Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

Lopez, A.C.

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PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 18 september 2018
klokke 10 uur

door

ARIEL C. LOPEZ

geboren te Lucena City (Filippijnen)
in 1986

Promotores:	Prof. dr. J.J.L. Gommans (*Universiteit Leiden*)
	Prof. dr. D.E.F. Henley (*Universiteit Leiden*)
Promotiecommissie:	Prof. dr. G. van Klinken (*Universiteit van Amsterdam*)
	Dr. A.F. Schrikker (*Universiteit Leiden*)
	Prof. dr. H.G.C. Schulte Nordholt (*Universiteit Leiden*)
	Dr. K.A. Wellen (*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde*)

Contents

Acknowledgments

The foundations of this dissertation were laid as early as 2009 when Prof. Leonard Blussé-van Oud Alblas accepted my application to the Encompass Program. He and Alicia F. Schrikker, then coordinator, opened the doors for me to study Dutch-Indonesian history. As academic mentors, they were later joined by Kathryn A. Wellen who helped broaden my perspective of the field and improve my academic English.

Notwithstanding tradition, the Filipino values of *utang na loob* behooves me to acknowledge gratitude to my supervisors. I thank Prof. Jos Gommans for taking the risk of supporting my project and for the resolute belief that I could finish despite the difficulties along the way. I am grateful to Prof. David Henley for instilling academic rigor and sharing precious insights on the research topic.

Marijke van Wissen, the secretary of the Encompass and Cosmopolis programs, deserves special thanks for the countless assistance on practical matters on living in Leiden.

Through the years, I benefitted immensely from the series of classes on the Dutch language. I am grateful to Lili Evers, René Wezel, and Ton Harmsen who taught these courses with patience and dedication. I am also thankful to *Pak* Suryadi, Aone van Engelenhoven, and Prof. Ben Arps under whose tutelage I learned Bahasa Indonesia.

This dissertation is not only a product of synthesizing archives and books, but also of brief yet productive conversations with colleagues and friends. I am fortunate for the community of scholars brought together by the program and who socialized during *borrels* after the occasional lectures sponsored by these programs.

In addition, the generosity of friends, colleagues, and teachers who imparted their own research discoveries—and share of difficulties—sustained my optimism in the project. I am grateful to Farabi Fakih, Esther Zwinkels, Sanne Ravensbergen, Seng Guo Quan, Andreas Weber, Prof. Gerry van Klinken, Prof. Charles Jeurgens, Nadia Fauziah Dwiandri, Ruurdje Laarhoven, Henk Niemeijer, Yeri Wirawan, Hans Hägerdal, Mieke Schouten, Ian Caldwell, Marije Plomp, Arlo Griffiths, Veronique de Groot, Maarten Manse, Mahmood Kooria, Mark van de Water, Misael Racines, Simon Kemper, Xu Xiaodong, Pham Van Thuy, Pimmanus Wibulsilp, and Louie Buana. I would like to thank friends with whom I shared *Koningstraat* 27 and from

whom I learned about Indonesia—they were: Prima Mulyasari, Haris Budiawan, Abdul Wahid, Uji Nugroho, Widiratih Kamiso, and Intan Wibisono.

During my research trips to Indonesia, I am very fortunate to have met people who shared their knowledge and time. In Manado, I am indebted to Prof. Alex Ulaen, Stevano Sumampouw and Christian Setiawan. Christian accompanied me to Mongondow and Sangihe and whose family adopted me during the Christmas holidays of 2014. In Gorontalo, I am thankful to Basri Amin and David Radjak who were gracious hosts. My visit to the outskirts of Cirebon was facilitated by Fuad Faizi.

I thank the Cosmopolis program for the generous support for research trips and conferences, in particular in Yogyakarta (2014) and Manila (2016). I also thank David Szanton of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) for the grant to join the "Religion and the State" dissertation workshop in Chicago (2015). Elsa Clavé gave me the opportunity to present my findings at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS) (2016) and Prof. Maria Serena I. Diokno and the SEASREP Foundation provided the chance to share my research at Chulalongkorn University (2017).

On a more personal level, I wish to thank friends for the constant wish of *semangat* during difficult times. They were Esther Zwinkels, Pimmanus Wibulsilp, and Norifumi Daito.

Nguyễn Bảo Trang, reminded me of the importance of work-life balance, in spite of its elusiveness. She hosted me at Gießen, Germany in my last months in Europe and provided space to finish my draft. I thank her for the unwavering support and care.

I thank my parents and siblings in the Philippines for understanding my frequent absences at important family gatherings and long periods of being *incommunicado* while working on this project.

Finally, I wish to dedicate this work to my late mother who was always eager to listen to the progress of my project—no matter how slow. She would have been glad to know that I have finally reached this stage.

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1. Ratulangie and Manoppo

Speaking before the *Indische Vereeniging* (Indies Society), an organization of indigenous students from the Dutch East Indies studying in the colonial metropole in 1914, G. S. S. J. (Sam) Ratulangie (1890-1949), perhaps the most celebrated politician of Minahasa,[1] declared that

> We did not have a civilization before the arrival of the Dutch. This is important because in our pursuit to westernize our society, we did not suffer the burden of centuries of tradition. We accepted the Christian civilization without any restriction. [2]

Ratulangie aimed to please his audience, which would have certainly included Dutch colonial functionaries. He added to his self-deprecating panegyrics that before the coming of the German missionaries J. G. Schwarz and J. F. Riedel in the 1830s, his own society was characterized by such human vices as laziness, immorality, and vindictiveness. Furthermore, it was only through missionization that the "slumbering powers" of the people were awakened.[3]

The sentences from the above quotation were a preamble to arguing for the employment of more Minahasans as teachers in the fast expanding colonial education system. Ratulangie pleaded to "use our people [Minahasans] as mediums for the large-scale civilizational work in Celebes." He asserted that Minahasans should become the vanguards of civilization in the region and perhaps beyond.

Datoe Cornelis (D. C.) Manoppo, a more obscure contemporary of Ratulangie and also paramount ruler of Minahasa's adjacent Islamized polity of Bolaang-Mongondow, provides a telling contrast. Manoppo was explicit in his belief that the Minahasan teachers

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[1] To name some of his distinctions, Ratulangie was "the founder of the nationalist political party Persatuan Minahasa in 1927, first governor of Sulawesi for the Indonesian Republic in 1945, and posthumous Indonesian national hero." David Henley, "The Fate of Federalism: North Sulawesi from Persatuan Minahasa to Permesta," *Moussons* 11, (2007): 90.

[2] G. S. S. J. Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," *Indische Vereeniging: Voordrachten en Mededeelingen* 3, no. 1 (1914): 37.

[3] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 35. The trope of the missions' "awakening" the (Oriental) natives from their "laziness" is seemingly widespread not only in the Dutch colony but also in the British raj. See Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 6.

(*guru*) were "inferior" to the (Muslim) Javanese.[4] Manoppo had previously journeyed to Java to "expand his worldview"[5]—a rather unconventional activity for local rulers at the time—and was supposed to have "returned as a stauncher Muslim."[6]

It is likely that Manoppo and Ratulangie never socialized with each other though they were from neighboring areas and the leading members of their respective notable families. However, their shared invocation of religious affiliation as an important, if not defining, identity could not be more striking.

Ratulangie claimed that Minahasan and migrant Catholic Filipino pearl fishers in the Banggai archipelago (central Sulawesi) lived peacefully with each other compared with the supposed troubled relationship between Christian Minahasan and Muslim Javanese gold miners working side by side. The reason for the Minahasan and Filipino harmony was the supposed "close[ly] [shared] language and culture."[7]

Manoppo, on the other hand, strived to curtail the influence of Minahasan teachers working in Bolaang-Mongondow and strengthen his subjects' Islamic identity. He forbade "pagan festivities" and ordered his subaltern chiefs to "gather Islamic teachers" in order to "strengthen Islam." He promoted the construction of new mosques and the conversion of the "still pagan" Mongondorese.[8]

However, just a century earlier, the idea of tension between a Christianized Minahasa and an Islamized Bolaang-Mongondow would have seemed almost inconceivable. The people of Minahasa were animists at the time and also hostile towards Dutch dominance, at least until the Tondano War (1809) that finally "pacified" the region. The inhabitants of Bolaang-Mongondow's demographically dense uplands were "pagans except for a few chiefs who are Muslims."[9] Besides, the Mongondorese chiefly elite class, which was at least nominally Christian, was the last of the elites in the region to convert to Islam.

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[4] Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[5] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[6] Cited in Sven Kosel, "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 38, no. 110 (2010): 55.
[7] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 33. On the Banggai migrant settlement: Nationaal Archief- The Hague (NA) Memorie van Overgave (MvO) 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 306, Residentie Menado, A. Ph. van Aken, 1932, 17; see also, Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 453.
[8] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Verslag aangaande den werkkring Bolaang Mongondow over het jaar 1907, Passi, January 1908.
[9] Arsip National Republik Indonesia (ANRI) Manado ivn. 48, no. 4, Verslag van de rijkjes en negorijen ten westen van Manado gelege, D. F. W. Pietermaat, Resident van Manado, 31 December 1833.

Yet, only after a century "98 % of Bolaang-Mongondow is Muslim"[10] while Minahasa was by the time already "virtually Christianized."[11] The divergence of religious identities is striking given that Bolaang and Manado, the respective commercial centers of these two regions, are barely a hundred kilometers apart.

What happened in the intervening years that led to such mass identification with specific and divergent religious identities reminiscent of or perhaps even an analogue to the mass conversions during the so-called "Age of Commerce" (1450-1680) during which about half of the population of Indonesia became Muslim while more than half of Filipinos became Christian?[12]

How can we historicize the rise of such "religious mode of thought"[13] that pervaded not only the elite but also the ordinary people's *mentalité*? Even more fundamental—what accounts for the relatively rapid and simultaneous religious conversion to Islam and Christianity?

While often hedging against generalizations, historians writing on religious conversions in Indonesia tend to rely on several lines of argument to explain the phenomena of conversions. The notion that trade was instrumental not only in elite but also mass conversions appears particularly common in the literature on Islamic conversions. Additionally, the idea that colonial rule created a massive social crisis inducing people to convert to Christianity recurs in the literature on Christianization in Indonesia. To what extent are these—and other competing—explanations applicable to north Sulawesi?

Before proceeding to a more extensive discussion on the various theories of conversions (Chapter 2), a brief remark on the theoretical approach and the broader historical context is in order.

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[10] *Rayat Bolaäng Mongondow*, 18 November 1932, Vol. 1, no. 5.
[11] David Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 50.
[12] Anthony Reid, "An 'Age of Commerce' in Southeast Asian History," *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1990): 2. And more extensively in Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 2 vols., vol. 2: *Expansion and Crisis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 136-145.
[13] Robert W. Hefner, "Multiple Modernities: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, (1998): 87.

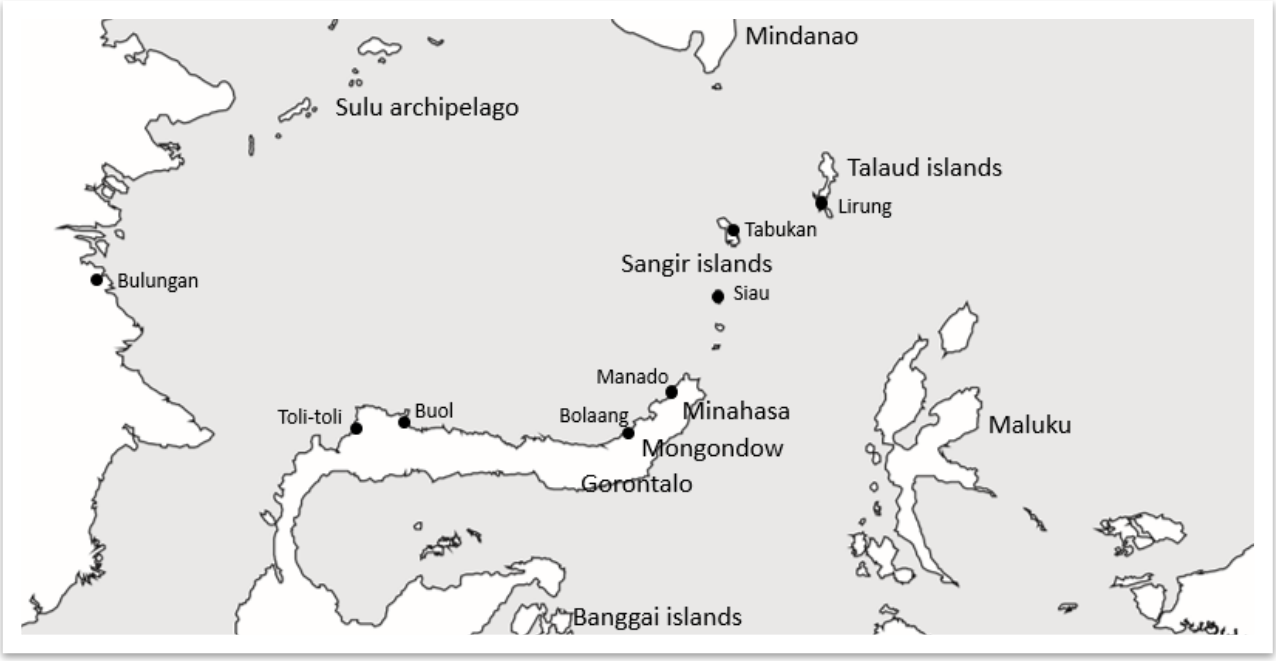

Figure 1
Map of northern Sulawesi and environs

2. Conversion as a sociological phenomenon

This dissertation is informed by two ostensibly divergent and mutually exclusive perspectives on religious conversion. On one hand, some scholars argue for an "internalist" definition and explanation to conversion. They believe that "true" conversion occurs only when there is a "re-orientation of the soul."[14] As such, they espouse an essentialist, even theological, approach to understanding conversion. Individuals and societies that fail to fulfill the conditions characterizing "true" and "ideal" conversion are thought to have undergone either "deficient conversion,"[15] "adhesion"[16] or merely an (intercultural) "interaction."[17] On

[14] Nock (1993), cited in Janet Hoskins, "Entering the Bitter House: Spirit Worship and Conversion in West Sumba," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, ed. Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (Tucson AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 159.
[15] See Lorraine V. Aragon, "Reorganizing the Cosmology: The Reinterpretation of Deities and Religious Practice by Protestants in Central Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (September 1996): 350.
[16] See Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 152.
[17] See Gerrit Roelof de Graaf, "De wereld wordt omgekeerd: Culturele interactie tussen de vrijgemaakt-gereformeerde zendelingen en zendingswerkers en de Papoea's van Boven Digoel (1956-1995)" (PhD. Dissertation, Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2012).

the other hand, the "externalist" view sees social, political, and economic forces taking a central place in understanding religious conversions.[18]

In the literature on Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular, the scholarly understanding of religious conversions tends to combine varying degrees of both the externalist and internalist views. Anthony Reid, for instance, in his study of early modern Christian and Islamic conversions, asserts that these conversions were a "conscious repudiation of a past identified as evil in favor of an externally defined new ideal."[19] However, such an internal, personal decision to convert was triggered by an essentially external factor, which was "a commercial, cosmopolitan, competitive environment that shook the foundations of older local beliefs."[20]

Robert Hefner's studies on contemporary Christian, Hindu, and Islamic conversions in Java likewise draw causality from both sides. Without negating individual moral agency, he contends that "an individual can be committed to a particular belief system without fully understanding its conceptual truth or social entailments."[21] He cautions against "intellectualism" or the view that individuals convert "as a result of social developments that promote comparison of the relative coherence of one set of beliefs with that of another."[22] Hefner identifies the Indonesian state's centralizing policy in the 1960s and 1970s as a driving force in mass conversions to world religions. As such, he sees conversion "not simply a matter of individual evaluation, but a social problem, related to the construction of political institutions under which some meanings would be shared and others denied."[23]

This dissertation also takes into account the political economy as well as the motivations and intentions of the social actors involved. Recognizing the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of pinpointing individual internal reasons for conversion, it strives to

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[18] This view is perhaps best represented by the studies of Jean and John Comaroff on South African Christianity in which "culture, symbolism and ideology" are weaved into the political-economic approach to understanding religious conversions. For example, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa," *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 1 (February 1986). See also, Sally Engle Merry, "Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's "Of Revelation and Revolution"," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 2 (April 2003): 462.

[19] Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650, "*Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, 152.

[20] Anthony Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," in *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, ed. Judith Schlehe and Evamaria Sandkuhler (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2014), 52.

[21] Robert W. Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 121.

[22] Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java, "*Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, 119.

[23] Robert W. Hefner, "The Political Economy of Islamic Conversion in Modern East Java," in *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning*, ed. William R. Roff (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1987), 76.

reconstruct, and at times extrapolate, a sociologically based motivation for individual and mass conversions. It therefore considers personalities as political and economic actors whose motivations were shaped, if not defined, by their social interests.

Although egodocuments are not extant to prove conversion as such, historical accounts are often explicit about the visible changes accompanying conversion to Islam or Christianity—either through descriptions of clothing, houses, or actual religious practices.[24] This dissertation is less concerned with the moral transformations that assumed to accompany such changes, and more concerned with how such physical manifestations are related to conversion. What did conversions mean for the broader aspects of social life, if at all? To what extent did conversions represent, or at least replicate, contemporaneous political and social currents within the societies in question?

3. Islam, Christianity, and Dutch colonialism

While this dissertation devotes considerable discussion to the early modern period, it focuses primarily on the nineteenth century. How does one locate these conversions in the broader histories of Islam, Christianity, and Dutch colonialism?

3.1. Islam

This dissertation's discussion of nineteenth century Islamic conversions questions the assumption that "virtually all of the Austronesian peoples of Island Southeast Asia became integrated into the Islamic world between 1300 and 1600 CE."[25] It examines Islamic conversions that straddle the transition between what could be broadly categorized as the early modern and modern phases of Islamization in Indonesia. While the early phase is characterized by the key role of the ruler, the latter is marked by the importance of religious schools.[26] Whereas the early modern phase "assumed a 'raja-centric' face" in which "rulers were central both to the initial conversion process and to the exemplary public culture

[24] On the difference between "Christian" and "pagan" houses and clothes, see J. G. F Brumund, "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragmentmijner reize door de Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 2, no. 2 (1856): 137-140. On the marked change of clothes among Muslim converts, see N. Adriani and Alb. C. Kruijt, "Van Posso naar Mori 22 Augustus-29 September 1899," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 44, (1900): 178.

[25] Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia from the 16th to the 21st century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 16.

[26] See Robert Hefner, "Indonesia in the Global Scheme of Islamic Things: Sustaining the Virtuous Circle of Education, Associations and Democracy," in *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin and Kees van Dijk, 49-62 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013).

constructed in its wake,"[27] the latter saw the importance of "broad-based institutions for intermediate or advanced education in the Islamic sciences comparable to those that had existed in the Middle East for almost a thousand years."[28] Indeed in different parts of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, the nineteenth century saw the rise of "private Islamic schools" (*pondok*) that were "usually established by a religious teacher and that offered a regular course of Islamic studies of one or a couple of years."[29] Spreading alongside this reformist wave was the "fundamentalist" Islamic (*jihahist*) ideology through which opposition to colonial and local traditional elite rule congealed notably in Sumatra[30] as well as in Kalimantan.[31] To what extent then was the raja or the emergent religious institutions important in the Islamic conversions in north Sulawesi?

3.2. Christianity

With regard to Christianity, this dissertation discusses a period of conversions that is likewise distinct in a number of ways.

The substantial number of Christian conversions in north Sulawesi happened long after the Dutch East India Company encouraged the Christianization of the ruling elite in the early modern period.[32] These conversions occurred before the comparable Christianization of the Toraja, Batak, Dayak, and other upland peoples in the eastern archipelago who were incorporated into the colonial realm in what has been described as the "final burst of [colonial] pacification" in the early twentieth century.[33] Most notably, the conversions in north Sulawesi—and those in Minahasa in particular—took place during the unprecedented colonial intervention in local affairs which was underpinned by the economy of compulsory

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[27] Robert W. Hefner, "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 13.
[28] Hefner, "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia,"*Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, 12.
[29] Muhamad Ali, "Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Kelantan," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 79, no. 2 (2006): 39.
[30] Christine Dobbin, "Tuanku Imam Bondjol, (1772-1864)," *Indonesia* 13, (1972).
[31] G. L. Tichelman, *Een gezaghebber-resident : herinneringen van een bestuursambtenaar uit den ouden tijd, bewerkt naar de nagelaten bescheiden van wijlen den resident der Zuider- en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo, J. J. Meijer* (1939).
[32] See Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "Agama Kumpeni? Ternate en de protestantesering van de Noord-Molukken en Norod-Sulawesi 1626-1795," in *Het Indisch Sion: De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, ed. G. J. Schutte, 146-175 (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002).
[33] Gerry van Klinken, *The Making of Middle Indonesia: The Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1980s* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 7.

coffee cultivation and rice deliveries. This was often referred to as *cultuurstelsel* although this term is technically incorrect.[34]

Finally, it should be pointed out that the Christian conversions in north Sulawesi occurred in the context of a seemingly widespread (religious) liberalism in colonial official circles. Following the adoption of a liberal constitution in the Netherlands in 1848, a liberal *Regeringsreglement* (Constitutional Regulation) for the Indies was instituted in 1854.[35] It directed colonial officials to refrain from involvement in local religious affairs (*onthouding*), forbade direct propagation of Christianity, as well as the privileging of Christians over Muslims.[36] However, the colonial metropole's liberal attitude was counteracted by a vigorous religious offensive from conservative quarters represented by such figures as Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer and Otto Heldring.[37] The latter, in particular, lobbied for the sending of missionaries to Sangir-Talaud and other regions of the Dutch East Indies in the 1850s.[38]

Given the official policy of ambivalence to the missions, on the one hand, and the active Christian lobby in the metropole, on the other, to what extent did the colonial government play a role in the promotion of Christian conversions, if at all?

3.3. Dutch colonialism

This dissertation aims not only to explain but also compare and contrast conversions to Islam and Protestant Christianity in north Sulawesi. It thus deviates from the historiographical traditions that tend to isolate the understanding of Christianity and Islam. Anthony Reid observes that "it is surprising that Southeast Asianists have not attempted to analyse Islamisation and Christianisation as part of a similar process."[39] Karel Steenbrink echoes Reid in that "most studies of Islamic modernism either neglect the simultaneous

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[34] As Bosma points out there is a widespread confusion between "coffee monopoly" and "*cultuurstelsel*" in the context of Java. The latter was a more complex process that involved government compulsion in the acquisition of land and native labor for tobacco, tea, indigo, and above all, sugar plantations. However, the former was by and large a "*bevolkingscultuur*" in which the Dutch East India Company, and later the colonial government, purchased coffee from the natives at fixed sub-market prices. An elaborate economic system comparable to the *cultuurstelsel* in Java was absent in north Sulawesi. Ulbe Bosma, "Het cultuurstelsel en zijn buitenlandse ondernemers: Java tussen oud en nieuw kolonialisme," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 2 (2005): 6, 15.

[35] M. B. Hooker, *Adat Law in Modern Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 13.

[36] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2768, RM Manado, E. J. Jellesma, 14 March 1903 to Directeur van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid.

[37] Albert Schrauwers, "In Whose Image? Religious Rationalization and the Ethnic Identity of the To Pamona of Central Sulawesi" (University of Toronto, 1995), 56.

[38] H. Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1991), 250.

[39] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 153.

development of Christian missions, or consider both as natural enemies and competitors".[40] In the context of north Sulawesi, Sven Kosel has recently observed—but stopped short of explaining—that the conversions in adjacent Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow occurred at roughly the same period.[41]

The above cited sources suggest that these broadly contemporaneous conversions to Islam and Christianity occurred during the period of Dutch colonial rule, which has led the current study to firmly locate Islamic and Christian conversions in north Sulawesi's three sub-regions within the shared variable of being under colonial rule.

Except for a brief British interlude in the early nineteenth century, the Dutch exercised political and economic dominance over the region's various polities from the 1670s. However, Dutch colonial presence and intervention remained uneven. Of the three sub-regions, Minahasa underwent the earliest and most profound experience of modern colonialism. It is also along the Minahasan shores that Manado, the settlement which came to be the colonial administrative and commercial center, was located. Several low-ranking European or more likely Eurasian[42] colonial functionaries (*opzieners*) were already assigned in the Minahasan hinterland from the commencement of forced coffee cultivation in 1822. Their main concern however was essentially economic—facilitating the "cultivation, delivery, and payment of coffee"[43] while leaving the internal political affairs to the indigenous district chiefs (*majoor*).[44] By 1856, however, the so-called *controleurs*, endowed with broad political and fiscal powers by the colonial state, supplanted the *opzieners*.[45]

In contrast, Sangir-Talaud only received its first permanent colonial official in 1889 while Bolaang-Mongondow did so much later in 1902. In colonial official parlance, Sangir-Talaud and Bolaang-Mongondow were "self-governing" regions (*zelfbesturende landschappen*) while Minahasa was under "direct rule."[46] However, despite these

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[40] Karel A. Steenbrink, "Conversion or Religious Revival? Modernist Islam and Christianity in Central Java," *Verbum SVD* 36, no. 4 (1995): 370.
[41] See Kosel, "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion"; Sven Kosel, "Christian Mission in an Islamic Environment: Religious Conversion in North Sulawesi in the Light of a Case-study from Bolaang Mongondow," *Paideuma* 51, (2005).
[42] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 55.
[43] M. Brouwer, *Bestuursvormen en bestuurstelsels in de Minahassa* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1936), 38.
[44] There were four *opzieners* stationed in the following towns of Minahasa: Kema, Tondano, Amurang, and Belang. J. C. Smelijk, "Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië," in *A. J. Duymaer van Twist: Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië (1851-1856)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 69.
[45] Brouwer, *Bestuursvormen en bestuurstelsels in de Minahassa*, 38-39.
[46] See Karel E. M. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië : 1855-1942* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005).

developments, local chiefs remained important pillars of colonial governance even in Minahasa.

Any governmental regulation was necessarily implemented through local chiefly allies. The Dutch had always relied on cultivating peaceful, clientelistic relations with local powers to achieve their political and especially economic goals. The Dutch came to gain monopolistic control of export produce from the region, which they achieved through obligatory deliveries (rice, gold, and later coffee) in exchange for relatively inexpensive Indian textiles and other commodities (for example, ammunition).

The local chiefs, on the other hand, were often very willing clients of their Dutch patrons. Not only were they differentiated as apical rulers among their chiefly peers, they were also accorded relatively stable positions otherwise difficult to achieve without external support. More importantly, the chiefly vassals could establish their own small monopolies by cornering local trade. The chiefs accumulated profit by acquiring goods, primarily rice and gold, from their subjects as tributes and by redistributing foreign goods, like textiles from the Dutch, which were likely seen less as payments anchored on prevailing market prices and more as gifts from a supposedly benevolent patron.

However, while this clientelistic system with roots extending back to the time of the Company prevailed until the early nineteenth century, the liberal colonial reforms of the succeeding decades altered this system drastically. If in the traditional system the chiefs acted as traders delivering goods to the Dutch, in the modern colonial system the chiefs were obliged to shed their economic role and take on a political role. Effectively, they became bureaucrats—albeit in the lower levels—of the colonial state. In the context of north Sulawesi, such bureaucratization of the chiefly elite and the transformative hand of the colonial state were most palpable—albeit felt unevenly throughout the region—during the tenure of Residents A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859) and M. C. E. Stakman (1889-1892).

In the new system, chiefly tributes were replaced by census-based, monetary (poll) taxation to facilitate the growth and monetization of the economy. A small fraction of these taxes proceeded to the official chiefs, whose numbers had been dramatically reduced by the colonial state in order to streamline local political authority and simplify colonial governance.

How did these changes influence the actual conduct of authority by the chiefly elite? To what extent were these colonial reforms appropriated by the chiefly class to advance their own centralizing agenda? Were these colonial reforms part of the causation of, or at least associated with, mass religious conversions?

4. Conversion and chiefly interests

There is a widespread view that Southeast Asian societies are generally marked by openness to foreign cultures, lying as it were, at the "crossroads of civilizations."[47] Such a perspective finds a parallel in the literature on religious conversions in which conversions were "usually told in terms of foreign arrivals, interventions and successes, or (by reaction) of a relatively seamless gradualism."[48] However, these notions of foreign introduction and local acceptance (albeit gradual) seem not only simplistic but also teleological. If Southeast Asian societies were indeed open to foreign religions, then what accounts for the persistence of animism,[49] the protracted gradualism of conversion,[50] or the relatively late acceptance of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago?[51] More specifically, what social forces within Southeast Asian societies promote—or hinder—conversion to world religions?

Yet, the existing literature on both Islamic and Christian conversions focus on themes that tend to preclude an incisive view of local societies undergoing (mass) religious conversions. On the one hand, the dominant theme in the literature on Christianization in Indonesia—in both its Catholic and Protestant forms—seems to be the stated, though rarely problematized, relationship between Christianity and European imperialism.[52] Christian conversions appear either as an appendage to the broader histories of the Spanish and Dutch colonial empires or as a genre of missionary triumphalist literature.[53] They are often viewed as a consequence of the natives' acquiescence in the European establishment which, in turn, considered conversions as an instrument of cultivating compliance and loyalty.[54] On the other

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[47] See most notably, Denys Lombard, *Le carrefour javanais: essai d'histoire globale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990). Translated into Indonesian as Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya (Kajian Sejarah Terpadu)*, 3 vols. (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama , 2005).

[48] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 51.

[49] See Guido Sprenger, "Dimensions of Animism in Southeast Asia," in *Animism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Kej Arhem and Guido Sprenger, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

[50] Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi," *Archipel (Paris)* 29, (1984): 108.

[51] John R. Bowen, "Narrative Form and Political Incorporation: Changing Uses of History in Aceh, Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 4 (1989): 681-682.

[52] Peter van der Veer points out a widespread view in the scholarly literature that the "universalization" of the concept of "religion" is closely tied with the "coming of modernity in Europe and to the European expansion over the world." Moreover, "it is in the field of historical interaction, established by [European] imperial expansion, that the category of religion receives its significance." See Peter van der Veer, "Religion in South Asia," *Annual Review of Anthopology* 31, (2002): 174.

[53] This is evident in the the Christian missionary journals on the region. The narrative of the rise of Christian communities in North Sulawesi is well-represented in the major Dutch missionary journal *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap.*

[54] On the project of Christianizing the Malukans, see Gerrit Knaap, *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*, 2nd ed., revised (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2004), 124. On the intertwined history of Dutch colonialism and Christianity in north Sulawesi, see M. J. C.

hand, the literature on Islamization seems to focus on either tracing the "first landing" of Islam in Indonesia or the characteristic syncretism of Indonesian Islam.[55] As the historian of Islam, A. C. S. Peacock, remarks—"a prime concern of scholarship on Islamisation in Southeast Asia remains the question of who first brought Islam to the region (Arabs, Indian or Chinese), as well as the relationship between Sufism and pre-Islamic religious traditions of the local courts."[56]

One of the most conspicuous gaps in the literature is the role of the local chiefly elite. Although there are frequent claims about the local elite's key role, they remain largely undemonstrated. Concerning the Christian missions among the Bataks in Sumatra, it has been observed that the support of the "existing aristocratic hierarchy" was a "condition for bringing about spiritual fruits [conversion]."[57] The literature on Islamization likewise views the role of the ruling elite as necessary for conversion. Christian Pelras comments on the Islamization of the Bugis that "no mass conversion of the people was possible without the acceptance and prior conversion of the rulers."[58] On the Islamic conversions in the Malay polities, Anthony Milner states categorically that Islamization "was in fact a process led by the local elite, and not imposed from outside."[59] Likewise, Merle Ricklefs asserts that those "who controlled the court [in Java] […] determined the success or failure of efforts to Islamize the court and the society."[60]

However, despite the consensus that elite conversion preceded the conversion of those whom they ruled, there are divergent views with regard to their willingness to share their religion with their claimed subjects. On one hand is the view that the political elite, the raja especially, was naturally predisposed to converting his subjects and that "given the important religious role that the ruler fulfills in the society…it is understandable that he converts to

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Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'success story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia " in *In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, ed. Clara Sarmento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 215.

[55] Danilyn Rutherford, "After Syncretism: The Anthropology of Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia. A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 1 (2002): 196; Amirul Hadi, *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 43, note 23.

[56] A. C. S. Peacock, "Introduction: Comparative Perspectives on Islamisation," in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 9.

[57] A. J. van Zanen, *Voorwaarden voor Maatschappelijke ontwikkeling in het centrale Batakland* (Leiden: Luctor et Emergo, 1934), 90.

[58] Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell: 1996), 130.

[59] Anthony Milner, *The Malays* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 40.

[60] M. C. Ricklefs, "Religious Elites and the State in Indonesia and Elsewhere: Why Takeovers are so Difficult and Usually Don't Work," in *Encountering Islam: The Politics of Religious Identities in Southeast Asia*, ed. Hui Yew-Foong (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013), 24.

Islam together with his subjects."[61] This view is captured in the adage *cuius regio, euis religio* (whose realm, his religion). It finds an iteration in popular and official histories of Indonesian Islam that often emphasize the crucial role of various proselytizing rulers (*penyebar agama*) in the spread of Islam.[62]

The other view contends exactly the opposite—that the ruling elite was inherently resistant to mass conversions as it endangered their social and economic position. In central Sulawesi, the missionaries Kruyt and Adriani noted that the coastal Luwu people never attempted to Islamize their tributary neighbors (Torajas) in order to maintain social distance between themselves and their subjects.[63] A more straightforward economic reason is observed in Sanggau (western Kalimantan) where the subaltern Malay chiefs prevented their Dayak subjects from converting for fear of losing *serah* (tributary rights). Besides, an Islamized Dayak would have become the direct subject of the sultan and no longer the subject of the subaltern chief.[64] This phenomenon finds a parallel in the case of early modern Philippines where Christianized Filipinos "resisted efforts by Spanish missionaries to convert the highlanders because they found it useful to have [an] unadministered population with whom to trade."[65]

However, could one actually speak of the ruling chiefly elite as a monolithic group acting uniformly to secure power and position? To begin with, as Heather Sutherland opines, there was a clear political and economic incentive for an apical ruler to rise above his chiefly peers. For Sutherland, the "rivalry between datu—over political and economic resources, for example—could endanger the stability of the entire system, and the existence of the Sultan, with his special prestige and access to Islamic law, was necessary to the survival of the

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[61] J. W. Schoorl, "Islam, Macht en Ontwikkeling in het Sultanaat Buton," in *Islam en Macht: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. L. B. Venema (Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987), 60. See also a similar view in Christiaan Heersink, "Islam & Islamisering in Bandjermasin van eind 18e tot begin 20ste eeuw" (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1987), 76.

[62] For north Sulawesi, see Fendy E. W. Parengkuan, "Pengaruh Penyebaran Agama Islam Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Politik di Daerah Sulawesi Utara" (paper presented at the Seminar Sejarah Nasional ke-III, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional 1981); A. E. Rompas and A. Sigarlaki, *Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kota Manado* (Manado: Universitas Sam Ratulangi, 1982/1983); for a general view of Indonesian Islam see Hamka, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, 3rd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara, 1980).

[63] N. Adriani and A. C. Kruyt, *De Bare'e Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1951), 214.

[64] H. P. A. Bakker, "Het Rijk Sanggau," *Tijdschrift voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie* 29, (1884): 454-457.

[65] Thomas Gibson, "Egalitarian Islands in a Predatory Sea," in *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia*, ed. Thomas Gibson and Kenneth Sillander (New Haven, CN: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2011), 282.

whole."[66] One could thus consider conversion as one of the "religious and cultural strategies" of the topmost elite to "counteract" the "inexorable pressure" arising from competing chiefs.[67]

Such intra-elite rivalry underpinning the desire of an apical ruler to promote a normative, external cultural force can be gleaned from the discussion on the further or deeper Islamization of polities in Southeast Asia. Cesar Majul observes that in the Sulu sultanate "in general, it can be said that the sultan was the protector of the Sharia," while the datus or lesser chieftains stood for the integrity of the *ada* [tradition]".[68] In Java, Merle Ricklefs likewise notes the potentially centralizing effect of Islam. As such "those who sought a more pious Islamic state had their greatest prospects of winning influence when the monarchy was at its weakest"[69] and when the monarch used Islam to strengthen his rule.

Could the same dynamics of intra-elite rivalry be crucial in understanding both Islamic and Christian conversions in north Sulawesi? How did Dutch colonial rule influence such dynamics, if at all?

5. North Sulawesi: geography, politics, and society

This dissertation analyzes Christian conversions in two sub-regions of north Sulawesi (Minahasa and Sangir-Talaud) as well as Islamic conversions in the adjacent sub-region of Bolaang-Mongondow. In doing so, this study calls attention to religion and religious conversion in two relatively unstudied areas of north Sulawesi rather than the more studied areas of Sumatra or Java in Indonesia.

Lying at the most northern tip of the island of Sulawesi are the contiguous regions of Bolaang-Mongondow, Minahasa, and Sangir-Talaud. Whereas the first two sub-regions are located on Sulawesi mainland, the third is an archipelagic cluster found between Sulawesi and the island of Mindanao (see Figure 1).

In the early modern period, the broader significance of this region was tied to its proximity to Maluku where the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch successively established

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[66] Heather Sutherland, "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos," in *Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, ed. Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers (Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988), 155.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Cesar Adib Majul, "The General Nature of Islamic Law and its Application in the Philippines," in *Islam and Development: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Datu Michael Mastura (Manila: Office of the Commissioner for Islamic Affairs, 1980), 163.
[69] Ricklefs, "Religious Elites and the State in Indonesia and Elsewhere: Why Takeovers are so Difficult and Usually Don't Work," *Encountering Islam: The Politics of Religious Identities in Southeast Asia*, 24.

monopolistic regimes to control the lucrative spice trade. The Moluccan kingdom of Ternate had previously claimed control, albeit very tenuously, of the various polities of north Sulawesi.[70] During the time of the Dutch East India Company from the 1670s to the 1790s, north Sulawesi supplied various commodities to the Dutch-dominated market—coconut oil from the Sangirs, rice from Minahasa, and gold from Mongondow.[71] Indeed these products continued to be some of the main export commodities of these respective areas until the nineteenth century. Rice was grown mainly in the fertile regions of upland Minahasa, around Lake Tondano, while gold was mined mostly in the Mongondow uplands.[72]

Yet, despite the presence of these (occasional) exports, the economy of north Sulawesi was by and large self-sufficient.[73] The cultivation of food crops (rice and maize primarily) was the main economic preoccupation of its inhabitants. David Henley identifies several important factors that precluded the growth of trade in the region. [74] First was the lack of economic specialization. Various communities and regions tended to produce the same sort of crops and products which in effect discouraged market demand. Second was the persistence of violence or threats of it, especially during the head-hunting season. Third was the practical difficulties in transportation. Sailing to Sangir-Talaud and along the northern coast of Sulawesi was dangerous because of rough weather and rocky coasts.[75]

Economic self-sufficiency was, however, gradually eroded in the nineteenth century.[76] While the most decisive factor was the intervention of the colonial state—especially in Minahasa—which required rice and coffee deliveries, one might argue that private traders (Chinese, Bugis, and Arabs) were also important participants in the incipient commercialization of the region.[77]

This trend towards commercialization, although it occurred unevenly throughout the region, seems to have paralleled population growth. In 1850, Greater Sangir had around

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[70] Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 84-85.
[71] On the early Dutch engagement in north Sulawesi, see P. A. Leupe, "Het Journaal van Padtbrugge's Reis naar Noord-Celebes en de Noordereilanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 14, no. 2-3 (1867).
[72] A comprehensive study of the region's geography is David Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 201 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005).
[73] See Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, economy and environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 51-100.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, economy and environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 92-95.
[77] See the discussion on the role of Arabs in Chapter 4 below.

50,000 inhabitants, Minahasa had 100,000, and Bolaang-Mongondow had 55,000.[78] These regions generally saw the rise of the population as the colonial government intervened more deeply in local politics and especially in the local economy. For instance, by 1920 the population of Bolaang-Mongondow had grown 70,000, and by 1930 the population of Minahasa had grown to 300,000.[79]

The population centers in Mongondow and Minahasa—as in other regions of mainland Sulawesi—were concentrated in the fertile uplands. However, the important population centers of Sangir were found along the coasts of its islands, the most significant of which were in the fertile and volcanic islands of Sangir (or Sangihe), Besar (Greater Sangir), and Siau.

Despite their contiguities, these three regions were marked by a diversity of languages as well as political structures of varying levels of complexity. The Mongondow region developed the most centralized polity in the early modern period. This is perhaps because of the relative concentration of the population in its upland valley, which resulted in the relative ease of controlling the population. Its apical ruler (raja) had even repeatedly claimed territorial rights over parts of neighboring Minahasa before the latter's consolidation as a political entity in the late eighteenth century.[80]

The Sangir-Talaud region, in contrast, had a relatively stable though often competing six small chiefdoms (Manganitu, Kendahe, Taruna, Siau, Tagulandang, and Tabukan). Each of these polities possessed its own local aristocracy and claimed territorial rights over defined areas in Talaud.[81] Two factors seem to have contributed to the stabilization of Sangirese polities and politics in the early modern period: (1) access to maritime trade which differentiated the elite from the rest; and (2) patronage and thus legitimization of local rulers by a powerful foreign power, in this case the Dutch.

Of the three regions under discussion, the area which came to be known as Minahasa had the most fragmented political structure on the eve of formal colonial rule. It was more a congeries of frequently warring villages than a polity in the mirror of neighboring Gorontalo or even Mongondow. One sign of its extreme fragmentation was the multiplicity of languages

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[78] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 163, 210-211.
[79] Ibid., 210-211.
[80] See E. C. Godée Molsbergen, *Geschiedenis van de Minahassa tot 1829* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1928).
[81] See "De Zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang, Siaoe, Taboekan (ten rechte: Tawoekan), Kandhar-Taroena (ten rechte: Kendahe-Tahoena) en Manganitoe (Afdeeling Sangi- en Talaud-eilanden, Residentie Menado)," *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezitttingen, bewerkt door Het Encyclopaedisch Bureau* 2, (1912).

