are standing on the beach. The disaster which has hit the inhabitants of Ternate is irremediable, since all their properties have been destroyed; other goods, salvaged after the earthquake, are, for the most part, unusable or damaged. The little wealth that the inhabitants had usually consisted of one or two houses [p. 341] and now they have nothing, and most of them have also become debtors because of loans. The retail dealers, who will have no income, will now force losses upon the wholesale dealers or creditors, so that the damage to the private sector is estimated at f 900,000. Moreover, due to the general disaster, it will be difficult for the inhabitants to find a roof to put over their heads, there being a complete shortage of the building materials necessary for gabah-gabah houses. Everything will have to be supplied from the mainland with the cooperation of the Sultan. The result is that four or more families will have to manage together in sheds which otherwise are used for storing vessels; while most of the salvaged goods, due to the lack of storage space, will remain lying in the open. Fortunately, it has not rained, and the absence of rain has prevented the total destruction of these goods.

Just before the severe jolt occurred at ten o'clock, many women and their children, not knowing what might happen, got into proas which had been tied in the roadsteads, to await the further destiny of Ternate. Meanwhile the shocks became less severe and the constant movement of the ground also decreased. The next night there were four somewhat severe shocks, besides the incessant small tremors.

*Saturday, February 15.* There have been occasional shocks through the whole day and into the night, and the ground has continued to tremble. It was noticed that the water level in the wells is much higher than before.

*Sunday, February 16.* The situation remains the same, with a rather severe jolt just before eight o'clock in the morning, followed by several less severe jolts. In the morning, the Sultan of Ternate came to express his condolences about the disaster, and the Sultan of Tidore came for the same purpose in the afternoon. They also offered their assistance, with everything they had at their disposal. The Sultan of Tidore had already brought, along with atap and bamboo to make sheds, a considerable number of Tidorese to clear the rubble of collapsed houses and to salvage such materials as were still usable. [p. 342]

*Monday, February 17.* During the night several shocks were again felt.

*Tuesday, February 18.* In the morning at nine o'clock, H.M. corvette *Nihalenia*, with Lt. Cdr. G.J. van der Plaats serving as (naval) captain, arrived in the roadsteads. In the afternoon a *rorehe-proa* was sent to the Governor of Ambon with news of the disaster that had occurred on Ternate. Shocks were felt at intervals the whole day and night.

*Wednesday, February 19.* Intermittent shocks were felt during the day, and a lot of smoke came out of the mountain. At four o'clock in the afternoon a huge column of smoke rose with much force. Between half past six and seven o'clock, a strong blaze came from the crater and continued for almost half an hour. The next night three shocks were felt, but they were not very severe.

*Thursday, February 20.* Shocks were felt the whole day long, and last night as well. At six o'clock in the evening, after the mountain had already emitted some smoke, an enormous column of smoke suddenly soared upward, and for about half an hour a strong blaze could be seen.

*Friday, February 21.* Two shocks were felt during the night and much smoke came from the mountain. At one o'clock a subterranean noise and tremors were again evident. In the evening a meeting of prominent residents was convened to consider the situation on Ternate. In the late afternoon the mountain smoked profusely, with a rather strong glare.

*Saturday, February 22.* During the night a few shocks were again felt, and the mountain continued to send up thick clouds of smoke.

A delegation was sent to the Sultan of Ternate and to the Captain of the Chinese to discuss the situation on Ternate. The delegation consisted of Mr. Otto, Magistrate and Fiskaal, and Mr. van Duijvenbode, Captain of the citizens. [p. 343]

At one o'clock the Sultan of Tidore left for a few days. A few shocks were felt again today.

*Sunday, February 23.* Heavy rains lashed the island all night long and a strong wind blew. A few shocks were felt during the day.

This evening I met with the Sultan of Ternate to discuss the evacuation of Ternate. His Highness strongly objected, but in the end was prepared to follow the lead of the Government.

*Monday, February 24.* At half past eleven a rather severe shock occurred which was even felt on board H.M. corvette *Nihalenia*. The captain, therefore, sent one of his officers ashore to render assistance in the event it was necessary. There were occasional light shocks during the day and, as usual, smoke continued to be emitted from the crater.

*Tuesday, February 25.* The delegation left for Dodinga at six o'clock in the morning to see if there was a suitable place on Jailolo to which the administration could be moved.

I sailed with the Captain of H.M. corvette *Nihalenia* to the northern part of the island to see whether the crater of the mountain had undergone any changes; it seemed to us that, besides the old opening in the edge of the crater, through which the lava had flowed during the eruption on the 2nd of this month, cracks had formed which were also emitting smoke, and that the three hills<sup>2</sup> which formed the top of the mountain had become higher and more pointed. [p. 344] This may be attributed to the stones and ashes which were thrown upward during the eruption.