(for example, Tontemboan, Tondano, Tonsea, and Tombulu) spoken by people living in relatively close proximity to each other (in contrast to the relatively more homogenous linguistic landscapes of Sangir and Mongondow where the inhabitants broadly shared the same language, Sangirese and Mongondorese, respectively.[82]

Despite variations in language, export commodity, and political complexity, the societies of this region shared the same emergent pattern of social differentiation based on status differences. There were, in general, three levels of social class: the aristocrats/nobles, commoners, and slaves. While descent from a prestigious familial line (usually the founder of the oldest village) was likely a precondition to rise as chief, other channels were available to climb the social ladder (for example, the accumulation of wealth and followers).[83]

Such fluidity of social status is indicative of the general centrifugal tendency of politics and the lack of effective control by a ruler. Rival elites contested the authority of other elites in attempts to monopolize political authority. The raja therefore—either self-styled or appointed by an outsider power—was likely a *primus inter pares* who maintained his position only by sharing authority with other subaltern chiefs.

The claim to difference by the chiefly class—that of the raja in particular—is most likely anchored upon the control of profitable natural resources and external trade. However, to maintain their dominance, they not only attempted to monopolize tangible goods but also symbolic power. As such, what Anthony Reid calls "Southeast Asian religion"[84] or simply "animism," functioned in conjunction with other factors to display the efficacy, and thus the legitimacy, of the chiefly class. The "religious practitioner" (*walian*[85]), who himself or herself was likely part of the ruling class, was thus involved with the "ritual manipulation of spirits,"[86] especially those concerning crucial agricultural events (planting and harvest) and life events (birth, marriage, and death).[87] Jane Monnig Atkinson's anthropological study of

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[82] Ruben Stoel, *Focus in Manado Malay: Grammar, Particles, and Intonation* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005), 5-6.
[83] On the Southeast Asian "big man" model, see O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2004).
[84] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 53.
[85] The most used term to refer to such a figure in the region is *walian*, a cognate of *bolian* in Mongondow, *belian* in east Kalimantan, and *babaylan* in the Philippine islands. W. Dunnebier, "Het bemedicineeren van een dorp in het landschap Bolaang Mongondow (Noord Celebes)," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 104, no. 2-3 (1948); William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City : Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994).
[86] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, 137.
[87] See Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers, "Introduction," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 3; Umar Thamrin, *How Economy Matters to Indigenous Identity of Bissu, Transgender Priests of South Sulawesi, Indonesia*, Working Paper Series vol. 241 (Singapore: Asia Research

the Wana people of Central Sulawesi affirms the notion that the "religious practitioner's" access to "special [religious] knowledge" served as a "basis for political inequality" and therefore functioned to accord the practitioner considerable "social privilege."[88]

While there is little historical or ethnographic data to reconstruct and differentiate various religious rituals[89]—the Mongondorese *monayuk*, Minahasan *fosso,* and Sangirese *tulude*—it is clear that the public performance of these rituals was directly related to the chiefly interest to represent control of otherwise uncontrollable natural events and in doing so, reaffirmed their status—the ruler in particular—as efficacious mediators between the temporal world and the eternal, transcendental world. These rituals also often incorporated the redistribution of material wealth. Mieke Schouten has argued extensively that local chiefly status in Minahasa hinged partly on one's capacity to "demonstrate success in harvest," and that the "organization of a copious feast […] provided guests the opportunity to share in wealth of the hosts."[90] As Henley reiterates, such "acts and displays of material generosity" tended to "validate" "prescribed [chiefly] rank."[91] These "acts of generosity" were exactly the "profligate" religious feasts that later colonial officials and missionaries would scathingly oppose.

It should be emphasized that this dissertation does not examine spiritual change per se or the likely religious hybridity that combined aspects of animism and Islam or Christianity. Yet, it recognizes that features of the old religion remained important in the social and especially political life of the chiefs even as they claimed conversion. This is most apparent in the case of Sangir-Talaud as the discussion in Chapter 5 will show.

The above brief summary of the region and sub-regions concerned provides the contextual background to the succeeding chapters. These sub-regional differences are important in understanding the nuances of how conversions in these regions occurred.

Institute, 2015), 7; L. J. Rhijn, "Een visitator in de Minahassa," in *God in Indië: Bekeringsverhalen uit de nedentiende eeuw*, ed. P. Boomgaard, Harry Poeze, and Gerard Termorshuizen (Leiden: KITLV, 1997), 31-32.

[88] Jane Monnig Atkinson, *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 297.

[89] As Jane Atkinson remarks on Minahasa, "[T]here is little reliable ethnographic information, either pre- or post-colonial, to assist in tracing social change in the area." Jane Monnig Atkinson, "Review of *Minahasa Civilization: A Tradition of Change* by Wil Lundström-Burghoorn," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982): 225.

[90] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia "*In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, 214. And more extensively in her book, Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*.

[91] David Henley, "Of Sago and Kings: Sustainability, Hierarchy and Collective Action in Precolonial Sulawesi," in *Muddied Waters: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Management of Forests and Fisheries in Island Southeast Asia*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, David Henley, and Manon Osseweijer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005), 238.

6. Sources

The primary sources for this study are culled from archives in both Indonesia and the Netherlands. These sources can be categorized broadly and temporally into pre- and post-1800 archival documents.

The first category is the Dutch East India Company (hereinafter the Company) papers from the *Nationaal Archief* (NA) in The Hague and the *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* (ANRI) in Jakarta. The most relevant Company sources from the Netherlands are found in Amsterdam chamber's missives from the Indies (*overgekomen brieven en papieren uit Indië*) and Zeeland chamber's letters from Ternate (*kopie-missiven en -rapporten ingekomen bij gouverneur-generaal en raden uit Ternate*).[92] There are also important documents from

- the *Comité Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen,* a quasi-ministerial body created by the Dutch government following the dissolution of the Company;[93]
- the Company-period archives which are found in Jakarta and which in turn have been drawn from the *arsip daerah* (regional archives) of Ternate and Manado; and
- the recently published multivolume collection of missives on the Company-sponsored Protestant missions in eastern Indonesia which have been sourced from a previously inaccessible archival collection in ANRI. [94]

However, by far the majority of archival sources are post-1800. These, in turn, tend to fall into two broad, and sometimes overlapping, categories—(Christian) missionary and (colonial) governmental.

Although the sources for Christian conversions are certainly more abundant than those for Islamic conversions,[95] they often do not provide a broader social framework,

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[92] See the inventories: G. Louisa Balk et al., *The archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta) = Arsip-arsip Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan kota Batavia (Jakarta) = De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) en de locale instellingen te Batavia (Jakarta)*, Arsip-arsip Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) dan lembaga-lembaga pemerintahan kota Batavia (Jakarta) (Jakarta and Leiden: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia and Brill, 2007); M. A. P. Roelofsz et al., *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie = The archives of the Dutch East India Company : (1602-1795)*, ed. M. A. P. Roelofsz et al., archives of the Dutch East India Company ('s-Gravenhage : Sdu Uitgeverij, 1992).

[93] See Comité Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen, 1796-1800 – inv. 2.01.27.01 at the Nationaal Archief (Netherlands).

[94] For north Sulawesi, the relevant volumes are Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Th. van den End, and G. J. Schutte, *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1612-1697*, vol. 2: 1 (Den Haag: Huygens ING (KNAW), 2014); Hendrik E. Niemeijer, Th. van den End, and G. J. Schutte, *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1698-1791*, vol. 2: 2 (Den Haag: Huygens ING (KNAW), 2014).

focusing as they were, on the internal or personal aspect of conversions. Many of these writings were also intended to "serve the interest of the supporting communities in the homelands of the missionaries, where funds and personnel were granted"[96] and connect with and inform fellow missionaries of a particular mission's recent events and progress. Nevertheless, some of these publications contain invaluable ethnographic descriptions of would-be "missionized" societies as well as relevant albeit partial information on Islam.

While most of the diaries and reports of the pioneer missionaries in the region have been published in the *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (MNZG) beginning in 1857 and in an abridged version of such reports in the *Maandberigten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap (Maandber NZG)* beginning in 1828, it remains necessary to consult the original manuscripts. The published pieces were not only edited but also extracted versions of the original. The original letters, preserved in *Het Utrechts Archief* (HUA), form part of the *Archieven van de Rechtsvoorgangers van de Raad voor de Zending*, ARvdZ, a recently re-catalogued larger collection of Dutch missionary archives extending to the twentieth century.[97]

This dissertation attempts to triangulate missionary data with governmental accounts that provide the general political and economic context of the societies under study. The relevant government archives are found, albeit scattered and fragmented, at the NA in the collection of the Ministry of Colonies as well as at ANRI. Within the collection of the Ministry of Colonies (NA), the most helpful archival series have been the *Politieke Verslagen* (political reports), *Mailrapporten* (mail-reports)*, Memories van Overgave* (memories of succession) [98] and the various *verbaal* dossiers (decisions).[99]

Whereas the *Nationaal Archief* provides excellent materials from around the 1850s until the end of the colonial period, ANRI preserves the most relevant materials—especially

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[95] A useful listing of these periodicals is: Jan A. B. Jongeneel, *Protestantse zendingsperiodiken uit de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Utrecht and Leiden: Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica, 1990).

[96] Karel Steenbrink, "A History of Christianity in Indonesia as an Exercise in Comparative Religion," *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 7, no. 1 (2000): 70.

[97] Ton Kappelhof, "Archives of Dutch Christian Missionary Organisations and Missionaries: Information=power; from Hagiography to Historiography," in *Colonial Legacy in South East Asia: The Dutch Archives*, ed. Charles Jeurgens, Ton Kappelhof, and Michael Karabinos 151-170 ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2012).

[98] See W. R. Hugenholtz, "An East Indian Serial: Mailrapporten (1869-1940)," *Itinerario* 4, no. 2 (1980); A. M. Tempelaars and H. B. N. B. Adam, "Een ingang op Indische Mailrapporten," *Nederlands Archievenblad* 82, no. 2 (1978).

[99] A most useful guide to the archives of the Ministry of Colonies is F. J. M. Otten, *Gids voor de archieven van de ministeries en de Hoge Colleges van Staat, 1813-1940* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2004), 351-377.

letters sent within and from Manado—from the 1820s until around the 1870s.[100] The *Politieke Verslagen* collection of NA for instance, begins in 1898 while those of ANRI, though comparatively less accessible—being part of the largely undifferentiated "Residency of Menado" archives (*arsip daerah* Manado)—extends from the 1850s.[101] Annual reports on the Manado Residency commence from 1825. In ANRI, the materials relevant to this study are found either in the archival series of *geweestelijke stukken* (a.k.a. Residentie archief - Manado) or in the series of the *Algemene Secretarie* of the Netherlands Indies Government.[102]

The series of annual general reports for the entire Netherlands Indies (*Koloniaal Verslag)* as well as almanacs (*Regeeringsalmanak*) published under the auspices of the colonial government have also been helpful in identifying the term and location of duties of Europeans (missionaries and *ambtenaren*), and local figures (primarily the rajas) within the regions under study.[103] Finally, almost all of the primary sources consulted were written in Dutch, except for a few letters written by the rajas and the local periodicals published in Manado which are in Malay (Manadonese).

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[100] As William Clarence-Smith observes: "the 'Residency Archives' of the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia become patchy and thin around 1880, and stop altogether around 1914." William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "The Economic Role of the Arab community in Maluku, 1816 to 1940," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 26, no. 74 (1998): 32.

[101] This is likely because of Batavia's regulation to send all General Reports (Algemene Verslag) directly to the colonial capital in 1850. See NA MvK 2.10.02, in. 7116, Decision of the Governor-General, 5 December 1850, no. 15.

[102] During the time that research for this project was undertaken (2012-2014), the archives of the *Algemene Secretarie* (AS) in ANRI were only partially available. Except for the *besluiten*, other series (*kommissorial, agenda, renvooi,* etc.*)* within the AS are yet to be fully accessible. Recent archival guides produced, notably the *Missive Gouvernments-Secretaris* (1890-) and the *Grote Bundel Series* (1890-) have also been useful. The AS archives are estimated to be 5.6 kilometers long. R. Kramer and A. M. Tempelaars, *Handleiding voor historisch onderzoek in het archief van de Algemene Secretarie en voorgangers, 1816-1942* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1990), 4. See also: *Guide Arsip Algemene Secretarie (1816) 1819-1850*, ([Jakarta]: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2011). A useful history of the *Algemene Secretari*e can be read in: P. H. van der Kemp, "De geboorte van de Algemeene Secretarie te Batavia en van het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië," *Indische Gids*, no. 1 (1910). The Archives of the Algemene or Gouvernementssecretarie (1816-1942) is further divided into: (a) Besluiten en Resoluties van de Commissarissen-generaal, 1816-1819, (b) Besluiten en Resoluties van de Gouverneurs-generaal (buiten en in rade), 1819-1942, (c) Geheime Besluiten en Resoluties van commissarissen-generaal en Gouverneurs-generaal, 1816-1942, (d) Missiven Generale Secretarie later Missiven Algemene Secretarie, 1817-1942, (e) Geheime Missiven Generale Secretarie, later Algemeene Secretarie, 1817-1942, (f) Kabinetsarchief van de Gouverneur-generaal, 1825-1888, (g) Gedeponeerde of Agenda stukken, 1826-1943, and (h) Apostille stukken. M. G. H. A. de Graaff, *De eerste jaren van de samenwerking tussen de Nederlandse en Indonesische archiefdiensten; Verslagen 1974-1988 (2001)* (Santpoort-Zuid: 2013), 12-13.

[103] On the *Koloniaal Verslag*, see Frans van Baardewijk, "The Colonial Report (Koloniaal Verslag); 1848-1939," in *The Colonial Past: Dutch Sources on Indonesian History*, ed. Peter Boomgaard, 22-27 (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1991).

7. Chapter organization

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Following the Introduction (Chapter 1) is a survey of the various theories on Islamic and Christian conversions especially as they relate to cases in Indonesia in general, and in north Sulawesi in particular (Chapter 2). The next three chapters (3, 4, and 5) constitute the narrative core of the dissertation. They present the divergent but often interwoven narratives of religious conversion in Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow, and Sangir-Talaud, respectively. The last chapter (6) recapitulates major points from the earlier chapters and offers an overall analysis of the conversion in the three regions.

CHAPTER 2

Theories of conversion

This chapter revisits some of the most important theories of Islamic and Christian conversions as applied in Indonesia. While recognizing that no single theory could explain these conversions, together or as separate phenomenon, in various time periods and in disparate regions, this chapter summarizes some important theories on Islamic and Christian conversions, which will serve as heuristic lenses for the succeeding narrative chapters. Furthermore, it outlines a theory of conversions in north Sulawesi that complements and completes the existing theories to be discussed. In particular, this chapter emphasizes that the existing theories have marginalized discussion on politics in general and the nuances of local chiefly politics in particular. Finally, it suggests the need to formulate a new thesis to explain both elite and mass conversions.

Anthony H. Johns admonishes that "the sheer diversity and extent of the [Malay-Indonesian] region renders impossible the formulation of any single theory of Islamization, or pattern of Islamic life, or any periodization common to the region as a whole."[1] Likewise, Cesar Majul warns that a "single explanation" for Islamization is "doomed to failure."[2] Azyumardi Azra contends that "the great diversity of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago […] makes it impossible to formulate any single theory of conversion (or Islamization) or any periodization common to the whole region."[3]

However, one could argue that it is all the more necessary to theorize conversion precisely because of the diversity of the region and the different periods in which Islamization and Christianization occurred. The aim is not to present a totalizing and trans-historical definition or explanation, but rather the opposite—to glean the specificities from a putative general pattern—and to emphasize the particular historical contingencies that were consequential to the conversions in north Sulawesi.

This chapter focuses on several relevant theories of Christian and Islamic conversions as they relate to Indonesia in general and north Sulawesi in particular. These theories are labeled as follows: (1) bottom-up theory, (2) expanding theory, (3) comprehensive social

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[1] Anthony H. Johns, "From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization in Sumatra, The Malay Peninsula and Java," *Hamdard Islamicus* 4, no. 4 (1981): 7.
[2] Cesar Adib Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia" (paper presented at the Second Biennial Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia, Taipei, October 6-9, 2012, 1962), 340-341.
[3] Azyumardi Azra, "The Coming and Spread of Islam," in *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2006), 5.

crisis theory, (4) missionary theory, (5) trade theory, and (6) marriage theory. While some of these theories may overlap, their explanatory focuses are mutually distinct. What are these theories and what are their limitations vis-a-vis the region in question?

1. Bottom-up theory

A popular explanation to Islamization is what one might call the "bottom-up theory." For instance, the distinguished scholar Syed Hussein Alatas views the rise of Islam in Indonesia as a "revolution from within." He contends that the "conversion of the rulers was not the cause but the result of a preceding process of Islamization."[4] He believes that "it had never been necessary for any ruler to change his religion as long as his subjects did not change theirs."[5] Alatas does not elaborate the notion of a "revolution from within" further but notably points to its immediate trigger—elite "attitude of relaxation and indifference" towards the lower orders that "usually prevails especially when a society has experienced a long period of power and supremacy."[6]

The historian, Christian Pelras, believes that the egalitarian effect of Islam had been a primary reason for the elite's opposition to Islam. Alatas would very likely agree with this idea. Furthermore, Pelras speculates that the Bugis ruler's initial resistance to Islam "may have been related to the egalitarian tendencies of […] commoner Muslim traders, and to the Islamic stress on God's oneness and absolute transcendence […] which could threaten the power of the rulers."[7]

However, evidence from various parts of Indonesia suggests the critical role of the ruling elite in Islamization. [8] Scattered references to slaves converting to Islam to escape

[4] Syed Hussein Alatas, "On the Need for an Historical Study of Malaysian Islamization," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (1963): 79.
[5] Ibid., 80.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Pelras, *The Bugis*, 129.
[8] M. C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979), 102-103.

slave status do exist,[9] but as Ricklefs points out, Islamic conversion mainly due to the "lure of 'egalitarianism' is almost already debunked."[10]

In various cases in the region, Islam and Christianity were important status-markers, not only to separate elites from commoners, but also to differentiate the elites themselves. For instance, Schoorl argues that conversion to Islam in seventeenth-century Buton by the aristocratic *kaomu* class served primarily to strengthen its claim to supremacy over the competing chiefly *walaka* class through the former's exclusivist claim to the Sufi-inspired notion of *martabat tujuh* (seven ranks).[11] This mystical idea coincided with and legitimized the seven chiefly ranks occupied entirely by the *kaomu*.

This case finds a parallel in Mindanao wherein the marriage and conversion of a local woman to an Arab-descended Syarif Kabungsuan—the reputed bringer of Islam to the island—is believed to have established the exclusive aristocratic descent group (*barabangsa*), which came to constitute the nucleus of the ruling elite.[12] In general, this example feeds into what Anthony Milner has long argued—that "Islamization was […] a process in which South-East Asian rulers came to see their functions and objectives in Muslim terms."[13]

With regard to Christianity, there are studies illustrating that religious conversions originate from and are utilized as a tool by the lower classes. However, these are more commonly found in the literature on areas outside Indonesia.[14] In north Sulawesi, scholars

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[9] In 1786, a Makassarese named Abdul Malik argued before the Council of Justice (Raad van Justitie) in Ternate that his slave-wife "should be dismissed from slavery by virtue of marriage with a Muslim." The Sultan of Ternate endorsed the view that she was already free according to Muslim law, likewise the Company acknowledged that there had been "examples of slave-women becoming free after marriage with Muslims." NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3759, Gemeene Resolutien Ternate 1787, 22-24.

[10] M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (London: Palgrave, 2001), 15. This is an apparent departure from previous romantic notions of conversion in Java. De Graff and Pigeaud, for instance, believe that conversion was due to the attraction to an "international brotherhood regardless of birth, status and race." See H. J. de Graff and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java: Studien over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 26.

[11] Schoorl, "Islam, Macht en Ontwikkeling in het Sultanaat Buton,"*Islam en Macht: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, 55-56.

[12] Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rebels and Rulers, Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 47-48.

[13] Anthony Milner, "Islam and the Muslim State," in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 44; see also Milner, *The Malays*, 40; Barbara Watson and Yoneo Ishii Andaya, "Religious Developments in Southeast Asia c. 1500-1800," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 517; Timothy P. Barnard, "The Hajj, Islam, and Power among the Bugis in Early Colonial Riau," in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Durée*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 65-66.

[14] See, for instance, the cases in India and the Caribbean, as a case in point see Mary Turner, "The Colonial State, Religion and the Control of Labour: Jamaica, 1760-1834," in *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Postemancipation Social and Cultural History* (Barbados and Gainesville, FL.: The Press University of the West Indies and University Press of Florida, 1999).

point out the opposite—that the chiefly elite converted first, and crucially, as it accorded them political and economic advantages.[15] Nevertheless, the literature is unclear on how different segments of the chiefly elite likely possessed varying interests with regard to conversion. Christian conversions were traditionally regarded less as a form of social liberation than an "instrument to impose their [colonial rulers'] hegemony and facilitate their administration."[16]

Furthermore, in north Sulawesi there is evidence that the aristocratic elite prevented the lower classes, especially the slaves, to access a prestigious Islamic or Christian identity. For instance, the Sangirese elite was intransigent in prohibiting the slave children from attending Christian school and church.[17] A similar attitude among the Islamized chiefly class of Bolaang Mongondow was observed. [18] Members of the Mongondorese aristocratic elite intended to have schools only for themselves. Malay, the official language of official communication, was taught by members of the elite class to fellow elites. Likewise, Arabic was formally learned by members of the ruling class.[19]

2. Expanding horizon theory

Anthony Reid propounds that a "commercial, cosmopolitan, competitive environment" during Southeast Asia's "age of commerce" "drove Southeast Asians to adopt" Islam or Christianity.[20] Drawing inspiration from Robin Horton's thesis on African conversion,[21] Reid contends that

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[15] See M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998); Rita Smith Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?" *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 3 (August 2004).
[16] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia "*In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, 215.
[17] "Correspondentie en Berigten," *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 21, (1867): 680.
[18] Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, Gedachten over het stichten eener zending in Bolaang Mongondow, Wilken en Schwarz, 23 December 1866, 4.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 52. The same argument can be found in Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*; Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*; and more recently in Anthony Reid, "Early Modernity as Cosmopolis: Suggestions from Southeast Asia," in *Delimiting Modernities: Conceptual Challenges and Regional Responses*, ed. Sven Trakulhun and Ralph Weber, 124-141 (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015).
[21] Robin Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 41, no. 2 (1971).

> The rapid economic expansion of Southeast Asia's long 16th century pulled many away from their local agricultural roots, and made a portable, universal religious code attractive.[22]

The cosmopolitan environment as a crucial factor for conversion resonates with Victor Lieberman's view that "Islam […] like Theravada Buddhism and Philippine Christianity offered not only powerful prophylactic rituals, but a predictable moral universe responsive to individual action. To those facing novel hazards of the market and urbanization, such messages may have been particularly comforting."[23]

However, conversions involved more politics than the "expanding horizon theory" could accommodate. Discussing Horton's African example, David Owusu-Ansah notes that "despite many contacts with both Muslims and Christians during this period […] neither Islamic nor Christian conversion took place in nineteenth century Asante."[24] He points out that "what is not discussed in Horton's proposition is the degree to which the political and economic interests of traditional authorities had on the level of adaptation in the African community."[25] Similarly, Heather Sutherland commenting on the Islamization of early modern Makassar—traditionally explained in the literature as a result of the rise of a local bourgeoisie and cosmopolitanism[26]—warns of the danger in "linking complex concepts—'cosmopolitanism,' 'bourgeois' and 'conversion'—in a simple causal chain."[27]

In north Sulawesi, particularly Minahasa, the period which witnessed increasing commercialization and integration into international markets—and indeed mass conversions—was characterized not by cosmopolitanism (at least among commoners) but by restrictions to mobility and preclusion from an incipient urban life. As Henley notes, since the imposition of compulsory coffee deliveries in the 1820s the *walak* [Minahasan district]

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[22] Reid, "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local," *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, 52.

[23] *Victor Lieberman, Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830 vol. 2, Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 813.

[24] David Owusu-Ansah, "Islamization Reconsidered: An Examinaton of Asante Responses to Muslim Influence in the 18th and 19th Centuries" (paper presented at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 4-7, 1982, 1982), 12.

[25] Ibid. 11.

[26] See Anthony Reid, "A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makassar," *Masyarakat Indonesia* 8, no. 1 (1981); Anthony Reid, "Pluralism and Progress in Seventeenth-century Makassar," in *Authority and Enterprise: Transactions, Traditions and Texts among the Bugis, Makassarese and Selayarese*, ed. C. van Dijk and Roger Tol, 433-149 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000).

[27] Heather Sutherland, "Pursuing the Invisible, Makassar, City and Systems," in *Environment, Trade and Society in Southeast Asia: A Longue Duree Perspective*, ed. David Henley and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 144.

became a "more thoroughly closed community than it had ever been in independent times."[28] Minahasans were prohibited from moving to a different settlement without a special pass.[29] The uplander Minahasans who migrated to the coastal—and perhaps more "cosmopolitan"—settlement of Bolaang under the jurisdiction of the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow were constantly forced to return to their former abodes by the Resident of Menado who was likely acting at the instigation of the migrants' respective former Minahasan chiefs.[30] Thus, the case of Minahasa mirrors Java, where the cultivation system strengthened local village authority and intensified the control of economically-driven mobility.[31]

3. Comprehensive social crisis theory

This influential theory, often invoked to explain Christian conversions in Sulawesi and elsewhere in Indonesia, emphasizes the breakdown of traditional social and political order that consequently conditioned the mass of population to convert. For instance, writing on the causality of the conversion of the Toraja of Central Sulawesi, Bigalke argues that

> The outlawing of headhunting and trial by ordeal, abolition of the slave trade, and forced resettlement ("kampong forming")...had given the traditional order a shock from which it would never recover...[T]hrough its various modifications of tradition, the government had succeeded in loosening people from their animism while providing them nothing directly to replace it. In this anomic state, "[the Torajan] himself waits for something to replace" his earlier beliefs...the mission would provide that something in the wake of government-induced social change.[32]

This view has had a long genealogy in the scholarly literature on Indonesia. As early as 1929, Albert C. Kruyt, the pioneer missionary in central Sulawesi, argued that the drastic colonial intervention on the social life of the Torajans (for example, forced relocation to lowlands, shift to wet-rice agriculture, and prohibition of headhunting, among others) caused "spiritual uncertainty" among the people because the "religious rites which for generations they had performed to invoke strength and success in their conflict with nature, had been taken away

[28] David Henley, "Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies" (Australian National University, 1992), 74.
[29] Ibid.
[30] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 2, Letter of RM to the raja of BM, 5 February 1827.
[31] See Albert Schrauwers, "The "Benevolent" Colonies of Johannes van den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001).
[32] Terence Bigalke, "Government and Mission in the Torajan World of Makale-Rantepao," *Indonesia* 38, (October 1984): 93.

from them."[33] Because of such spiritual uncertainty, "the people turned to the missionaries, whom they knew were kindly disposed towards them and who spoke their language and knew their *adat* [traditions]."[34] Kruyt's view resonates in the writings of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz on contemporary conversions in Bali. Geertz sees Balinese conversions to world religions "as a result of a thorough shaking of the foundations of social order."[35] Christian conversions in nineteenth century Java were likewise assumed to have been due to a widespread social crisis at the time. One scholar contends that the "appeal of Christianity among Javanists was related to a general crisis of authority and identity shaking Javanese society." He states that

> In an earlier era, when the Dutch had not yet emasculated the courts, much of the Javanese population had looked to aristocrats (*priyayi*) for models of cultural excellence and moral anchors for their identity. In the early nineteenth century however, the Dutch incorporated this aristocracy into the machinery of colonial exploitation, stripping them of many of their privileges and cutting them off from the rest of the population.[36]

This view is also popular among scholars of north Sulawesi. In Kurt Tauchmann's oft-cited study of Minahasan religion, he argued that the "[traditional] religious basis was destroyed so that the conversion to Christianity was the only possible way out to fill a religious vacuum."[37]

Schouten reiterates this view more recently. She argues that "one reason for the massive adherence to Christianity might have been cultural disorientation."[38] She states that

> The prohibition of headhunting raids by the colonial government heralded the disappearance of a fundamental aspect of Minahasan's lives and world view….Under these circumstances, for many Minahasans the step towards Christianity and the acceptance of the way of life of the Dutch might well have been a strategy to overcome their cultural disorientation and social and economic distress.[39]

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[33] Albert C. Kruyt, "The Influence of Western Civilisation on the Inhabitants of Poso (Central Celebes)," in *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, ed. B. Schrieke (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1929), 6.
[34] Ibid.
[35] See Clifford Geertz, "'Internal Conversion' in Contemporary Bali," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 170-189 (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Quotation from Robert Hefner, "The Political Economy of Islamic Conversion in Modern East Java," in *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning: Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 72.
[36] Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java,"*Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, 108.
[37] Cited in Helmut Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," in *Kolonien und Missionen, Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialengeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen*, ed. Wilfried Wagner (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994), 312. See Kurt Tauchmann, "Die Religion der Minahasa-Stämme (Nordost-Celebes/Sulawesi)" (PhD. Dissertation, Universitat zu Köln, 1968).
[38] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia "*In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, 216-217.
[39] Ibid.

This theory is often used to explain Christian conversions. However, parallel arguments underlining a massive, albeit internally-induced, social upheaval, as the cause for Islamic conversions in early modern Southeast Asia have also been put forward, but they have had little traction.[40]

In contrast, some scholars view these social transformations not as a collapse of the traditional order but as a necessary consequence of a centralizing, albeit imposed, authority of the state. There was no comprehensive crisis as such but a mere reconfiguration of political power. As a case in point—whereas Geertz considers the "shaking of the social order" leading to a "general loss of faith in localized divinities"[41] as the foremost cause of contemporary conversions in Bali, Hefner sees "the island's incorporation into the Indonesian nation-state" as the main driving force.[42] Similarly, one could view the nineteenth century inroads of Christianity in Java to be less attributable to a "general crisis of authority and identity shaking Javanese society"[43] and more to the extension of the "[colonial] state's power ever deeper into village life" that sought to "routinize and legitimate the new village-level disciplinary measures."[44]

In north Sulawesi, one could also argue a parallel case where, despite the forced coffee cultivation and intensive colonial interference in local affairs, the ensuing social transformations did not necessarily constitute a massive social crisis as such. For instance, it has been noted in Minahasa that

> If, despite their attempts, the community no longer seemed to support the old religion, then the [pre-Christian] religious specialist [likely chiefs themselves] often made the same choice as others, or rather attempted to be ahead of them and to occupy a prominent position in the new religious system [Christianity].[45]

Like Java in the same period, the authority of supra-village chiefs—in contrast to what the social crisis theory would suggest—seem to have become more entrenched as the colonial state expanded its reach into the hinterland.

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[40]See Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia: Burma, Indonesia, The Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 9; Alatas, "On the Need for an Historical Study of Malaysian Islamization."

[41] Hefner, "The Political Economy of Islamic Conversion in Modern East Java,"*Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning: Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse*, 72-73.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java,"*Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, 108.

[44] Schrauwers, "The 'Benevolent' Colonies of Johannes van den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia," 318-219, 324.

[45] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 109.

4. Missionary theory

The "missionary theory" foregrounds the decisive role of either Christian or Muslim religious figures. The voluminous published missionary literature, perhaps inevitably, often accords the causative factor on the labors of its own missionaries in the successes of conversion.[46] However, during the key incidents of both Islamic and Christian mass conversions in north Sulawesi, religious authority figures seem to have had an inconsequential role. During the self-declared conversion of around 10,000 Tonsea (Minahasa) people in 1857,[47] there was only one (European) missionary present.[48] Moreover, there were only eight missionaries[49] in the entire region (Minahasa) that had roughly 100,000 inhabitants.[50] Furthermore, in Sangir-Talaud "entire villages convert[ed] to Christianity" in the late nineteenth century, in the initial period of colonial governmental presence, often without previous missionary effort at all.[51]

Behind the narrative of missionary triumph, as colonial functionaries themselves reveal, there was often the under-recognized political sub-plot.[52] The building of churches and schools hinged upon the willingness of the colonial government, but it also depended critically on the relationship of the government with the local village and district chiefs. The fact that the presence of the missionaries did not assure conversion despite the colonial government's support is illustrated by the case of the remote Talaud Island. Lamenting the lack of an effective local (indigenous) governmental structure in Talaud that could assure security of life at the very least and comparing it to the more complex political system of the adjacent islands of Sangir, the missionary J. Ottow writes

> Not only were the [Christian] missionaries destined for Talaud not [welcomed and] fetched by the Talaud chiefs, but they were also anticipated with arms by the Talaud

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[46] The most accessible of these publications (for Christianity in Indonesia) is, of course, the missionary journal, *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* (Bulletin of the Dutch Missionary Society).
[47] Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," 603.
[48] Nationaal Archief (NA), Ministerie van Koloniën (MvK), inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969, Kabinetsverbaal, 14 Jun 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 Jan 1862.
[49] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1857 (RM Jansen), 10.
[50] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 170.
[51] See Het Utrechts Archief (HUA), Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ), inv. 1102-1, no. 2828, Zending op de Talaud-eilanden [1898], Den Houter.
[52] See National Archives, The Hague (NA) Ministerie van Koloniën 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 701 (1858), April 14, no. 2, "Letter of the Resident of Menado," A. L. Andriessen, 28 July 1853. See also (on another region of Indonesia), James J. Fox, "The 'Movement of the Spirit' in the Timor Area: Christian Traditions and Ethnic Identities," in *Indonesia: The Making of a Culture* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1980), 241-242.

> [peoples]. In Sangir, there were six well-ordered chiefdoms. In Talaud, there is only anarchy. Each village is autonomous; some villages are even divided internally. Each house is a separate chiefdom; a house consists of between six to twenty families.[53]

Because it had no supra-village political structure, there was no palpable missionary success in Talaud. The importance, or more precisely the decisiveness, that local rulers and effective political patrons played in conversion is also apparent in the Islamization in Bolaang-Mongondow during the early 1870s.

The itinerant, mystical Arab figure known as Imam Syafii, credited as being instrumental in the conversion of many previously animist uplanders of Mongondow,[54] owed his activities to the sponsorship of the raja, J. M. Manoppo. Raja Manoppo not only gave his own slaves to Imam Syafii to be the latter's assistants, he also personally accompanied the Imam to the remote (yet converted) parts of his realm. However, Imam Syafii was forced to leave Mongondow after he supposedly fell from Raja Manoppo's favor. [55]

These examples highlight the importance, perhaps even the indispensability, of a stabilizing political figure or structure to support the presence of religious missionaries. This is most acutely exemplified in Sulawesi by the conversion of the Torajas. The pioneer missionaries, A. C. Kruyt and N. Adriani, had "more than a decade of fruitless preaching to an uncolonised peoples,"[56] but the arrival of "pacifying" Dutch colonial troops "enabled them [missionaries] to reap a famous evangelical success."[57]

5. Trade theory

One popular theory of Islamic conversions in particular is the "trade theory" or versions of such.

Various proponents espouse the idea that "Islam appeared not as a conquering political force, but as a converting cultural force."[58] One scholar asserts that conversions were

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[53] "Uit een brief van J. Ottow, zendeling op de Talau-eilanden," *Geillustreerd Zendingsblad voor het Huisgezin*, (1891).
[54] See Kosel, "Christian Mission in an Islamic Environment: Religious Conversion in North Sulawesi in the Light of a Case-study from Bolaang Mongondow."
[55] NA Memorie van Overgave inv. 2.10.39, no. 299, Resident of Menado P. van der Crab (1875); NA Mailrapporten 1876, no. 109, Invoering van rechtstreeks bestuur in de afd. Gorontalo, Letter of RM [van Musschenbroek?] 15 Jan 1876 to GG, Menado.
[56] David Henley, *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 2002), 88.
[57] Ibid.
[58] "Islam in Indonesia: Where to? Interview with Abdurrahman Wahid," *Inside Indonesia: Bulletin of the Indonesia Resources and Information Programme (Australia)*October 1986, 4.

achieved "through trade and commerce and not by the sword as erroneously reported by some orientalists."[59] Besides "of all the major world religions, Islam is arguably the most commerce friendly, at least as seen from the perspectives of its scriptures."[60]

While it is generally acknowledged that Islam spread in Southeast Asia via trade networks,[61] the direct, causal relationship between trade and Islamic conversion remains largely unexplained.[62] Indeed scholars have noted the substantial time-gap between the established presence of traders in various port-polities of Indonesia and the conversion of its rulers.[63] John Bowen remarks that the 500-year gap between "signs of Islamic presence…. and the first conversions to Islam by [Acehnese] rulers" "was embarrassing to many Indonesian Muslims, who ask that if Islam is naturally attractive to all, why did conversion take so long?"[64] Aceh's case is not exceptional. Makassar's rulers converted "comparatively late" in 1605 when its "contacts with both Muslims and Christian foreigners were already well-developed."[65]

At the cornerstone of this theory is the notion that rulers—and by extension, their subjects—convert "to participate in the growing international Islamic trade network."[66] Christine Dobbin's work on Minangkabau elaborates on this idea:[67]

> Islam and its legal system were at hand to provide the foundations of [...] a moral community, enabling commercial networks to function on the basis of both trust and law...it can be seen that those engaging in a network of market relations far wider than the earlier exchange relationships among a group of villages required a mutually

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[59] Mohd. Musib M. Buat, "Muslim Businesses in Mindanao," in *The Muslim Private Sector in Southeast Asia*, ed. Mohammed Ariff (Singapore: ISEAS, 1991), 45-46.
[60] Robert W. Hefner, "Religious Resurgence in Contemporary Asia: Southeast Asian Perspectives on Capitalism, the State, and the New Piety," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 4 (2010): 1037.
[61] Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade in World History*, Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 103.
[62] See Barbara Watson and Leonard Y. Andaya Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), 53.
[63] See, among others, G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no. 177 (1957): 44.
[64] Bowen, "Narrative Form and Political Incorporation: Changing Uses of History in Aceh, Indonesia," 681-682.
[65] Reid, "A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makassar," 13.
[66] Peter Riddell, "The Implanting of Islam in Southeast Asia," in *More Islamic than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2014), 69.
[67] Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, Monograph series / Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, (London: Curzon Press, 1983); Christine E. Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam ekonomi petani yang sedang berubah: Sumatra Tengah, 1784-1847*, Seri INIS (Jakarta: INIS, 1992).

> acceptable code of conduct which would facilitate business transactions and assist "mutual recognition".[68]

Dobbin's Islamization argument provides more concrete evidence to parallel observations in the early modern period which witnessed the "incorporation of Islamic commercial law into all the Malay legal codes" and the "dispersion of Arabic script, with Arabic borrowings for such terms as *paper, ink, bankruptcy*, and *usury."*[69]

However, nineteenth-century Sulawesi tends to diverge even from Dobbin's contemporary case in Sumatra. In coastal north Sulawesi, the colonial government—rather than Islam—provided the most important security of life and property among foreign traders.[70] Muslim and Christian traders alike sought the arbitration of the colonial authorities for the defaulting Mongondorese.[71] For example, Manado-based creditor-merchants repeatedly demanded government intervention to force the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow, A. C. Manoppo, to pay his outstanding debts.[72] The Resident of Manado noted that

> It is risky to give credit to these people [of the north coast of Sulawesi]; the [Muslim] Buginese are successful because of their threat of violence (kris) or of their use of one of the debtor's relatives as guarantor; otherwise, the debtor runs to the interior and transfer residence; this is the reason why trade is completely in the hands of the Buginese and Mandarese; the Menadonese merchants have withdrawn from the north coast.[73]

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[68] Christine Dobbin, "Economic Change in Minangkabau as a Factor in the Rise of the Padri Movement, 1784-1830," *Indonesia* 23, (1977): 38.

[69] A. J. S. Reid, "John Smail, Jacob van Leur, and the Trading World of Southeast Asia," in *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Honor of John R. W. Smail*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), 90.

[70] A revealing case is that of the Buginese Prince Matoka from Bone (South Sulawesi) who—along with his followers—violently plundered a stranded Japanese ship in Bolaang Uki. The silk-laden ship including its crew was burned after being looted. The *jogugu* of Bolaang Uki and seventeen others were convicted of collusion in the crime. They were sentenced to force labor. Meanwhile, Prince Matoka, who directed the crime alongside two others, were executed in Manado. ANRI Manado inv. 29, no.2 Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado 1864. Visiting missionaries noted that for the inhabitants in the region, it remains a wonder why such an act was condemned because the ship was "neither European, Chinese or Arab," suggesting perhaps of the local understanding that security of traders only extended to the three groups. HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, N. Ph. Wilken and J. A. T. Schwarz, Verhaal naar Bolang Oeki, 19 January 1867.

[71] See, for instance, the case "Schuld Mongondowezen Lamoto, Laingi, c.s.aan Daeng Pateka te Wajo, 1892-93." ANRI Manado inv. 42, no. 5. Unfortunately, this bundle was still missing at the time of research.

[72] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado, 1859.

[73] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado, 1860.

Even in the relatively long-Islamized Buol, which was "completely under the influence of Arabs and Bugis,"[74] some foreign (mostly Bugis) traders—for fear of life and security of property—still would "sell their merchandise from [the safety of their own] prau."[75]

It is important to highlight the fact that trade could and did exist as a field separate from religion. A missionary who wrote about nineteenth-century Christian Minahasan chiefs stated that conversion itself was not in any way a prerequisite to trade. He noted that

> Numerous chiefs, district [supra-village] chiefs especially, deal with Muslim traders, not because of their eagerness with Islam, but because of the goods brought by these traders. These goods are traded on credit…[76]

More contemporary evidence elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago echoes this idea. Writing on Muslims in Lombok, Sven Cederroth observes that "itinerant venders [sic]…have been more successful as implementers of change in the economic field than in the field of religious conversion."[77] Indeed as J. Noorduyn asserts, the reason for the "often sudden and massive conversion could not be found in trade and traders."[78] An even more cogent example of the separation of trade and religion are the Chinese in the broader region. They were economically dominant but culturally uninfluential.

Trade as an instrument for and motivation to conversion among the mass of the population becomes more untenable if one considers the political economy of small polities in north Sulawesi, where trade was largely in the hands of the coastal raja.

Direct contacts between Muslim traders and the masses in the populous hinterland were likely minimal, if any. The scholar-functionary, J. G. F. Riedel, explains that

> The itinerant traders, mainly Bugis, prefer to connect with the raja [of Bolaang-Mongondow] because he purchases the bulk of their goods. The raja then sells these goods at very high prices in the hinterland where nobody is allowed to trade. [79]

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[74] J. G. F. Riedel, "Het landschap Boeool; Korte aantekeningen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 18, (1872): 197.
[75] Riedel, "Het landschap Boeool; Korte aantekeningen," 200.
[76] HUA 1102-1, 1186, Letter of J. A. T. Schwarz to the Director of the Nederlandsch-Zendelinggenootschap (NZG), 1877.
[77] Sven Cederroth, *The Spell of the Ancestors and the Power of Mekkah: A SasakCcommunity on Lombok* (Göteborg University, 1981), 250.
[78] J. Noorduyn, "De Islamisering van Makassar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 112, no. 3 (1956): 247.
[79] J. G. F. Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 13, (1864): 283.

Even when allowed, trade carried inherent political disincentives that would have limited its unbridled expansion. An aspiring chief risked non-election if he was indebted to traders. For instance, among the Torajas

> Someone heavily indebted to the coastal Muslim traders would not be chosen by fellow villagers as chief for fear that he would abuse his [power] in order to repay his debts…[80]

This "dilemma of chiefly trade" likely applied for the three lower-ranking upland chiefs (*panghulu*) of Mongondow[81] who were still "appointed according to the decision of the [village] elders."[82]

How can the rise of a perennially indebted coastal raja from a consultative system that inherently discouraged the appointment of a ruler *qua* trader be explained?
The "dilemma of chiefly trade" in Bolaang-Mongondow was circumvented by outside political intervention. The Dutch East India Company, and later the colonial government, accorded coercive power to a single chief in order to facilitate rule. As a consequence, the direct accountability of the chief towards his people, most of all to his peers, weakened. Loyalty to higher authorities—rather than freedom from debt—became an important criterion for election. With arms and legitimation supplied by higher authorities, the raja could thus accrue debt from (Muslim) traders and enforce a tributary relationship with his subjects, notwithstanding the risk of discontent among his people.

Although the "trade theory" is more commonly applied to Islamic conversions, one could hypothesize why this theory has not gained explanatory currency for Christian conversions. As in Bolaang-Mongondow, the chiefs in Minahasa and Sangir-Talaud sought to monopolize the flow of export produce from the villages. During the initial decades of the forced coffee cultivation in Minahasa, which not only witnessed the steady flow of rice and coffee to the coastal port but also the entrance of European Christian missionaries into the upland, historical sources point to the migration of a segment of the Minahasan population to adjacent Bolaang, where the colonial state had negligible presence. These Minahasan migrants likely migrated because of the increasingly effective—and unjust—monopoly by

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[80] N. Adriani, "De Hoofden der Toradja's van Midden-Celebes " *Indisch Genootschap: Verslagen der Algemeene Vergaderingen*, (1915-1916): 118. A similar point is made in N. Adriani, "Maatschappelijke, speciaal economische verandering der bevolking van Midden-Celebes, sedert der invoering van het Nederlandsch gezag aldaar," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 32, (1915): 463.

[81] "Lower-ranking" means immediately below the raja.

[82] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 279. One exception is the *panghulu* of the gold-mining district of Kotabunan who was not elected by its village elders but by the raja or his immediate associates.

their Christianized chiefs of the prices of coffee and especially rice. Indeed, in Bolaang, these Minahasan migrants were known to sell their rice at likely higher prices than in Minahasa under the system of obligatory rice deliveries.[83] In sum, the "attraction to trade" cannot exclusively explain mass Christian conversions as the first and most important converts to Christianity—the chiefs themselves—were likely oppressive figures of local political authority.[84]

6. Marriage theory

Marriage, especially to (Arab) traders, is memorialized in numerous narratives in the Indonesian archipelago as the primary reason for (elite) conversion. The scholar-official, R. O. Winstedt, suggests that a key in understanding Islamization is the "study of the genealogies of the ruling families of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and even Mindanao."[85] The historian, Engseng Ho, argues that these foreign Muslim—particularly the Hadhrami Arabs—were fully integrated into the economic and political lives of Indonesian polities.[86]

However, north Sulawesi elites draw less legitimacy from affinal ties with prestigious Arab lines than from the vertical association with the colonial government and horizontal ties with powerful families in the region.

Although the regnant line of rajas in Gorontalo (the Monoarfas)[87] claimed descent from a putative Arab ancestor, persons who had demonstrable and close affinal relations with a *sayyid* (sheikh) line were in fact excluded from power. The originally non-aristocratic, *sada* were accommodated with improvised honorific titles as *tuani daä* (great lord) or *tuani kiki* (lesser lord)[88] and accorded the honor of sitting next to the raja in public gatherings. However, because of their foreign descent they could not be rulers of the realm.[89] (This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4).

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[83] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829, 39.
[84] Ibid.
[85] R. O. Winstedt, "The Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 77, (1917): 175.
[86] Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
[87] KITLV H 1345, W. J. M. Michielsen Herinneringen, Dl. 2: In Gouvernements Dienst. Ambtenaar ter beschikking residentie Menado, 33.
[88] KIT Collection – UB Leiden, BrRG 26, Het Volk van Gorontalo, A. N. Datau, n.d., 14.
[89] Richard Tacco, *Het Volk van Gorontalo (Historisch, traditioneel, maatschappelijk, cultureel, sociaal, karakteristiek en economisch) [uitgegeven vanwege de Vereeniging "Gorontalo-Instituut"]* (Gorontalo: Yo Un Ann & Co., 1935), 32.

In Bolaang-Mongondow, as in Gorontalo, descent from or marriage to an Arab *sayyid* line was likewise inconsequential to paramount rulership. If local histories and genealogies of Bolaang-Mongondow are considered a measure, then they indicate that marriage between foreign Arabs and local aristocratic women did not occupy as prominent a role in local political legitimacy as in the neighboring Islamized polities of Maguindanao or Sulu.[90] Indeed, in one of the extant genealogies of the Mongondow indigenous elite (see Figure 4.1. A genealogy of Bolaang-Mongondow chiefs), one of the first, if not the first, marriage of an aristocratic Mongondorese woman (Putri Sarah) to an Arab (Syarif Aluwi) in the 1830s is missing. Yet, in some sources, this marriage was identified as the beginning of Islam in Mongondow.[91]

Whereas there is little remembrance accorded to the milestone that supposedly marked the entrance of Islam into Bolaang-Mongondow, the marriage of the storied raja of Siau, Jacob Ponto, to Inontat Manoppo, the daughter of Sultan Jacobus Manoppo, in 1850 was not only commemorated in the royal genealogy but it remained in popular memory as well.[92] However, the accounts of the marriages of Syarif Aluwi and Raja Jacob Ponto to Mongondorese noble women shared the same striking feature—their reference to the bride price.

Syarif Aluwi is remembered to have left for Donggala after failing to fulfill the customary bride price (*harta*) demanded by the *jogugu* (second-ranking chief) of Bolaang.[93] On the contrary, Raja Ponto is known to have presented lavish gifts to the Bolaang elite. These included luxurious textiles, jewelry, cannons, firearms, slaves, and various implements for holding (competitive) feasts such as plates and bowls—all of which reinforce the aristocratic status of the bride.[94] These gifts were divided equally between the bride and the raja and his fellow chiefs.

One could argue that marriages, especially aristocratic ones, were primarily economic based. Marriages between traders and the local aristocracy were channels for the indigenous elite to access commercial wealth while providing the trader market access to the locality. Since marriages to wealthy merchants were imbued with economic and attendant status-based

[90] See Elsa Clavé, "Lignées et légitimité politique dans le sultanat de Magindanao (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)," *Peninsule: Etudes interdisciplinaires sur l'Asie du Sud-Est Péninsulaire* 71, no. 2 (2015). And more extensively in Elsa Clavé, "La malayisation du Sud philippin (XVe-XIXe siècles); Recherches historiques appuyées sur l'analyse des sources narratives et juridiques des sultanats de Sulu (c. 1450-c. 1900) et de Mindanao (c. 1520-c. 1900)" (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2013).
[91] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 277-278.
[92] HUA inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 2.
[93] HUA inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 25.
[94] HUA inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 25.

meanings, they were likely monopolized by and occurred at least initially within local elite circles. In addition, Bolaang-Mongondow elites, like other local elites in the region practiced endogamy based on status.[95] Besides, even if societies in the region allowed cross-rank marriages, it is likely that the quantity and value of the bride wealth one could muster limited one's option to marry above one's economic standing.[96] Consequently, it would have been unlikely for the Islamicized elites to marry en masse lower-status subjects and cause mass conversions. On the other hand, could marriages between Muslim traders and common people account for mass conversions?

Commercial contacts—let alone marriage—between traders and the common people would have been very limited because trade was a chiefly monopoly and traders themselves were prohibited from entering the populous hinterland.[97] However, sources suggest that the raja of Bolaang had allowed Bugis and Gorontalese traders to enter upland Kotabunan[98] in the beginning of the nineteenth century.[99] Two of these traders were the religious figures named *hakim* Bagus and *imam* Suweko (or Tuweko), who succeeded in converting "some slaves and local women with whom they married."[100] However, it seems that such converts only included their slaves and those within the sphere of their respective families. It substantiates B. Schrieke's observation long ago that "it is impossible that the Islamization of the archipelago can have been the result simply and solely of marriages contracted by a group of foreigners who compared to the great mass of the population were numerically unimportant."[101]

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[95] A short way for understanding marriage pattern in the region, that likely applied to north Sulawesi as well, is: "endogamy of rank and exogamy of village." See Dana Rappoport, *Songs from the Thrice-Blooded Land: Ritual Music of the Toraja Sulawesi (Indonesia)* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme / Éditions Épistèmes 2009).

[96] See the pivotal role of bride wealth in the pre-modern Indonesian setting, Peter Boomgaard, "Bridewealth and Birth Control: Low Fertility in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1500-1900," *Population and Development Review* 29, no. 2 (2003).

[97] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 283.

[98] The village where the raja maintains his residence if he is not in coastal Bolaang.

[99] HUA inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 24.

[100] HUA inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 24.

[101] B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*, Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars, vol. 3 Part 2 (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1957), 231.

7. Concluding remarks

This chapter has explored some leading theories of Christian and Protestant conversions as they relate to the particular case of north Sulawesi. It highlighted, among others, the political interests of the local chiefs in conversion or non-conversion to world religions. Although the "bottom-up theory" likely illustrates a historical reality—the intention of the lower classes to convert to a socially prestigious religious identity—the actual dynamics of conversion were likely more complicated as the chiefly classes sought to prevent the other classes from accessing such identity. The "expanding horizon theory" emphasizes the attraction to cosmopolitanism, driven ultimately by exposure to foreign commerce, as the main cause of conversion to world religions. However, as other authors have pointed out, there were serious political barriers to gaining access to such cosmopolitan identities often posed by the local chiefly elite. Meanwhile, the "comprehensive social crisis theory" identifies the radical social and political changes to local society brought by colonialism that disrupted the local worldview. These dramatic social transformations were thought to have conditioned the natives to choose world religion (Christianity almost always) to cope with such changes. Social transformations notwithstanding, the local political hierarchy in north Sulawesi largely remained intact and sometimes became even more empowered in the wake of colonial rule. It remains questionable whether one can speak of a "social crisis" as such or simply a reconfiguration of social, economic, and political relations in the community, albeit in an unprecedented and often abrupt manner. The "missionary theory" suggests the crucial role of Christian or Islamic missionaries in conversion. On the contrary, this chapter presents examples from north Sulawesi which illustrate that the entrance of these missionaries was often under the aegis of local ruling figures. The "trade theory" posits that attraction to religion was due to the legal and political stability that it potentially offered. In a more general sense, it suggests that commerce provided an important conduit for cross-cultural interaction and religious exchange. However, as reiterated in the discussion on the "marriage theory" commercial exchanges were often—at least in the initial stages—largely confined to the local chiefly political *cum* commercial class. While converts very likely came about through commerce and marriage, the limited market opportunities for the rest of the population likely precluded their contacts with proselytizing traders.

CHAPTER 3
Christianization in Minahasa

Scholars have noted the drastic transformations in Minahasan society in the mid-nineteenth century. For instance, Schouten observes that "in 1860, less than three decades after the arrival of official NZG missions, 57% of the natives had already embraced Christianity."[1] Buchholt remarks that "a continuity of traditional religious rites and ceremonies is claimed until the middle of the 19th century. Then, a sudden conversion to Christianity in huge parts of the population took place."[2] Indeed, the Christianization of Minahasa might very well be the ultimate missionary success story in nineteenth-century Indonesia.

This chapter re-examines the conversions to Christianity in Minahasa. It points to the centralizing offensive of the colonial state in general and the reforms in the 1850s in particular as pivotal to understanding the phenomenon of large-scale conversions. The chapter identifies the abolition of obligatory rice deliveries, imposition of monetary taxation, and the streamlining of the indigenous political office as processes that accelerated conversions. These transformations allowed individuals to engage the market place more directly and to interact with state functionaries and missionaries. More importantly, the transformations assuaged the desire of initially intransigent chiefs for stable political tenure and status ascendancy.

The chiefs of various ranks (village and supra-village) had traditionally possessed undifferentiated authority that combined economic, political, and religious roles. Chiefly wealth and status traditionally depended on income from chiefly monopolies, which chiefs could therefore be expected to defend stubbornly against market forces unless a credible alternative deal was available. However, as the colonial state opened the economy, it institutionalized and compartmentalized the authority of a select number of indigenous chiefs. Consequently, this intrusion of the colonial state narrowed the space in which these chiefs pervaded the natives' social lives.

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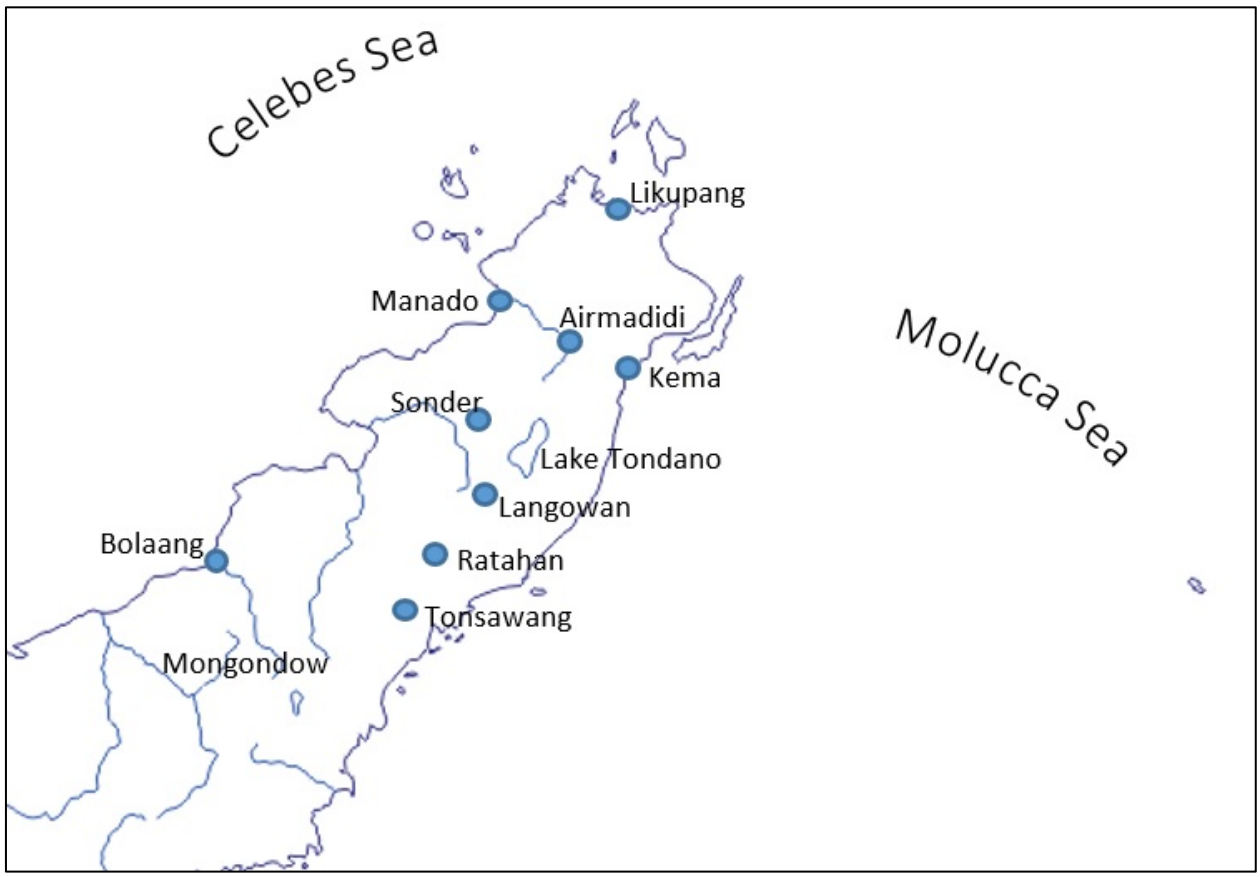
[1] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 108.

[2] Helmut Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," in *Kolonien und Missionen, Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialengeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen*, ed. Wilfried Wagner (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994), 312.

Key to the state reformist's policy was the co-optation of the chiefs into the colonial bureaucratic project and the gradual disentanglement of the bonds that connected them with their claimed subjects. The colonial state achieved this through the abolition of obligatory rice deliveries and the imposition of monetary taxation which forced the people to venture into the expanding market-based economy. This was possible because the colonial state continued to insure that those obedient chiefs, the apical chiefs especially, could maintain their status difference from the rest of the population and promised them permanent, even heritable, office. After all, these bureaucratized chiefs continued to receive profitable sums through their engagement in the government monopoly of coffee cultivation.

Meanwhile the loosened bond between the subaltern chiefs and their subjects not only allowed more Minahasans to participate in the expanding economy but also to take part in a socially prestigious religion. Christianity had long been a marker of status which chiefs were not initially willing to share, but was fast becoming accessible to ordinary villagers partly as a consequence of vigorous government support. Conversion likely represented not only social equivalence (being the religion of the elites, that is, the chiefs and chiefly families) but also affiliation to a wider community.

This chapter revises the view that Christian conversions in Minahasa were primarily a product of a severe social crisis arising from intensified colonial intervention. It argues that these conversions resulted from a transformative, albeit imposed, colonial policy as well as the willingness of many to convert. This chapter is divided into three parts. First, it examines Minahasa on the eve of nineteenth century colonialism. It illustrates that conversions to Dutch Protestant Christianity had been present in the upland region, where Christianity functioned as a mark of status difference that helped aspiring chiefs to centralize local rule. Second, it describes the intensified political and economic intervention of the Dutch colonial state in the early nineteenth century and the first permanent missions in the uplands. Third, it documents the political and economic changes in the mid-nineteenth century and their effects on the phenomena of religious conversions.



Map 3
Map of Minahasa
(Map by author)

1. The Company and the chiefs

There is a view in the scholarly literature that the decline and subsequent demise of the Dutch East India Company was paralleled by a decline of Christianity in areas it controlled. For example, Olaf Schumann notes that towards the end of the eighteenth century "the number of pastors salaried by the VOC had declined rapidly."[3] Thomas van den End concludes that by the end of the Company's existence, not much had been achieved towards Christianization in

[3] Olaf Schumann, "Christianity and Colonialism in the Malay World," in *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, ed. Susanne Schröter (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 46.

general.[4] However, while this might have been true for other regions of Indonesia, this situation does not seem apply to Minahasa.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Company believed that only three of the 20 major settlements in the upland of Manado were Christians.[5] By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the chiefs of the major districts had converted, including that of Tonsea, Likupang, and Tondano. In 1770, the chief of Likupang converted to Christianity in Ternate and he was named Bernardus Kalenkongan.[6] Similarly, in 1792 a Christian supra-village (*walak*) chief (*hukum tua*), Abraham Dotulong, replaced the pagan Ekelewang.[7] In the following year, the newly baptized Theodoor Fredrica Rumenkiwas was appointed *hukum tua* of Tondano, supplanting the non-Christian chief named Pangalilla.[8] By 1792 smaller settlements like Atap and Malalayang (Bantik) were also documented to have Christian chiefs.[9] To explain why there was a flurry of chiefly conversions during this period, it is important to briefly characterize some salient aspects of Minahasan politics and society.

Contemporary scholars agree that on the eve of colonial rule Minahasan society was marked by intense competition and status rivalry. David Henley argues that at the core of the rivalry was jealousy among aspiring chiefly elite who competed for "wealth, status, and the allegiance of the lower orders."[10] Mieke Schouten adds that such intra-elite competition existed not so much because of wealth per se but because of social status. She observes that

> In Minahasa, wealth was a necessary condition for prestige. However, it was of no use to accumulate goods if they were not shown to others, and were not distributed or even destroyed on certain occasions, such as status festivals.[11]

Ritual feasts (*fosso*)[12] were important if not critical occasions to demonstrate one's success in harvest and other prestige-endowing ventures, such as head-hunting. These feasts showcased not

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[4] Th. van den End, "Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending: een overzicht," in *Twee Eeuwen Nederlandse Zending, 1797-1997*, ed. Th. Van den End, et al. (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997), 2.

[5] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, inv. 8163, 20 July 1756, Memorie wegens den presenten staat van saaken in de Moluccos, opgesteld door Jan Elias van Mijlendonk, afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Ternaten.

[6] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, 20.

[7] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Gemeene Resolutien beginnende den 26 September 1791 eindigde...18 Sep 1792.

[8] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.

[9] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, p. 388, no. 168.

[10] David Henley, *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 2002), 34.

[11] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 27.

only the host's (aspirational) status ascendancy over the community but also his generosity by creating an opportunity for his claimed constituents to partake of his wealth.[13]

Among the (Tontemboan) Minahasans, individuals who were successful in the raiding-trading-feasting nexus[14] were thought to possess *keter*—an indigenous concept believed to be a "manifestation of supernatural power […] recognizable by its results."[15] Aspiring chiefly elites who were very successful and possessed enviable tangible wealth were thus thought to have *keter*. Yet, only those who performed the prescribed elaborate ritual feasts were accorded with the prestigious and most distinguishing title of *wa'ilan*.[16] Schouten describes the *wa'ilan* as those who had "attained ritual perfection" and were thus "assured […] of a future status as a deified ancestor."[17] The remains of the *wa'ilan* were honored by their containment in the *waruga* or sandstone tomb (see Figure 3.1).

One could associate the attraction of Minahasan elites to a prestigious foreign culture, in general and to Christianity, in particular with the intense status competition among local chiefly rivals. In the eighteenth century or before intensive colonial intervention, the number of chiefs in Minahasan villages had been perplexingly numerous. A small village is said to have had 50 chiefs while a large settlement had 100. Each settlement had two *hukum tua* or two most important chiefs.[18]

It is very likely that in order to rise above the rest and become the *primus inter pares*, the competing chiefly elites sought the Company's patronage. One channel was straightforwardly economic. In order to be recognized by the Company, an aspiring chief could pay an amount ranging from ten to 20 *rixdollars* in cash[19] in exchange for the prestigious silver knob handle of a

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[12] As Schouten notes *fosso* or *foso* is the "Manado-Malay term for sacrificial ceremonies in general." Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 22, note 27.
[13] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia", In *In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, edited by Clara Sarmento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 214.
[14] See Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).
[15] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 25.
[16] Ibid., 28.
[17] Ibid., 29.
[18] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, no. 164.
[19] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 31 March 1793; NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, p. 387, no. 165.

walking stick inscribed with the initial letter of the settlement where the chief resided.[20] In an earlier period, the Company also distributed parasols and flags to appointed Minahasan chiefs.[21]

Another channel, which notably did not preclude the first, was through conversion to Christianity. Chiefly conversions became more frequent towards the end of the eighteenth century, presumably as economic opportunities for aspiring chiefly elites increased as a result of more vigorous trade. In the early 1790s, the Company had terminated its monopoly of textile trade in Minahasa in favor of private traders (likely the borgo, that is, the Europeans or settlers of mixed European and indigenous descent) [22] and in exchange for fixed rent/lease (*pacht*).[23] The greater and more open trade that likely ensued would have allowed more aspiring chiefs to acquire status-giving goods.[24] Consequently, there was a greater need for individual chiefs to distinguish themselves vis-à-vis other aspiring chiefs in order to attract and maintain followers.

Because numerous chiefs had access to trade and wealth, many of them could pay the necessary recognition to the *Tuan Compania* (lit. Lord Company).[25] Given this situation, conversion to Christianity might have provided the necessary edge for an aspiring chief. In fact, this had been the case in neighboring Kaidipang, where a candidate deemed more Christian was chosen to be chief from a selection of individuals coming from the same distinguished family.[26]

For the chiefs themselves, conversion likely meant greater legitimacy and entitlement to rule over their claimed subjects. The *hukum tua* of Tondano named Rumenkiwas who converted in 1793 was given a silver knob, flag, and *payung* (umbrella) for the explicit purpose of "making the Tondano Christians abide" him.[27] Other Christianized *hukum* (chiefs) were also accorded

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[20] NA VOC 1.04.02, inv. 3957, Ternatse Advisen, 18 September 1792, no. 164.
[21] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.
[22] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88, 21 February 1795 [Ternate], 103.
[23] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88, Aankomende Brieven van Manado, beginnende den 17 Augustus 1794 en eijndig 15 Julij 1795, Letter of G. F. Durr to Ternate. The *pacht* allowed Manado to earn 1,000 *rixdollars*.
[24] On this issue, but from a long-term perspective, see Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 48.
[25] As used by the Majoor of Sonder in his public speech. See ANRI Manado inv. 50, no.2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846 Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 8.
[26] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8144, Letter of Kaidipan to Ternate, 23 May 1742, 1651-1653.
[27] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 86, Advisen van Ternaten aan Hunne Hoog Edelheden voor 't Zuiderquartier (1793), 22 April 1793 to Manado from Ternate.

rights by the Company to village corvée labor from converted *alfur*.[28] Using the authority emanating from the Company, the chiefs could thus solidify their authority over their subjects. The stabilizing authority of the Company was advantageous for the aspiring chiefs given the long-standing political situation wherein competing chiefs could "woo away"[29] another's followers. Such a phenomenon notably occurred during ritual feasts where "prestigious men" displayed their *keter* to attract would-be followers.[30]

Figure 3.1. A preserved *waruga* in the village of Sawangan (Airmadidi)

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Waruga_Sawangan_-_panoramio_(2).jpg&oldid=214352979 (Accessed: 30 November 2017)

[28] NA VOC 1.04.02, no. 8119 (1749), Memorie door den afgaande Gouverneur Blokland aan sijn vervanger Mijlendonk naargelaten, 215.
[29] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983,* 25.
[30] Ibid.

The attraction of the emergent Minahasan elite towards a foreign culture, in order to socially differentiate themselves, legitimize themselves, and improve their status in the community is well-exemplified in the extant *waruga* that likely date back to the Company period. These *waruga* were traditionally reserved for the most accomplished chiefs (*wa'ilan*) as well as religious specialists (*walian*).[31] A number of these *waruga* exhibit distinctive anthropomorphic figures in Company-style clothes "wearing knee breeches or hats, carrying fire-arms, smoking pipes, etc."[32] As such, they could be interpreted not only as a mark of social difference but also of the person's ascendancy in life as in death.

Other than the chiefly conversions of the eighteenth century, there is little evidence of large-scale conversions.[33] To what extent then did the advent of greater political and economic intervention by the Dutch colonial state—the compulsory crop deliveries in particular—influence the mass of common Minahasans to convert?

2. Missionaries, chiefs, and obligatory crop deliveries

One could argue that the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of continuity in Minahasan society. The earlier pattern of tribute and vassalage to the Company in exchange for local political patronage remained. However, such a pattern was not only intensified and accelerated but also extended into previously remote highlands. Despite the fact that the political and economic relationship of the Dutch colonial state and local Minahasan chiefs intensified, the question of religion—conversion to Christianity in particular—appears to have been initially marginal.

This section explores the dynamics of conversion in the early period of the "cultivation system"[34] in Minahasa by focusing on two categories of actors: the chiefs and the missionaries. They were not only power holders in their own right within the Dutch colonial apparatus, but

[31] M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 29.
[32] H. R. van Heekeren, *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*, vol. XXII, Verhandelingen Van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), 62. See also, Cornelis Tjenko Bertling, *De Minahasische "Waroega" en "Hockerbestattung"* (Den Haag 1931).
[33] Except for the reference of a large number of *alfurs* converting in 1743. NA VOC 1.04.02, no. 8119 (1749), Memorie door den afgaande Gouverneur Blokland aan sijn vervanger Mijlendonk naargelaten, 215.
[34] The term "cultivation system" is technically inappropriate to describe the compulsory coffee and rice deliveries. See Chapter 1.

they were also at the forefront of engaging and mediating colonial authorities and the local society.

2.1. Wars and the "delivery system"

One might say that Christianity—the constitutive core of what is later known as "Minahasan" identity[35]—as a social reality and political force was barely present among the Minahasans in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The important economic (compulsory coffee cultivation) and political (Tondano and Java wars) developments of the period seem to bear little correlation with Christianization. However, one could also argue that Dutch political pre-eminence and colonial patronage over local chiefly elite—two of the most salient consequences of these developments—contributed to the social prominence and political expediency of Christianity.

The so-called "Tondano War" (1809),[36] which was fought between the Dutch and an alliance of Minahasan chiefs in upland Tondano, established the authority of the Dutch. It began from the supposed dissatisfaction of some Minahasan chiefs with the labor and tributary exactions of the Dutch. Yet, the war ended with the Dutch emerging as the unchallenged rulers of the upland, with numerous Minahasan "rebels" even siding with the approaching Dutch-led contingent.[37] In addition to this event, Minahasan participation in the so-called "Java War" further affirmed the idea that the political fate of Minahasan chiefs depended upon resistance to or alliance, especially collaboration, with their Dutch overlords.

Between 1825-1830 Minahasans were recruited as mercenaries of the Dutch state against the rebel Javanese prince, Diponegoro, in Java.[38] The Minahasan chiefs who delivered less than 4,000 able-bodied men were named *hukum besar,* while those able to gather more received the higher title of *hukum majoor*.[39] In the course of the nineteenth century, these chiefly ranks would

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[35] See David Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996).

[36] See Bert Supit, *Sejarah Perang Tondano (Perang Minahasa di Tondano)* (Jakarta: Yayasan Lembaga Penelitian Sejarah dan Masyarakat, [1991]); H. M. Taulu, *Sedjarah Minahasa* ([Manado]: Badan Penerbit dan Penjiar Buku 'Membangun', 1951), 49-50.

[37] Henley, *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi*, 49.

[38] See Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007).

[39] Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, J. G. Schwarz, Dagverhaal 1834, 9v.

be permanently adopted by the colonial state to reward and distinguish abiding chiefs. They would also become inheritable for aspiring chiefs belonging to the chiefly line.[40]

The Minahasan participants of the Java War would have returned to their homeland not only with a closer sense of affiliation with their Dutch patrons but also with a greater sense of political importance in their own communities. These ties with the Dutch were notably devoid of any Christian religious undertones as had been the case in the Company times. In 1836 a European missionary attended was present in a large pagan feast (*fosso barani*) given by one of the veterans of the Java War. It is remarkable that one of the war veterans—who was also a Walian—was explicitly ambivalent about the missions and even unapologetic for his sponsorship of the *fosso*. The Walian told the missionary, J. G. Schwarz: "People perform this [fosso] not only here, but also in others places…We follow others because this event is also also performed at the same time in other parts of Minahasa."[41]

Perhaps more than the symbolic advantages that participation in the Java War provided, the compulsory coffee cultivation in tandem with obligatory rice deliveries strengthened chiefly authority. The system was in place from 1822 until 1899. The "cultivation system" in Minahasa actually meant the "compulsory growing of an export crop [primarily coffee] by the local population and the delivery of this to the *Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij* (NHM) (Dutch Trading Society) at artificially low prices."[42]

The chiefs possessed entrenched interest in adhering to the demands of the compulsory delivery system. They benefitted not only because the government secured their political position but also because they received substantial amounts for the delivery of coffee beans. For each *pikol,* a district chief (*hukum besar* or *majoor*) received 50 *duiten,* the deputy district chief (*hukum kedua*) received 16 ½ *duiten*, and the village chief received 33 ½ *duiten*.[43] The chiefs also mediated and pocketed profits from the obligatory delivery of rice to the Dutch state (until 1852) in exchange for luxury textiles (*salemporis*). The effect of such a political-economic system, wherein authority and legitimacy exclusively emanated and were effectively dispensed from above, seems comparable to what has been described in Java at the same time. Like Java,

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[40] *Ikhtisar Keadaan Politik Hindia-Belanda Tahun 1839-1848*, vol. 5, Penerbitan Sumber-Sumber Sejarah (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1973), 356.

[41] "Leven en Werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 4 (1860): 296.

[42] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 54.

[43] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856.

the obligatory crop delivery system in Minahasa enhanced the authority of a few chiefs and notably "extend[ed] the indigenous hierarchy more firmly into village life."[44]

However, the increasing authority of the chiefs created discontent from below. Minahasans, mostly Tontemboans, who felt abused by their *hukum besar* (supra-village chiefs), migrated to nearby Bolaang-Mongondow where there was neither a compulsory coffee and rice delivery system nor palpable colonial interference. By 1827 or five years into the Dutch-imposed system, 21 Minahasan village chiefs had migrated to the Mongondow district of Moriri to escape the oppressive demands of their *hukum besar*.[45] Many of these migrants remained in their new homeland despite repeated appeals from the Resident of Menado to the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow to return them to Minahasa. In exchange for protection, the migrants paid yearly tributes to the new Mongondow chiefs, who also allowed them to trade harvested rice in Bolaang.[46]

That these Minahasans chose to migrate is indicative of the excessive demands of the Minahasan chiefs who drew their legitimacy from the Dutch. The tribute demands of the Mongondow chiefs were probably lower. Additionally, the value of rice in the Bolaang market would have also been more competitive than in Minahasa. Discontent among and migration by the Minahasan populace seemed to have intensified after the imposition of the compulsory coffee deliveries. This can be gleaned from Resident Wenzel's (1825-26) decree that prohibited migration from one village to another in the entire Minahasa.[47] The migrants were likely escaping the rule of an oppressive chief and searching for protection by another. The "corrupt nature" of the Minahasan chiefs was one of the main reasons why Resident Pietermaat (1828-31) remained in upland Minahasa for most of his tenure, supposedly to prevent the chiefs' abuse of power towards the ordinary people (*anak bala*).[48]

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[44] Albert Schrauwers, "The "Benevolent" Colonies of Johannes Van Den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 318-319.

[45] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 2, Letter of the RM to the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow, 5 February 1827.

[46] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829, 39.

[47] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage Tot De Kennis Van Noord-Selebes," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 18 (1872): 480.

[48] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829, 39.

The migration of ordinary Minahasans to escape unfavorable economic and political circumstances at home brought by a centralizing chief was by no means a novel phenomenon. Dissatisfied Minahasans were known to have left for Mongondow in 1707 and 1743.[49] During the Company times, the chiefs were accorded by the Dutch unprecedented authority in the form of the right to impose fines or *pukul salah* among their claimed subjects.[50] Such fines were punishment for committing petty crimes and supposed negligence of obligations to the chiefs. In addition, the chiefs gained the right for five days of unpaid labor from their subjects.[51]

It is within this context of increasingly powerful chiefs, whose loyalty and political survival lay decidedly with the colonial state, that the first permanent Christian Protestant missions in upland Minahasa were established. To what extent were these early missionaries successful in conversion?

2.2. Early missions: Riedel and Schwarz

The coming of German missionaries J. G. Schwarz and J. T. Riedel is widely regarded as the beginning of the Christianization of upland Minahasa. G. S. S. J. Ratulangie, the celebrated Minahasan politician, declared in 1914 that before the coming of Schwarz and Riedel in the 1830s, his own society was characterized by "human vices" such as laziness, immorality, and vindictiveness. It was only through missionization that the "slumbering powers" of the people were awakened.[52] Schwarz and Riedel's missionary projects are considered as benchmarks among colonial missionary circles.[53] However, were these missionaries actually successful in their respective missions?

Schwarz and Riedel arrived in Minahasa in 1832 as the first permanent missionaries in the uplands.[54] They were Germans who came under the auspices of the Dutch Missionary

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[49] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 44-45.
[50] Ibid., 48.
[51] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De zaak betreffende, het dapoer geld en de beschuldiging, dat ik [O. J. Pelenkahu] de lieden zou gedwongen hebben, die in rijst te betalen, ten einde die rijst met voordeel te kunnen verkoopen.
[52] G. S. S. J. Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," *Indische Vereeniging: Voordrachten en Mededeelingen* 3, no. 1 (1914): 37.
[53] *Een ernstige bede voor Indië*, (Rotterdam: Zendingsbureau), 8; W. van Oosterwijk Bruyn, *Dr. Johannes Theodorus Van Der Kemp: De apostel van Zuid-Afrika* (Utrecht: C. H. E. Breijer, 1896), 29.
[54] Although the missionary Hellendoorn had stayed temporarily in the region in 1827. I. H. Enklaar, *Joseph Kam: 'Apostel Der Molukken'* ('s-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum N.V., 1963), 63.

Society (*Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap*, NZG), an organization founded in Rotterdam in 1797 following the model of the London Missionary Society.[55] Before travelling to the Indies, they spent years of preparatory studies in Berlin and Rotterdam.[56] Once in Minahasa, Riedel maintained his base in Tondano, while Schwarz initially stayed in Kakas (southwest of Tondano Lake) before settling permanently in Langowan (Tontemboan) in July 1834.[57] However, despite what seems to have been a rigorous missionary training, the practical realities on the ground were too daunting for Schwarz and Riedel to be successful.

2.2.1. Schools and the Malay Language

Language was a major problem. Even though Schwarz and Riedel had a few years of preparatory training in the Malay language while in transit in Ambon,[58] their mission field was distinguished by a diversity of languages within a relatively limited area. (Some of those languages were Tontemboan, Tondano, Tombulu, Tonsea, and Tonsawang.[59]) Riedel and Schwarz were only trained to speak in Malay though Schwarz might have learned a certain degree of local languages from his wife.[60] She grew up in Minahasa and spoke Tonsea, Tombulu, and later Tondano and Tontemboan, the major local languages of the region.[61]

Even the Timorese and Ambonese schoolteachers already employed before the arrival of Schwarz and Riedel were thought to have been ineffective because of their exclusive use of

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[55] The NZG was a reaction against the liberal *Bataafse Republiek* that sought to separate the domains of church and state. A. J. van den Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie: De scheuring in het Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap rond het midden van de negentiende eeuw* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997), 11.

[56] See "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 255; 64-65; Johan Friedrik Riedel, *Een levensbeeld uit de Minahasa op Celebes* (Rotterdam: M. Wyt & Zonen, 1874). They were Lutherans who had to learn the specificities of the Dutch Reformed Church.

[57] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, J. G. Schwarz, Dagverhaal 1834, 12r.

[58] Enklaar, *Joseph Kam: 'Apostel Der Molukken'*, 69-70.

[59] See Ruben Stoel, *Focus in Manado Malay : Grammar, Particles, and Intonation* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005).

[60] Schwarz married Fransch Constans, a lady from Kema (Tonsea) and the daughter of a low-ranking colonial government officer. The Schwarz couple would later have a son who would likewise become a missionary in Minahasa [J. A. T. Schwarz]. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1133, G. J. Hellendoorn, Journaal, 28 December 1832, Manado, f.4r.

[61] N. Adriani, "J. A. T. Schwarz Als Taalbeoefenaar," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 73, no. 3 (1918): 438.

Malay.[62] Schwarz complained that even through his mission station, Langowan, had had a government-funded school for seven years, "the people understood little Malay."[63] In fact, in a periodic conference of European missionaries in Minahasa in 1850, it was revealed that given the speed of education at the time, it would take 20 to 30 years before the majority of Minahasans could speak Malay. They estimated that 80 percent of Minahasans did not understand it.[64]

Given this situation, some of the missionaries advocated the use of *alfur* (local Minahasan) languages for evangelization. There was a consensus among them that there was a need to have school textbooks in these local languages.[65] Nevertheless, even up to the 1870s, there was still a marked paucity of instructional materials in Minahasan languages and hardly any (European) teacher was fluent in any of those languages.[66] Furthermore, the sons of the chiefs preferred to formally learn Dutch, the language of prestige, instead of the increasingly more commonplace Malay.[67]

Even the schools, despite their seemingly impressive numbers, seem to have not been the primary drivers for widespread conversions. By 1854, Minahasa had the following types of schools: 12 government; 88 missionary; and 23 village.[68] However, while there was a relatively high number of registered pupils (10, 536), only about half (5,749) attended school regularly.[69] Colonial functionaries and missionaries agreed that many pupils missed school because they had to work on coffee plantations and in rice fields[70] in order to meet the basic requirements of

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[62] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 267.

[63] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 5 (1861): 78.

[64] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1076, Conferentie te Langowang, 22-23 March 1850, 5-6.