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<sup>2</sup> [p. 343, n. 1] There are several peaks, or rather, hilly elevations on the peak, named as follows: Mekah, or the peak proper in the west; Medina, a mountain ridge running from south to east; Terkan in the southwest; and Kaf or Wakaf in the north. This last one, slightly higher than the peak, is the wall of the crater. The names given by van der Crab in Note 13 of the "History of Ternate" (*Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Instituut* IV, 2:381 ff.) are incorrect.

The Sultan of Tidore returned to Ternate in the afternoon.

Another strong jolt was felt about four o'clock in the morning. The whole night long the mountain had smoked more than usual. During the day a few more shocks were felt.

*Wednesday, February 26.* Aside from a few small jolts, one severe shock was felt in the morning. In fact, shocks were felt more or less throughout the day, although they were not very severe.

*Thursday, February 27.* The Sultan of Tidore left for Tidore with his retinue at ten o'clock in the morning.

At about eleven o'clock there was a heavy rainstorm with a strong wind, so that even the *Nihalenia* started to drift. Light shocks were felt during the day.

At six o'clock in the afternoon, the delegation returned from Halmahera, where they had gone to look for a suitable location.

*Friday, February 28.* At three o'clock this morning, a severe shock was felt, preceded by a noise from under the ground. During the day and in the evening a few more shocks were felt, but they were not severe.

*Saturday, February 29.* During the night no shocks were felt. Between three and five o'clock in the morning, however, there were slight tremors which continued throughout the day.

*Sunday, March 1.* No shocks were felt during the night, although there was a slight movement of the ground. During the morning there were a few light shocks and at night one was felt which was rather severe.

*Monday, March 2.* A few light shocks during the night; in the evening between eight and nine o'clock, four shocks were felt within forty-five minutes.

*Tuesday, March 3.* During the past night no shocks were felt. There were, however, a few shocks, [p. 345] although not severe ones, during the morning and afternoon, and also in the evening.

*Wednesday, March 4.* Slight tremors were felt during the day and also in the evening.

*Thursday, March 5.* No shocks during the past night, but a slight trembling. At seven o'clock at night a shock was again felt which continued for some time. No shocks were felt during the day, however.

*Friday, March 6.* Tonight, at about one o'clock, the mountain made, momentarily, a thundering noise. This was followed by a light shock. A certain trembling of the ground was also noticeable. There was another shock at night.

*Saturday, March 7.* Together with the Captain of H.M. corvette *Nihalenia*, I paid a visit to the Sultan of Ternate in the late afternoon.

Only a few light shocks were felt during the day.

*Sunday, March 8.* A delegation of inhabitants, on behalf of the Sultan of Ternate, boarded the *Nihalenia* to thank the captain for assistance rendered. In the evening the Sultan of Ternate paid a visit to the captain of H.M. corvette *Nihalenia*, for a farewell visit. Light shocks were felt last night and during the day.

*Monday, March 9.* H.M. corvette *Nihalenia* sailed at ten o'clock this morning, its destination Java. No shocks were felt during the night.

N.B. This catastrophe ended with a few light shocks during the following days.

[p. 346]

## Appendix VII

### Ceremonial at the Laying to Rest of the Sultan of Ternate

Monday, December 13, 1751. On this day appointed for the burial of the dead body of the deceased King of Ternate, His Highness Amerie Iskander Diul Carnaine Siafuedin Kitchel Raja Lauwt, His Excellency the Governor and Members of the Political Council, with the exception of the Major and Head of the Militia Christoffel Triskas, who had been nominated by their Lordships to guard the castle, went to the Ternatese Court, having been called by:

*Gugugu* Pati Saranga  
*Hukum* Soasio Harrun  
*Hukum* Samaiya  
*Sangaji* Limatauw Maudi  
*Quimelaha* [sic] Tomagola Papulua

They were accompanied by Members of the Judiciary and a few more lesser people. They arrived at the court at three o'clock in the afternoon, offered their condolences to the princes, princesses, and relatives of the King, and then stayed for some time. Amidst the weeping of several women and the singing of a number of Moorish priests, the dead body of His Highness was borne outside the palace by the closest Princes of the blood royal. The body, wrapped in white linen and covered with several pieces of gold-colored material, sheets, and two silk and two ordinary quitasols, was laid in a coffin. This was placed on a litter made of bamboo, over which there was a canopy of silk (as though for a four-poster bed) with many-colored flounces overlaid with double eagles of beaten silver and other ornaments. [p. 347] Massive gold chains had been hung from all sides. The King's concubines and several of his female indoor servants, dressed in mourning, their heads

covered with black crepe, sat down under the canopy in the litter. On each side of the head and foot of the litter there were male persons who carried standards with silver suns and moons. Besides the aforementioned quitasols and the bearers, one saw before the dead body of the King a person sitting bent down with a silver-gilt morion on his head which had been wrapped with a mourning turban. Aside from all these persons there were several others who carried the following regalia on the litter:

One gold water carafe; one gold kris of honor; one kris with gold mounting; one sword with gold handle, hook, and belt; one cane with gold knob; one silver square flat candlestick, with a silver tobacco pipe and chain.

When everything was in order with regard to the litter, the following companies marched in front of it:

A Company of Ternatese; a Company of Makassarese; a Company of Citizens; and a Company of European soliders, all under their Officers, the last three groups being led by the Lord Governor.

After these followed:

Six of the King's local personal guard; the King's trumpeter with a silver trumpet; the Ruler's horse, covered with black cloth and led by two of the King's Lieutenants; His Highness' palanquin, covered with black cloth.

Then followed a number of court ladies [literally, "so-called Maidens of State" —Trans.] [p. 348] and male attendants carrying the following ornaments:

a gold filigree chain; a gold morion; a gold pinang box made in the shape of a boat, with a gold sirih cup; a gold pedang; a silver case with a silver box for tobacco and lime; five silver dishes; five small silver dishes; six silver table rings; three silver table rings in the shape of shells; one silver Massak bowl; two silver water carafes with long necks; three silver-gilt salt containers; two silver ewers with wash basins; one silver pot for oil and mustard; two silver-gilt rosewater bottles; one silver morion; two silver sirih holders; three pairs of silver snuffers; two silver censers with chains; one silver tampat sirih (betel box) in the shape of a boat, with appurtenances; one silver tampat sirih in the shape of a boat, with flowerwork; one silver-gilt censer; one silver filigree box; one silver worked dish; one silver plain dish; one dish with glass bell; one silver-gilt dish with glass bell; one silver censer with holder; one silver pair of woman's slippers.

These ornaments were followed by four of His Highness' state officials, each of whom carried a standard covered with white linen, topped by a canopy of white linen with flounces held by four lesser officials. [p. 349] This was followed by the King's native musicians playing colingtans and other native musical instruments.

Next came the high priest, dressed in an upper garment made of red-gold cloth. There were also a number of lower priests and temple servants dressed in white and other clothes. Then came the dead body of the King, as described above, on the aforementioned litter, carried by approximately two hundred and fifty men, while the singing bearers of the

quitasols, standards, and ornaments together with the priests accounted for another fifty persons. The King's European bodyguards marched on both sides of the dead body. Then followed six European undertakers, all in mourning with crepe hanging from their hats. Then came the Ternatense Prince Outhoorn Aiyan Saha. The funeral procession was followed by a number of Chinese all in mourning clothes, with white shawls on their heads. Finally came the wives and concubines of the notables and other distinguished Ternatense ladies, all dressed in white, with Sulanese jute bags round their waists to show that they were high-born and not slaves.

In this way, then, was the King's dead body taken from the palace to the main temple, and then, after a few religious ceremonies, again placed on the bed of state. Next the funeral procession followed the road straight to the boundary of the Ternatense and Makassarese quarters and then went to the royal graveyard via a side street behind the Ternatense quarter. Besides the above-mentioned procession, the dead body was now followed by a considerable crowd of other people.

After the procession arrived at the graveyard, His Excellency the Governor and the Members of the Political Council were invited by Prince Outhoorn to come under the *sabu* which had been erected before the grave of the King, where the dead body had been taken and stripped by the priests of its gold, silk, [p. 350] and many-colored linens. The King was laid to rest by the priests in a grave, three fathoms deep, in which a few of the priests were sitting. At this time, singing and all kinds of ceremonies took place, and the soldiers of the Companies, citizens, Ternatense, and Makassarese, all made three charges. The guns of Fort Orange were fired nine times and those at Fort Terlucco were fired four times.

By seven o'clock the dead body had been committed to the earth and the religious ceremonies had been carried out by the priests. H.E. the Governor and the Members of the Council and other people returned to the royal court where they were treated to a glass of wine or beer, cracknell cookies, and assorted cakes. This continued until about eight o'clock, when H.E. the Governor and the Council took leave of the royal family and returned to the Castle. The other members of the assemblage left too.