[65] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1076, Conferentie te Langowang, 22-23 March 1850, 5-6.

[66] See the schoolbooks written by J. G. F. Riedel in Tombulu language and the early works of N. A. Graafland. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 2573, Verbaal 31 March 1873.

[67] "Verslag van den zendeling S. Ulfers over het jaar 1851," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap; bijdragen tot de kennis der zending en der taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 3 (1859): 28.

[68] These are referred to in the sources as: "gouvernements-, negorij- en genootschapscholen."

[69] H Quarles van Ufford, *Aantekeningen betreffende eene reis door de Molukken van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal Mr. A. J. Duymaer Van Twist in de maanden September en October 1855* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1856), 15.

[70] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853; J. G. F Brumund, "Twee Dagen Te Langowang, Fragment Mijner Reize Door De Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1, no. 2 (1855): 425-26; J. Louwerier, "Tomohon (Minahassa)," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 20 (1876): 120.

subsistence.[71] The latter situation was true particularly in the early colonial period and in more remote regions.[72] School absences were also more frequent during coffee and rice harvest seasons.[73] Thus, despite the general desire for education among the populace,[74] practical realities were a serious hindrance.

One could also argue that the very nature of the schools themselves seems to have preconditioned the slow process of Christianization through education. There was an apparent hierarchy of schools. The government and missionary schools were under the supervision of the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) and they were funded by the government. On the other hand, the village schools were funded by the local people and their teachers received a paltry salary compared with the European missionaries.[75] The novel and higher demands of the European missionaries led some students to transfer to the supposedly more lax Ambonese teachers.[76] Additionally, some government schools also defaulted on teaching Christian religious education. This was due to the limited supervision of European missionaries owing to the large distance between missionary schools and the natives' residences or lack of personnel.[77]

While the schools were less effective in terms of religious conversion (in a strictly theological sense), they were more able to replicate and affirm pre-existing class and power structures in the native society. By 1856, the European Primary School in Manado not only welcomed children of Dutch functionaries and settlers, but also the children of local chiefs and a few Chinese.[78] The school served as a precursor to the formal separation of the chiefly and commoner education with the establishment of a school (*hoofdenschool*) exclusively for

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[71] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. Schwarz, 3 May 1834.
[72] C. J. van de Liefde, "[Amurang]," *Maandberigt van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 81, no. 1 (1879): 25.
[73] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 58.
[74] See H. Kroeskamp, *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 118.
[75] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853.
[76] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1858, April 14, no. 2, Report of Schools in Menado and Gorontalo, Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853.
[77] See for instance, M. Brouwer, "Celebes (Minahassa, Langowan)," *Maandberichten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 77, no. 11 (1875): 55.
[78] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 14 April 1858 , no. 2, 'Toestand van het Schoolwezen in de Residentie Manado in 1853'; Quarles van Ufford, *Aantekeningen betreffende eene reis door de Molukken van Zijne Excellentie den Gouverneur-Generaal Mr. A. J. Duymaer van Twist in de maanden September en October 1855*, 10.

aristocratic sons in Tondano in 1863 and another school for daughters of notables in 1881.[79] The European school in Manado and the chiefly school in Tondano attracted indigenous notables from all over north Sulawesi. One could argue that the status differences among the European schools, mission schools, and village schools and their pupils were also replicated in the uplands. This is because village and supra-village elites likely attended government and missionary schools manned by European missionaries, while the commoners attended the village schools (*negorijscholen*) which were poorly funded.

That schools were not the primary venues for conversion, especially in the short-term, can be seen from the number of schoolchildren attending government and missionary schools in Minahasa in 1846 (see Appendix 4). The data show that the majority of pupils were pagans and that there were only four supervising (European) missionaries. Even the number of formally enrolled schoolchildren (4,368) appears low relative to the total population of Minahasa at the time, which was estimated at 91,664.[80] Although religious education was part of the curriculum in both government and missionary schools,[81] it was noted by the missionaries themselves that "many send their children to school not because of religion, but only to learn the Malay language, since that is the language of the government."[82] At times, the missionaries expressed their disappointment with the fact that within the native-run schools, pagan practices, such as the *fosso* (ritual feast), still persisted.[83]

The pioneer missionaries Riedel and Schwarz repeatedly expressed their disappointment with the progress of the schools. In the early years of his mission, Schwarz noted that the number of school-going children in Tompasso seemed to have decreased through time.[84] On his part, Riedel complained that although the colonial government wanted the children to attend schools,

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[79] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, Verbaal 11 July 1863, no. 1. Although its actual operation began only in 1865. See M. J. C. Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," *Archipel* 34 (1987): 137.

[80] See Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling Beschrijving der Onderscheidene landschappen uitmakende de Residentie Menado, aanwijzende de ligging, bevolking en het bestuur, benevens, de onderlinge verhouding dier landschap tot het Gouvernement, en voorstellen voor eene betere indeeling dezer Residentie.

[81] ANRI Manado, inv. 126, Letter of J. F. Riedel, J. G. Schwarz, Hermann, N. P. Wilken, Manado to RM, 6 February 1846.

[82] J. F. Riedel, 1840 cited in Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 113.

[83] Louwerier, "Tomohon (Minahassa)," 122.

[84] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 26, Vergadering 13 March 1839, Letter from J. G. Schwarz, 12.

there were no incentives or support from the government to encourage them to do so.[85] By the mid-1850s and amidst the flurry of conversions in Minahasa, the European missionary, N. P. Wilken, observed that the majority of school-going children remained pagans.[86]

2.2.2. Healing and medicine

If education was one pathway through which the missionaries approached the local population, healing was another path. To what extent was healing an effective method of converting masses of people? To begin with, healing and medicine were central to the early nineteenth century missionary enterprise. Schwarz and Riedel were especially tasked to help the "sickness of spirit and body"[87] and their training would have most likely included lessons on the rudiments of medicine. This training for colonial missionization was likely based on an emergent medical science that drew inspiration from previous European overseas (colonial) experience.

Thus, one of the instruction books that they likely studied was the *Medical Instructions for Missionaries on Surgery and Medicine for the Uncivilized Peoples (1800)*.[88] This is part of some of the earliest documents of the NZG archives and was used to teach future missionaries how to utilize healing as a tool for proselytization. The book was originally inspired by the experiences of Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (1747-1811), the main founder of the NZG[89] and a pioneer missionary in South Africa in the service of the London Missionary Society.[90] The book aimed to teach the techniques of treating wounds and potentially gain converts, as Kemp had focused on the casualties of "warring African tribes."[91]

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[85] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 1074, Kopieboek houdende samenvattingen van ingekomen brieven van zendelingen van het zendingsveld Celebes, 1835-1838, Letter from J. F. Riedel to NZG Bestuur from Tondano, 25 February 1835.
[86] HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6.
[87] Riedel, *Een levensbeeld uit de Minahasa op Celebes*, 12.
[88] The original title of which was: *Medische aanwijzingen voor zendelingen, "ten einde zich in het vak der Heel- en geneeskunde aangenaam te maken bij wilde of onbeschaafde volkeren tot dewelke zij gezonden zijn"* by G. van Hussen (1800). HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 704.
[89] Oosterwijk Bruyn, *Dr. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp: De Apostel van Zuid-Afrika*, 27; Berg, *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie: De scheuring in het Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap rond het midden van de Negentiende Eeuw*, 11.
[90] William M Freund, "The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony during the Batavian Period (1803-1806)," *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (October 1972): 640-43.
[91] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 704.

Another relevant instructional manual was a pharmacological guide or an enumeration of common household items and their uses for treating a variety of illnesses.[92]

The missionary act of providing physical relief from suffering as a strategy to conversion is central to evangelical pietism, the foundational ideology of the NZG which emphasizes the unity of the physical and spiritual aspects of human life.[93] Pietists believe that the human body and physical appearance are reflections of the "inner spirit."[94] However, a more historical reading would likely trace the nineteenth century missionaries' role as "pseudo-doctors" to the Company-period ministers (*predikant*). These ministers also supervised functionaries who served as "comforters of the sick" (*ziekentrooster)* and "visitors of the ill" (*krankbezoeker*).[95]

Armed with such foundational knowledge, missionaries in Minahasa set out to proselytize and practice rudimentary medical science. How successful were they?

The early missionary narratives, especially those written by J. G. Schwarz, are punctuated by stories of healing. One of the earliest entries in Schwarz's journal relates the attempted murder of a native woman by another woman who claimed to have been possessed by a spirit.[96] Schwarz's local informants thought that a malevolent spirit was dissatisfied with the manner in which a religious ritual (*fosso*) was performed, so the spirit possessed the murderer. Both the assailant and the victim received medical help from Schwarz and his wife. The assailant received *Haarlemmer olie* (herbal liniment) on her facial cuts.[97] Another entry in Schwarz's journal pertained to a man in Kakas who was severely injured while hunting wild animals. Using his operating scissors and knife, Schwarz successfully performed a surgical operation on the wounded man.[98] While these episodes did not lead to conversion, other medical interventions did.

Runtunuwu was a political figure in the village of Kawangan who was baptized by Schwarz as "Abraham" when he was in his sickbed.[99] Schwarz had been providing medicines to

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[92] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 706, ´Excerpten uit Christoph W. Hufeland , "Makrobiotiek, of de kunst om het leven te verlengen", met "huis- en reisapotheek", 1804.
[93] End, "Tweehonderd Jaar Nederlandse Zending: Een Overzicht," 2.
[94] Rita Smith Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 3 (August 2004): 617.
[95] NA VOC inv.1.04.02, no. 3597 (Ternate), 27-28.
[96] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 277.
[97] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1187, 8v; Ibid., 278.
[98] Ibid., 290-91.
[99] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 64.

the sick Runtunuwu, who renounced his pagan past. He declared that he had served the "devil" in the forest yet he had remained destitute, miserable, and sick. [100] Runtunuwu eventually recovered and distinguished himself as the only Christian among his peers.

A similar case was the conversion of Kelatto, an old religious specialist (*walian tulus*) from the district of Langowan. Kelatto had been a strong opponent of Schwarz's missionary activity, but he decided to convert after being struck by sickness and receiving medical visits from Schwarz. Kelatto ordered his son to inform Schwarz that he had disposed of his ritual altar and wanted to become a Christian.[101] Kellato openly renounced his pagan past and admitted that ritual *fosso* was "wrong." Schwarz baptized Kelatto, who then became known as "Martinus."

Notwithstanding these narratives, the conversion incidents appear to be very exceptional.[102] They exemplify rather than explain the few missionary successes. They were directed mainly to readers and (potential) missionary patrons in Europe. The converted Runtunuwu only succeeded in having a few peers converted,[103] while Kelatto was thought to have converted to achieve status equivalence with a rival chief who had previously converted.

The use of European medicines by Schwarz and his fellow missionaries was hardly a novel experience among the Minahasans, as they had been familiar with these medicines since Resident J. Wenzel brought and distributed smallpox vaccines as early as 1822.[104] However, unlike Schwarz's use of European medicines, this government-led redistribution of drugs was not coupled with missionization or religious conversion.

However, one could still argue that even though the missionary ventures in both education and healing were not particularly crucial to massive-scale conversions, they would have created an unmistakable imprint of novelty and efficacy that would have been attractive to the natives. These strategies might have been effective—at the very least, as a preliminary instrument to bridging the wide cultural gap between the Europeans and ordinary Minahasans—in the locality where the missionary worked.[105] However, any missionary gain would have been

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[100] Ibid.

[101] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 6 (1862): 370.

[102] "Leven en werkzaamheden van J. G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang," 60.

[103] Ibid., 73.

[104] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes," 481.

[105] See references on healing as a missionary strategy in north Sulawesi and elsewhere in Indonesia. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2838, C. W. L. M. Schroder, 5-6; Michael Coomans, *Evangelisatie en Kultuurverandering:*

limited given that "only 31 European missionaries were involved in the Christianization of Minahasa"[106] during a period that stretched roughly two to three generations.

Given these circumstances, what then explain the rapid and massive conversions to Christianity in Minahasa?

3. Colonial reforms: taxation, centralization, and conversion

Various scholars agree that the 1850s was a crucial decade in the Christianization of the region. They describe it as a period when "a sudden conversion to Christianity in huge parts of the population took place."[107] To be sure, the single mass conversion in the 1850s, which captured the interest of Dutch society in both the colony and the metropole,[108] was confined to only one district (Tonsea). It is believed that "between 1856 and 1859 the Christianized zone was extended dramatically to the north with the mass conversion of most of the Tonsea language speakers."[109] Additionally, in a relatively short period of time in 1857 it is estimated that 10,000 Minahasans converted.[110] By 1860 "57 percent of the population had already embraced Christianity."[111]

While there is consensus on the importance of the 1850s, the reasons for such conversions vary. One reason offered is that it was the "political punishment" levied by the colonial state on the Minahasans if they were resistant to the missions.[112] However, most reasons refer back to the argument espoused by Kurt Tauchmann that the "outlawing of extravagant [ritual] feasting," which was central to the indigenous belief, ultimately led to the "destruction" of the old religion.[113] Christianity, therefore, was the "only possible way to fill a religious

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Onderzoek naar de verhouding tussen de Evangelisatie en de socio-Kulturele veranderingen in de adat van de Dajaks van Oost-Kalimantan (Bisdom Samarinda) Indonesië (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1980), 217.

[106] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*, 56.

[107] Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," 312.

[108] See the *Bataviaasch Handelsblad* (1862); Koloniaal Verslag over 1857, 32.

[109] Henley, *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*, 53.

[110] Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," 603.

[111] M. J. C. Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia " in *In Permanent Transit: Discourses and Maps of the Intercultural Experience*, ed. Clara Sarmento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 216.

[112] Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development," 311.

[113] See Kurt Tauchmann, "Die Religion Der Minahasa-StäMme (Nordost-Celebes/Sulawesi)" (Universitat zu Köln, 1968). See also, Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 108; Kipp, "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?," 614.

vacuum."[114] Schouten refers to a "cultural disorientation" and to "schooling and conversion" as social adaptations to ongoing "social and economic distress."[115] These arguments echo the earlier view of A. C. Kruyt, a pioneer missionary in Central Sulawesi in the early twentieth century, who believed that the conversion of pagan Torajans occurred because

> [s]piritually they became uncertain, because the religious rites which for generations they had performed to invoke strength and success in their conflict with nature, had been taken away from them. In their uncertainty, the people turned to the missionaries, whom they knew were kindly disposed towards them and who spoke their language and knew their adat. [116]

If the testimony of a ranking Minahasan chief is to be believed, actually there was no government prohibition of traditional religious feasts as such. Rather, anyone intending to sponsor a traditional ceremony simply had to ask permission from the government-backed district chief (*hukum besar*) before doing so.[117]

To attribute the mass conversion to missionaries alone also seems highly improbable. This is because there was only one (European) missionary assigned to the entire district with a population of at least 13,000.[118] In the entire Minahasa at the time, there were only eight European missionaries and a few more low-ranking church functionaries.[119]

In spite of these facts, data from missionary sources show that in Tomohon—well outside the Tonsea district where the mass conversion took place—similar spikes in the number of converts were recorded from the late 1840s onwards (see Chart 3.1). That this trend was not an anomaly is evidenced in the missionary data for the entire region (see Chart 3.2).

What then was happening in Minahasa during this period?

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[114] Helmut Buchholt, "The Impact of the Christian Mission on Processes of Social Differentiation," in *Continuity, Change and Aspirations: Social and Cultural Life in Minahasa, Indonesia*, ed. H. Buchholt and Ulrich Mai (Singapore: ISEAS, 1996), 15.

[115] Schouten, "Minahasa (North Sulawesi): The 'Success Story' of Dutch Colonialism in Indonesia ", 216-217.

[116] Albert C. Kruyt, "The Influence of Western Civilisation on the Inhabitants of Poso (Central Celebes)," in *The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, ed. B. Schrieke (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1929), 6. It most likely—and ultimately—draws inspiration from the writings of the sociologist Max Weber who believed that religious conversion was a result of "disenchantment" with the modern world. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York The Free Press, 1947).

[117] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

[118] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 1846.

[119] "Almanak en naam-register van Nederlandsch-Indië," (Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, 1854), 239.

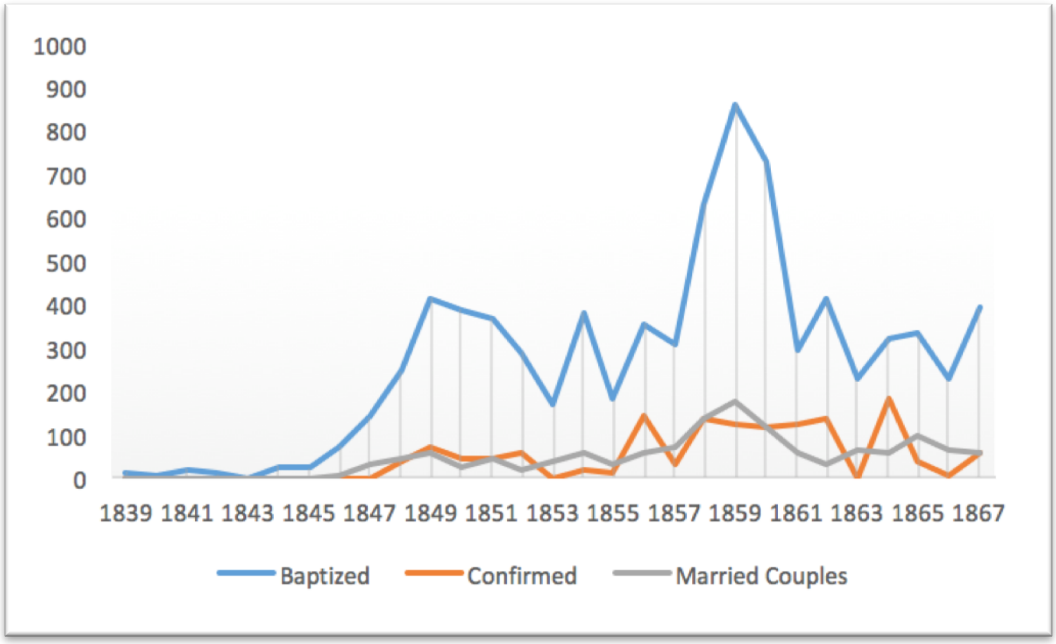

Chart 3.1.
Converts and confirmed members in and around Tomohon, 1839-1867[120]

[120] Includes Tomohon and the villages of Tataaran, Rurukan, Pangolambian, Kembes, Sarongsong, Lahendong, Tondango, Tinaras, Kakaskassen, Lotta, Koka, Kayawu, and Tinoor. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1201, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 23 May 1867.

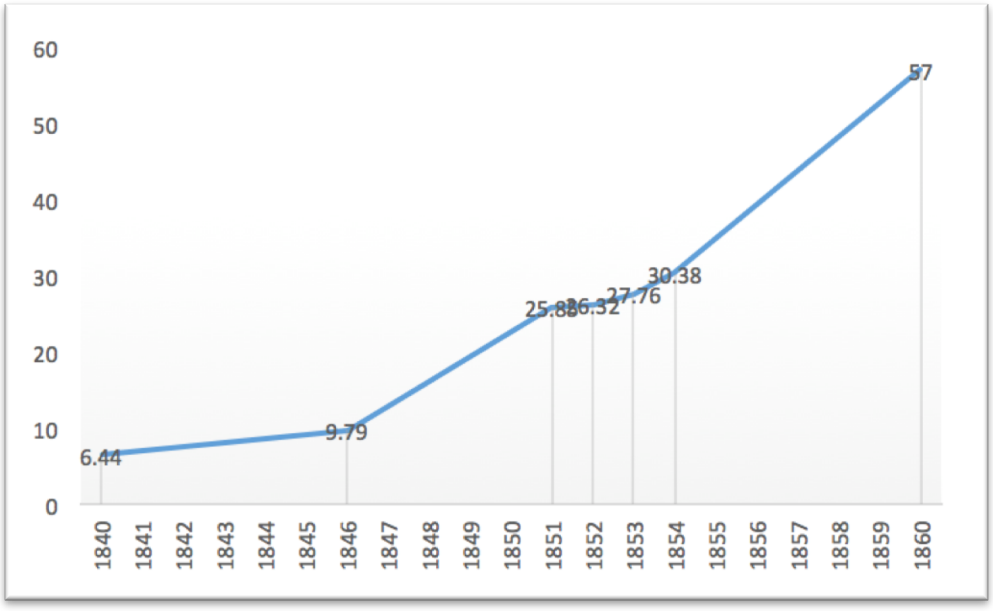

Chart 3.2.
Percentage of baptized Minahasan Christians relative to the total population, 1840-1854[121]

3.1. Early liberal reforms

It is interesting to note that these conversions coincided with the increasing commercialization and monetarization of the Minahasan economy. Schouten observes that "gradually, from the 1850s on, a monetary economy was taking root, though in differing degrees for different geographical zones and categories of people."[122] She attributes this monetary economy to such developments as "the introduction of wages for the transport of coffee, and a steady growth in the number of indigenous civil servants, teachers and craftsmen."[123] In addition, and perhaps more crucially, the growth of a monetary economy appeared more closely tied with the monetarization of rice and coffee exchanges, and the imposition of household-based monetary taxation.

[121] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 1846; ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854; David Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 201 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005), 170; D. F. W. Pietermaat, "Statistieke aantekeningen over de Residentie Menado," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 3, no. 1 (1840): 153; Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 108.
[122] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 65.
[123] Ibid.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, circulation of money in the region remained rather limited. While silver monies entered neighboring Gorontalo as payment by the government to obligatory gold deliveries, they nevertheless ended up with the "raja of the Bugis."[124] In the1820s Minahasa, copper coins (*duiten*) were used only in the marketplaces found in Manado and Kema, while barter exchanges prevailed for markets in Tondano and Kakas.[125] In the initial years of the compulsory crop cultivation and deliveries, both coffee and rice were paid by the government through textiles, notably through blue and white *salemporis*.[126] By 1825, however, coffee was usually paid in cash by the government[127] albeit at fixed and submarket prices.[128] Rice remained largely remunerated through textiles. This situation created not only an undesirable glut in textiles in Minahasa[129] but also discontent, since "most natives prefer to choose their cloths for themselves"[130] from those offered by private traders who had "a wider assortment of textiles than the government warehouses."[131] One could surmise that on the whole, such a redistributive system severely constrained the economic opportunities and choices of ordinary Minahasans.

The tribute of rice, for instance, became a heavy economic burden for many in times of poor harvest. Such was the case in the 1840s when the inhabitants of Tonsea had to acquire expensive rice from places far away from their villages in order to fulfill tributary obligations to their *hukum besar*, who in turn profited enormously by re-selling it at much higher prices.[132] To

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[124] It is like a case that illustrates "Gresham's law," an early modern economic theory that states that "bad money" without or little inherent commodity value displaces "good money" in this case, silver. KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, p. 6 Algemeen verslag afdeeling Gorontalo…1838, 1839, 1840, Scherius, Civiele Gezaghebber van Gorontalo, May 1840, 16.

[125] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, p. 35 Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.

[126] Pietermaat, "Statistieke Aantekeningen over De Residentie Menado," 100.

[127] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 353.

[128] In 1840, each *pikol* (125 pounds) of coffee was paid by the government *f* 15. Pietermaat, "Statistieke Aantekeningen over De Residentie Menado," 139.

[129] See Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*.

[130] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 353. Henley quotes the Resident of Manado in his letter to the Directeur's Lands Producten Batavia, see ANRI Manado inv. 78.

[131] Ibid.

[132] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging van eenige kwaadwillige onruststokers dat de bevolking van Tonsea in 5 a 6 jaren geene behoorlijke rijsttuinen heeft gehad, dat zij gebrek lijdt ten gevolge van mijn slecht bestuur zoodat het distrikt Tonsea ten achteren is in welvaart, O. J. Pelenkahu.

ease this market distortion, the liberal-minded Resident van Olpen allowed, for the first time, those who were incapable of delivering unhusked rice (*beras*) the possibility of paying *f* 1 *recepis* (copper certificates).[133] These *recepis*, equivalent to 120 *duiten*, were legal tender devised by the colonial government and they were the *de facto* substitutes for the perennially scarce copper coins.[134]

In fact, as early as 1844 Van Olpen had planned to entirely abolish the "rice-for-textile" system in favor of the government paying *f* .70 for each *gantang* (or 56 doits per *koyang*) of rice.[135] While one could assume that monetary payments for rice was already occurring in some parts of Minahasa prior to van Olpen's tenure, it was only in 1852 that obligatory rice deliveries were effectively abolished in exchange for a monetary tax of *f* 5.

It is telling that it was during the tenure of the reformist Resident van Olpen (1843-1849) when the initial surge of Christian conversions in the entire Minahasa which intensified in the 1850s took place. Although the European missionaries were openly antagonistic to van Olpen's secularist policy, the influential missionary N. P. Wilken wrote that "it is exactly during his administration that the desire to become Christian arose in the entire region."[136] However, while Wilken attributes such "awakening" to the people's supposed counter-reaction to van Olpen's ambivalence, if not their open resistance to Christian mission, it is more likely attendant on the Resident's unprecedented liberal policies.

Van Olpen did not only pave the way for the monetarization of rice exchange in selected parts of Minahasa,[137] but he also decreed after the devastating earthquake of 1845 that small family houses be built instead of traditional multiple-family ones.[138] It was during his time that Kema and Manado were declared free ports and foreigners (specifically Chinese and Arabs)

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[133] See Willem Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," in *Money in Asia (1200-1900): Small Currencies in Social and Political Contexts*, ed. Jane Kate Leonard and Ulrich Theobald (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

[134] Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Linking Two Debates: Money Supply, Wage Labour, and Economic Development in Java in the Nineteenth Century," in *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jan Lucassen (Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang, 2007), 183.

[135] ANRI Gouvernements Besluit 9 January 1846 no. 1.

[136] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 5.

[137] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging van eenige kwaadwillige onruststokers dat de bevolking van Tonsea in 5 a 6 jaren geene behoorlijke rijsttuinen heeft gehad, dat zij gebrek lijdt ten gevolge van mijn slecht bestuur zoodat het distrikt Tonsea ten achteren is in welvaart, OJ Pelenkahu.

[138] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N.P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo.1.

were officially recognized as "legitimate traders" and residents of Manado.[139] Although van Olpen's tenure was cut short in 1849, the reforms he began were continued with even greater speed by one of his successors, A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1959).

How exactly did these economic reforms relate to religious conversions?

3.2. Jansen's reforms: centralization and conversion

Resident Jansen's administration was a watershed in many ways. It was during his time that monetary taxation was implemented. It also witnessed an accelerated and irreversible trend towards Christian conversions. One could assume that even without Jansen's aggressive policy, conversions would have occurred anyway. This is suggested by the upward trend in the data. However, a key fact is difficult to ignore. From a little over five percent of the population registered as "Christians" in 1840 the figure rose to about 57 percent by the end of Jansen's regime.[140]

This section illustrates how the political and economic policies of Resident Jansen had the net effect of subverting local chiefly rule. This in turn opened the opportunity for many to become Christians and become affiliated with an institution that was closely related with and even promoted by the most dominant power in the Indonesian islands.

An acute observation of Minahasan society in the aftermath of drastic reforms comes from M. W. Scheltema, a *commissaris* sent by higher authorities in Batavia in 1862 to investigate the reported "lack of material and spiritual advance" in Minahasa.[141] Scheltema found "increasingly more people wandering around" because of the tax payment that had made them "indebted to their chiefs and to the Government."[142] He also noted that "the indigenous chiefs have no authority and the European administration, without any grip." He contrasted the

[139] NA MvK inv. 2.10.01, no. 2710, 8 September 1848. The presence of the Chinese and Arab traders in the region, of course, preceded the "legality" of their presence in Manado.
[140] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 216.
[141] Scheltema replaced Tutein Noltenhuis who died and who had originally received the commission from Batavia. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur Generaal van Nederlandsch Indie, Buitenzorg 24 December 1862.
[142] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.

Minahasan chiefs' lack of "palpable authority" to the supposed "magical hold" of the Javanese chiefs over their subjects.[143]

The majority of those "wanderers" were very likely young men who not only found themselves indebted through taxation but also at once free to roam around and transfer residences.[144] This was a phenomenon unique to the period. Contemporaneous with the imposition of monetary taxation was the exemption of taxable men[145] from the rule prohibiting the transfer of residences, which had been in effect since the 1820s.[146] As one missionary declared, the "Alfurs are [now] freer [to move]."[147]

While the overriding reason for Minahasans to transfer abode remained economic in nature, one striking missing feature of the 1850s migrations—compared with earlier ones—was the absence of quarelling village chiefs with mutually overlapping claims on the migrants. This suggests the predominance of the state authority which could subvert local chiefly interests in favor of broader fiscal and governmental goals. However, how did the colonial state commercialize the economy and centralize authority?

3.2.1. Opening the economy

The growth of a commercial economy in general and the increasing use of money in particular likely accelerated during the tenure of Resident A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). He was a staunch advocate of monetary taxation in the broader region.[148] Resident Jansen decreed the establishment of a permanent marketplace and mandated the provision of monetary wages for workers who transported coffee from the uplands to the coast.[149] He promoted rice irrigation[150]

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[143] Ibid.
[144] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage Tot De Kennis Van Noord-Selebes," 480.
[147] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.
[148] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon. This system of taxation is reminiscent of the *tributo* system in the Spanish Philippines from 1560s to 1884—a 'tax system based directly on adult individuals' whose 'primary aim…was symbolic though it did have a modest economic component as well…' The absence of such direct monetary taxation in many parts of early modern eastern Indonesia might provide clues to the late expansion of centralized states closely identified with a single religious tradition (vis-à-vis Catholic expansion in the Philippines). See Bruce Cruikshank, "Silver in the Provinces: A Critique of the Classic View of Philippine Economic History in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 36 (2008): 127.
[149] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 4.

and he was the first resident to require an annual written assessment of rice harvests from each indigenous district chief (*hukum besar*)[151] for an effective oversight of production. He also actively encouraged the cultivation of tobacco,[152] nutmeg,[153] Manila hemp (*koffo*),[154] cacao,[155] mulberry tree (for silk),[156] maize,[157] and especially coffee in specific parts of the Residency which were deemed suitable for such cash crops. With taxation and rapid commercialization, it is no surprise that under his watch, the Residency achieved a favorable "credit balance" for the first time.[158]

One sign of an expanding economy is the need for more specie. In 1854 the Netherlands Indies government—aiming to manage and control the increasingly monetarized colony—introduced standardized copper coins[159] to replace the old doits, which likely referred either to Dutch-minted coins from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries or to the so-called *kupang cinci* or Chinese copper coins.[160]

Although colonial policy-makers probably had a commercializing Java in mind, there is reason to suppose that the demand for coins was partly driven by north Sulawesi, given the spectacular success of the compulsory coffee cultivation in the region. Even so, the preference for old doits in north Sulawesi—as in Java[161]— likely continued. J. G. F. Riedel observed in the 1860s that in neighboring Mongondow, old doits were still "highly desired" as a "medium of

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[150] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 56.

[151] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De beschuldiging dat ik de padie, welke de bevolking van Tonsea jaarlijks uit hare tuinen verkreeg opzettelijk te hoog zou hebben doen opgeven, O. J. Pelenkahu.

[152] ANRI Manado inv. 13, no. 4, Resident Jansen to the Opziener van Kema, 22 October 1853, no. 571.

[153] ANRI Manado inv. 13, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1854.

[154] Ibid.

[155] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, Verhaal naar Bolang Oeki, 19 Jan 1867, Sonder, N. P. Wilken and J. A. T. Schwarz, 11.

[156] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken 4 February 1868, 8.

[157] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 66.

[158] Ibid., 54.

[159] Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," 133.

[160] The term "*kupang cinci*[n]" or ring copper coin was used in the treaty of between the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow and the Company in 1733 which mentions that the raja could pay his debt through "*amas* [gold], *kupang cinci* [ring copper coins], or laskar [slaves]." ANRI Manado inv. 65, no. 1, Contract with Regent [Pangulu] Marcus Manoppo, 30 October 1733.

[161] Wolters, "The 'Doit Infestation in Java': Exchange Rates between Silver and Copper Coins in Netherlands India N the Period 1816-1854," 134.

exchange."[162] The continued popularity of the old doits in north Sulawesi and indeed elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago points to the failure of a "monetary regime" based on standardized coins minted at the behest of the colonial government. Such popularity also indicates the existence, perhaps even the fluorescence, of the "shadow" economic connections that linked north Sulawesi to other parts of the archipelago—Singapore in particular—where the old doits remained a currency of importance.[163] However, the overall economic expansion as suggested by the need for specie could not fully materialize without the cooperation of a segment of the indigenous elite.

3.2.2. Co-opting the chiefs

Resident Jansen—following classic imperial strategy—sought to streamline and underpin the authority of a small group of select chiefs, while reducing the power of a much larger group of other less favored chiefs. He buttressed the authority of the district chiefs (*hukum besar*) against whom there were frequent complaints from their claimed subjects and chiefly peers. Jansen believed that such complaints were "done only to display their [rhetorical] talent"[164] and threatened to punish those found guilty of false accusations.[165] He broke the former seven districts of Minahasa into 27, thereby decreasing the geographic and demographic reach of the *hukum besar*.[166] As a counterbalance, he sought to reaffirm the status difference of chiefs and to "increase their prestige in the eyes of their subordinates." He also suggested a distinguishing costume for the chiefs alongside a parasol.[167]

Jansen's centralizing measures were so dramatic that for many years after his tenure, his name still "rings even in the most remote villages."[168] Until the 1890s, officials in Dutch colonial circles remembered Jansen's time as a "regime more severe" than the comparable instance of

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[162] J. G. F. Riedel, "Het Landschap Bolaang Mongondow," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 13 (1864): 283.
[163] John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade* (London and Calcutta: Wm. H. Allen and W. Thacker, 1836), 317.
[164] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Riedel, "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes," 552, note 1.
[167] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 4554, Verbaal 10 March 1892, Letter of GG [Pijnacker Hordijk] to MvK, 15 September 1891.
[168] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.

centralization they were witnessing at that time.[169] Jansen intervened in local affairs at critical moments and demonstrated sheer authority. He recapitulated the earlier regulation prohibiting the construction of traditionally elevated Minahasan houses.[170] He also strongly urged the planting of new coffee trees despite a raging epidemic in 1854.

The highly ambitious[171] Resident demonstrated a draconian approach to administration that "kept the population under control," perhaps because of the potential incendiary effect of his economic and political reforms. As a colonial official suggested much later with a degree of exaggeration, during Jansen's time "people had no time to object. All men had and learned to work. He [Jansen] animated the *controleurs* (low ranking colonial officials) and supported the chiefs."[172] One missionary also noted that at the time "an uprising among the Minahasans would be natural, were it not for their internal dissension."[173]

However, the chiefs themselves—once recognized as part of the Dutch-sanctioned political hierarchy—became generally invested in the expansion of colonial rule. They could advance their own economic agenda using the authority of the colonial state, which in turn rewarded chiefs who could muster command of their respective subordinates. Chiefs who wished to be in "Resident Jansen's good books" were said to have even illicitly augmented the number of taxable individuals by including even adolescent boys.[174] They received a percentage (*f* 1 of *f* 5) of monetary taxation in addition to a fixed commission for every *pikol* of coffee delivered by their subordinates.[175] By relying on a pre-determined income from taxation and commission, the chiefs effectively became salaried local agents of the colonial state.[176]

This emergent political-economic system inevitably clashed with the traditional chiefly system still prevalent on the local level at the time. The economy that underpinned traditional

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[169] Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 134.
[170] Paul Richard Renwarin, "Matuari and Tona'as: The Cultural Dynamics of the Tombulu in Minahasa" (PhD. Dissertation, Leiden University, 2006), 107.
[171] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 8. la. C. 2) Gouverneur, Gouvernement Celebes en Onderhoorigheden (1860, 1861), Kommandeur, Spaansche Orde van Isabella la Catholica (1861); Kommandeur, Orde van de Eikenkroon (1861)
[172] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.
[173] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 72.
[174] Jansen decreed that men of at least 20 years old were liable to taxation. But as one missionary noted, "children" as young as sixteen were taxed by unscrupulous chiefs. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo.1.
[175] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856.
[176] Specifically dealing on this phenomenon, see M. J. C. Schouten, "De veranderende positie van het walakhoofd in de Minahasa gedurende de 19e eeuw" (Vrije Universiteit, 1978).

rule was a system of tribute and preferential trade that mostly benefitted the local chief, himself the most important trader. Tributes and gifts were also given by the local people to the chief on different pagan ceremonies related to the harvest cycle, such as the opening of fields for cultivation.[177] As revealed by a *hukum besar* himself, the "material benefits" of the large religio-communal gatherings (*fosso*) "proceed to the ruling chiefs in association with the most senior *walians* (religious leaders)."[178]

The state policy of monetary taxation did not discriminate, at least in theory, between chiefs and subjects, since everyone was obliged to pay the same amount. The competitive ritual feasting that re-affirmed or created chiefly status was effectively countered by the creation of a state-backed indigenous hierarchy that eventually became almost hereditary.[179] Most importantly, the extracted productive surplus—increasingly in the form of money— was exclusively directed as compensation to the relatively small of group of chiefs who gathered taxes for the state. These chiefs became self-vested in expanding the political and fiscal powers of the state.

The increasingly commercialized economy amid the growing presence of state power tended to weaken local chiefly rule. In turn, the weakened local rule created conditions favorable for the development of new social affiliations beyond the constrictive confines of the village.

3.2.3. Conversion as centralization

Religious conversions in the 1850s can be viewed as an event in which the interests of various actors aligned: missionaries, ordinary Minahasans, various local chiefs,[180] and the colonial Resident. While the interest of the missionaries to convert seemed self-evident, the motivations of the latter three actors in conversion appeared less discernible. This section argues that the government-appointed chiefs and the Resident likely shared the common interest of centralizing authority and economic expansion, which in turn induced and enabled the natives' interest in economic and political autonomy from the constraints of local chiefly rule. That all

[177] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, 4 February 1868, 8.
[178] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. .J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[179] See Schouten, "De veranderende positie van het walakhoofd in de Minahasa gedurende de 19e eeuw."
[180] Most of the *hukum besar* at this time were young and had been used to the presence of the colonial state. They were all likely educated by the missionaries. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6

these interests became embedded within the dominant language of conversion is hardly surprising. After all, the traditional authority of the local chiefs over their subordinates extended not only to political and economic matters but also social and religious concerns.

From the outset, Jansen declared that "Christian faith and education diminish the respect of the population towards their chiefs; and [they] thus develop a sense of equality."[181] Jansen's view on religion, Christianity in particular, as a tool of social progress dovetailed exactly with his argument for the moral imperative of colonial rule. Writing to his superior, Jansen argued for a greater governmental presence in north Sulawesi for the "higher moral and social development" of its people.[182] Notably, he considered the "moral and material progress" of the Indies through "the establishment and expansion of colonial rule, education, [etc.]" and through the "Indies' peoples' own initiatives" as more important than the planned, government-led sending of Chinese and European permanent settlers or "colonists" in north Sulawesi.[183] Jansen's seeming preoccupation with the "moral" was also reflected in his opinion on the teaching of the Dutch language to the Minahasans. Jansen wrote that it is "good" from the "perspective of morality" but not from the 'view of politics'.[184]

Jansen's coupling of "modern" colonial governance with religion and religious conversion ran counter to earlier and even later official views on Christianity. For instance, the Governor of Moluccas, J. B. de Cleerens (van Olpen's direct superior), thought that Christianity would only engender laziness and "aversion to hard work."[185] On the contrary, Jansen believed that Christianizing the population while "professionalizing" the native chiefly offices[186] was a pathway to effective and, by extension, profitable colonial rule. The case of Tonsea concretely illustrates this conflation of Christianization and centralization.[187]

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[181] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[182] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[183] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1857.
[184] Ibid.
[185] NA MvK 2.10.02, no. 701, 14 April 1858, no. 2 (Schoolwezen), Report of Schools in R. Menado and Gorontalo Letter of the Resident of Menado, Andriessen, 28 July 1853, citing the letter of Gov. Cleerens, Moluksche Eilanden,14 July 1848, no. 18, 10-11.
[186] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Algemeen Verslag 1853.
[187] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

Sometime in 1855, the Resident—accompanied by the Christian *hukum besar* of Tonsea, O. J. Pelenkahu—visited the village of Sawangan (Tonsea) for census-taking in connection with the recently imposed monetary tax. Their visit coincided with a 13-day *fosso* (religious celebration) sponsored by pagan chiefs who were indifferent or hostile to the new regulation. Jansen was reportedly displeased to witness the event, so he decided to "investigate all districts of Minahasa" and "effectuate a [relevant] regulation in consultation with the [high-ranking] chiefs." He supposedly ordered that no *fosso* be held unless it was done "with the knowledge of the district chief"—Pelenkahu himself.[188]

This delegated authority strengthened Pelenkahu's position vis-à-vis competing chiefs. For instance, a likely pagan chief from another distinguished family named Hanok Wenas[189] sponsored a *fosso* without informing Pelenkahu. As a result, Wenas was arrested and imprisoned for three days under Pelenkahu's order.[190]

Pelenkahu's strengthened position allowed him to subvert the subaltern chiefs and extract taxation in kind or cash. He came to possess authority over 22 village chiefs (*hukum tua*) and other subaltern chiefs (*kepala jaga*) who were tasked with assessing the rice harvest in different villages.[191] He established a rice market in the uplands (Airmadidi) that brought convenience to the general populace who previously had to travel long distances to reach the market along the coast (Kema).[192] By doing so, he effectively circumvented the subaltern chiefs who earned from the arbitrage of rice between the uplands and the coast.

Although there was monetary taxation in place, Pelenkahu still demanded actual rice from his subjects,[193] especially during times when the selling price of rice along the coastal port exceeded the value of rice equivalent to monetary tax (*f* 1). This was likely the case during the

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[188] Ibid.

[189] The family name, Wenas, likely originated from Wenas Lumanaw, a chief of the village of Tonsea in the early eighteenth century. KITLV H 1890, Stukken afkomstig van de familie Doutoulong, Tonsea, 1770-1897, Stukken over erfenissen, eigenaarschap eiland Lembeh en andere documenten Extract Resolutie in Raade van Politie te Ternate 27 February 1770, Translation of the Malay letter of Xaverius Dotulong.

[190] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.

[191] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De beschuldiging dat ik de padie, welke de bevolking van Tonsea jaarlijks uit hare tuinen verkreeg opzettelijk te hoog zou hebben doen opgeven, O. J. Pelenkahu.

[192] Ibid.

[193] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, De zaak betreffende, het dapoer geld en de beschuldiging, dat ik de lieden zou gedwongen hebben, die in rijst te betalen, ten einde die rijst met voordeel te kunnen verkoopen, O. J. Pelenkahu.

disastrous year of 1857 when a rodent infestation and a long dry season took a heavy toll on rice production. With decreased supply, the selling price of rice increased. It was precisely during that year when Pelenkahu was accused of prohibiting his subjects to sell their rice to outsiders[194] and expropriating the rice as taxation but eventually selling it for his own profit. He was also accused—probably with good reason—of exempting some subjects from monetary taxation and using his position to grant political favors.[195]

In this way, Pelenkahu accomplished what Jansen had vowed to achieve by himself at the beginning of his tenure—"to prohibit the chiefs to trade in order to supplement their own income because it is not advantageous to the government and also the people."[196] Through the authority vested upon him by the colonial state, Pelenkahu was able to undercut the "embedded authority" (political, economic, and religious) of other competing chiefs. In his own words, "the *walians* could not anymore levy the people with *fosso* and profit from others."[197] With Pelenkahu's palpable authority and the weakened authority of competing chiefs, around 5,000 inhabitants of Tonsea declared their intention to become Christians when the missionary, F. H. Linneman, visited the region around April-May 1857.[198] It is perhaps not a coincidence that this was exactly the period when the rice harvest was destroyed by disasters and when Pelenkahu sought—and perhaps likely established—control of the selling of rice to the coast.

On the whole, and despite Pelenkahu's own attempts to distort the market in his favor, the years following Pelenkahu's and Jansen's respective tenures saw an "increase of rice production."[199] This could be attributed to the creation of markets and the more efficient interconnections between existing ones. Such increased productivity was especially true for Likupang, Tonsea, and Klabat-di-atas—regions that witnessed Pelenkahu's centralizing efforts and notably, the much-cited mass conversions. [200]

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[194] Ibid.
[195] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1859.
[196] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854.
[197] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[198] Ibid.
[199] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken, Tomohon 15 October 1862.
[200] Ibid.

3.2.4. Resistance and attraction

Elsewhere in the Residency, Jansen continued his Christianization policy with the outright destruction of objects and disapproval of practices identified with the traditional Minahasan religion. He prohibited the ancient practice of burying the dead around the communal (*kalekaran*) houses.[201] He approved the destruction of a "pagan house" (likely a *kalekaran*) in Kakas and replaced it with a community church.[202] He ordered the demolition of large multiple-family houses of the Bantik people as well as pile houses "decorated with pagan symbols" in Tonsawang, Pasan, and Ratahan.[203]

Jansen encouraged the building of churches and mission schools in Tanawangko, Tomohon, and Sarongsong.[204] He also likely endorsed the sending of three Minahasans to study in the Netherlands between 1854 to 1860.[205] Furthermore, despite the missionaries' complaint that "there are still many pagan practices" Jansen argued that it would "take time before such practices vanish," citing as an example the persistence of pre-Columbian religion in contemporaneous Mexico.[206]

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[201] ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Afgaande Brieven Manado 3de kwaartal, 29 Aug 1857, no. 865 to the Controleurs of Menado, Kema, Tondano, Amurang and Belang.

[202] J. G. F Brumund, "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragment mijner reize door de Minahassa," *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 2, no. 2 (1856): 275.

[203] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854. Although one source says that the last episode of headhunting in Minahasa was in 1862. Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 93, note 149.

[204] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, NP Wilken 4 February 1868, 8.

[205] Ratu Langie, "Het Minahassisch Ideaal," 35.

[206] He was referring to the travel and work of Ampere in Mexico. See Jean-Jacques Ampère, *Promenade en AméRique : ÉTats-Unis, Cuba, Mexique*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1856). ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.

Figure 3.2
Church in Tomohon, c. 1850[207] (KITLV Image Repository)

Like Pelenkahu, most of the *hukum besar* were supportive of these changes.[208] By the 1850s most of the highest-ranking chiefs were not only Christians but also "younger men" who were said to be "different from the older chiefs."[209] These younger chiefs, Pelenkahu included, would have been born or grown up in the political and economic context of direct colonial rule underpinned by the system of compulsory deliveries and with little or no memory of the older Minahasan political system. They would also have been likely educated in the missionary schools in the district center or perhaps even in Manado. As such, for this younger generation of chiefs it was easier to conceive of their political edge over potentially competing chiefs by riding on Jansen's Christianization *cum* centralization project.

[207] KITLV Image repository 36D817.
[208] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.
[209] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, 6.

However, there were exceptions. The chiefs of Bantik, Tonsawang, Tombariri, and Belang were unsupportive, at least initially, of Jansen's reforms.[210] The most notable opponent of Christianization was H. W. Dotulong, the *hukum majoor* of Sonder (1824-1861). Dotulong was of the "old mold" who had risen to power long before the drastic commercialization and political centralization of the 1840s-50s. He had been the leader of the 1,400-strong Minahasan mercenaries sent by the Dutch to fight Prince Diponegoro during the Java War (1825-1830).[211]

Long before the 1850s, Dotulong had been notorious among missionary circles for preventing Christianity in his district. The pioneer missionary Schwarz noted that "out of self-interest [Dotulong] obstructs the Christianization of his subordinates rather than encouraging it."[212] Dotulong did not see his political ascendancy as being tied to his promotion of Christianity as the younger chiefs like Pelenkahu did. This is because Dotulong's political authority had already been cemented after his participation in the Java War.

Dotulong publicly declared that "he does not fancy all those fine things of enlightenment and civilization."[213] Paradoxically, his actions conveyed a self-conscious projection of cosmopolitanism as reflected in "the way he furnished his house, his conversation in Malay, and his table manners when he received European guests."[214] Dotulong—likely possessing a similar sentiment with other chiefs—feared that mass conversion to Christianity could bring about the loss of his status difference with his subjects. He vehemently opposed the building of a school in his district, and only after his subjects planned to send their children to the nearby district did he relent.[215] This was because, Schouten argues, Dotulong was "motivated by envy and anxiety at the thought of losing control over the inhabitants of that village."[216] One form of such control was Dotulong's constant affirmation of his higher relative status vis-à-vis his "subjects."

Without the colonial state constraining of chiefs like Dotulong and without the increasingly commercialized market that connected Dotulong's subjects with the outside world, the eventual transgression of Dotulong's authority by his claimed subjects would not have been possible. Chiefly intransigence would have been rife because conversion to Christianity not only

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[210] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven RM 1st quarter 1854, Manado 20 Feb 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.
[211] Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 124.
[212] Ibid., *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 103.
[213] Ibid., 102.
[214] Ibid., 101.
[215] Ibid., 103.
[216] Ibid.

meant status equivalence but also loss of material benefits. It meant—at least and especially during the time of Resident Jansen—the prohibition to participate in or sponsor traditional rituals that "are very [economically] advantageous for the chiefs."[217]

Escape from the often oppressive local chiefly authority was probably a major driving force for ordinary Minahasans to convert. Pelenkahu notes that people "understand that Christianity is not like 'paganism' that requires remarkable offerings like the *fosso*."[218] These competitive rituals not only enhanced the status of the feast-givers.[219] The outcomes of these *fosso* signified which chief was the most influential and had the most following, and consequently to whom (later) tributes should flow.

However, the state authority made these rituals irrelevant as chiefly offices became stable. Taxation also made everyone—chiefs and subjects alike—indebted to the state. Furthermore, colonial regulations set a limit on the number of days when chiefs could call upon their subjects for unpaid labor, thereby likely freeing—albeit partly—some manpower time for the wage labor outside the village.

These essentially political reforms were not often carried out under the banner of Christianization. The reforms also fundamentally weakened the authority of the local chief. For example, when a communal house (*kalakeran*) in Tomohon—a symbol of the "embedded authority" of the chief—was demolished to make way for a church, the natives were expected to express their satisfaction. This is because with the church, "everyone 'big or small people' could enter, unlike before with the *kalakeran* only chiefs could enter."[220]

Colonial officials did not always regard conversion positively. For instance, Resident C. J. Bosch (1861-1862) considered Christianization as having a detrimental influence on the Minahasan people's productivity in that "there was little work done" in the fields, especially on coffee plantations[221] Bosch saw injustice, among others, in the unpaid work rendered by the Minahasans for building the colonial officials' residences, government warehouses, and

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[217] Ibid. See also on the chiefly advantages regarding tributes from pagans, Mailrapport 1891, Geruchten over gedwongen bekering tot het christendom bij het Bantikkers res. Menado, 935+, Letter of the Res of Men, Stakman to the GG 23 Oct 1891.
[218] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5969 [Kabinetsverbaal] 14 June 1864 V5, Aangaande de beschuldiging dat ik mijne onderhoorigen zou gedwongen hebben de christelijke godsdienst te omhelzen, O. J. Pelenkahu, Manado 18 January 1862.
[219] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 171.
[220] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, ca. 1854, fo. 5.
[221] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 3 March 1862.

especially Christian churches and schools.[222] Perhaps, more crucially, Bosch was critical of what he viewed as "communalism" in Minahasa.[223] One form of the "communalism" which Bosch likely had in mind was the church gatherings that blended Christianization with socialization. However, European missionaries insisted on the importance of such social gatherings and "more free time" for the natives[224] as a major path to Christianize the people.

In Minahasa, and indeed in other parts of the archipelago where there were Christian missions,[225] missionaries often clashed—at times even astringently—with secular authorities (European and local) to preserve Sunday as a church *cum* community day.[226] Numerous Minahasans already had to spend days on end in far-flung coffee plantations in relative isolation.[227] Work on coffee fields from plucking to the delivery of dried coffee beans was notably not done as a community but as a small family.[228] For the many Minahasans who converted, the church likely became a locus for the community albeit without the baggage of the traditional political and economic structure of the village. Even until the contemporary times, harvest festivities traditionally held in pre-Christian villages continued to be celebrated, but with the church as the venue.[229]

In addition to the advantageous affiliation to a community, Christianity likely also symbolized an accessible aspirational social identity—or at least seemingly so—to ordinary Minahasan uplanders. It has been observed for instance that in the mid-nineteenth century Manado, there existed a marked social distinction between the long-Christianized lowlanders—the *orang bebas* (lit. free person) and the likely pagan *orang negri* (lit. village person).[230] The former group, which likely included or perhaps were even comprised mostly by the *borgo* (European and mixed settler) population, notably enjoyed various privileges which were denied

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[222] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politiek Verslag 1862.
[223] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5922 [Geheim Verbaal], 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 August 1862.
[224] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 6.
[225] Joost Cote, *Colonising Poso: The Diary of Controleur Emile GobéE, June 1909-May 1910*, Working Paper 128 (Victoria: Monash University Press, 2007), 15-16.
[226] On Sangir, see NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1257, 3 November 1862, no. 25, Letter of E. Steller, Manganitu 22 April 1862; on Minahasa, see HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 4 February 1868.
[227] See Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility.*
[228] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, Tomohon, 30 January 1856, fo. 3.
[229] Fentje Eliezer Palit, "Christianity as a Socio-Cultural Identity: A Study on the Minahasan Communities," in *Working Papers on Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1999), 18.
[230] Dik van der Meulen, *Multatuli: leven en werk van Eduard Douwes Dekker* (Nijmegen: Sun, 2002), 244.

the latter group. Conversion to Christianity and especially the "liberation" from local chiefly rule attendant to it were likely crucial steps toward that aspirational social standing.

4. **Concluding remarks**

This chapter explains the rapid and mass conversions in Minahasa by focusing on the consequences of the political and economic reforms of the mid-nineteenth century. While there was likely a widely-shared desire among the populace to become Christian, traditional chiefly authority prevented mass conversions. This was evident in the attitude of the *hukum major* of Sonder, H. W. Dotulong, who prevented his claimed constituents to convert. Since the Company times, Christianity likely functioned to distinguish and legitimize the aspiring chiefly elite. As such, sharing Christian identity with the lower orders diluted the elite's claims to social superiority.

This chapter argues that the mass conversions in Minahasa in the mid-nineteenth century should be attributed to the breakdown of local chiefly authority which tended to loosen the bond between the chiefs and their subjects. This loosening of bonds was precipitated by an expanding commercial economy that initially became noticeable in the 1840s, but flourished more intensely in the 1850s due to direct political interference. The most important of these political interventions that led to commercialization was the intertwined policy of abolition of the "rice-for-textile" system and the imposition of monetary poll taxation.

This chapter suggests that the wide-ranging centralizing policy of Resident Jansen (1853-1859) not only expedited the commercialization of the Minahasan uplands, but sped up its development as well. During Jansen's tenure as Resident, he oversaw the initial years of monetary taxation that coerced Minahasans to find money in the increasingly and perhaps rapidly marketizing society. He streamlined local chiefly authority and sought to confine the local chiefs in the separate sphere of "politics" and "governance," thus moving them away from their traditional role as traders. Taken as a whole, these policies tended to reduce the ordinary Minahasans' economic dependence on their chiefs who had lost their preferential access to trade.

Jansen's drastic political and economic policies were notably implemented alongside the rhetoric of "Christianization." For Jansen, these policies were manifested by the destruction of structures and paraphernalia associated with the old "Minahasan religion" and the vigorous

support for Christian missions. Yet, it is very likely that Jansen's undermining of the local chiefly authority and commercializing the economy—more than any of those highly symbolic destruction of "pagan" structures—contributed crucially to his vision of a Christianized Minahasa.

The case of O. J. Pelenkahu exemplifies the active and key participation of chiefs in Jansen's agenda. Pelenkahu knew that cooperation with the Dutch was the primary and perhaps the only sustainable way to maintain chiefly ascendancy amid the notoriously fierce intra-elite competition. Thus, he ably used the authority emanating from the Dutch to centralize his own local chiefly authority. Riding on the back of and being ultimately supported by the colonial state, Pelenkahu successfully undercut the authority of other chiefs. Following Jansen's initiative, Pelenkahu introduced various political and especially economic reforms, such as cash-crop cultivation and efficient rice markets. On the whole, these reforms tended to circumvent traditional chiefly intermediaries and undercut the economic basis of local chiefly power. For Pelenkahu, as for Jansen, the promotion of Christianity seems to have served as a shorthand for these political and economic reforms—an expedient strategy to gain political legitimacy amid rapid social transformations.

These political and economic reforms were, as whole and perhaps arguably, a boon for the majority of the Minahasans. Not only were they liberated from the economic dependence and political patronage of "oppressive" chiefs, they were also exposed uninhibitedly to the socially-prestigious Christian religion. While individual chiefly intransigence to Christian schools persisted, as the case of Dotulong shows, the over-arching authority of the colonial state offered a powerful counterbalance to any chiefly excesses.

The following chapters on Bolaang-Mongondow and Sangir-Talaud explore how religious affiliations came to be configured in settings where social variables differed from that of Minahasa. In Bolaang-Mongondow, the colonial state imposed monetary taxation at around the same time as in Minahasa, although it notably refrained from promoting Christianity. In Sangir-Talaud, the state promoted Christianity but without any substantial colonial interference, particularly the imposition of monetary taxation in view of commercialization.

To what extent then was the Minahasan pattern of Christianization—underpinned by a politically-driven commercialization that led to the weakening of the dependence of ordinary

Minahasans on their (subordinate) chiefs—mirrored in the contiguous regions of Bolaang-Mongondow and Sangir-Talaud?

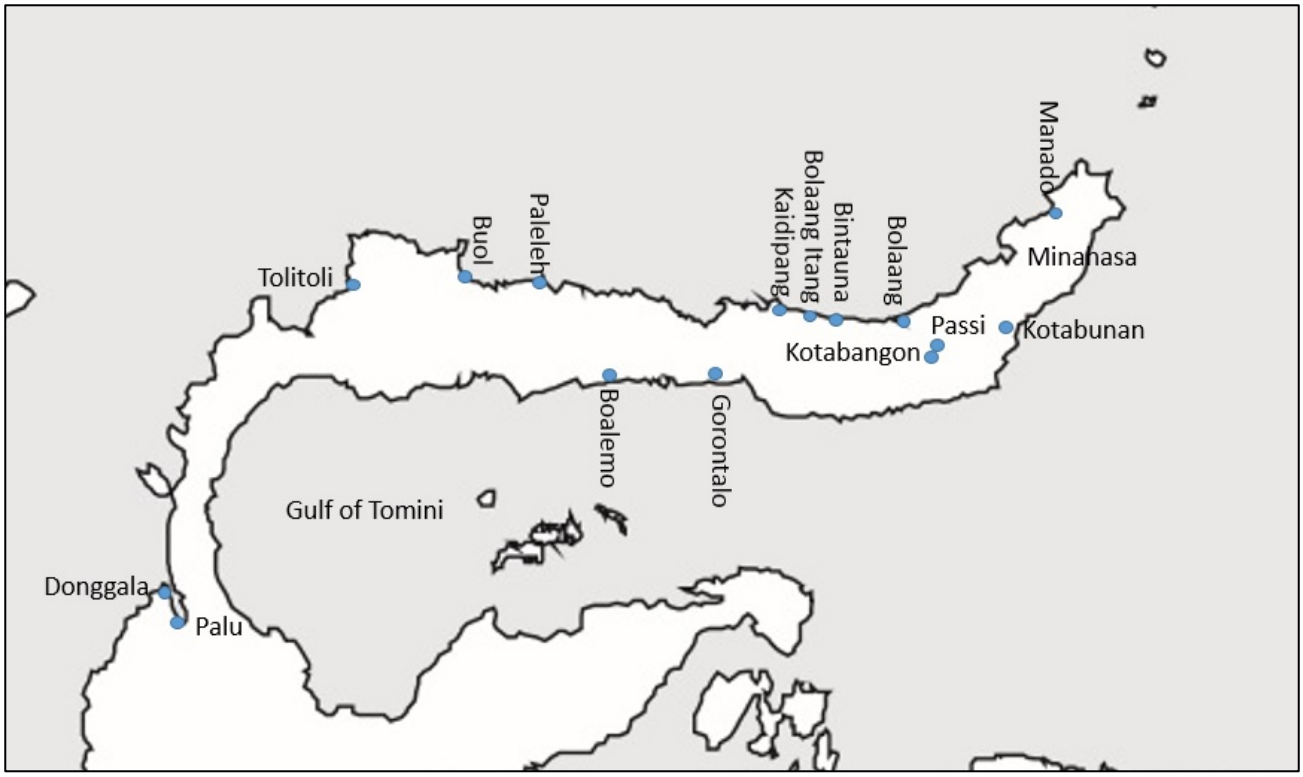
CHAPTER 4
Islamization in Bolaang-Mongondow

This chapter explores the causation of conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow. It argues that colonial state centralization through the imposition of monetary and census-based taxes *(hasil*) was the main driving force for the first-recorded and perhaps most crucial mass conversions to Islam in the densely populated highlands (Mongondow).

Although references to earlier elite and non-elite conversions to Islam exist, they appear to be few and isolated. Islam—like Christianity before it—seems to have functioned initially as an elite instrument to connect with influential foreign figures and to differentiate the elite from the rest of the population. For example, the unprecedented authority accorded by the colonial state to the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow in the 1850s allowed him to circumvent his peers. He promoted Islamic conversions at the same time that he was instituting monetary taxation. His policy tended to undercut the political, economic, and religious dominance of his peers by becoming the supreme leader—the sultan—of Bolaang-Mongondow's by then Islamized peoples.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections emphasize that Christianity, and later Islam, tended to be absorbed by long-existing hierarchies based on kinship and status. This might explain why Christianity was limited to the political class and why there was a seeming late reception to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow despite the increasing Islamic resurgence in the broader region from the late eighteenth century onwards.

The third section revisits the existing literature's account of the conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow. It focuses on the colonial policies around the 1850s, which ultimately sought to centralize colonial rule and resulted in aiding the Islamization of Bolaang-Mongondow. While in the previous decades—indeed centuries—religion seems to have been subverted by hierarchical regimes based on family, Islam provided a language for the raja to consolidate his rule and subvert competing claims to authority ultimately based on descent.



Map 4
Map of the northern arm of Sulawesi

1. Christianity and the Dutch East India Company

Before its Islamization, Bolaang-Mongondow belonged to one of the many Christian polities of north Sulawesi (see Map 4). From the late seventeenth until the early nineteenth centuries, all its rajas publicly professed the religion of the Dutch East India Company. Despite the long period of formal adherence to Christianity, the Christian religion seems to have been confined to the narrow coast of north Sulawesi and had not penetrated the populous interior. Exposure was limited to the political class.

Conversion to Protestant Christianity was a precondition to rule. It affirmed not only the legitimacy of a raja, but also secured the continued existence of his polity as an independent entity.[1] It protected the realm against the possible incursions of hostile forces in the region

[1] ANRI Manado inv. 65, no. 1, Contract between Marcus Manoppo and the VOC, 30 October 1773, "Fatsal yang kadalapan: Salagi oleh Panghoeloe tiada akan boleh mengambel istrinya atauw dikawinkan kaffir, melainkan dengan orang sabagitoe jang ada masaranij Christahon jang ada sasoengoe dan benar." In Dutch, the original reads as: "Wijders en zal de Regent niet vermogen een onchristen tot zijn gemalinne te nemen of trouwen, maar alleen

(notably the Bugis, Mandarese, Maguindanao, and Sulu). It also assured the elite's status difference from, and dominance over, their subjects as well as their horizontal equivalence with neighboring ruling families.

The rajas were required to welcome the very occasional visit of the head pastor (*predikant*) of Ternate and to provide provisions for a school and a locally hired (usually Malukan) religious teacher. The rajas and others from the ruling class were taught formal Malay and the basics of Christianity by the teacher (*schoolmeester*).[2] Classes were small and often subject to criticism by the visiting *predikant* for their supposed benightedness.[3]

The teaching of Malay was probably the most important role of these teachers.[4] Malay enabled the rajas to communicate with Company officials. After a century of Christian missionary presence, however, the Resident reports in 1833 stated that in Bolaang-Mongondow neither the "raja nor the other chiefs could read or write."[5] Even after the political elite's conversion to Islam, the schoolteacher remained in the *kerajaan*'s service, not for any religious purpose but for rather mundane clerical tasks.[6] On behalf of his illiterate clients, the schoolteacher wrote letters of reply to colonial authorities.[7] He also wrote the letters of chiefs

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zodanig ene die van de Christelijke gereformeerde religie zij." (Article 8: The chief is not allowed to have a non-Christian wife; he is only allowed to marry someone from the [Dutch] Reformed religion).

[2] For good material that reflects on what could have transpired in north Sulawesi during the period of the Dutch East India Company, see Enklaar, *Joseph Kam: "Apostel der Molukken."*

[3] For an accessible account of one these visits see, J. E. Heeres, "Bouwstoffen voor de Nederlandsch-Indische Kerkgeschiedenis," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap; bijdragen tot de kennis der zending en der taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* 45, (1901). A rich and yet to be exploited source publication is Niemeijer et al., *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1698-1791.*

[4] These teachers—with long genealogies going back to the times of the Company and not merely to the colonial period—should be given due acknowledgment for their spread of "a form of Malay as a supra-local language of administration and education." Benedict R. Anderson, "Nationalism and Cultural Survival in Our Time: A Sketch," in *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*, ed. Bartholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 178.

[5] This observation was likewise applicable to neighboring Bintauna.

[6] As Teh-Gallop remarks, "In the pre-modern Malay world—as in many other cultures—literacy was by no means assured amongst the ruling classes, and hence it was not the tradition for Malay letters to be signed." Annabel Teh Gallop, *The Legacy of the Malay Letter/ Warisan Warkah Melayu* (London: British Library, 1994), 55.

[7] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Verslag van de rijkjes en negorijen ten westen van Manado gelegen, Resident Pietermaat, 31 December 1833. Indeed (official) Malay was not always at the ruler's ready disposal. In early eighteenth century (1705) Maguindanao, despite being one of the few notable polities that remained autonomous after the region's "age of commerce" the ruling sultan excused himself for addressing the Company in the Spanish language. He complained that his trusted scribes did not understand Malay. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8074 Ternate, 1; ANRI VOC Hoge Regering, inv. 2527, 810.

complaining against each other and seeking arbitration for the resolution of these complaints from Manado.

An instructive, though not always reliable, sign of conversion was the adoption of a Christian (Dutch) name.[8] All rajas from the late seventeenth century carried a Christian name (for example, Cornelis, Johannes, Eugenius, Christoffel, etc.), a practice that continued after conversion to Islam and indeed well into the twentieth century. The rajas all came from the extended Manoppo family whose upland base was the village of Kotabangon[9] and who also maintained a royal house in the coastal port of Bolaang. The next ranking chiefs almost always carried the family names of Damopolii and Mokoagow.[10] These high-ranking leaders also carried Christian names.

A letter signed by the prominent village and district chiefs of Mongondow in 1865 provides clues into the pattern of Christian conversion a century earlier. [11] Of the 25 signatories, only six possessed a double name (with a Christian first name and a local family name): the four highest-ranking chiefs—raja, *jogugu*, president raja, and *kapitan laut*— and one *kapitan-raja* and the scribe. The rest did not have Christian names. The chiefs of the upland (Motoboi, Passi, Lolayan, etc.) only had indigenous names.[12] Those who had Christian names were only those

[8] For a brief discussion on this topic albeit on the modern period, see Joel Kuipers, "Personal Names and Changing Modes of Inscribing Identity in Sumba, Eastern Indonesia: 'Bloody Thursday' in Linguistic and Social Contexts," in *Personal Names in Asia: History, Culture and Identity*, ed. Zheng Yangwen and Charles J-H Macdonald, 175-198 (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010).

[9] The name, Kotabangon, seems to denote either the location where an important settlement was founded (*bangon* means "to establish" in Mongondorese) or as the geographic nucleus of the most important family in Mongondow (in Maranao for instance, *bangon* means the extended family house composed of "five or more nuclear families […] who contribute for the brideprice or receive it in turn, or organize retaliatory action in cases of injury, [living] under one roof, but eating separately"). W. Dunnebier, *Bolaang Mongondowsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951), 31; David B. Baradas, "Maranao Law: A Study of Conflict and Its Resolution in a Multicentric Power System," 6th Annual Seminar on Islam in the Philippines and Asia (Ateneo de Davao College, Davao City: Ateneo de Davao College and Mindanao State University, 1973), 311-312. Kotabangon is also the name given to the upland base of the ruler of Samarinda (Borneo). R. Broersma, *Handel en bedrijf in Zuid- en Oost-Borneo* ('s-Gravenhage: G. Naeff, 1927), 169.

[10] That particular positions are reserved to specific families is not distinct to Bolaang-Mongondow. In Ternate, the position immediately below the raja (that is, the *gugugu*) had long been reserved to members of the *soa (*village/family) of Marsaoli, at least up to 1976. Ch. F. van Fraassen, "Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel van soa-organisatie en vierdeling: een studie van traditionele samenleving en cultuur in Indonesië, Deel 2" (PhD. dissertation, Leiden University, 1987), 53.

[11] ANRI Besluit GG, 19 August 1868 no. 14, Inilah disampejkan baserta hormath kapada Bangsawang Toewan jang moelija Resident Menado, Bil. 80, Soesongan Ampat.

[12] For instance: Paputungan, Tontuli, Bantaya, Bukut, Ponubu, Umbola, Daun, etc.

chiefs who lived along the coast and those who occupied relatively high positions in the hierarchy of the *kerajaan*. This suggests that even elite conversions were confined to the uppermost layer of chiefs.

Political loyalty to and support from the Company usually coincided with being Christian. Individuals who defied the authority of the coastal Christian raja—and by extension, the authority of the Company—were likely upland animists. In 1749, a certain *sadaha* (chief) of Mongondow named Yanbat united his fellow Mongondorese, who were likely pagan, to resist Company demands for gold tribute. He was likely more powerful than the Christian raja of Bolaang under whose authority the entire upland officially belonged, albeit in name only.[13] The Company knew that force was necessary to counter the power of Yanbat, but it was unprepared to launch an expensive and risky campaign in the upland. Instead, the Company decided to designate a new, hopefully more influential, Christian chief from the Manoppo family to which the deposed raja belonged.[14]

Conversion to Christianity by the chief and his people could also be described as a reification or formalization of patron-client bonds. In exchange for political and economic loyalty, the previously Muslim chief of Bintauna was acknowledged in the 1760s as a Christian raja who possessed an autonomous polity by his own right. While the people of the new polity originated from the Muslim-ruled Gorontalo, they eventually settled in a region ruled by the Christian raja of Bolaang-Mongondow.[15] The Raja of Bintauna, henceforth the "Regent of Bintauna Christians," eventually came to occupy a more favored political position vis-à-vis the then still animist Minahasans.[16]

Because exchanges—material or otherwise—between the local rulers and the Company always occurred through maritime channels, it was only beneficial to the Company when client-rulers settled along the coast. When the raja of Bolaang, Eugenius Manoppo, expressed his desire to transfer his residence to the interior, the Company refused because a coastal base was "convenient for gold procurement."[17]

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[13] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8119, Missive door den aantredende en afgaande Gouverneur Blokland en Mijlendonk benevens den raad in Ternaten, 20 August 1749, 41-42.
[14] Ibid.
[15] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8136 Kopie-missiven en -rapporten ingekomen bij gouverneur-generaal en raden uit Ternate, Letter of H. Munnik and Council to Batavia, July 1768, 15.
[16] Ibid.
[17] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8136, Letter of H. Munnik and Council to Batavia, July 1768, Ternate, 12.

In the late eighteenth century until the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, the privileges traditionally attached to Christianity faded gradually. Commerce under the banner of Islam gained increasing importance as the dominance of the Christian Company declined steadily. The feared "encroachment" of Muslim traders, often referred to in the sources as "pirates," became a reality. Islam began its seemingly natural but uneven expansion into the region's Christianized enclaves.

2. Maritime Islam, family alliances, and the Dutch

One of the earliest—if not the first—references to elite conversion to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow was the marriage between Raja Cornelis Manoppo's daughter named Putri Sarah[18] and an Arab named Syarif Aluwi in 1832.[19] Some nineteenth century colonial observers pointed out that it marked the beginning of the area's Islamization. [20] Yet, a key detail seems to have been left out in the orthodox narrative[21]—Syarif Aluwi did not stay in Bolaang. The Arab merchant—likely related to the few but influential Arabs in the region—left for Singapore after refusing to pay the bride price demanded by the *kerajaan*'s second-in-command (*jogugu*) on behalf of the raja's family.[22] Syarif Aluwi eventually settled and died in Donggala. [23]

The absence of Syarif Aluwi in the aristocratic genealogies of Bolaang-Mongondow is striking. One of the extant ruler genealogies (see Figure 4.1) even omits any mention of the marriage between Syarif Aluwi and Putri Sarah. Instead, it highlights the ties of the Mongondow elite with powerful families in neighboring settlements, such as the Christianized Pontos from Siau and the animist Mokogintas from Passi. Unlike many royal genealogies (*silsilah*) in the Malay world, that of Bolaang-Mongondow and other Muslim polities in north Sulawesi seem to

[18] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 277.
[19] Various references point to 1832 as the year of their marriage. This could have been so, but Cornelis Manoppo no longer ruled Bolaang. As early as 1823, it was already Jacobus Manoppo who was recognized as the ruler. See his letter Bolaang, 9 Ag 1829 to RM Wenzel, ANRI Manado 15. 1.
[20] See Het Utrechts Archief (HUA) Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) 1102-1, 1221, 25; Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow"; R. P. Notosoesanto, "Bolaäng Mongondow," *Koloniale Studien*, (1933).
[21] Kosel, "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion," 52.
[22] The *jogugu* was the "most important chief after the raja" but according to tradition, "could not be raja himself." He often served as the raja's envoy to other chiefs. Dunnebier, *Bolaang Mongondowsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, 89.
[23] See HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 25.

be devoid of ascribed sacral qualities.[24] It suggests perhaps that the ruling elite was not as interested in claiming sacral legitimacy from a revered outsider or the religion he represented, as in assuring that indigenous allies (and likely foes) did not "fade into genealogical irrelevance."[25]

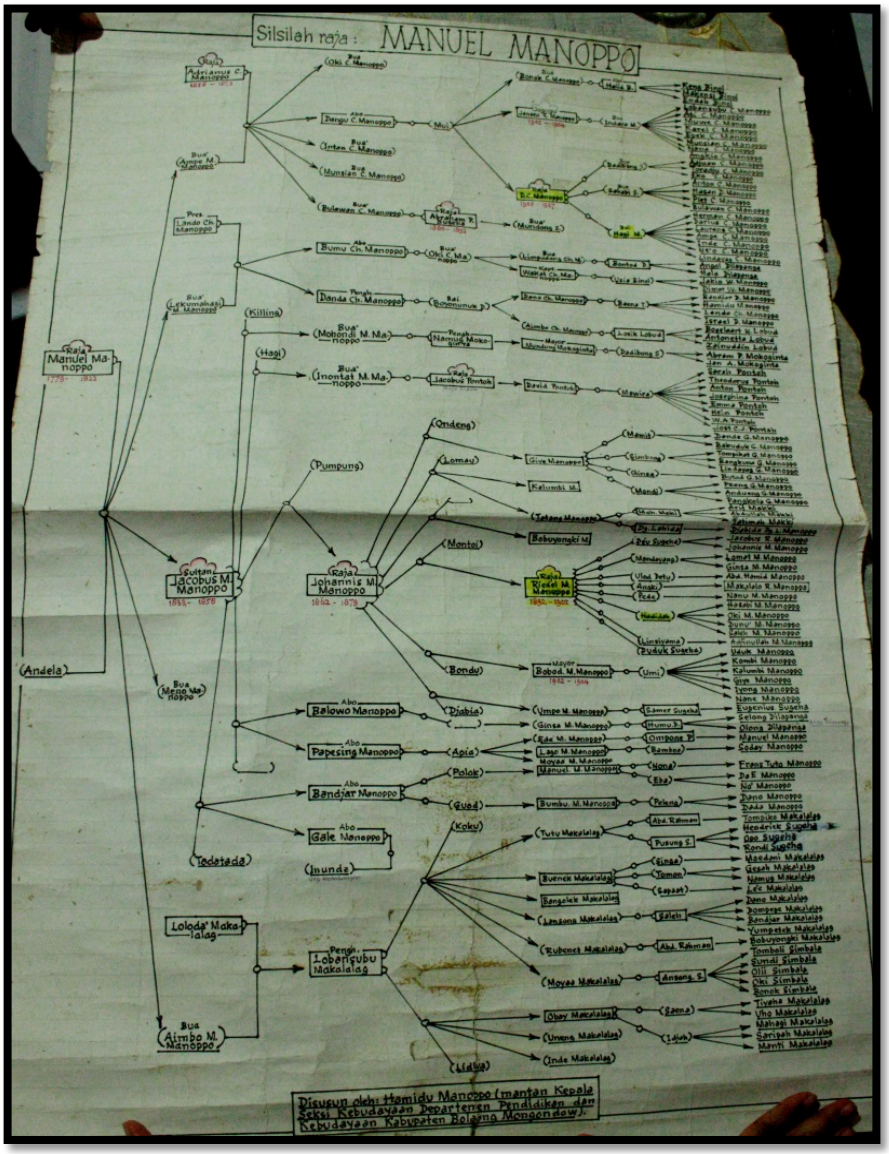

Figure 4.1. A genealogy of Bolaang-Mongondow chiefs (owned by Mr. Ferry Manoppo, Desa Ambang Satu, 2013)

[24] Fritz Schulze, *Abstammung und Islamisierung als Motive der Herrschaftslegitimation in der traditionellen malaiischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Brend Nothofer, Mathias Diederich, and Fritz Schulze, Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 37.
[25] William Cummings, "Re-Evaluating State, Society and the Dynamics of Expansion in Precolonial Gowa," in *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia*, ed. Geoff Wade (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 217.

The conspicuous absence of Syarif Aluwi's marriage to Putri Sarah in the local histories of Bolaang-Mongondow indeed contrasts with the prominence of foreign (usually of Arab descent) figures in the narratives of Islamization in other parts of the region.[26]

The above section illustrates that the reception of Islam in north Sulawesi lagged behind that of other areas in the Indonesian archipelago. This lag can be explained by the Dutch East India Company's long-lasting influence in north Sulawesi. However, it can also be attributed to the likely absorption of Islam into the older and deeper regime of kinship networks and hierarchies that had long underpinned the authority of the region's political elite. As such, conversions would have been limited largely to the elites who regarded Islam as a mark of differentiation between themselves and their subjects and as a resource to compete with other elites for power, status, and position in a manner not dissimilar to their use of Christianity in earlier times. The next sections explore this idea.

2.1. Islam and the Dutch

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, Dutch East India Company functionaries pondered on possible scenarios once the financially troubled Company withdrew from the region.

> If this Residency [Manado] were to be dissolved, the entire coast of Sulawesi from Makassar to Manado would be open to the enemies. The piratical Maguindanao, Ilanun, Tidung and Berau would arrive once they know of the Company's withdrawal. From their own swampy and infertile lands they would come to these fertile and gold-rich coasts. Meanwhile the Alfurs [upland animists][27] of this region will retreat again to the uplands where their forefathers had lived for centuries. Otherwise they would become slaves to these pirates.[28]

In addition, the Sangir islands and those under the rule of Ternate would also not be "spared by the Maguindanao, Tidung and Ilanun" because of their abundance of sea-worthy timber. Also, Gorontalo and Minahasa, whose various chiefs had enjoyed Company protection

[26] See for instance the stories of Islamization of Brunei, Sulu and Mindanao.

[27] For a contextualization of the term, *alfur*, see Gene Moore, "Who are the Alfuros?," *Conradiana* 39, no. 3 (2007). This is the origin of the still-current Tagalog term, *alipores*, meaning henchmen. It probably originated from the Ternatan slaves brought to Luzon by the Spaniards after their defeat by the Dutch in the 1670s. For an introductory history, see Esteban A De Ocampo, *The Ternateños: Their History, Language, Customs, and Traditions* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).

[28] NA Comité Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88 (1794-1795).

and legitimation in exchange for gold or rice trade monopolies, "were to be conquered by the Mandar, Bugis and Parigi peoples."[29] Although these predictions did not materialize, they hint at what were then real possibilities. The decline of the Dutch East India Company broadened the economic space for greater participation by groups like the Bugis and Iranun, who were less organized but as ambitious as the Company.

The closing decades of the eighteenth century have been characterized both as a period of the Company's decline and the rise of indigenous commerce (which included practices that were regarded as acts of "piracy") in the Indonesian archipelago.[30] The growth of the archipelago's economy during these decades reflected a movement from a first stage—what Reid calls an "Age of Commerce"—to a "second stage of trade expansion."[31] The first stage, as mentioned above, saw the decline of the Dutch East India Company and the rise of indigenous commerce while the second stage saw the entrance of the Dutch colonial state as a major economic player. Earlier studies of increasing trade connectivity often reduce them to the restrictive trope of piracy bereft of any shared supra-local affiliation beyond the family[32] while Islam is generally seen as having little or no role in the economic growth of the period.

However, records from the Dutch East India archives show not only a growing concern with "piracy" but also with Islam. In 1769, the Company discovered that two Tombelo children were studying Islam in Maguindanao. The Tombelo chief, Marapati, who was the father of one

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[29] The Mandar and Bugis traders—often accused by the Company of engaging in predatory raids, cheating, and opium-addiction—occupied key settlements along the Tomini gulf. NA Comité Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88 (1794-1795).

[30] Leonard Blussé, "Changes of Regime and Colonial State Formation in the Malay Archipelago, 1780-1830--an Invitation to an International Project" (ARI Working Paper No. 41: Asia Research Institute -Singapore: 2005); Anthony Reid, "Global and Local in Southeast Asian History," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004). For detailed studies of specific regions in Indonesia, Muridan Widjojo, *The Revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-cultural Alliance-making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); Atsushi Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten, 1750-1830* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). These changes were not in any way confined to Southeast Asia, see Alicia Schrikker, *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815: Expansion and Reform* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007).

[31] Reid, "Global and Local in Southeast Asian History."

[32] See, for instance, Teddy Sim, *Piracy and Surreptitious Activities in the Malay Archipelago and Adjacent Seas, 1600-1840* (Singapore: Springer, 2014); Adrian B. Lapian, *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, Raja Laut: Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2009); James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981); Joseph N. F. M. a Campo, "Discourse without Discussion: Representations of Piracy in Colonial Indonesia 1816-25," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2003); G. Teitler, A. M. C. van Dissel, and J. N. F. M. a Campo, *Zeeroof en zeeroofbestrijding in de Indische archipel (19de eeuw)* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2005).

of the children, had to reassure the Company that he was a Christian and to pretend that the children had been brought to Maguindanao without his knowledge by a brother-in-law who lived in Sulu.[33] However, it was very likely that Marapati consented to his child's education in Maguindanao, perhaps because he was aware of an able Islamic religious teacher living there—Abdul Majid Mindanawi, a *Shafiite* teacher who had written an introductory theological treatise while in Aceh[34] perhaps when he was returning to his Mindanao homeland.[35]

However, one could argue that the spread of Islam in north Sulawesi—especially in the extreme north-western coast—had started much earlier. In 1724 a Dutch *predikant*, Dominicus Sell, lamented that in Buol and various places along the north Sulawesi coast, several women had become Muslims through marriage with Maguindanao, Mandar, and Tolitoli men. He complained further that the Company-backed Christian raja of Kaidipang had permitted the daughter of his *jogugu* (the chief who served as the raja's second in-command) to marry and openly live with a Muslim man from Kaili.[36] However, such occurrences were stopped by the permanent presence of a Dutch outpost in the region.