[p. 351]

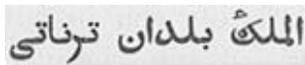
## Appendix VIII

### State Flags of the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore

#### A. Ternate

##### I. *Bandera kompani* or *Bandera batalyon* (company flag or battalion flag).

The flag is made of yellow silk, and the cloth is wound around a pole; the pole ends in an iron point and has a copper knob at the lower end; length=width=1 m., length of the pole is 2.5 m. In the center, a square of 0.4 m. has been cut which has been filled with a piece of white silk of the same size, on which is written in purple silk letters:



that is, *Al Molok Buldan Tarnate*, “The Moluccas, Sultanate of Ternate,” Molok being an abbreviation of Moluccas.

This flag is only flown on grand ceremonial occasions, such as when the Sultan’s whole company of soldiers joins the army, or on the proa of the Sultan, at which time one of the officers acts as standard bearer on top of the tent-like structure.

##### II. *Paji-paji koi ma-rau* (flags like pisang leaves).

There are six different kinds, all made of cotton, 2 m. long and 0.5 m. wide; six of them are placed on the proa of the Sultan to the left and right of the bow and stern, and four are placed on the proas of the princes. When they are fixed to the bowsprit, they are called *dayalu*. [p. 352]

##### III. a. *Paniki*; b. *Nyoa* (pennants like a bat and ray).<sup>1</sup>

These are also made of cotton, and on ceremonial occasions they are attached by threes, with a *koi ma-rau*, along the outside of the tent on the Sultan’s proa, six sets of three on the left side and six on the right side.

##### IV. *Amral* (big pennant).

<sup>1</sup> [352, n. 1] *Paniki* and *nyoa* are not Ternatese words. The first means “bat” and comes from Makassarese or from the Philippines; the second is a kind of fish, called *paru-paru* in Malay, a kind of “ray.”

It flies from the top of the mainmast on the Sultan's proa above the Dutch tri-color. The princes are allowed to fly this flag, but the sangajis are not.

V. *Dayalu* or *koi ma-rau*.

These are half as big as the Sultan's flags, and are meant for the sangajis, who are allowed to have four at the stern and bow.

## B. Tidore

I. *Bandera khalifa* or *Bandera batalyon* (battalion flag).

This flag is made of yellow cloth with red cotton letters. The length is 1.75 m., and the width is 1.25 m. Along the upper edge is the well-known motto:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

which means, "There is no God but Allah and Mohammad is his prophet." In the center is written,

سلطان تدوري

which reads *Sultan Todore*, the Sultan of Tidore.

II. *Paji-paji*.

These are triangular flags, 2 m. high and 1.25 m. wide, with pennants above, fixed to the bowsprit of the Sultan's proa. They are also called *dofu ma-uli* [p. 353] *ma-oma* because they are placed fore and aft with the pole in a bamboo.

III. *Koi ma-rau*. A flag on the Sultan's proa, six fore and aft.

IV. *Paji-paji*. A flag for lower headmen.

V. *Koi ma-rau*. A flag for the headmen of *marieku loah isa*.

Flying the pennant is the same as for Ternate, and a few headmen of New Guinea have special flags which sometimes change.

N.B. In the *Carte des pavillons en usage chez les différents peuples des Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* (published by the Ministry of War, 1866), the battalion flag for Ternate has been shown correctly and the ones that princes and other native headmen are allowed to fly at bow and stern have been shown correctly; the other seven illustrations are not recognized here. For Tidore, only the double tri-color flag for the Sultan's proa and the flags of the lower headmen have been shown correctly; the other five illustrations, including that of the battalion flag, are incorrect.

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*TNI* Rapport van den Hoofdinspecteur H.J. van de Graaff en den Inspecteur G.J. Meijlan, belast met eene commissie naar de Molukken. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, XVIII(1):73ff.

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1877 *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, voor de cadetten, bestemd voor den dienst in die gewesten, door J.J. de Hollander, Hoogleraar aan de Koninklijke Militaire Akademie.* Volume 2. Third revised edition. Breda: K.G. Oukoop for the Royal Military Academy.

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1875 *onuitgegeven stukken uit het oud koloniaal archief.* Vols. II, III, IV. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

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1868 Rapport over 's Compagnies Recht op de Groote Oost. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* Batavia: Lange.

Kniphorst, J.A.P.E.

*IG* Een korte terugblik op de Molukken en Noordwestelijk Nieuw-Guinea. *De Indische Gids*, V(2):290, 465.

Lauts, G.

1866 *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Regering in Indië gedurende 1816-1858*. 2 volumes. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller.

Leupe, P.A.

*BKI* De verdediging van Ternate onder den Gouverneur Johan Godfried Budach. *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, new series, VIII:262.