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[33] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8137 (Ternate), Letter of Gov of Ternate Hermannus Munink to Gov Gen Albertus van der Parra, May 1770, 35-36. For the Company, a *leenman* (vassal) establishing close relations with the Maguindanaos was greatly alarming. The Maguindanaos had been long represented the unpacifiable Muslim "other." Robertus Padtbrugge described them as "*wargeesten, herdtvechtige moorsche papen, schijnheilige in haar godsdienst, en in der daat heijmelijke stokebranden als meede menige Chineesche…*" (*troublemakers, heartless Moorish papists, and indeed clandestine provocateurs in the same way as many Chinese)* [ANRI Ternate inv. 69, 154-155. A 1699 Company mission to Maguindanao described the people as *"t hier alle menschen eters en moordenaars zijn*" (*here are many cannibals and murderers)*. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 1637, 101. They have also been described as "*...een volk, dat niet te betrouwen is, daaronder doorgaans eenige hartneckige Moorse papen en heymelyke stoockebranden en verspreiders." (a people that is untrustworthy, among whom are usually some obstinate Moorish papists and clandestine provocateurs),* Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. 2, no. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 46. In the 1760s, the Maguindanaos launched daring expeditions in the Company's northernmost territories (the Sangir archipelago) propelled by the increasing commercial traffic with China and aided by the British presence in nearby Sulu.

[34] Midori Kawashima and Oman Fathurahman, "Islamic Manuscripts of Southern Philippines: A Research Note with Descriptions of Three Manuscripts," *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 29, (2011): 254. Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1970), 136-147. In the same year as sending the Tombelo children for religious studies, the Maguindanaos were also planning to invade Sangir and to install a captive Sangirese prince (Hendrik Paparang) as their own vassal chief in Siau. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3277 (Ternate), Secrete Missive from the Gov of Ternate (H. Munnik and Council) to Batavia (Albertus van der Parra), 25 July 1769, 8.

[35] That said, the children carried the Bugis aristocratic title *Daeng*—their names being Daeng Manaku and Daeng Waru—arguably pointing to Marapati's putative familial relations with the Bugis. NA VOC 8137 Ternate, Raad van Politie, 16 August 1769, 108.

[36] Niemeijer et al., *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1698-1791*. Rapport

At the height of the Company's influence in the region during the eighteenth century, a formidable string of outposts dotted the north Sulawesi peninsula. The muster-roll of 1,742 shows that the Company stationed 16 personnel, mostly soldiers, in Buol and seven in Tolitoli.[37] The *predikant* from Ternate, who occasionally visited north Sulawesi, noted the presence of a Christian community but often lamented the "deficiency" in numbers and "quality."[38] Because Christianity was broadly considered as an *agama kumpeni* (the Company's religion), it follows that its reach extended (only) as far as Company influence.[39] In the context of early modern north Sulawesi, that influence extended only to the uppermost layer of local society, the raja and his family in particular.

With the decline of the Company in the later eighteenth century, chiefs who professed Christianity likewise experienced weakened political influence. What has been described in the context of Sangir in the 1780s as Christian communities "almost completely disappeared after much [missionary] labor in the earlier period"[40] is true for the western end of north Sulawesi as well. In the 1760s, the "legitimate" Christian chief of Buol, Markus Ponto, complained of "disobedience" among his supposedly Muslim subaltern chiefs.[41] By 1781, the paramount chief of Buol was not a Christian but a Muslim with an explicitly Islamic name: Muhammad Syarafudin, also known as Balamogila. He was known to have completed a pilgrimage to Mecca.[42] Despite the clear preference of the Company for a Christian vassal, Muhammad Syarafudin was eventually confirmed as chief, although he took his oath with the Quran.[43]

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betreffende een visitatie van kerken en scholen in Noord-Sulawesi en de Sangihe-Talaud Archipel, Ds. Dominicus Sell, 1 November 1724, 153.

[37] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8144 (1742), 207-212.

[38] See for instance, Niemeijer et al., *Bronnen betreffende Kerk en School in de gouvernementen Ambon, Ternate en Banda ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1605-1791: Gouvernement Ternate, 1612-1697*, 265.

[39] See Chr. G. F. de Jong, H. E. Niemeijer, and M. van Selm, "Nieuwe bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het christendom in Maluku (1605-1935), Vondsten, thema's en oriëntaties," *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken* 4, no. 2 (1997).

[40] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3597, Copie berigt van den predikant Huther wegens zijne gedane kerk en school visite in de Sangirsche Eilanden, Quandang, Gorontalo en de daar onder sorteerende contrijen, gedateerd 27 April 1781, 553-563.

[41] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8136 (1768), Letter of H. Munnik and Council to Batavia, July 1768, 14.

[42] F. A. E. van Wouden, "Mythen en maatschappij in Boeol," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 81, (1941): 389.

[43] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3597 (Ternate), Meeting of the Raad van Politie, 15 August 1781, 545.

The Company's long-standing fear of north Sulawesi "falling into the hands of Islam" was gradually realized.[44] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, not only were Buol and Tolitoli's chiefs Muslims, the chief of Kaidipang had also converted to Islam during the British interlude.[45] However, Bolaang-Mongondow along with the micro-polity of Bolaang Itang still remained "nominal Christians"[46] as described by the colonial functionary, E. Francis, when he toured the region in 1846. What could explain this seeming delay?

2.2. Arabs in north Sulawesi

Coinciding with the rise of Islam was the more conspicuous presence of Arab figures in the region. Syarif Aluwi, who married Putri Sarah sometime in 1832,[47] was most likely one of the first Arabs to have substantial contact with inland Mongondow. By the 1860s, the *hakim*—the highest religious official in Mongondow based in Kotabangon—was also likely an Arab or a person of Arab-descent.[48] He was known only by the appellation, Tuan Syarif.[49] Alongside a certain Bugis hajji living in Bolaang, they were known to have wielded considerable political and religious influence among the populace.[50] However, their actual influence in Bolaang-Mongondow was incomparable to the high degree of authority other Arabs achieved elsewhere in north Sulawesi in an earlier or contemporaneous period.

It is difficult to ascertain when the Arabs began to penetrate the region. Although it is likely that as in other parts of the archipelago, they increased in number and influence "as Dutch power declined in the course of the eighteenth century."[51] In neighboring Sulu and

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[44] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 11253 (Ternate) Memorie wegens den presenten staat der Molucckos opgesteld door Jacob van Schoonderwoert afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Ternaten tot narigt van zijnen succeseur Hendrik Breton, 24 July 1766

[45] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4; Bundle: Verslag van de rijkjes en negorijen ten westen van Manado gelegen, Pietermaat, Resident van Manado, 31 December 1833.

[46] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no.2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846 Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 22r.

[47] On doubts regarding the veracity of this year, see note 18 above.

[48] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 28.

[49] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of RM Bosscher, Manado to GG, 27 April 1861.

[50] Ibid.

[51] William G. Clarence-Smith, "The Rise and Fall of Hadhrami Shipping in the Indian Ocean, c. 1750- c. 1940," in *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, ed. David Parkin and Ruth Barnes (Routledge Curzon, 2002), 230.

Maguindanao, as a few extant accounts show, Arabs with connections in the Indonesian archipelago had been active as early as the 1780s, though they had probably ventured into the region decades earlier. Paduka Sayyid Syarif Abdullah Magaribi, a merchant likely based in Sulu, distributed commercial passes to vessels, including Chinese ships, perhaps to endorse friendly merchants to his associates based in other ports.[52] A certain Syarif Hassan, "who was a close family member of the raja of Banten," was a trader in Sulu in 1780.[53] Another "*syarif*" named Makarik, who lived in Maguindanao, was recorded to have freed captured slaves in exchange for a later payment for manumission.[54]

These Arabs were likely "a distinct community with wealth and influence out of proportion to their numbers."[55] Their wealth was derived from inter-island commerce with ships that were the largest and longest ranging of any other fleet operating in Indonesian waters except that of the Dutch.[56] As a group, the Arabs had traditionally competed with European burgers. A mid-nineteenth century colonial report on north Sulawesi reveals that the Arabs had "inflicted much damage to European private trade" by offering textiles and other goods at a lower price.[57] One can extrapolate that such had been the case since their entrance into the scene in the closing decades of the previous century, especially after the Company divested itself of the textile monopoly in 1795 in favor of private traders.[58]

In the nineteenth century, Arabs were known to offer more competitive prices for cacao, coffee, and rice—the foremost products of the uplands— putting the Arabs in direct competition with European burgers (*borgo*).[59] The opening of Manado and Kema as free ports in 1849[60] and of other smaller ports in the so-called "self-governing regions"[61] in 1859[62] as well as the

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[52] NA Comite Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 91 (1794-1795), Letter from Ternate to Amsterdam, J. G. Budach, 30 July 1795.
[53] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 (Ternate), Report on the situation of the northern coast of Sulawesi (1780).
[54] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141, (Ternate) Meeting of the Political Council, 15 February 1780, 47.
[55] Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth-century Pan-Islam Below the Winds," in *An Indonesian Frontier : Acehnese and Other Histories of Sumatra* (Singapore: NUS Publishing, 2005), 230.
[56] Clarence-Smith, "The Rise and Fall of Hadhrami Shipping in the Indian Ocean, c. 1750- c. 1940," *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, 230.
[57] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1859.
[58] NA Comité Oostindische Handel inv. 2.01.27.01, no. 88 (1794-1795), 21 February 1795 [Ternate], 103.
[59] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 56.
[60] NA Ministry of Colonies inv. 2.10.01, no. 2710, 8 September 1848.
[61] "Zelfbesturende landschappen."
[62] NA Ministry of Colonies inv. 2.10.02, no. 9117 [Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal Geheim], 19 July 1859 La. E2.

legislation allowing Arab ships to participate in coastal trade in 1850[63]—all encouraged Arabs to settle in north Sulawesi,[64] although their freedom of movement was greatly curtailed.

As in other port towns of the colony, the Arabs had "to live in special cantonments in the main towns, and apply for a pass every time they wished to leave their place of residence."[65] Manado in the 1860s already had a separate *kampong cina* (Chinese quarter) and a *kampong Islam* (Muslim quarter).[66] By 1894, Manado had a *kampong Arab* that was separate from the original *kampong Islam*.[67] Arabs were allowed to establish shops in what seemed to have been a more secure neighborhood of the *kampong cina*, but they were forbidden to reside there.[68] Whereas the Chinese were permitted by the government to trade in upland Minahasa for short of periods of time, the Arabs as well as the Bugis were not.[69]

The prohibition to trade in the Minahasan uplands was rooted mainly in the colonial government's fear of Arab proselytization. The increasing number of Arabs in mid-nineteenth century north Sulawesi was deemed undesirable because of their "never slumbering proselytism."[70] A case in point is a certain "Tuan Arab" who stayed in Manado between 1864 and 1866 and who attempted to convert his Christian Minahasan laborers. He was popular and well respected by his native subordinates who praised him for generosity and kindness. One of the Minahasans was a certain Markus Tengko, who was most favored by the Tuan Arab and was seen as praying alongside the Tuan and donning Arab clothes. The news troubled the European

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[63] Clarence-Smith, "The Rise and Fall of Hadhrami Shipping in the Indian Ocean, c.1750-c.1940," *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, 231-232.

[64] See for instance the requests of the Syekh Ismail bin Umar Bawadjir and Syekh Ali bin Saleh bin Hara Hara to settle in Manado in 1857. ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Decisions of the Resident of Menado 1857, nos. 131-132.

[65] Anthony Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 270.

[66] ANRI Manado inv. 30, no. 2, Besluit, 12 January 1860.

[67] Martin Slama, "Translocal Networks and Globalisation within Indonesia: Exploring the Hadhrami Diaspora from the Archipelago's North-East," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39, (2011): 242; Martin Slama, "Paths of Institutionalization, Varying Divisions, and Contested Radicalisms: Comparing Hadhrami Communities in Java and Sulawesi," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 31, no. 2 (2011): 332.

[68] See the case of Syekh Ahmad Hamis bin Waber, a trader in Manado who requested the colonial government to be able to rent a house in *kampong cina* to "safely store goods and money." But his request was turned down. ANRI Manado inv. 30, no. 2, Besluit, 12 January 1860.

[69] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1859.

[70] Ibid.

Christian missionaries who sought and succeeded to pull Markus Tengko from Manado back to his upland village.[71]

The colonial government's anxiety over the Arabs' supposed detrimental influence, especially among the already Islamized population of north Sulawesi, was partly rooted in the natives' high regard for those Arabs living in their midst. In 1854, a certain Syekh Syarif Abdullah bin Umar Badip, who had been sentenced to chained labor by the colonial court in Ambon for homicide, was discovered to be roaming freely in north Sulawesi.[72] Non-elite locals venerated him while the Muslim chiefs of Bolaang-Uki permitted, if not assisted, his subsequent escape to southern Sulawesi.

However, the most illustrious of the Arabs during this period was perhaps Syarif Ali of Buol, who was considered of "sacred" descent (*cucu rasulullah orang berkati*). He was honored throughout north Sulawesi[73] like other Arabs scattered in Maluku, Java, Borneo, and elsewhere in the archipelago.[74] In 1875, Syarif Ali was reputed to be already 120 years old.[75] Reputed to have magical powers, he was widely believed to have originated from Mecca and to have journeyed to Sulawesi on his magical prayer mat that he also used to return for the *hajj*.[76]

Precise and extensive information on Syarif Ali in particular and Arabs in Sulawesi in general has traditionally been difficult to collect. Even J. G. F. Riedel, the *peranakan* European "enlightened scholar"[77] and colonial official[78] who possessed a broad information network, conceded that "accurate and reliable information" was difficult to acquire because the "chiefs

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[71] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, J. A. T. Schwarz, Letter to NZG Director 1877, 5.

[72] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of the Governor-General to the Minister of Colonies, 6 March 1876.

[73] The source mentions Buol, Limbotto, Gorontalo, Attingola, Kaidipan, Bolaang Itang, Bintauna, Bolaang Uki, and Bolaang Mongondow. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Asst. Resident Riedel, Gorontalo to the Resident of Menado, 16 September 1875.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] NA Memories van Overgave inv. 2.10.39, no. 309, Onderafdeeling Bwool, Algemeene Memorie van Overgave, 27 July 1917, Gezaghebber W. J. D. van Andel.

[77] Riedel spent ten years of education in Germany, met the famed Alexander von Humboldt, and was in constant correspondence with European scholars of the day. Interestingly, the Filipino writer and hero, Jose Rizal, in his own correspondence with European scholars, was critical of Riedel's forays into Tagalog linguistics. See Benedict E. O'G. Anderson, *Why Counting Counts: A Study of Forms of Consciousness and Problems of Language in Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 6.

[78] See M. J. C. Schouten, "Nineteenth-Century Ethnography in West Timor and the Wider World: The Case of J. G. F. Riedel," *Journal of Asian History* 48, no. 2 (2014).

remain silent or intentionally disseminate contradictory information."[79] However, Riedel learned that Syarif Ali "spent numerous years in Aceh" and that the events in troubled "Aceh is the usual topic of discussion among the chiefs, nobles, Arabs and Bugis in Buol."[80] The Dutch invasion of Aceh in 1873 very likely provoked one of Syarif Ali's sons named Mansur. He and members of his Sufi *tarekat* (brotherhood) launched a suicidal assault against the fort at Manado in 1875.[81] Contemporary eyewitness accounts seem to suggest that many of the participants in the attack practiced mystical rituals of invulnerability (*debus*).[82]

Aside from the colonial sources, patchy local histories reveal clues to Syarif Ali's background. The Syekh Syarif Ali identified in Mandarese sources[83] is almost certainly the same Syarif Ali of Buol. If so, it can be established that before Syarif Ali arrived in Buol around 1825,[84] he first settled in the Mandarese-speaking region of Majene, where he married a native named Manaq and fathered three sons who eventually lived in different Mandarese settlements.[85] Some Mandar people are known to have served as sailors for the Arabs[86] and were later settlers in Buol.[87] The Mandar region logically served as the waypoint for sojourners bound for north Sulawesi. Meanwhile, Syarif Ali's brother, Syarif Husein, settled in the well-known Arab enclave of Cikoang in south Sulawesi.[88]

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[79] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Asst. Resident Riedel, Gorontalo to the Resident of Menado, 16 September 1875.
[80] Ibid.
[81] See NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal].
[82] Ibid. See also a lyric poem on the event: *Boek panton deri waktu Bwool masok di Menado pada tahoen 1876*, (Menado: Menadosche Drukkerij, 1900). On *debus*, see Martin van Bruinessen, "*Shari'a* Court, *Tarekat* and *Pesantren:* Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50, (1995): 188.
[83] Suradi Yasil, *Ensiklopedi Sejarah, Tokoh dan Kebudayaan Mandar* (Makassar: Lembaga Advokasi dan Pendidikan Anak Rakyat/ Forum Studi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Mandar, 2004), 5.
[84] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Asst. Resident Riedel, Gorontalo to the Resident of Menado, 16 September 1875.
[85] Yasil, *Ensiklopedi Sejarah, Tokoh dan Kebudayaan Mandar*, 5.
[86] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141, Rapport bij wijse van dagverhaal opgesteld, ende overgegeven aan den Wel Edele Gestrenger Heer Mr. Jacob Roeland Thomaszen Gouverneur en Directeur benevens den Rade der Moluccos behelsende het voor gevallene op de door de ondergeteekende commissianten gedane expeditie en commissie langs Celebes Noord Westkust tot Dondo [Toli-toli],112.
[87] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1853.
[88] Yasil, *Ensiklopedi Sejarah, Tokoh dan Kebudayaan Mandar*, 5.On Cikoang's Arab community, see Muhamad Hisyam, *Sayyid-Jawi: Studi Kasus Jaringan Sosial de Desa Cikoang Kecamatan Mangarabombang, Kabupaten Takalar, Sulawesi Selatan* (Jung Pandang: Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial, Universitas Hasanuddin, 1983).

Riedel's report identifies Syarif Ali's three other sons: the famed Syarif Mansur of Buol, Syarif Mahmud of Attingola, and Syarif Muhammad of Paleleh. Syarif Ali married a daughter of the Buol raja and thus became related to the chiefly families of neighboring Kaidipang, Bolaang-Itang,[89] and Tolitoli.[90] It is thought that because of these ties, Syarif Ali and his sons were "convinced that they would not be betrayed by the rajas" despite their "open contempt for Europeans and Christians."[91]

After the failed invasion of the colonial fort of Manado by Syarif Mansur in 1875, Syarif Ali himself escaped to Bulungan in eastern Kalimantan for fear of retribution.[92] The colonial authorities eventually forbade the Arab "tuans" and their descendants in Buol to return to north Suluwesi although it is clear that Syarif Ali—at least his body—eventually returned. His grave in Tanjung Dako was considered sacred (*keramat*),[93] which locals visited on Fridays. (The graves of two ancient chiefs, Hulubalang and Kalimu were visited on Mondays and Thursdays.)[94] In 1938, Syarif Ali's grave was reportedly washed away by the Buol River.[95]

Syarif Ali and his sons were known to be active proselytizers, likely combining trade with proselytization. They were known to sail around north Sulawesi where they received honor and even gifts from the Muslim chiefs and their subjects.[96] They frequented Bintauna "to preach Islam" among "recent Muslim converts" (*orang Islam baru*).[97] One of Syarif Ali's sons, Muhammad, sponsored the building of a mosque in Paleleh and promoted the conversion of small, itinerant traders known in colonial sources as "rovers."[98]

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[89] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Asst. Resident Riedel, Gorontalo to the Resident of Menado, 16 September 1875.

[90] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of the Posthouder of Tontoli, Gerrit van Zolingen to the Gov of Celebes en Onderhoorigheden. Tontoli 26 September 1875.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] NA Memories van Overgave inv. 2.10.39, no. 309, Onderafdeeling Bwool, Algemeene Memorie van Overgave, 27 July 1917, Gezaghebber W. J. D. van Andel.

[94] Riedel, "Het landschap Boeool; Korte aantekeningen," 206-207.

[95] NA Losse Aanwisten Indische Bestuursambtenaren inv. 2.22.09, no. 4 (2), Algemeene Memorie van den aftrendenden Controleur van Boeol R. Venema (7 Jui 1937- 14 September 1938), 10.

[96] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Asst. Resident Riedel, Gorontalo to the Resident of Menado, 16 September 1875.

[97] Ibid.

[98] NA (Ministry of Colonies) inv. 2.10.02, inv. 6078, 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Letter of Wolterbeek Muller, Commandant of the steamship *Z. M. Banca* to the Vice-Admiral of the Navy, Netherlands Indies, Menado, 5 October 1875.

The close relationship between Islam and trade was not specific to this region. It has been observed elsewhere that "independent coastal rulers allegedly accorded Hadhrami *sayyid* shippers a remission of duties, on account of their 'superior sanctity.'"[99] Also, Muslim merchants in eastern Indonesia were known to prefer ports ruled by Muslim chiefs who provided mosques as well as protection.[100] Mosques, in particular, offered a place where Muslim traders could meet and gain a deeper understanding of Islam in these coastal polities.

When trade had been the monopoly of the aristocratic elites, no actual trade could commence without the raja's consent. In seventeenth century Maguindanao, for instance, trading was particularly ritualistic and tedious. Foreign merchants had to first wait for an audience with the Sultan before actual trade could begin. The wait itself could take up to nine days, usually on board the merchants' vessels.[101] The mosques which the Arab *sayyids* of north Sulawesi had been eager to construct may be an indication of the emergence of a more open economy in which the aristocratic raja played a less direct and dominant role. This is because mosques became the meeting point for local and foreign traders to conduct business in an arguably less ritualistic and more casual manner that was largely autonomous from the raja.

The Arabs also traded in Bolaang-Mongondow. Syarif Mansur himself was known to have engaged in commerce in Bolaang prior to his infamous suicidal attack on Manado in 1875.[102] However, his and other Arabs' influence in Bolaang-Mongondow seemed muted compared with other regions. The "foreign" Arabs and Bugis did not achieve the same political prominence in Bolaang-Mongondow as they did in the polities in north Sulawesi's extreme west.[103] Instead, in Bolaang-Mongondow there was a continuity of the old tributary pattern of the raja relying on the Dutch to acquire prestige goods and firearms to centralize his rule.

Originals of the letters written by the raja to the Resident in Manado as late as the 1820s show fervent requests for firearms (*snapang*) and textiles (*barang-barang kain-kain*) in exchange

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[99] Clarence-Smith, "The Rise and Fall of Hadhrami Shipping in the Indian Ocean, c. 1750- c. 1940," *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, 232.

[100] Leonard Andaya, "Cultural State Formation in Eastern Indonesia," in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 35.

[101] Ruurdje Laarhoven, *The Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1989), 167.

[102] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Besluit 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Perjalanan Hulu Jaksa menurut surat putusan [memorandum] Tuwan Resident Manado tanda 1 September 1875 No. 136 naik kapal api Eijron kapitein Bloem pada pergi kerajaan sebelah utara dari Pulau Celebes.

[103] Riedel, "Het landschap Boeool; Korte aantekeningen," 197.

for money (*kupang* or *rupia*).[104] These commodities were necessary to strengthen the raja's position as the paramount ruler. He complained that 123 villages (*kampung*) had not paid their taxes[105] and that even after six years after his ascension as raja, he had not visited the villages of Mongondow, perhaps because of the hostility of the villagers and their respective chiefs.[106]

However, the question remains: despite the presumably available economic, political, and religious capital offered by the Arabs, why did the raja's official conversion occur only in 1846 and widespread conversions only a decade later?

2.3. Islam and the indigenous elite

To understand why Bolaang-Mongondow seems to have been insulated from the earlier wave of Islamization in most of north Sulawesi, one could perhaps begin from a rather telling observation of an early twentieth century colonial official. He observed that the peoples of Buol and Tolitoli were particularly receptive to ideas of Islamic "modernism" originating from Java while those of the "more developed" regions of Bolaang-Mongondow and Gorontalo were not. The peoples of Bolaang-Mongdow "refused to be ensnared" by the "illusion of freedom from taxes and corvée labor," and their respective nobilities stood in opposition against the Muslim "modernists."[107]

This observation is helpful in highlighting the traditional opposition of the local nobility—or at least segments of it—to Islamizing forces. Bolaang-Mongondow and Gorontalo differ from other north Sulawesi polities in that the local nobility remained intact, and perhaps even stronger, after Islamization. On the other hand, the lack of an influential and enduring indigenous elite class in Buol and Tolitoli[108] prefigured not only the rise of the foreign Arabs in the nineteenth century but also of Islamic modernism in the twentieth century, both of which

[104] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter (in Malay) of the raja of BM to the Resident, 30 August 1827.
[105] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter (in Malay) of the raja of BM to Resident D. F. W. Pietermaat, Molobog Tanah Mera 3 September 1828.
[106] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter (in Malay) of the raja of BM to Resident Wenzel, 9 August 1829.
[107] NA Memories van Overgave inv. 2.10.39, no. 306, Memorie van Overgave van de Residentie Menado, A. Ph. van Aken, 1932.
[108] See references concerning the political marginalization of the *omboe kilano* or the "descendants of the founders" who had been traditionally involved in the selection of the apical ruler (*madika*), Wouden, "Mythen en maatschappij in Boeol," 335-336; 389.

challenged the indigenous elite. A closer examination of Gorontalo might explain these dynamics further.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, foreign-born Arabs were precluded from occupying Gorontalo's uppermost chiefly offices traditionally reserved for the indigenous elite. The politics of legitimacy in Gorontalo continued to be dictated by the dynamics within and among the five major settlements—Gorontalo, Limbotto, Bolango[109], Bone,[110] and Attingola[111] —which constituted the *limo lo poholaa* (the confederacy of the five).[112] Whereas descent from Wadi Palapa, the Buginese[113] founder of the aforementioned confederacy of the *limo lo poholaa* had been a traditional prerequisite qualification to rule,[114] the Arab genealogical qualification seems to have been relatively recent.

Aluwi al-Habsyi, the reputed "Arab" ancestor[115] of the ruling family,[116] likely arrived in Gorontalo only between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at the same time as Arab ascendancy in inter-island shipping.[117] He was likely related in some way to Habib Ali bin Abdullah Alhabsyi who is known to have "migrated to Gorontalo" in the early nineteenth

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[109] Also known as Boalemo.
[110] Composed of Suwawa and Bintauna.
[111] Otherwise known as Andagile.
[112] J. G. F. Riedel, "De landschappen Holontalo, Limoeto, Bone, Boalemo en Kattingola , or Andagile, geographische, statistische, historische en ethnographische aantekeningen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 19, (1870).
[113] KIT Collection – UB Leiden, BrRG 26, Het Volk van Gorontalo, A. N. Datau, n.d., 36.
[114] ANRI Gorontalo inv. 18, no. 4, La. A, Bijlage Twee, Nota omtrent het tweehofdig bestuur in de landschappen Gorontalo, Limbotto en Boalemo, written by Resident Jansen, Menado, 17 December 1853. That myths function to unite settlements to form a confederacy, see Andaya, "Cultural State Formation in Eastern Indonesia,"*Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*. Wadi Palapa is believed to have founded an originary village in the uplands and eventually conquered four downstream settlements, naming himself "King of the Three Mountains" (from which the name Gorontalo is derived). "Lord of the Mountain" was a prestigious royal appellation in many parts of pre-colonial Southeast Asia. Jeya Kathirithamby-Wells, "Socio-political Structures and the Southeast Asian Ecosystem: An Historical Perspective up the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Asian Perceptions of Nature: A Critical Approach*, ed. Ole Bruun and Arne Kalland (Curzon Press, 1995), 27; Marie-Sybille de Vienne, *Brunei: From the Age of Commerce to the 21st Century* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2015), 29. It is revealing that several roads in Gorontalo are named after Wadi Palapa, while seemingly none are named after Aluwi al-Habsyi.
[115] He was most likely "Ethiopian" than "Arab."
[116] Riedel, "De landschappen Holontalo, Limoeto, Bone, Boalemo en Kattingola , or Andagile, geographische, statistische, historische en ethnographische aantekeningen," 66.
[117] Clarence-Smith, "The Rise and Fall of Hadhrami Shipping in the Indian Ocean, c. 1750- c. 1940," *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, 230. That Hadhrami shipping and commerce had not yet extended to Gorontalo by the mid-eighteenth century is hinted by repeated requests of the Gorontalo ruler to allow native Muslim pilgrims to be passengers on Company ships. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3181 (1766), Meeting Raad van Politie, 11 July 1766, 216.

century and was the uncle of Habib Ali Kwitang, a prominent religious leader (*ulama besar* [Bahasa Indonesia]; *alim* [Arabic]) in late colonial Batavia.[118]

As a group, the foremost leaders of the indigenous elite constituted the *bate-bate,* the 19-member council of local chiefly peers who were "more or less autonomous of the raja"[119] and were known among the locals as the "preservers of tradition."[120] In order to rise above the council and become the *primus inter pares*, an ambitious chief had to distinguish himself through social prestige, greater wealth, and superior military might. Islam—and claimed descent from a *sayyid*—likely provided the aspiring chief an instrument not only to differentiate himself from competing *bate-bate* peers, but also to question the authority of an antagonistic local chief. Monoarfa, the sagacious raja of Gorontalo from the late eighteenth century, exemplifies this.

In the 1760s, Monoarfa succeeded in negotiating the transport of six of his own subjects in a Company vessel for a pilgrimage to Mecca (at least for the Gorontalo-Batavia leg of the journey)[121] despite (or perhaps because) of the laxly enforced[122] prohibition to ferry Muslim pilgrims dating back to 1716.[123] From Batavia onwards, the pilgrims had three options: continue using a Company ship, proceed to Bengkulu to board an English East India Company vessel, or sail through the Straits of Malacca using a "Moorish" vessel via Coromandel and Surat.[124] Sources do not reveal which route the Gorontalo pilgrims took after arriving in Batavia. What is clear, however, is that the Company had a standing order that its own functionaries in Gorontalo should "always serve the pleasure" of Monoarfa.[125] Perhaps that included his desire for selected

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[118] Habib Abdurrahman bin Muhammad Al Habsyi and Prasetyo Sudrajat, *Sumur yang Tak Pernah Kering: Riwayat Habib Ali Alhabsyi Kwitang; 'Dari Kwitang menjadi Ulama Besar'* (Jakarta: Islamic Center Indonesia, 2010), 3.
[119] KIT Collection, UB, BrRG 26, A. N. Datau, Het Volk van Gorontalo, 34-35.
[120] KIT Collection – UB Leiden, BrRG 26, Het Volk van Gorontalo, A. N. Datau, n.d., 35. For an extensive discussion on this institution see, J. Bastiaans, "Batato's in het oude Gorontalo, in verband met den Gorontaleeschen staatsbouw," *TBG* 79, (1939).
[121] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3181, Meeting Raad van Politie 11 July 1766.
[122] Johan Talens, *Een feodale samenleving in koloniaal vaarwater: Staatsvorming, koloniale expansie en economische onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java (1600-1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 157.
[123] Hooker, *Adat Law in Modern Indonesia*, 93; Henri Chambert-Loir et al., *Naik Haji di Masa Silam: Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji, 1482-1964*, vol. I (1482-1890) (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013), 35.
[124] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving in koloniaal vaarwater: Staatsvorming, koloniale expansie en economische onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java (1600-1750)*, 157-158.
[125] NA Archief van J. Wttewael en H. van Staveren 1758-1804, inv. 1.10.86, no. 134, Memorie ofte berigt van den Onderkoopman en Afgaande Resident Jan Wttewaall aan desselfs vervanger den meede onderkoopman en aankomende Resident Reijnier Hoque [?], 6.

subjects to be ferried for the purpose of attending the hajj. Monoarfa was a powerful ruler without whose cooperation the Company's gold trade in Gorontalo could not succeed.

Monoarfa's support for the aspiring hajjis was likely meant to enhance his own legitimacy. Monoarfa had been considered by the other elites as inferior because he belonged to a "less illustrious family" in relation to his contemporary and competitor, Walanadi.[126] The later rajas descending from Monoarfa claimed to have descended from a *sayyid* ancestry. This seems to have been an attempt to compensate for their originally contentious entitlement to paramount rulership. Monoarfa's support of Islam in general and of pilgrimage in particular resonates with the contemporaneous attempts of migrant Bugis aristocrats in the Malay archipelago to achieve a "cloak of respectability" amidst political competition.[127] Indeed in the Malay archipelago, Makassar,[128] Gorontalo, and Maluku,[129] elite-sponsored pilgrimages became more frequent in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Monoarfa himself did not perform the pilgrimage, a disposition also shared by other archipelagic rajas, perhaps because as observed elsewhere "extensive absence from the throne and his kingdom might have jeopardized his political ambitions."[130]

One could extrapolate how Monoarfa's sponsorship of the aspiring hajjis benefitted his rule. First and more obviously, religious figures tended to symbolically legitimize the rule of the paramount raja. In Gorontalo, the Islamic religious hierarchy was led by a *kadi* assisted by four *hukum* who not only mediated conflicts[131] but also and more importantly, accompanied the raja in every religious ceremony.[132] The presence of the *kadi* and the *hukum* accorded or added implicit legitimacy to the raja that distinguished him from the rest of the *bate-bate*. Second, the hajjis themselves might undercut, if not directly contest, the power of the *bate-bate* or the other members of the indigenous elite, in effect strengthening the paramount ruler.

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[126] NA Archief van J. Wttewaal, inv. 1.10.86, no. 134, Memorie ofte berigt van den Onderkoopman en Afgaande Resident Jan Wttewaall aan desselfs vervanger den meede onderkoopman en aankomende Resident Reijnier Hoque [?], 10.

[127] Barnard, "The Hajj, Islam, and Power among the Bugis in Early Colonial Riau,"*Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Durée*, 65-66.

[128] Rahilah Omar, "The History of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin" (PHD. dissertation, University of Hull, 2003), 246.

[129] See for example the case of Hajji Umar (below).

[130] Omar, "The History of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin", 247.

[131] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Algemeen verslag afdeeling Gorontalo…1838, 1839, 1840, Scherius, Civiele Gezaghebber van Gorontalo, May 1840, 16.

[132] KIT Collection, UB, BrRG 26, A. N. Datau, Het Volk van Gorontalo, 34-35.

In Gorontalo, status differences based on familial descent remained a most salient social fact notwithstanding centuries of Islamic presence. [133] There was an elaborate class differentiation unparalleled in adjacent regions: a large nobility,[134] freemen, and several levels of slaves.[135] However, as a historian of south Sulawesi remarks "upward social mobility could also be achieved by those who had undertaken a pilgrimage."[136]

Individuals with religious credentials, hajjis especially, could theoretically disrupt traditional hierarchy based primarily on familial or status descent. As Islamization progressed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the number of religious practitioners (*saraädaä*) in various villages who led the performance of certain rituals likely increased.[137] Returning hajjis acquired social prominence and were even freed from village corvée labor that traditionally benefited the local chief.[138]

It is difficult to ascertain the real extent to which Islamizing figures unsettled the traditional hierarchy, but examples from neighboring Maluku might provide clues. In the late eighteenth century, various figures capitalized on Islamic legitimacy to circumvent the legal and political status quo. In Ternate, a Makassarese named Abdul Malik claimed that a hereditary slave-woman whom he married should be freed along with her children. He argued before the Dutch Political Council (*Raad van Politie*) that his wife and her children "had to be freed by virtue of the marriage and of the Islamic laws." The Sultan of Ternate concurred, but the sultan's concurrence was countered by the Company, which opposed implementing an Islamic proscription.[139] However, perhaps the best example would be Hajji Umar, a Ternate-born[140]

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[133] Gorontalo's rulers converted to Islam as early as 1525. Pelras, *The Bugis*, 130.

[134] In the 1859 census, around 6,500 of Gorontalo's total population (27,500) were of the noble class. ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4.

[135] R. Scherius, "Eenige bijdragen tot de kennis en den toestand der afdeeling Gorontalo (eiland Celebes)," *Verhandelingen en Berigten betrekkelijk het Zeewezen en de Zeevartkunde* 7, (1847): 402.

[136] Omar, "The history of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin", 247-248.

[137] Ibid.

[138] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 2684, Resumé van de rapporten der hoofden van geweestelijke bestuur op en buiten Java en Madura naar aanleiding van de geheime circulaire van den Directeur van Binnenlandsch Bestuur dd. 11 November 1872 no. 11323.

[139] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3759, (Ternate) Meeting of the Political Council, 25 September 1786, 22-24.

[140] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141, 86; ANRI Ternate inv. 1, Decisions of the Political Council of Ternate, 13 September 1777; ANRI Ternate inv. 81, no. 4, Authentique Afschriften van de Crimineele Proces Papieren contra Hadjie Oemar; NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141, 86; Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, 231. D. K. Bassett, *British Trade and Policy in Indonesia and Malaysia in the Late Eighteenth Century*, Hull Monographs on Southeast Asia No. 3 (Hull: Centre for South-east Asian Studies, The University of

trader, royal emissary, and "pirate leader."[141] Likely from a commoner background, he was born in Ternate's Kampong Makassar—originally an enclave of Muslim merchants from south Sulawesi. He established political, commercial, and military connections among the various Muslim polities in the region from the Straits of Malacca to Maluku.[142] His *hajj* credentials—more than any familial link to a local elite family—seem to have allowed his mobility and acceptance among the different, unrelated, and distant polities of the archipelago.

While one can identify isolated figures like Hajji Umar, it is difficult to reconstruct how the hajjis and other religious personalities challenged the indigenous elite. However, the case of the Maranaos of southern Philippines might be a telling example. Religious titles (*imam* and *kadi*) like political titles were always assigned to specific descent lines. This practice was likely a response of the traditional elite to "localize" or "soften" Islam[143] in order for it to co-exist with or be subsumed under the older hierarchy based on familial descent. However, these religious titles were considered inferior to the ones containing a geographic referent (*sulutan* [chief] for example), effectively preserving the primacy of the traditional elite.[144]

If Islam diluted the descent-based hierarchy and legitimized the *primus inter pares*, was it sufficient to underpin the centralization of a fledgling polity?

The case of Gorontalo illustrates that Islamization was not a determining causal factor for political centralization; rather, the direction of causality was the reverse. Gorontalo's rulers—

Hull, 1971), 36. Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas from Balambangan, Including an Account of Magindano, Sooloo, and other Islands* (1799). Widjojo, *The Revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-cultural Alliance-making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810*, 165-166.

[141] Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, 231. Bassett, *British Trade and Policy in Indonesia and Malaysia in the Late Eighteenth Century*, 36.

[142] Hajji Umar's connections with an emerging regional alliance can be gleaned in his role in the "return"—more likely the ransom—of two European soldiers from Riau. In 1787, the Iranuns of northern Borneo, previously subjects of the sultan of Maguindanao, participated in the siege of Tanjung Pinang in Riau to remove the occupying Dutch forces. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3817, Secret Decisions of the Political Council (Ternate), 10 October 1787-6 August 1788, 58-59.

[143] On the issue of "localization, indigenization, or vernacularization" in Southeast Asia, see Craig J. Reynolds, "A New Look at Old Southeast Asia," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (1995): 433; Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*.

[144] Melvin Mednick, "Encampent of the Lake: The Social Organization of a Moslem-Philipine (Moro) People" (PhD. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1965), 240-241. It is even possible that the Islamization of the Maranaos before the rise of any authority who could monopolize trade and violence was a contributing reason for the absence of a significant unified polity—for example, a sultanate like that of Maguindanao and Sulu. This is because even within the village-level, different families could draw different sources of legitimacy and authority (for example Islam vs. "traditional" authority) without a centralizing authority to reconcile these different claims.

Monoarfa, for instance—solidified his rule and promoted Islam through his tributary relationship with the Dutch East India Company. Without the Company and later the colonial government, the politically and militarily weak Gorontalo rajas "could not require their subjects to dig gold,"[145] Gorontalo's foremost export commodity. Gorontalo came under Company control in 1678 and continuously provided gold deliveries from that year on.[146] However, in exchange for the Company's monopoly, which offered less competitive prices for north Sulawesi gold,[147] Gorontalo's native hierarchy was protected by the Company from outside threats, thereby preserving traditional rule.

The Company—for the interest of greater control—required the construction of a main, organized settlement (*negeri*) where the foremost families should reside.[148] It monopolized the exchange of gold for textiles and later (copper) money through a harbor that it itself controlled.[149] It sheltered Gorontalo from the surge of Mandar, Bugis, and Parigi peoples who desired to "attack and invade Gorontalo." Amidst the rise of "external threats" —the Bugis especially[150]—in the late eighteenth century, one Company functionary wrote: "it is well-known that the Gorontalo peoples after the Menadonese *alfurs* are the most cowardly among those living along the [Tomini] bay, indeed even among those of the entire Sulawesi coast."[151] This remark may be obliquely referring to tension that resulted from Minahasan peoples freeing themselves in the distant past from the Bugis of south Sulawesi who had been their tributary overlords.[152] However, it might also reflect the Gorontalese and Minahasan peoples' inclination to seek political and military support from the Company. Indeed, Gorontalo's close political

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[145] Scherius, "Eenige bijdragen tot de kennis en den toestand der afdeeling Gorontalo (eiland Celebes)," 400.
[146] NA Archief van J. Wttewael en H. van Staveren 1758-1804, inv. 1.10.86, no. 134, Memorie ofte berigt van den Onderkoopman en Afgaande Resident Jan Wttewaall aan desselfs vervanger den meede onderkoopman en aankomende Resident Reijnier Hoque [?], 2.
[147] See for instance, NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 7461, Generaal Extract, 1793, First Quarter, Ternate, 106.
[148] Riedel, "De landschappen Holontalo, Limoeto, Bone, Boalemo en Kattingola , or Andagile, geographische, statistische, historische en ethnographische aantekeningen," 62.
[149] NA Ministry of Colonies inv. 2.10.02, no. 9117 [Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal Geheim], 19 July 1859 La. E2.
[150] See also the "Bugis threat" in the same period in Samarinda (Kalimantan), Broersma, *Handel en bedrijf in Zuid- en Oost-Borneo*, 168.
[151] Ibid.
[152] It is telling that some "indigenous" north Sulawesi aristocratic names were seemingly derived from the names of characters in the south Sulawesi epic, *I La Galigo*. For instance, Gorontalo's Queen Manila from *Bunga Manila* and the Sangirese raja, David Pandjara or Pantjallang, from the Bugis queen, Patyangjala. See further, Andi Zainal Abidin and C. C. Macknight, "The I La Galigo Epic Cycle of South Celebes and Its Diffusion," *Indonesia* 17, (1974), 160-169.

association with the Company caused it to be a prime target for the raids between ca. 1770-1780 by one of those "external threats"—the Maguindanaos.[153]

How does the above discussion on the indigenous elite, Islam, and the Dutch from a broader regional perspective enlighten the Islamic conversions in Bolaang-Mongondow?

Three conclusions can be drawn. First, despite the increasing importance of Islam and Islamizing figures, there was likely a delayed reception among the local elite especially because Islam might disrupt their status- and descent-based hierarchy. Second, an aspiring but politically weak ruler would likely find Islam a useful instrument to centralize previously dispersed power cornered by the indigenous elite. Third, Islam alone could not effectuate political centralization; rather—as in the case of Gorontalo—it was through its vassalage to the Company that Islam flourished. As such, one could say that the Company—as with later political configurations—was "structural in its power, but contingent in its effect."[154] These points resonate with the phenomenon of Islamic conversions in Bolaang-Mongondow in the nineteenth century.

3. Nineteenth-century conversions in Bolaang-Mongondow

Conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow before the crucial decade of the 1850s appear few and isolated. The incumbent raja and his predecessor appeared to have sought the conversion of their subjects but seem to have been hindered by their limited influence and the likely intransigence of the subaltern chiefs. However, the liberal reforms of the 1850s, colonial taxation especially, enhanced the authority of the coastal raja in upland areas traditionally ruled by the influential and often competitive chiefly class (*abo-abo*). It allowed the circumvention of the local chiefs who had monopolized and mediated trade, and opened the possibility for free individuals to trade along the coast. New converts were exempted from taxation and were allowed to trade in upland areas. These converts also shared the religion of the traditionally status-distant raja and of the increasingly influential *hajji* and *syarif*.

[153]See for example, NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 (Ternate), Generale Missive from Amsterdam to Batavia (1780), 59-60.

[154] Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "Southeast Asia and Comparative-Historical Analysis: Region, Theory, and Ontology on a Wide Canvas," *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2014): 488.

3.1. Early conversions: traders and the raja

References to early conversions in the populous Mongondow uplands point to traders as bringers of Islam. Travelling to Mongondow in 1866, European missionaries N. P. Wilken and J. A. Schwarz learned that "in the beginning of this century, there were already a few converts in Kotabunan through the active proselytization of Bugis and Gorontalo traders."[155] Local history particularly identifies a certain Gorontalese trader named Imam Tueko as the bringer of Islam in the remote villages of the upland.[156] However, could traders alone have effectuated mass conversions in Mongondow?

One must perhaps first return to the case of the marriage of the Arab trader, Syarif Aluwi, and the raja's daughter, Putri Sarah, in 1832 (see above).[157] Syarif Aluwi left Bolaang because he did not fulfill the bride price following the Mongondow elite's tradition. What had been demanded would have resembled the bride price asked for in a roughly contemporaneous aristocratic wedding in Mongondow[158]—a large number of porcelain and golden plates, imported textiles, iron, gongs, golden jewelry, and slaves.[159]

The seemingly excessive demands of the Mongondow *mantris* (high-ranking chiefs) for a bride price might be attributed to the position of their polity relative to its neighbors. A reconstruction of inter-elite marriage alliances between adjacent polities in north Sulawesi (see Chart 4.1)[160] reveals that Mongondow and Kaidipang were "wife-givers" while Siau and especially Bolaang-Itang were "wife-takers." The reconstruction shows five Mongondow and six

[155] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 22 March1867, Sonder, 24.
[156] Z. A. Lantong, *Mengenal Bolaang Mongondow* (Kotamobagu: U.D. Asli Totabuan, 1996), 63.
[157] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 277.
[158] For example, the marriage of Jacob Ponto of Siau/Bolaang-Itang with Esther Manoppo of Mongondow sometime in the early 1850s.
[159] The raja and his family and other chiefs were entitled to: "4000 earthenware plates, 30 dozens of porcelain plates, 10 dozen platters, two chests of *madapollam* cloths, 2 chests of blue cotton, 12 slaves, 4 cannons, 5 *pikol* of iron, 12 gongs, 12 set of *kulintang* (each consisting of six pieces), 6 firearms, ½ *kodi* of silk patola; while the princess herself: a piece of golden jewelry and a pair of diamond earrings." HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, Wilken and Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 25.
[160] For a similar but more detailed reconstruction of indigenous marriage patterns in a society at the eve of Islamization, see Ian Caldwell and Kathryn Wellen, "Family Matters: Bugis Genealogies and their Contribution to Austronesian Studies," *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* 12, no. Supp. 1 (2016).

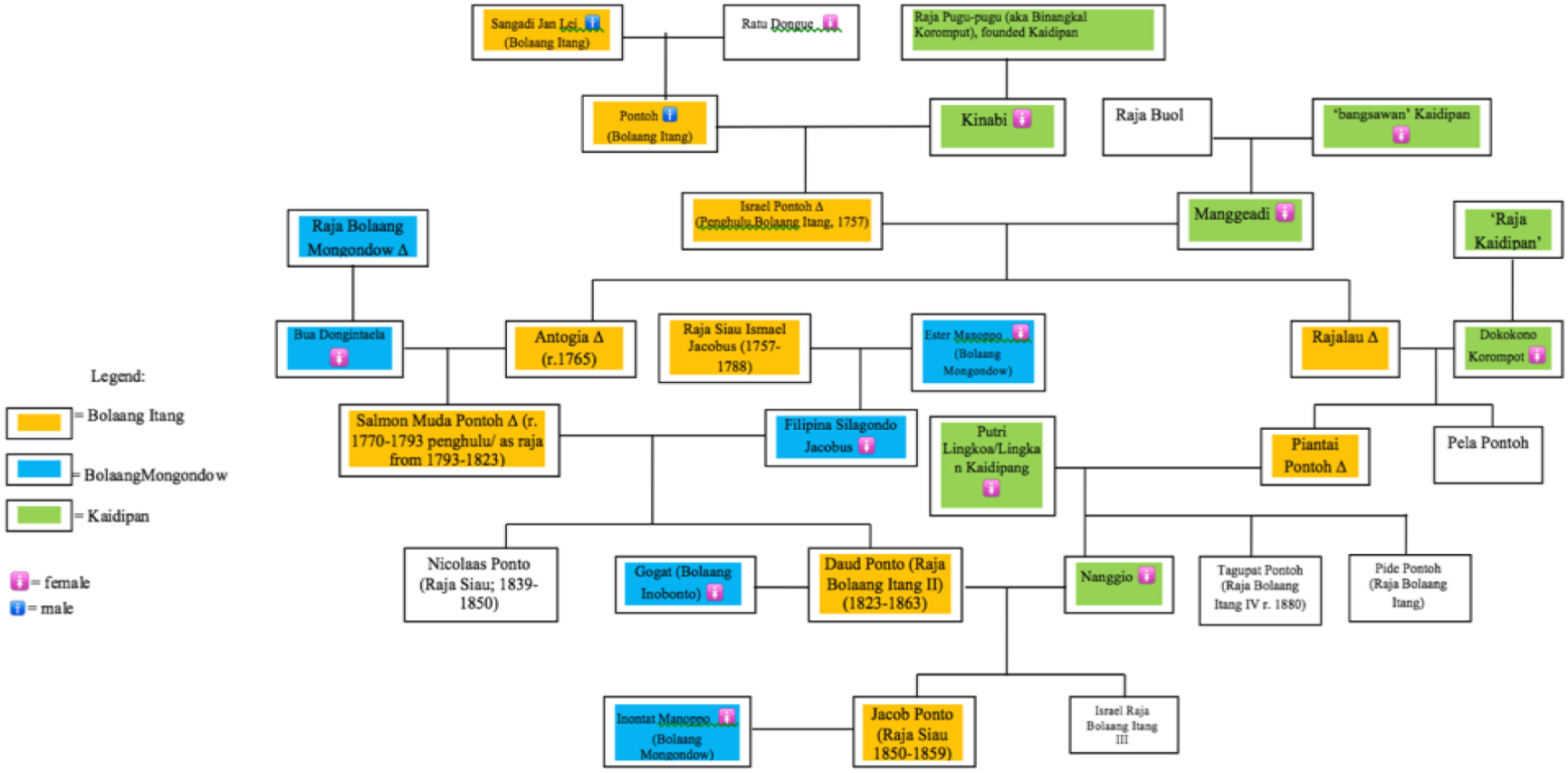
Kaidipang women marrying men from either Siau or Bolaang-Itang. Mongondow was the ultimate wife-giver as it also supplied brides to Kaidipang, a wife-giver polity.[161]

Wife-giver societies in Indonesia and elsewhere were regarded as possessing higher ritual status than their wife-taker counterparts.[162] Wife-giver societies were not only founded earlier[163] but also likely wealthier. The prohibitive bride price demands of the Mongondow elite for its aristocratic women might have served as a barrier for foreign Muslim traders to integrate with the polity's upper classes.

[161] Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (PNI), 111 D Sul 1/6, Korte aanteekeningen betreffende geschiedenis van de rigting der grenzen van het landschap Kaidipan in het oorspronkelijke met alsmede vertaling en aanteekeningen door Nederlandsche J. G. F. Riedel.

[162] See Tine Ruiter, "State Policy, Peasantization and Ethnicity: Changes in the Karo Area of Langkat in Colonial Times," in *Tribal Communities in the Malay World: Historical, Cultural and Social Perspectives*, ed. Geoffrey Benjamin and Cynthia Chou(Leiden and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2002), 411; Gibson, "Egalitarian Islands in a Predatory Sea," in *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia*, 278; James J. Fox, "Precedence in Practice Among the Atoni Pah Meto of Timor," in *Structuralism's Transformations: Order and Revision in Indonesian and Malaysian Societies*, ed. Lorraine V. Aragon and Susan D. Russell, 3-36 (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1999).

[163] It is clear for instance that wife-giver Kaidipan was founded earlier than wife-taker Bolaang-Itang. See ANRI Ternate 18, Raad van Politie, 16 Ag 1769, 13; H. T. Usup, *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang)*, 2nd ed. (n.p,: no publishers listed, 1979), 30-31.



Source: Usup, H. T. (1979). *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang* (Second ed.); Elias, H. B. (1973). *Sejarah pergerakan kebangsaan Indonesia di Pulau Siau*. Manado: Markas cabang Legiun Veteran R.I. Kotamadya Manado.

Chart 4.1. Marriage ties between north Sulawesi rulers, 18th-19th centuries

However, for Syarif Aluwi, who left never to return to Bolaang, it was perhaps a case of the "trader's dilemma" or the "dilemma faced by traders aris[ing] out of their moral obligation to share proceeds with kinsfolk and neighbors, on the one hand, and the necessity to make profits and accumulate trading capital, on the other."[164] Syarif Aluwi perhaps lacked the means to pay the bride price or simply saw such an economic exchange (the bride price) as too much capital to pay for access in the Mongondow market. Besides there was no significant market economy to penetrate. The only market places that used monetary exchange at the time were in Manado and Kema.[165]

The local elite appear to have been embedding religion within the deeper economic and political structures in Mongondow through marriages between Muslim outsiders and local women and the maintenance of a high bride price which helped to ensure that only Muslim men with sufficient wealth would enter Mongondow society. In the marriage of a certain Bugis merchant, Anti Latai, with the Mongondorese noblewoman, Hontinimbang, sometime in the second half of the nineteenth century, economic exchange also played an important criterion. In contrast to Syarif Aluwi's marriage with Putri Sarah, that of Andi Latai and Hontinimbang turned out well because the Bugis "succeeded in fulfilling a most expensive dowry" (*perkawinan itupun dapat terlaksana karena Andi Latai dapat memenuhi mas kawin yang sangat mahal sebagai persyaratan)*.[166] The marriage between the Mongondorese and Bugis nobles paved the way for their son, Abraham Sugeha, to be educated in Islam in the Bugis heartland of south

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[164] Hans-Dieter Evers, "The Trader's Dilemma: A Theory of the Social Formation of Markets and Society," in *The Moral Economy of Trade: Ethnicity and Developing Markets*, ed. Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader(London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 5. See also Roy Ellen, "Arab Traders and Land Settlers in the Geser-Gorom Archipelago," *Indonesia Circle* 70, (1996); Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader, "Introduction," in *The Moral Economy of Trade: Ethnicity and Developing Markets*, ed. Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader, 95-103 (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

[165] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der MolukkenVerslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.

[166] Lantong, *Mengenal Bolaang Mongondow*, 64. On the question of whether Andi Latai or Andi Panungkelan and Hontinimbang were likely the parents of Abraham Sugeha, see W. Dunnebier, "Over de vorsten van Bolaang-Mongondow," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 105, no. 1 (1949): 261. In that case the one referred to in the local genealogy as Bua Bulawan C. Manoppo is likely to have been Hontinimbang. See genealogy, Mr. Ferry Manoppo, Sangadi, Desa Ambang Satu, BM, 2013.

Sulawesi for 14 years. He returned and ruled as raja of Bolaang-Mongondow (1880-1893) and was known to have been a staunch promoter of Islam.[167]

The cases of Syarif Aluwi and Andi Latai show that Muslim traders alone could not effectuate mass conversions because not only were they expected to first integrate into the existing and persistent traditional elite hierarchy, but also because very few natives were participants in the market economy. There was no permanent market place where Muslim traders and most of the native population could regularly meet and converse with each other. The native chiefs controlled not only commerce but also labor[168] —a situation that prevailed in much of Indonesia before 1850.[169]

It is instructive that the Bugis and Gorontalo traders, who were said to have succeeded converting others, were found mainly, if not solely, in Kotabunan—the center of gold mining in Mongondow where an incipient market economy was first likely to have flourished. The early Gorontalese traders led by Imam Tueko also eventually settled in the remote village of Simboy Tagadan.[170] However, these traders succeeded in converting only a few slaves and the low-ranking women with whom they married.

Whereas the Gorontalese traders settled in inland Mongondow, the Bugis—travelling from the sea[171]—naturally settled along the coast and, therefore, far from the major population centers in the upland. They fanned out from their south Sulawesi homeland while their "maritime enterprise…became the most effective Indonesian competition for European and Chinese shipping throughout the Archipelago in the nineteenth century."[172] They traded with the Mongondow chiefs, especially the raja, but probably did not settled en masse in Mongondow proper. By 1860, there was only one Bugis hajji in coastal Bolaang by the name of Supu.[173]

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[167] Parengkuan, "Pengaruh Penyebaran Agama Islam Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Politik di Daerah Sulawesi Utara," 20.

[168] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der MolukkenVerslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.

[169] Peter Boomgaard, "Labour, Land, and Capital Markets in Early Modern Southeast Asia from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century," *Continuity and Change* 24, no. 1 (2009): 60-61.

[170] Local histories can still trace the descendants of some of these traders. The family names of Datao, Datau, or Detu in Molinow are said to have originated from these early Gorontalese Muslim traders. Lantong, *Mengenal Bolaang Mongondow*, 63. A. N. Datau, Het Volk van Gorontalo, KIT Collection, UB, BrRG 26.

[171] On early modern Bugis trade, see Chapter 4 of Kathryn Anderson Wellen, *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014).

[172] Anthony Reid, "Review of *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora* by Kathryn Anderson Wellen," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016): 313.

[173] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Letter of RM Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860.

Elsewhere in north Sulawesi, the Bugis established distinct communities along the coast—in Kima Bajo (Manado)[174], Kampung Bugis (Gorontalo) and Sitadong (Tolitoli).[175]

That the Bugis remained separate from the "indigenous" population perhaps reflects not only a strategy that they employed for cultural survival,[176] but also as a strategy that the indigenous elites used to counter the Bugis' threat to their political power. In the late eighteenth century, the chief of the Bugis traders in Kwandang named Lawani achieved sufficient influence so that he was able to demand the cession of rights to Togean islands in the name of the raja of Bone in south Sulawesi from the incumbent owner of the islands, the raja of Gorontalo.[177] It was only through the presence of their Dutch patrons that the rights and power of the traditional hierarchy of Gorontalo were protected from the perennial "Bugis threat" that remained well into the latter half of the nineteenth century.[178]

However, while Gorontalo survived the Bugis onslaught, other regions did not. The Bugis would either directly attack[179] or peacefully intermarry with the ruling elite[180] to capture a polity. Without the support of a trusting ruling elite, Bugis traders often relied on the threat of violence or on the Dutch to extract payment from local debtors.[181] Colonial regulations in the nineteenth century explicitly sought to strengthen the political position of the local rulers against the Bugis.[182] Therefore, as outsiders with a distinct and separate community from the host

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[174] ANRI Manado 13.4, 15 October 1853 no. 456 Jansen to the Raja of Tagulandang and 15 October 1853 no. 457 to the Hukum Besar of Aris and Bantik. In Kima Bajo off Manado, the Bugis mixed with and pretended to be Bajau to escape taxation. On the close relationship between the Bajo and the Bugis, see Esther Velthoen and Gregory L. Acciaioli, "Fluctuating States, Mobile Populations: Shifting Relations of Bajo to Local Rulers and Bugis Traders in Colonial Eastern Sulawesi" (paper presented at the International Seminar on Bajau Communities, Jakarta - LIPI, 22-25 November 1993, 1993).

[175] R. Boonstra van Heerdt, "De noorderarm van het eiland Celebes, van Paloe tot Bwool," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 31, (1914): 739.

[176] On the Bugis diaspora in the Indonesian archipelago, see Wellen, *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora*.

[177] Hutagalung, *Limo Lo Pohalaa: Sejarah Kerajaan Gorontalo*, 203-207.

[178] NA Mailrapporten 1876, no. 109, Invoering van rechtstreeks bestuur in de afd. Gorontalo, Letter of RM [van Musschenbroek?] 15 Jan 1876 to GG, Menado.

[179] Broersma, *Handel en bedrijf in Zuid- en Oost-Borneo*, 163.

[180] Wellen, *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora*.

[181] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado, 1859; ANRI Manado inv. 42, no. 5, Schuld Mongondowezen Lamoto, Laingi, cs.aan Daeng Pateka te Wajo, 1892-93.

[182] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, Treaty BM and Buol, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.

society and generally mistrusted by local rulers, it was unlikely that the Bugis were responsible for the mass conversion of the Mongondorese.

So, if Muslim traders—whether Arabs, Gorontalese or Bugis—were incapable of inducing the population of north Suluwesi to convert, was the raja able to do so?

To begin with, the first raja of Bolaang-Mongondow to convert "officially" to Islam was Jacobus Manuel Manoppo. In 1848,[183] he was said to have personally asked the permission of A. J. van Olpen, Resident of Menado and J. B. Cleerens, Governor of Moluccas "whether the Government would be opposed if the Christians in Bolaang become Muslims". The Resident supposedly replied "completely not—Christian or Muslim—the people of Bolaang-Mongondow would nonetheless remain obedient."[184]

Van Olpen and Cleerens were high-ranking colonial functionaries committed to the idea of non-interference in religious affairs—Christian or Muslim.[185] Together they established village schools (*negorjischolen*) in Minahasa which did not provide religious instruction that ran directly counter with the program of Christian missionary schools. Van Olpen's opposition to the increasingly influential European missionaries in Minahasa would eventually force him to resign from office.[186]

When Raja J. M. Manoppo returned to his realm, he began practicing Islam openly—and if one is to believe later Christian missionary visitors—even ordered his subjects to convert "in the name of the Government."[187] The raja and a certain *syarif* who was based in upland Kotabangon, were supposed to have threatened or coerced others to convert. They required parents to have their children circumcised and promoted the wearing of headscarves to replace the traditional headwear (*tulus*).[188] Furthermore, the *syarif* supposedly exhorted the pagans to

[183] Some accounts indicate 1844, yet others 1848. I am inclined to believe the former following the observation of Commissioner E. Francis who noted that the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow was "still Christian" in 1846. ANRI Manado 50.2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, 22r. See also "Acten-stukken in zake de vestiging van den Islam in Bolaan-Mongondou," *MNZG* 25, (1881): 83.
[184] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no.1221, Gedachten over het stichten eener zending in Bolaang Mongondow, Wilken en Schwarz, 23 Dec 1866, 2.
[185] See Van Olpen's liberal economic reforms in Minahasa (chapter 2).
[186] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N.P. Wilken 4 February 1868, 5.
[187] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 22 March1867, Sonder, 26.
[188] The *tulus* is a headdress to protect against both sun and rain. A. J. van Delden, "De Sangir-eilanden in 1825," *Indisch Magazijn* 1, no. 7-9 (1844): 24.

convert after an earthquake around 1854[189] that shook north Sulawesi, interpreting it as a sign of the end of times.[190]

Despite these measures, however, the converted remained few because—according to later Christian missionaries—the natives had a great "attachment to their ancestors' tradition."[191] While one cannot discount such sentimental attachment of the locals to older religious traditions, it is very clear that the raja himself was too inefficacious to convince, much less coerce, his claimed subjects to convert. He was the same previously mentioned raja who complained that he could not visit the villages under his rule even six years after he assuming power[192]—a sign of weak authority given the traditionally peripatetic nature of rulers.[193] He complained explicitly to the Dutch of the disobedience of numerous settlements who evaded taxation.[194] A visiting colonial official in 1846 noted that only 3,000 of the 25,000 Bolaang-Mongondow's inhabitants obeyed followed the raja.[195] The raja's perennial failure to command authority among his subjects and collect taxes would be one of the reasons why he was later dismissed.[196]

However, in 1860, a decade after the raja J. M. Manoppo's crucial[197] though seemingly inconsequential act of conversion, a colonial official noted perceptively that "a large number of people had converted to Islam—[constituting] nearly three-fourths of the inhabitants of the 24 [densely-populated] villages that surround Kotabangon…and the rest will follow them."[198]

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[189] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1212, N.P. Wilken, c. 1854.
[190] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 26.
[191] Ibid.
[192] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of raja J. M. Manoppo, Bolaang, 9 August 1829 to RM Wenzel.
[193] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 77, note 95.
[194] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of raja J. M. Manoppo, to Resident D. F. W. Pietermaat, Molobog Tanah Mera 3 September 1828.
[195] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 19v.
[196] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854.
[197] As R. Jones remarks, "the conversion of the ruler would be an important step, but not necessarily the first one." R. Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia," in *Conversion to Islam* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979), 154.
[198] NA MvK 2.10.02, inv. 6078, 26 April 1876, L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal]Letter of RM Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860.

3.2. Liberal colonial reforms and Islamic conversions

Within a short period in the latter half of the 1850s, the first large-scale conversions in Bolaang-Mongondow occurred. These can be attributed to the liberal colonial offensive that promoted direct taxation and political centralization, and allowed freedom of religion. The raja of Bolaang-Mongondow above all benefited from these reforms. He promoted Islamic conversions at the same time as his fiscal and political authority was underpinned and amplified by the colonial state.

3.2.1. The Francis Commission and the reforms of Resident Jansen

One could argue that the inspection tour of the colonial commissioner E. M. Francis[199] throughout Sulawesi in 1846 was a crucial turning point in the political, economic, and religious life of the natives. His recommendations constituted the foundation of an open economy built upon a more encompassing and effective, if intrusive, colonial governance. It led the avoidant native subjects closer to the colonial state[200] and therefore the rajas—as agents of the colonial state—closer to their people.[201] It was achieved primarily through the shift from an ineffective and inefficient tributary system to a direct system of taxation. However, because the people were obligated to confront this emerging economic and political order, they were incentivized to become participants in a new form of social affiliation (that is, religion), which appears to have subdued the impacts of these changes.

In 1846, the colonial government commissioned E. M. Francis to travel and investigate the Residency of Menado, with special attention to the fertile region of Minahasa in particular, with the aim of improving its economy. Although his mandate was to investigate taxation and cash-crop cultivation in Minahasa,[202] his voluminous report thoroughly covered politics not only in Minahasa but also in north Sulawesi including Bolaang-Mongondow. This is a likely reason why officials in Batavia complained that Francis "exceeded the points he was supposed to

[199] Francis was an Englishman born in Cochin (India) and one of the first directors of the *Javasche Bank*. Bosma, "Het cultuurstelsel en zijn buitenlandse ondernemers: Java tussen oud en nieuw kolonialisme," 17.
[200] See a discussion on this time from the following: Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, 89-126 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992).
[201] Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," *Colonialism and Culture*.
[202] ANRI Besluit Governeur-Generaal, 9 January 1846, no. 1.

investigate."[203] At any rate, his findings and recommendations were to be implemented beyond Minahasa in the succeeding decade.

Following Francis' recommendations and despite stringent opposition from the government-owned *Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij* (NHM),[204] the ports of Kema and Manado were declared free ports in 1849 following the model of Singapore.[205] Chinese and Arab traders were free to trade and stay in Manado albeit in their respective designated quarters (*kampung*). Previously controlled items such as firearms and opium were allowed as trade commodities.[206]

Francis also recommended the termination of forced deliveries of rice in Minahasa. He opined that like in Java the policy "leaves nothing worthy in those places" and as such was "a hindrance to the development of trade."[207] As Francis had advocated, compulsory rice deliveries in exchange for blue and white *salemporis* (a kind of textile)[208] were to be ended in Minahasa in 1852. Instead a monetary tax of *f* 5 per household was instituted.[209]

In Bolaang-Mongondow, Francis noted in his inspection that the rajas had difficulty mustering people for gold mining[210] and that the raja and his chiefs could only command the following of 3,000 of the 25,000 Mongondorese.[211] He recommended that in Bolaang-Mongondow as in other regions of north Sulawesi, a head tax instead of a land tax (as in Java) was more appropriate.[212] He likewise suggested the appointment of a *posthouder* or a low-ranking European colonial official in Bolaang for purposes of effective colonial governance and taxation.[213]

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[203] ANRI Besluit Governeur-Generaal, 3 September 1850 no. 10, M.A.S. 31/5/1848 to RM.
[204] ANRI Besluit Governeur-Generaal, 3 September 1850 no. 10, Advies van de Factorij der Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij, 6 July 1847.
[205] NA MvK inv. 2.10.01, no. 2710, 8 September 1848.
[206] NA MvK inv. 2.10.01, no. 2710, 8 September 1848.
[207] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Verslag van den Kommissaris voor Menado, Vijfde Afdeling.
[208] ANRI Besluit Governeur-Generaal, 9 January 1846 no 1.
[209] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*, 64-65.
[210] ANRI Besluit 3 September 1850 no. 10, Missive van de Generale Directie van Financien, 5 February 1848, no. 50.
[211] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, Verslag van den Kommissaris van Menado: Tweede Afdeeling, 19v.
[212] ANRI Besluit 3 September 1850 no. 10, Missive van de Generale Directie van Financien, 5 February 1848, no. 50.
[213] ANRI Besluit 3 September 1850 no. 10, Missive van de Generale Directie van Financien, 5 February 1848, no. 50.

Francis' mission to north Sulawesi can be viewed within the broader colonial policy of economic openness alongside more stringent political control. While the government was opening pockets of ports to foreign trade, it was also actively seeking to expand and maintain political and fiscal supremacy through its local agents (the chiefs, rajas, and sultans). Government control and support of local rulers were crucial in maintaining order amidst increasing economic flows that often challenged existing political borders and social hierarchies.

These reforms were made more urgent by perceived external threats especially from the British who the Dutch feared might collude with local rulers. In 1846, the colonial government required the south Sulawesi chiefs to renew the 1667 Treaty of Bungaya[214] to assert Dutch authority beyond the coast and "to protect the integrity of the colony" against possible "intruders" like the settler-raja James Brooke of Borneo.[215] The government also undertook a survey of Tidorese vassal possessions in New Guinea to counter a supposed British threat in 1848.[216]

However, it was during the tenure of the Resident of Menado, A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859), that the implementation of these reforms witnessed its peak. [217] Jansen had been most concerned in enacting policies that would benefit the well-being of the majority while maintaining and even strengthening the authority of local chiefs. He widely promoted the cultivation of cash crops by tightly controlling and propping up the Minahasan chiefs.[218] He oversaw the first years of implementation of a monetary taxation of *f* 5 per household in Minahasa that replaced obligatory rice deliveries.

In August 1857, Jansen notified the chiefs of the dependencies located along northern Sulawesi coast (*di sablah fihakh oetara deri poeloh Selebes*) of his forthcoming visit and

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[214] See Leonard Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 305.
[215] C. Lulofs and C. Lulofs, *Onze politiek tegenover de buitenbezittingen* (Batavia : Van Dorp & Co, 1908), 17.
[216] F. Huizinga, "Relations between Tidore and the North Coast of New Guinea in the Nineteenth Century," in *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia*, ed. Jelle Miedema, Cecilia Ode, and Rien A. C. Dam, (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 388.
[217] MvK 2.10.02, 5922, Geheim Verbaal, 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 Ag 1862. Jansen previously served in Buitenzorg as a high-ranking member (*kommies*) of the General Secretariat (*Algemeene Secretarie*) from 1844-1853. See Almanak en Naam-Register van Nederlandsch-Indie, (Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, [various years]).
[218] MvK 2.10.02, 5922, Geheim Verbaal, 3 March 1863, no. 41, Rapport van den Commissaris voor de Residentie Menado to GG, M. W. Scheltema, 19 Ag 1862.

specifically his plan to visit the Mongondow uplands.[219] The interest in expanding the reach of the colonial state during his tenure is evident. By 1857 he had visited the Sangir archipelago twice.[220] He also favored the extension of colonial rule to the unoccupied regions around Tomini Gulf.[221]

Jansen together with the junior functionary J. G. F. Riedel,[222] and most likely accompanied by a large native entourage undertook the first colonial expedition to the uplands of Mongondow in September 1857.[223] Jansen's main objective was to investigate the demographic, political, and economic conditions in Mongondow to prepare for the fiscal reforms similar to those that had been implemented in adjacent Gorontalo. In 1850 the government had ordered that the smaller polities that constituted the *kerajaan* of Gorontalo shift from (panned) gold (dust) delivery to a monetary taxation.[224]

Jansen's findings in the uplands were striking. He marveled that the Mongondow chiefs had "succeeded in hiding the real situation of their land until the second half of the nineteenth century."[225] In 1829 the chiefs reported that their subjects numbered only 2,000.[226] Just prior to Jansen's expedition, the chiefs related that the entire population of Mongondow totaled 3,336.

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[219] ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Afgaande Brieven Manado 3de kwaartal, 13 Augustus 1857, no. 806 to the rajas and mantris of BM, BUki, Bintauna, Bolaang-Itang, Kaidipang, Buol, Tontoli.

[220] First was in 1853 (with the Dutch missionary L. J. Van Rhijn?), 2.10.02, 7170, Oost-Indische Besluit, 21 June 1855. Second was in 1857. ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Afgaande Brieven Manado 3de kwaartal, 13 Aug 1857, no. 812 to the GG.

[221] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5891, Exh. 1 July 1857 No. 333 Geh., Letter of RM Jansen, 6 Jul 1855 to Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden te Amboina.

[222] Jansen's letters to local chiefs were most likely penned by the European-educated functionary and son of pioneer missionary in Minahasa, J. G. F. Riedel, who Jansen praised as possessing an "unusual capability" in writing Malay. Riedel was employed in the Resident's office. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5891, Exh. 1 July 1857 No. 333 Geh., Letter of RM Jansen, 6 Jul 1855 to Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden te Amboina. See for instance, J. G. F. Riedel's collection of stories written in Manadonese Malay. J. G. F. Riedel, *Inilah pintu gerbang pengatahuwan itu apatah dibukakan guna orang-orang padudokh tanah Minahasa ini*, 10 vols. (Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, 1862-1874).

[223] They became the first Europeans to journey to Mongondow in the modern period. F. S. A. de Clerq, "Schets van het Landschap Bolaang-Mongondow," *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 7, (1883): 116.

[224] ANRI Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal 3 April 1850, no. 29.

[225] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.

[226] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.

Dubious of the number, Jansen himself counted the houses and estimated that there were 12,000 Mongondorese.[227]

Jansen drew up a contract with the new raja of Bolaang-Mongondow, A. C. Manoppo[228] suspending the old gold tribute and requiring each household to pay *f* 5 per year. Of the total collection, 10 percent was to be shared between the raja and his subordinate chiefs while the rest of the proceeds went to the colonial treasury.[229] After the Mongondow chiefs pled for a reduction of taxes, Jansen reduced the total taxes by half from *f* 8000 to *f* 4000 because the goal of taxation, according to Jansen, was "not material exploitation but to show evidence of vassalage" to the colonial state.[230]

Jansen, like his predecessor Francis, also advised the posting of a colonial officer in Bolaang. However, while direct taxation was successfully implemented almost immediately after Jansen's travel, the plan of posting a colonial functionary was realized only in 1901.[231] These reforms, therefore, were necessarily channeled through the traditional political hierarchy.

3.2.2. Conversion and the contingent effect of taxation

The visits of Francis and Jansen and their subsequent policies had a contingent effect on Bolaang-Mongondow. As the government enforced direct taxation, it indirectly strengthened the authority of the uppermost layer of the political elite—the raja especially—who successfully launched an Islamizing campaign.

The decision of Raja Jacobus Manoppo in 1848 to officially become Muslim occurred a year or two after Francis' visit.[232] Several reasons are conceivable to account for the timing of his decision. First, Manoppo was likely aware of Francis' suggestion to install a European *posthouder* in Bolaang. Considering that such a *posthouder* would have been the first colonial official to reside permanently in Bolaang-Mongondow and given what Jansen later described as

[227] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Out of this 10 percent, 20 percent went to the raja, 10 percent to the *jogugu* (first minister), 10 percent to the *president-raja*, 10 percent to the *kapitan-laut,* 20 percent to the three *panghulus,* and 30 percent to the various *kampung* chiefs. Ibid.
[230] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[231] "Bolaäng-Mongondou," in *Encyclopedië van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 343.
[232] See note 154.

the "devotion of the Mongondow chiefs to their autonomy,"[233] then conversion to Islam might have offered a political sphere that was beyond the research of the Dutch colonial state in the face of colonial expansion.

Second, Manoppo was perhaps following, or if not, anticipating the conversion to Islam of his fellow chiefs. During his visit to upland Mongondow, Resident Jansen noted that the people had been "lost" to Islam. He was likely referring to the converted Mongondow chiefs.[234] For the raja to remain officially Christian while claiming to be the *primus inter pares* among Muslim chiefs did not bode well for the raja's future. The subaltern chiefs' economic, and by extension, religious connection with the often proselytizing Bugis would have undermined the power of a non-Muslim raja among an Islamizing aristocracy.

Third, Manoppo must have sensed the "liberal" disregard to religious matters by colonial officials. In the previous treaty of subjugation that he signed in 1829, no explicit mention of Christianity was made.[235] No Christian religious teacher had been appointed in Bolaang since 1831[236] and even before then the number of pupils in the Christian school had already been dismally low.[237] As mentioned above, when Manoppo requested official approval for his conversion, the colonial officials were only concerned exclusively with the political subjugation of Mongondow.[238] Only a few years later in 1855, the colonial government in its *Reglement op het beleid der regeering van Nederlandsch-Indië* officially enshrined the freedom of religion or more precisely, the abstention of the government from involvement in religious matters. It was based ultimately on the liberal ideas current in the Netherlands at the time.[239] In contrast, the

[233] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[234] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5910A, RM Jansen, Manado 5 Nov 1857, to the Gouverneur der Moluksche Eilanden in Ambon.
[235] ANRI Manado 50.2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, 20r.
[236]"Acten-stukken in zake de vestiging van den Islam in Bolaan-Mongondou." Letter of MvK van Goltstein to NZG, 1 Jan 1881, 80.
[237] KITLV H 70 Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829; Resident D. W. Pietermaat, 31 December 1829.
[238] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, Gedachten over het stichten eener zending in Bolaang Mongondow, Wilken en Schwarz, 23 December 1866, 2.
[239] G. F. Pijper, "De Islampolitiek der Nederlandse Regering," in *Balans van Beleid: Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. H. Baudet en I.J. Brugmans (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961), 210.

treaties during the time of the Dutch East India Company had been unequivocal in requiring Protestant Christianity as the religion of the local rulers.[240]

Whatever the reason for the timing might have been, it is clear that the raja had tangible and symbolic advantages to gain from the widespread conversion of his subjects. Materially, it likely translated to enhanced authority on taxation and other privileges that were either simply absent or previously withheld by competing chiefs. Symbolically, he could claim the distinguishing title of Sultan—the highest political and religious leader of the realm which no other chiefly peer could claim. It remains unclear whether Raja Jacobus Manoppo appropriated the title of Sultan during his lifetime. However, it is clear that he came to be known as Sultan Jacobus Manoppo in local popular memory[241] (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. Tomb of Sultan Jacobus Manuel Manoppo, Desa Bolaang (2013)

[240] ANRI Manado inv. 65, no. 1, Contract between Marcus Manoppo and the VOC, 30 October 1773.

[241] See Dunnebier, "Over de vorsten van Bolaang-Mongondow," 255. His contemporary tombstone might likewise provide a hint (see below).

Although the first attempts of Raja J. M. Manoppo to promote widespread conversion in the late 1840s failed,[242] those of his successor, A. C. Manoppo, succeeded by around 1857. As noted by the Resident in 1860,

> In the last three or four years, a large number of people converted to Islam that now nearly 3/4 of the inhabitants of the 24 kampong which surround Kotabangon [Mongondow] are Muslim… and the rest will follow them…The pagans have long resisted the attempts of conversion by the chiefs and Islamic missionaries …[B]ut because of the regulation instituted [by the raja] which only allows Muslims to trade with the coastal peoples and foreign traders without the mediation of [the lower] chiefs, as well as because of the tax exemption to the new converts and to those who send their children to religious schools, many have denounced their ancestral beliefs and embrace the teachings of Islam.[243]

Resident Jansen's visit and consequent imposition of a monetary tax in 1857 clearly empowered the raja and his highest-ranking chiefs (*mantris*) not only to effectively tax the wider population but also to promote conversion. In fact, the Mongondow elite's instrumentalization of colonial authority to extend their own political agenda was observed by Riedel, Jansen's fellow traveler to Mongondow. Riedel notes that the visits of the high-ranking chiefs in the uplands to "extort" tribute and taxes from its inhabitants "were carried out in the name of the Company."[244] The use of a foreign power by the elite to centralize local authority was not exceptional to north Sulawesi;[245] nor was the use of a foreign power by the local rulers to promote Islamization a feature particular to Bolaang-Mongondow. Examples from the early modern and modern periods mirror that of Bolaang-Mongondow. [246]

Given the above situation, did the raja and his *mantris* benefit in concrete terms from a centralized authority arising from taxation and Islamic conversion?

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[242] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 26.
[243] NA MvK 2.10.02, 6078, Letter of the Resident Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860 to the GG.
[244] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 282.
[245] Luc Nagtegaal, *Riding the Dutch Tiger: The Dutch East Indies Company and the Northeast Coast of Java, 1680-1743* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996); Hans Hagerdal, "Expansion in the Shadow of the Company: Concurrent Representations of Karangasem," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 172, no. 1 (2016).
[246] Alb. C. Kruyt and J. H. Kruyt-Moulijn, "Het Mohammedanisme op Midden-Celebes," in *Brieven van den Zendeling Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt en zijne echtgenoote, uitgezonden door het Ned. Zend. Genootschap, aan hunne vrienden* (Leeuwarden: C. C. Hoekstein, 1926), 7. Johan Talens, "Het sultanaat Banten en de VOC, circa 1680-1720: Nieuwe tijden, nieuwe verhoudingen," in *Hof en handel: Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720*, ed. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Peter Rietbergen (Leiden KITLV Press, 2004). See also, Reid, "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia," 268; Sri Margana, "Java's last frontier : the struggle for hegemony of Blambangan, c. 1763-1813" (PhD. Dissertation, Leiden University, 2007).

Riding the *force majeure* of colonial authority, the Mongondow raja encouraged the expansion of trade in order to collect monetary tax required by the government. The raja and his *mantris* were so successful that complaints immediately reached Manado of the raja's oppressive double taxation.[247] The raja—A. C. Manoppo—likely required the payment not only of the monetary tax for the government (that is, *hasil* [tax] or *uang kepala* [poll tax]) but also of the so–called *kupang dapur* (household tax) that benefitted solely himself.[248] His capacity to extract taxation is in sharp contrast to his predecessor—J. M. Manoppo—who had been removed from office by colonial authorities because of his failure to collect the arguably more extractable tribute.

The successful collection of monetary taxes ultimately hinged upon the central authority's enabling of more subjects to trade "without the mediation of chiefs."[249] The subaltern chiefs of Mongondow—like their Gorontalo counterparts from a few years before—had likely resisted direct monetary taxation because of their already profitable trade with the Bugis who brought textiles and opium from Singapore via Palu or Donggala.[250] The chiefs' attitude would be seen much later in Central Sulawesi where it was observed that the "people 'would be entirely content in this money-less society were it not for the troublesome government, which demands taxes in hard cash.'"[251]

Colonial monetary taxation through the raja was all the more conducive to Islamization given that the source of actual cash (coins) was not exclusively the colonial government. It also did not bind the Mongondorese to a monopolistic colonial cultivation system like the Minahasans. Rather, taxation likely facilitated the connection of the Mongondorese with various Muslim various traders like the Bugis and Arabs.