*TKI* Overname van Ternate van de Engelschen in 1803. *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Instituut*, 4th series, III:202-223.

Lith, P.A. van der

1875 *Nederlandsch Oost-Indië. Beschreven en afgebeeld voor het Nederlandsche volk door Mr. P.A. van der Lith, met prachtig gekleurde platen naar oorspronkelijke teekeningen*. Doesborgh: J.C. van Schenck Brill.

Ludeking, E.A.W., ed.

*TBG* Lijst der Gouverneurs van Amboina, zoo ten tijde der Portugezen als onder de Nederlandsche heerschappij, met aantekeningen, loopende van 1605-1864. *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, XIV:524-553.

Meyer, Adolf Bernhard

1875 *Auszüge aus den auf einer Neu-Guinea-Reise im Jahre 1873 geführten Tagebüchern von Adolf Bernhard Meyer als Erläuterung zu den Karten der Geelvinkbai und des Mac Cluergolfes*. Dresden.

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1855 *Flora van Nederlandsch-Indië door F.A.W. Miquel, hoogleeraar in de plantenkunde te Amsterdam*. 4 volumes with plates. Amsterdam and Utrecht: C.G. van der Post and C.G. van der Post, Jr.

Musschenbroek, S.C.J.W. van

*TAG* Toelichtingen behoorende bij de kaart van de bocht van Tomini. *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, IV:93.

“Overeenkomsten”

*IG* Overeenkomsten met Inlandsche Vorten; VIII, Contract met Ternate. *De Indische Gids*, IV(1):693.

Raffray, Achille

*TM* Voyage en Nouvelle Guinée, par M. Achille Raffray, chargé d'une mission scientifique par le Ministre de l'instruction publique 1876-1877. *Le Tour du Monde*, XXXVII (nos. 953, 954, 955, and 956).

*Realia*

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Riedel, J.G.F.

*BKI* De Sulanneezen, hunne gebruiken bij huwelijken, geboorte en bij het mutileeren des lichaams. *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, 4th series, X:395.

*TNI* De Namo leo en andere Tahinatesche vertellingen, gevolgd door een liedje. [With Dutch translation and notes by J.G.F. Riedel.] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, II:431.

1886 *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Robidé van der Aa, P.I.B.C.

*IG* De aanspraken van Solok op Noordoost-Borneo. *De Indische Gids*, IV(1):501ff.

Roo, L.W.G. de

*TBG* J.W. Cranssen te Ternate: 13 September 1799 - 18 Juni 1801. *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, XVI:503-535.

Rosenberg, C.B.H. von

1875 *Reistochten naar de Geelvinkbaai op Nieuw-Guinea in de jaren 1869 en 1870, door C.B.H. von Rosenberg, ambtenaar belast met wetenschappelijke onderzoekingen in Nederlandsch-Indië.* With maps and illustrations. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Teijsmann, J.E.

*TKI* Uitstapje naar het binnenland van Noord-Halmahera door den Inspecteur-honorair der Cultures, J.E. Teijsmann. With an introduction by Robidé van der Aa. *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Instituut*. IV(1):495-518.

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1849 *Coup-d'oeil général sur les possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique.* Volume III. Leide: Aruz.

Tiele, P.A.

*TKI* De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel. *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Instituut*, 4th series, I, III, IV, V and VI; 5th series, I.

Valentijn, François

1724 *Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indien, bevattende een naauwkeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van Nederlandsch Mogendheid in die Gewesten.* 5 volumes: Ia and Ib, IIa and IIb. Dordrecht and Amsterdam: Johannes van Braam and Gerard Onder de Linden.

1862 *François Valentijn's Oud- en Nieuw Oost-Indien*. With notes, complete indices, chronological lists, etc. Ed. J. Keijzer. 3 volumes. Amsterdam: Wed. J.C. van Kesteren en zoon.

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1870- *Insulinde: het land van den orang-oetan en den paradijs-vogel*. Translated from

1871 English and with notes by Prof. P.J. Veth. 2 volumes. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen.

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1883 *Geschiedkundig overzicht van de expeditie naar Tomorie op Celebes in het jaar 1856. Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*, published on the occasion of the sixth international congress of orientologists at Leiden. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

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### **Index of Names**

[Translator's note: This index of names, appearing on pages 355-359 of the original publication, is not translated here because most of these names and many others appearing in this text (with updated spellings) can be found by searching the text of this web-based publication. Also, the page numbers only refer to the original publication, and would be different page numbers in the translation. De Clercq does include some other key words in his index, such as "*Burgers, Christen*" ("city-dwellers, Christians"); such words can also be searched in the text.]