These chiefs *cum* traders were themselves likely Muslim converts although their subjects in the villages were not. It was a situation reminiscent of the Philippines where "Christian

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[247] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politieke Verslag der Residentie Menado, 1861.

[248] Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur (Nederlandsch-Indië), *Overeenkomsten met de zelfbesturen in de residentie Menado* (S.l. : s.n., 1913). Contract bet E. J. Jellesma and Riedel Manuel Manoppo, 8 July 1896

[249] NA MvK 2.10.02, 6078, Letter of the Resident Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860 to the GG.

[250] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 283.

[251] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 74.

lowlanders resisted efforts by Spanish missionaries to convert the highlanders because they found it useful to have unadministered population with whom to trade."[252]

The resistance of the leaders of the district of Passi in upland Mongondow to the raja's attempts to collect taxes provides a case in point. A few years after the imposition of the monetary tax and strengthening of the raja's authority, the dissatisfied chief of Passi, Lomotu Mokoginta, "went around different villages and held meetings with the chiefs and people to plan a rebellion against the raja."[253] The subaltern chiefs made Mokoginta their ruler and offered him tributes "traditionally given exclusively to the raja."[254] They ceased paying the *hasil* to the government, and the *uang dapur* to the raja, and they refused to deliver manpower for corvée labor.

These were the chiefs who were likely circumvented by the centralizing colonial policy. Their leader (Mokoginta), despite repeated appeals for leniency to the Resident, was detained for five years in Manado.[255] Mokoginta and four other village chiefs were seen by the government as "rebels" and "usurpers of authority" of the legitimate raja.[256] This resistance to the raja and central rule by the leaders of Passi persisted up to the eve of formal colonial rule. Passi was one of two districts (the other was Lolayan) where gangs under the protection of aristocratic sons (the *abo* or *anak raja*) originated to terrorize neighboring settlements including notably, Kotabangon, the seat of the raja.[257] The raja had had persistent difficulties extracting *uang dapur,* specifically in Passi and Lolayan.[258]

Islamization was also notably slow in Passi. While Passi's leader, Mokoginta, and his allies were first-generation Muslims,[259] most of their subjects were not. There was very little effort among the leaders of Passi to Islamize their followers in the nineteenth century that one Christian missionary remarked indicatively and with a tone of relief years later that "thankfully,

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[252] Gibson, "Egalitarian Islands in a Predatory Sea," *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia*, 282.
[253] ANRI, Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal 29 September 1867 no. 18.
[254] ANRI, Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal 29 Sept 1867 no 18.
[255] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Sonder 2 Dec 1874 to the Bestuurders of NZG in Rotterdam.
[256] ANRI, Besluit Gouverneur-Generaal 19 Ag 1868 no 14.
[257] NA Politieke Verslagen en Berichten uit de Buitengewesten, 1898-1940, 2.10.52.01, Mailrapport 1902, no. 836, Kwaadwillige doen een aanval op de gevangenis te Popo (Mongondow), 19 Augustus, Letter of the Resident of Menado, E. J. Jellesma, 31 August 1902 to the Gov. General.
[258]NA Politieke Verslagen en Berichten uit de Buitengewesten, 1898-1940, 2.10.52.01, Mailrapport 1902, no. 1115, Raja R. M. Manoppo ontslagen, Letter of the RM, Jellesma to GG, 19 July 1902, 3.
[259] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1186, Sonder 2 December 1874 to the Bestuurders of NZG in Rotterdam.

there are still many pagans, especially in the district of Passi."[260] Because of this, Passi was chosen as the missionary base of W. Dunnebier, the first Christian missionary in Mongondow.[261]

A notable chief of Passi and Lomotu Mokoginta's descendant, the *jogugu*, Abraham P. Mokoginta, became known as an arch-rival of Raja D. C. Manoppo in the early nineteenth-century. Although Abraham Mokoginta himself was a Muslim, the Christian missionary in Mongondow noted that he was very helpful to the missions.[262] Dunnebier remarked that "no one among the chiefs is more liberal towards Islam than him [Mokoginta]."[263]

In contrast, Islam was closely identified with the raja. Dunnebier observed that the raja's upland base (Kotabangon) was where "Islam has the deepest and strongest roots because this is where the raja lives."[264] Kotabangon and the settlements known to be ruled by the raja's close relatives (Bolaang and Kotabunan) were the only places where there were mosques in 1867.[265] This pattern continued well into the twentieth century. Raja D. C. Manoppo—Abraham Mokoginta's contemporary and rival—travelled to Java in 1907 and "returned more Muslim than before." He opined that (Muslim) Javanese teachers were superior to their Christian Minahasan counterparts. He also urged his subordinates to facilitate the building of more Islamic prayer houses.[266] (see Figure 4.3).

[260] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Sonder 4 April 1905, to NZG, 5.
[261] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1496, Geschiedenis van de komst en de ontwikkeling der Zending in Bolaang-Mongondou.
[262] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Het zendingswerk in Bolaang-Mongondow (Aanvulling op de Mededeling no 59 blz. 97 v.v. afgedrukte lezing van 8 juli 1913], 2.
[263] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Het zendingswerk in Bolaang-Mongondow (Aanvulling op de Mededeling no 59 blz. 97 v.v. afgedrukte lezing van 8 juli 1913], 4.
[264] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1308, Jaarverslag 1928.
[265] Although smaller *langgars* were found in Motoboi-Besar, Moyag, Bintau, and Motoli Besar. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, 22 March 1867, Sonder.
[266] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1113, Het zendingswerk in Bolaang-Mongondow (Aanvulling op de Mededeling no 59 blz. 97 v.v. afgedrukte lezing van 8 juli 1913], 8.

Figure 4.3. A *masjid* in Desa Bongkudai, Mongondow, 1922
(Walter Kaudern Collection, Världskulturmuseerna, Gothenburg)

Because Islam buttressed the raja's symbolic authority especially against competing chiefs, he not only promoted conversion to Islam but also patronized Islamic figures. The raja (A. C. Manoppo) hosted an Arab religious teacher and trader in his settlement (Kotabangon) in 1860.[267] He also hosted the itinerant preacher and trader, Syekh Abdullah bin Razak Imam Syafudi (also known as Imam Syafii), between 1872 and 1874.[268] Imam Syafii came to north-west Sulawesi (Donggala) via Singapore and eastern Kalimantan (Pontianak, Kutai) between 1869 and1871. After he arrived in Mongondow, he married a local noble woman,[269] travelled and proselytized in remote villages often—and most importantly—accompanied by the raja himself.[270] The imam was reputed to have "merged two separate mountains, threw water on

[267] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Letter of RM Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860.
[268] NA Memorie van Overgave inv. 2.10.39, no. 299, Resident of Menado P. van der Crab (1875), 13.
[269] Parengkuan, "Pengaruh Penyebaran Agama Islam Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Politik di Daerah Sulawesi Utara."
[270] Around 1875, he was supposed to have returned to Arabia via Batavia after writing a book for his followers in north Sulawesi.

criminals who immediately died but lived again at the command of the Imam, to confess to their crimes."[271] He was popular among the inhabitants of Mongondow and was thought to have helped in converting locals.

Through his Islamizing campaign, the raja was able to solidify his stand against Christian missionization and therefore his position as both the religious and political leader of his realm. Raja A. C. Manoppo was consulted by the Resident of Menado on the wish of missionaries N. P. Wilken and J. G. F. Schwarz to travel in preparation for a mission post. The raja was said to have strongly expressed his opposition and exclaimed that the "Mongondow people want independence!"[272]

The raja likewise continued to engage, probably in more limited capacity, in the traditional chiefly activity of commerce. For instance, the Mongondow raja could still influence the terms of trade for Mongondow coffee because he was directly involved in the coffee trade in its various stages from acquisition to selling to middle men. However, in neighboring Minahasa, the coffee trade had been a monopoly of the Dutch government from the early nineteenth century while trade for Minahasan coffee had long been a government monopoly. In 1880 the raja at the time agreed that the Chinese *kapitan* (captain) of Amurang named Ong Hee Liong could transport Mongondow coffee to Makassar for *f* 1 a pikol.[273] In contrast, the Christianized Minahasan chiefs likely made higher gross earnings, but their political role was increasingly detached from commerce and bureaucratized. Indeed, at the height of Resident Stakman's reforms in the 1890s which sought to remove *corvée* labor that benefitted the chiefs,[274] the Minahasan chiefs expressed discontent that they were "persecuted and trampled down because [they] accepted Christianity, [while] the Muslims and pagans of the adjacent polity of Bolaang-Mongondow have a more peaceful and pleasant existence."[275]

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[271] Memorie van Overgave, Resident of Menado, 1875. NA MvK 2.10.02, 299; 1112, Letter of J. A. T. Schwarz and M. Brouwer to the Bestuurders NZG, Sonder 10 January 1874, 7.

[272] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1210, N. P. Wilken, 1 September, 1864 Tomohon.

[273] NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 300, RM Matthes, 1881.

[274] See discussion in Chapter 3 in particular the reference: M. C. E. Stakman, *De Minahassa; Bezwaarschrift opgemaakt naar aanleiding van het rapport nopens den staat van zaken in de Minahassa uitgebracht door W.O. Gallois, lid van den raad van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Amsterdam: Van Holkema en Warendorf, 1893), Bijlage 4, Nota omtrent de opheffing der persoonlijke- en cultuurdiensten voor de inlandsche bevolking in de Minahassa, in verband met mijn rapport van 24 April 1890 No. 923 en mijne missive aan den Directeurvan Binnenlandsch Bestuur van 25 Februari 1892, no. 582; see also Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 119-141.

[275] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 4554, Verbaal 10 March 1892, Letter of Resident Stakman to the Governor-General, Menado, 27 September 1891.

While the conversion of the raja and his later promotion of conversion had clear material and symbolic advantages, what could have been the motivation of the many who converted?

While the conversion of the raja and his later promotion of conversion had clear material and symbolic advantages, what could have been the motivation of the many who converted?

There are several possible reasons but there are at least two more prominent ones. The first is the explanation that focuses on material incentives. It has two components: the incentive to a (temporary) relief of taxation accorded by the raja[276] and the freedom to trade unbridled by their immediate chiefs. The payment of exorbitant taxes and oppression by those with fiscal authority had long been a barrier to conversion. Evidence from the Philippines shows that Spanish-imposed taxes upon colonized natives prevented the conversion of many to Catholicism.[277] Numerous inhabitants from Minahasa migrated to Mongondow to escape the forced coffee cultivation.[278] In Mongondow itself, there were rumors of higher taxation (*f* 7) for Christians as opposed to (*f* .50) for Muslims once the supposedly "invading Turks" defeated the Dutch in the Netherlands Indies [279] Because of this, locals who were about to be baptized as Christians by a European missionary retreated.

The second reason is the explanation that emphasizes the social and more symbolic gains of the converts. Given Islam's association with the raja and given the promise of social advancement attached to religion and especially attendance in a religious school (*pondok*), conversion to Islam offered obvious advantages. This new situation has to be understood in the context where Christianity in particular and religious education in general had traditionally been associated with the numerically small political elite.[280] The establishment of a *pondok* in Kotabangon where new converts were supposed to have been required "to send their children"[281] seems to have been part of a broader renewal of Islamic education throughout the archipelago.[282]

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[276] Letter of the Resident Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860 to the GG, NA MvK 2.10.02, 6078.
[277] See Damon L. Woods, "Out of the Silence, the Men of Naujan Speak: Tagalog Texts from the Seventeenth Century," *Philippine Studies* 63, no. 3 (2015); Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1973).
[278] Riedel, "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow," 481.
[279] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no, 1113, Report 1910.
[280] See Part 1 above.
[281] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, Letter of the Resident Bosscher, Manado, 25 September 1860 to the GG.
[282] Ali, "Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Kelantan"; Azyumardi Azra, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi* (Jakarta: Logos, 2003).

As such, Islam provided an additional, if not an alternative, form of social affiliation that transcended older and often oppressive social identities that benefitted only the aristocratic elite. Mongondow tradition (*adat*) dictated that other classes were forbidden to own various sorts of clothing, house furniture, and decorations.[283] When one repeatedly disobeyed these sumptuary laws, then gangs of aristocratic sons (*abo-abo*) confiscated the goods that people were not supposed to possess, given their social status.[284]

An exhaustive list of these sumptuary laws and related regulations affirming the ascendancy of Mongondow's traditional chiefly elite (*bangsa*) were put in writing (and later published) probably under the instigation of the missionary-born and scholar-official J. G. F. Riedel who had accompanied Resident Jansen in his 1857 trip to Mongondow.[285] The Mongondorese law book (*wetboek*) stipulated, for instance, that the display of such prestige goods as Central Asian textiles (Atlas silk), diamonds, and gold jewelry were prohibited among the people "far away from the aristocratic class" (*bangsa soedah djaoeh di mertabat Radja*) and that whoever transgressed this prohibition would be "punished heavily" (*dapat hoekoeman jang berat*).[286] This seemingly entrenched cultural logic underpinned the numerous instances of extortion and violence committed by the aristocratic class against the non-elites up until the eve of direct colonial rule in the early twentieth century.[287]

Conversion to Islam was not a zero-sum game where only the raja or the masses benefitted. Even though it was promoted by a centralizing raja who rode, as it were, on the back

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[283] See Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (PNI), Afschrift van het Bolaang Mongondowsche wetboek, 27 VT. There are at least four traditional social classes in Mongondow: *mododatu* (raja class), *kohongian* (lower nobility), *simpal* (free people), and *tahig* (slaves). *Adat Istiadat Daerah Sulawesi Utara*, ([Jakarta]: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977/1978), 105.

[284] J. A. T. Schwarz, HUA 1102-1 1186, Sonder, 1 May 1871.

[285] Johanis Manuel Menopo, "Menambahi deri kaoel dan perdjandjian diboeat pengakoewan dan di bertegoehken segala hal-hal diantara oleh akoe Padoeka Radja Johanis Manuel Menopo serta mantri2 koe jang bergoena sekarang soedah mengakoe dan mengarti hadat2 di tanah Karadjaan Bolaang Mongondo [...]," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 35, (1893). A manuscript (original?) of this document is available at the Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia (PNI) in Jakarta. See inv. 27 VT, "Afschrift van het Bolaang Mongondowsche wetboek," 1855 [?] which formed part of what was perhaps the scholarly collection of J. G. F. Riedel that came to the former *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. See *Katalog Naskah Aneka Bahasa Koleksi Museum Nasional*, ([Jakarta]: Museum Nasional, 1983).

[286] Menopo, "Menambahi deri kaoel dan perdjandjian diboeat pengakoewan dan di bertegoehken segala hal-hal diantara oleh akoe Padoeka Radja Johanis Manuel Menopo serta mantri2 koe jang bergoena sekarang soedah mengakoe dan mengarti hadat2 di tanah Karadjaan Bolaang Mongondo [...]," 490-491.

[287] See cases, HUA 1186, Letter to the Bestuurders NZG, Sonder, 1 September 1875, 15; Mailrapport 1902, 836 Kwaadwillige doen een aanval op de gevangenis te Popo (Mongondow), 19 Augustus, Letter of the Resident of Menado, E. J. Jellesma, 31 August 1902 to the Gov. General; Memorie van Overgave, 302, S. J. M. van Geuns 1906; Rayat Bolaäng Mongondow, 31 October 1932.

of colonial fiscal and political centralization, the incentives for the raja were clear—subverting the lower chiefs, facilitating monetary taxation among the greater populace, and pleasing his colonial patrons by enriching their coffers.

Yet at the same time, conversion to Islam by the greater majority not only enabled this majority to trade and accumulate wealth with fewer restrictions. It also created pathways for social advancement outside the old cultural logic of fixed social status and restricted property rights. That Islam functioned as a liberating force in an indigenous society in its initial phases of Islamization was also noted by A. C. Kruyt among the Torajas of central Sulawesi more than half a century later.[288]

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has pointed to the close connection between the colonial liberal reforms of the 1850s and the large-scale conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow. While Islamic traders and preachers—whether Arab, Gorontalese, or Bugis—were likely important as sources of religious orthodoxy and orthopraxy, the conversion of the many depended upon the bureaucratic power of the colonial state as intrumentalized by the raja. Direct colonial taxation carried out by the Islamizing leaders of Mongondow not only allowed more subjects to trade but also to become part of the raja's religion (Islam). It meant the circumvention of the various local chiefs who had hitherto controlled trade and had likely prevented the conversion of their respective subjects.

The chiefly strategy of the Mongondorese raja, A. C. Manoppo, of relying upon the political support of the Dutch while drawing legitimacy through Islamization to centralize authority was not exceptional in the region. As seen in the discussion on the eighteenth-century Gorontalese raja, Monoarfa, political and military support from the avowedly Christian Dutch East India Company and chiefly patronage of Islam could conveniently co-exist as a strategy of maintaining legitimacy and sovereignty vis-à-vis enemies from within and without.

That it was Islam (and not Christianity) that had been the choice of A. C. Manoppo of Bolaang-Mongondow to centralize his rule in the mid-nineteenth century seemed to have hinged on several factors—yet the most crucial among these had been the Islamic conversion of the

[288] Kruyt and Kruyt-Moulijn, "Het Mohammedanisme op Midden-Celebes," *Brieven van den Zendeling Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt en zijne echtgenoote, uitgezonden door het Ned. Zend. Genootschap, aan hunne vrienden*, 10.

region's political elite following the decline of the Company in the late eighteenth-century. Conversion to Islam very likely afforded the region's mutually competing elites access to the bourgeoning Islamic trade in the region, even as they likely prevented their subjects to trade themselves. The apical ruler of Bolaang-Mongondow likely saw the usefulness of Islam to counterbalance the increasing competition from his chiefly peers. As one can extrapolate from contemporaneous Dutch sources, the raja opened the channels of trade and Islam to ordinary Mongondorese. This was only possible because the Dutch colonial state channeled political and, especially fiscal, power through the raja.

The raja of Bolaang-Mongondow, therefore, came to closely resemble the *hukum majoor* (district chief) of Tonsea, O. J. Pelenkahu, who was also empowered by the colonial state and who likewise promoted the mass conversion of his claimed subjects at exactly the same period. The difference lies not only in the choice of religion but also in the more powerful apical chiefs whom the colonial state-induced centralization in Mongondow had created.

The following chapter on Sangir-Talaud illustrates how the mix of competitive local chiefly politics, uncommitted Christian missionization, and the absence of modern colonial governance delayed the religious transformations that occurred in Mongondow and Minahasa.

CHAPTER 5
Christianization in Sangir-Talaud

This chapter explains the phenomenon of Christian conversions in Sangir-Talaud. It illustrates the centrality of colonial centralization as the ultimate driving force for the massive conversions of the Sangirese-speaking peoples to Protestant Christianity. It identifies the last decade of the nineteenth century as a major turning point when colonial policy induced deep political and economic shifts in the traditional society of Sangir-Talaud. It shows that despite earlier attempts to convert the Sangirese in the preceding decades, success remained rather limited.

This chapter argues that large-scale conversions came as a result of the political and economic policies that weakened the authority of the traditional chiefs (rajas) and strengthened and centralized the power of the colonial government. Centralization came in the form of monetary taxation, obligatory monetarization of the copra trade, abolition of slavery, and the appointment of a resident colonial functionary for the main Sangirese islands. Colonial centralization freed many of the Sangirese from the traditional bonds that tied them to their chiefs. However, it crucially widened, if not opened, the political space for Christian missionaries—with explicit support from the colonial government—to penetrate Sangir-Talaud's traditional society hitherto guarded by local chiefs.

Before the colonial reforms of the 1890s, the Sangirese archipelago had been ruled indirectly from Manado by five rajas and their respective councils who possessed varying degrees of political, economic, and religious autonomy and monopoly. Their wealth lay mostly in their control of manpower (slaves) and resources (for example, edible bird's nests) as well as generating profits for themselves through their control of trade and goods redistribution. They forbade their subjects to trade with Europeans (*borgo*) and Chinese from Manado and Makassar. Moreover, through agreements with visiting traders, the chiefs also resisted shifting from barter to monetary exchange in the interest of greater profit. As a result, the political and economic power that underpinned the authority of the raja and maintained traditional society was preserved even though a small network of mission schools and western missionaries had had a permanent presence since the mid-nineteenth century.

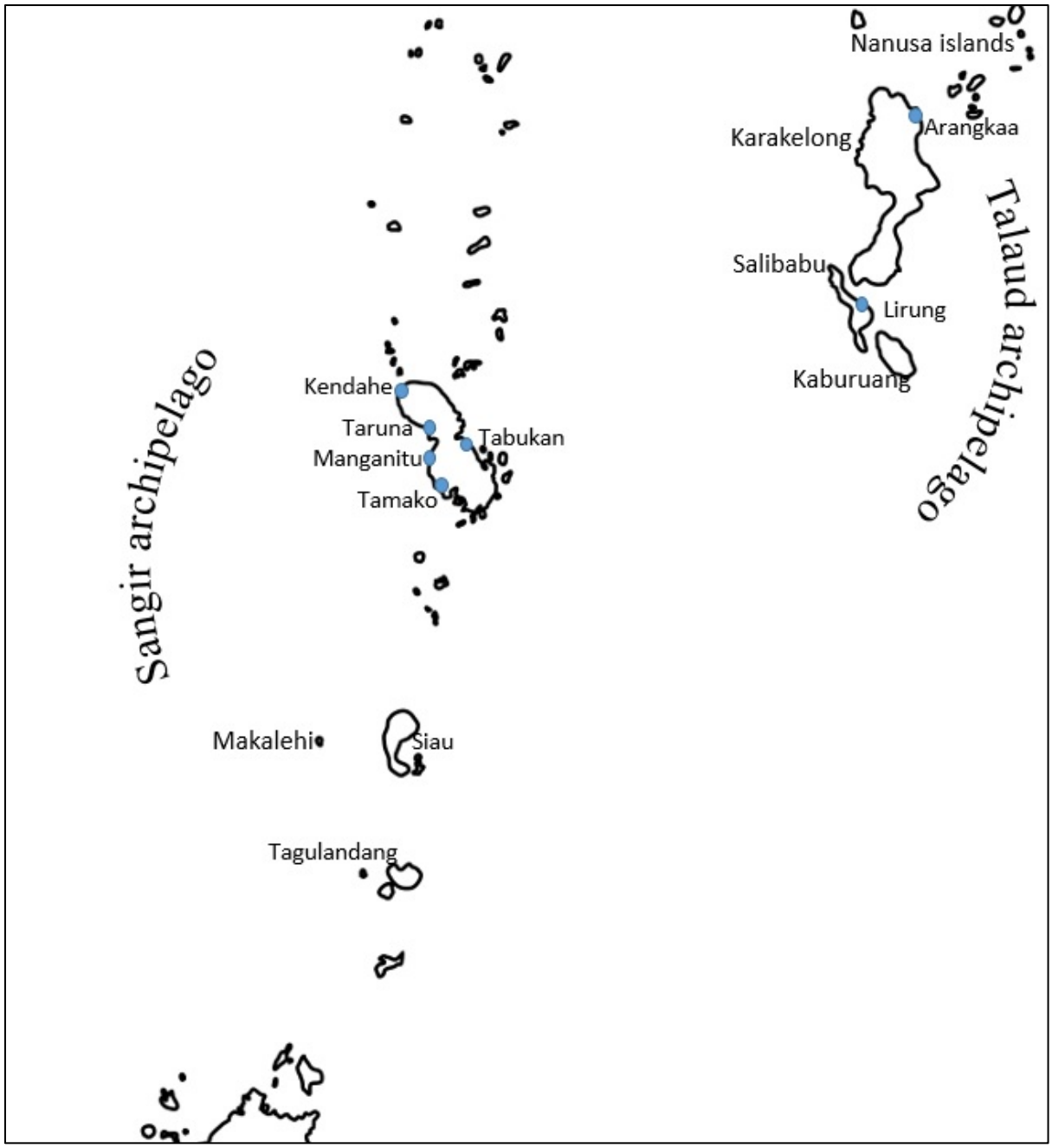
However, colonial reforms forcibly opened the economy and politics of Sangir. Monetary taxation was introduced and monetary exchanges instead of barter were required. For instance, the influential raja of Siau, Jacob Ponto, who ruled Siau for around 40 years, lost his claim to his slaves in the resource-rich island of Makalehi, which was previously closed to outsiders, missionaries especially. The promotion of Christian conversion and education came alongside the presence of reforming colonial functionaries. These changes occurred in the main Sangirese islands in the 1890s and in the Talaud archipelago in the first decades of the next century.

The case of Sangir-Talaud mirrors that of Minahasa and even that of Bolaang-Mongondow in that conversions were a direct result of colonial centralization. The twin policies of monetarization of economic exchange and imposition of monetary taxes seem to reflect what had occurred in Mongondow and Minahasa in the 1850s. In all the three cases, the colonial policy of bringing more people closer to the market and thus away from the monopoly of local chiefs was a crucial element in the conversion to world religions. Moreover, in all three cases the centralizing authority seemed to have justified the circumvention of local rule by promoting religious conversion and thus an affiliation with a supra-local identity.

This explanation to Sangirese conversions deviates from the oft-cited "social crisis" explanation in that it is less about the prohibition of traditional religious rituals leading to the search for new religious meanings,[1] and more about a colonial policy circumventing local rule and expanding the social, political, and economic horizons of ordinary individuals.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section describes Sangirese society and politics before the late nineteenth century. It points out that the profession of Christianity had long been limited to the aristocratic few. The second section focuses on the challenge posed by the missionaries who came to Sangir in the 1850s and the local Sangirese elite's reaction to the missionaries' presence. It focuses on the life and career of Jacob Ponto, raja of Siau, and how he succeeded in resisting the missionaries through his close association with the colonial officials in the regional center at Manado. The third section presents the colonial centralizing reforms from the late 1880s onwards and how they likely effected the conversions in the archipelago.

[1] Bigalke, "Government and Mission in the Torajan World of Makale-Rantepao"; Tauchmann, "Die Religion der Minahasa-Stämme (Nordost-Celebes/Sulawesi)."



Map 5.1
Map of the Sangir and Talaud archipelagos
(Map by author)

1. Sangirese Christians and the Dutch East India Company

Christianity has had a long history in the Sangir archipelago, yet there is little knowledge of how early modern Christianity intersected in Sangirese political and social life. Drawing from

historical accounts of various incidents, this section highlights three themes through which Christianity can be understood in Sangirese society. First, Christianity became an incontrovertible mark of regional political affiliation. Second, it became embedded within the long-standing status-based politics of the Sangirese. Finally, it provided a basis for a nascent moral ethos, especially among the Sangirese political elite. Therefore, one can argue that as a political and cultural force, Christianity or its attendant institutions played an increasingly important role for the political elite, but it played a much less important role in the lives of the majority of the Sangirese. Before proceeding to these points, a brief introduction to the region is in order.

Sangir's importance in the region's broader history is ultimately linked to its proximity to the famed Spice Islands.[2] Members of Ferdinand Magellan's celebrated expedition in search for spices noted in 1521 that Sangir had "four kings" (that is, chiefs)—two of whom certainly referred to those from Siau and Tagulandang.[3] With the support of the Spanish crown, Catholic missions were established in Sangir between 1639-1656 as part of the larger plan to wrest control of the Moluccas.[4] A chief named Jeronimo II Winsulangi was eventually installed in Manila as "king" of Siau by the Spanish. Winsulangi's children also attended Manila's Jesuit school.[5]

However, the Spanish defeat by the Dutch in 1677 effectively ended any Catholic presence, which was later supplanted by Protestant missions. The Dutch for their part, pursued a policy of Christianization that matched and even exceeded earlier Spanish efforts,[6] which was likely motivated by the Dutch contention that the Sangir archipelago was the "extrememost corner of the Spice Islands."[7] The policy to Christianize—at least its local elite—was likely

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[2] See Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: Miraguano/ Polifemo, 1992).
[3] Shinzo Hayase, "Historico-Geographical World of Sangir: An Ethno-history of East Maritime Southeast Asia," *Kinaadman* 27, (2005): 3-4. See also H. Jacobs, "The Insular Kingdom of Siau under Portuguese and Spanish Impact, 16th and 17th Centuries," in *Regions and Regional Developments in the Malay-Indonesian World*, ed. Bernhard Dahm, 33-43 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992).
[4] Achilles Meersman, *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1967), 7. See also C. Wessels, *De Katholieke Missie in de Molukken, Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe-Eilanden gedurende de Spaansche Bestuursperiode, 1606-1677* (Tilburg: Henri Bergmans and Cie. , 1935).
[5] Jean-Nöel Sánchez Pons, "Misíon y dimisíon: Las Molucas en el siglo XVII entre Jesuitas Portugueses y Españoles," in *Jesuitas e Imperios de Ultramar Siglos XVI-XX*, ed. Alexander Coello, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno (Madrid Silex, 2012), 102.
[6] See Hendrik E. Niemeijer, "Political Rivalry and Early Dutch Reformed Missions in Seventeenth-Century North-Sulawesi (Celebes)," in *Missions and Missionaries*, ed. Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod, 32-49 (Rochester, NY The Boydell Press, 2000).
[7] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 3652 (Ternate), 8.

deemed as a barrier, not only against any Spanish designs but also against the surrounding Muslim polities.

Under the Dutch East India Company almost all Sangirese chiefs (rajas) professed Christianity and became vassals of the Company, regularly contributing coconut oil and when necessary, manpower and sea-craft. These rajas, essentially *primus inter pares* chiefs and leading members of the upper-class families who claimed authority over a number of other villages *(negeri*), were intermittently engaged in petty conflicts. However, through frequent inter-marriages between the ruling families, political frictions were lessened,[8] thereby broadening horizontal connections among families—a process which likely created (or reinforced) a distinct ruling class.[9] Meanwhile the Company acted not only as an overarching political power which adjudicated intra-Sangirese conflicts, but it also served as a political ally against raids from neighbors—notably Maguindanao—in the late eighteenth century.[10] The Sangirese elites, therefore, had long experienced the political benefits of allying with a militarily superior foreign power. One could argue that the most important manifestation of such an alliance was the conversion to Christianity by the ruling chiefs.

1.1. Christianity as political affiliation

Christianity was closely interpreted as a sign of political alignment with the Dutch in Manado. As such, outward adherence to Christian practices was readily interpreted as a possible indication of the political sentiment of the Sangirese chiefs. That the Company favored Christianity is evident from several attested eightenteenth century incidents which are described below.

[8] ANRI Manado inv. 46, no. 2, Bundle: Van Delden, 27-28.
[9] Some families monopolized the top positions. In Tabukan for example, the Dalero family of Moade (Salurang, south of Tabukan) was understood as the source of the rajas, while the lesser nobles (*rijksbestierders*) were to be chosen from the Pandialang family of Sahabe (north of Tabukan). K. G. F. Steller and W. E. Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), 161.
[10] See reports relating to this phenomenon in the following: ANRI Ternate inv. 1; NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, Generale Missive from Amsterdam to Batavia (1780).

In October 1779, the junior merchant of the Ternate *comptoir* of the Company, F. B. Hemmekam,[11] visited the majority-Muslim village of Talawid in the petty chiefdom of Kendahe. His visit to Talawid was part of a mission to require the Christian chiefs of the various Sangirese polities to deliver *kora-kora* (large vessels) with accompanying crews in preparation for an expedition against the Maguindanao pirates.[12] Hemmekam's objective was to ascertain the loyalty of the various coastal Sangirese villages. While most of the Sangirese polities were under the influence of the Christian chief of Siau, Talawid was distinct because of its subordination to "obstinate Muslim chiefs."[13]

The initial reception of the Muslim inhabitants of Talawid to Hemmekam's arrival reveals a sentiment of a people excluded by the Company's patchy Christian conversion of the Sangirese. Everyone in the village was armed and fearful. As one Muslim religious leader stated, they were afraid because they were Muslims while Hemmekam was Christian and because "the Dutch consider the people of Talawid not as favorably as the Christian Sangirese." In an attempt to reassure the Muslim Sangirese, Hemmekam replied, "the Dutch Company does not impose upon anyone, but allows freedom of religion." However, he also qualified his statement: "those who had converted to Christianity could not change religion" and Muslims were prohibited to proselytize among Christians.[14]

The Talawid Muslim chief's compounding of Christianity with Dutch political support could not be more precise. In the year of Hemmekam's visit to Sangir, the entire archipelago had 15 local Christian schoolteachers, six *kerkmarinjos* (helpers) and 696 schoolchildren scattered among the major settlements, [15] all of whom were likely relatives of the ruling chiefs. Since the late seventeenth century, when the Sangirese rajas agreed to acknowledge the Company as their supreme patron,[16] the Company almost unfailingly appointed Christian rulers. That the Company favored Christian over Muslim chiefs is apparent in the case of the supra-village political entity of Kendahe.

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[11] Francois Bartholomeus Hemmekam, who was born in Middelburg and served as *Onderkoopman* and *fiscal*, entered the service of the Company in 1751 as a *hooploper* (young sailor), NA VOC 8161 Ternate, Kopie-resoluties van de Raad van Politie van Ternate, Monster roll, 30 June 1780, 684-685.
[12] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, *Generale Missive* from Batavia to Amsterdam (1780).
[13] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, 69.
[14] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, 89.
[15] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, 61-62.
[16] David Henley, "A Superabundance of Centers: Ternate and the Contest for North Sulawesi," *Cakalele* 4, (1993): 46.

In the early eighteenth century, the Company appointed the Muslim apostate and recent Christian convert, Johannes Karambutu, as chief of Kendahe.[17] After the eruption of Awu volcano in 1711, the old Kendahe main settlement at Maselihe was destroyed,[18] forcing many to flee to Sarangani (southern Philippines). By appointing Karambutu, the Company hoped that Kendahe—previously ruled by a Muslim chief who died in the eruption[19] —would become Christian and make all of Sangir an entirely Christian domain.[20] To the Company, however, the Kendahe inhabitants who were not Christians were free to transfer their residence to Muslim Sarangani, where many had already emigrated following the disaster.

Favoring the Christians is also apparent in the case of slaves sold to the Company by Sulu traders in Ternate. In 1769, 38 individuals forcibly taken from the Philippines,[21] were brought to Ternate, some of whom were hesitantly redeemed by the Company out of "compassion."[22] The sold captives were to be allowed to return to the Philippines after paying around 30-40 *rijksdaalders*, the price of their acquisition by the Company.[23] The Ternate officials emphasized to their superiors in Batavia that no other slaves would be freed unless they were Christians.[24]

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[17] ANRI Ternate inv. 62, "Positive Ordres: Ternate, 20 November 1637- 27 Februarij 1739," "Sangir," 555.

[18] Maselihe was also known as Makiwulaeng or Makiburaeng (literally, "place of gold"). Interview with Ridion Sasiang (Opo Lao, Kendahe 1), Kendahe, 19 December 2013. Shinzo Hayase, Domingo M. Non, and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.), *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia* (Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999), 208.

[19] Prince Siamsiallam, ruler of Kendahe died in the eruption of Awu in 1711. In earlier Company sources, he was also referred to as prince of the upland (Muslim) Maguindanao polity of Buayan. *Generale Missiven*, vol. 5 (1692), 449; NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 1637 Ternate, 113.

[20] ANRI Ternate inv. 62, "Positive Ordres: Ternate, 20 November 1637- 27 Februarij 1739," "Sangir," 555. Karambutu and his people settled in one of the southernmost villages of Sangir (Ngalipaeng), far from the previous Kendahe settlement at the foot of Awu. Hayase, *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*, 144.

[21] Their names immediately reveal their provenance: Isko (Filipino for Francisco), Agustino, Claas (most likely, Kulas, a Filipino pet name for Nicolas), Salvador, Fernando, Pedro, Mariano, Martin, Oesep (Jose?), Domingo, and Andres. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8137 Ternate, Letter of the Governor Hermanus Munnik and Council of Ternate to Governor-General Petrus Albertus van der Parra, September 1769, 2.

[22] Moreover, refusal to purchase these slaves would have discouraged the Sulu to visit Ternate. The Company struggled to keep Sulu under its umbrella by promoting trade in its ports as a measure to curb "illicit trade" elsewhere. NA VOC 1.04.02, no. 8137 Ternate, Letter of the Governor Hermanus Munnik and Council of Ternate to Governor-General Petrus Albertus van der Parra, September 1769, 82.

[23] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8137 Ternate, 82.

[24] Ibid. This incident was likely one of the last (documented) purchases of raided individuals from the Philippines. An earlier regulation (1762) forbade Company servants to trade Filipino slaves after requests from the Spanish authorities in Manila. See *Plakkaat* 1762.

1.2. Relative status, slavery, and Christianity

However, despite the obvious political advantages offered by an alliance with the Company and professing Christianity as one's religion, access to the trappings of Christianity seems to have been confined to the Sangirese elite. One later missionary remarked that even though one-fourth of the Sangirese "call themselves Christians," only 1/100 could be considered "real" Christians, that is, those who attended school and church.[25] Nineteenth century missionaries and colonial officials observed that slaves were not allowed by the chiefly class to attend church and school.[26] One could argue that these nineteenth century observations were true in previous periods. If so, then Christianity could be said to have coincided with or perhaps even subsumed within the "deep structure" of Sangirese society.

Relative status had long been an important feature of Sangirese society. By the nineteenth century, three broad social stratifications were widely recognized: *bangsa* (Sangirese: *papuĕng* "aristocratic class"), *bala-bala* (commoners), and *budak* (Sangirese: *ĕllang* "slaves").[27] The *bangsa* class was further distinguished into: *papun tuha* (pure-blood nobles), *papun beka* (nobles with only one parent from the *bangsa*), and *papun timbang* (nobles whose parents were only partly *bangsa*).[28]

The chiefs (*bebato*)[29] who were almost exclusively from the *bangsa* class were themselves categorized into *bebatom bale* and *bebaton dellahe*.[30] The *bebatom bale* consisted of the higher-ranked chiefs up to *kapitan-laut* while the rest were categorized as *bebaton dellahe*.[31]

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[25] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2821, F. Kelling, Tagulandang, 17 September 1867, fo. 1

[26] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2859, E. Steller, 12 May 1866, 2; NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 July 1896, no. 22, Letter of Res. Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 Ag 1889.

[27] E. Steller, *De Sangi-archipel* (Amsterdam: De Hoogh, 1866), 39.

[28] ANRI Manado inv. 46, no. 2 Bundle: Van Delden, 59.

[29] A North Malukan title, sometimes spelled *bobato*, meaning "those who give orders." It had long been adopted in Sangir. Muridan Satrio Widjojo, "Cross-Cultural Alliance-Making and Local Resistance in Maluku during the Revolt of Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810" (PhD Dissertation, Leiden University, 2007), xii.

[30] Steller and Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register*, 43.

[31] The titles (from highest to lowest) are: (after the raja), *president-raja*, *jogugu*, *president-jogugu*, *kapitan-laut*, *hukum-majoor*, *hukum*, *sadaha-negeri*, *kapitan bicara*, *sangaje*, *kumelaha*, *sawohi*, *sadaha kecil*, *syabandar*, *jurubahasa*, *marinjo-bicara*, *marinjo-balla*, and *marinjo*. ANRI Manado inv. 46, no. 2, Bundle: Van Delden, 53. *Kapitan-laut* (*kapten laut*, *kapitalaung*, and *opo lao* in Sangir) "village or supra-village chief" has been replaced by *kepala desa*/*lurah* in contemporary Sangir; the term for the position below the *kapitan-laut*. *Hukum-majoor* literally, "chief of the house/shelter" has been replaced *kepala lindungan*. *Masalah-masalah hukum perdata di kecamatan*

These names are illustrative of the importance given to the large family houses (*bale*) as a focus of power. Thus, *bebatom bale* referred to the multi-family houses of upper-rank chiefs who lived the core settlement, while *bebatom dellahe* referred to the multi-family houses of lower-rank chiefs who came from and lived in areas outside the core settlement.[32] Slaves were further categorized into three subclasses: hereditary, purchased, and plundered. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, slaves were thought to constitute around one-third of the entire population (see Table 5.1). Many Sangirese slaves traditionally originated from the Talaud archipelago, which is a subject further discussed below.[33]

Table 5.1

Population Data of Sangir

[collected December 1807–January 1808][34]

Name of Settlement	Free People[35]	Slaves[36]	Total
Tagulandang			
Tagulandang	356	224	1051
Minangan	136	102	
Haas	113	120	
Subtotal	605	446	
Siau			
Siau [Ondong]	449	209	1949
Ulu	723	148	
Tamako	350	70	

Manganitu, Kabupaten Kepulauan Sangihe dan Talaud, Daerah Hukum Pengadilan Negeri Tahuna, Wilayah Hukum Pengadilan Tinggi Manado, (Direktorat Kehakiman, 1977), 17.

[32] Steller and Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register*, 94.

[33] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Letter of Resident Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 August 1889.

[34] From a more detailed table: ANRI Manado inv. 68. no. 3, Ingekoomen stukken zoo voor als tegen den koning van Manganitoe Philip David Catjandaho, 1805.

[35] Including young and old men and women.

[36] Including young and old men and women.

Subtotal	1522	427	
Tabukan			
Tabukan	1052	502	3245
Salurang	326	255	
Manalu	164	227	
Kuluw [Kuluhe?]	294	71	
Kuma	108	146	
Tariang	81	19	
Subtotal	2025	1220	
Kandhar	269	7	276
Taruna			
Taruna	1815	128	2776
Kolongan	774	59	
Subtotal	2589	187	
Manganitu			
Manganitu	509	87	810
Negeri Baru	190	24	
Subtotal	699	111	
GRAND TOTAL	**7709**	**2309**	**10107**

1.2.1. Talaud's subservience to Sangir

Although Sangir and Talaud are often treated as a single entity, these two island-groups have their own distinct environments and social structures.[37] Whereas the Sangir islands[38] are adjacent to underwater volcanic formations and are themselves sitting on active volcanoes,[39] the Talaud islands[40] are not volcanic and, therefore, less fertile.[41] Talaud is also located farther away

[37] See Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 76.
[38] Sangir Besar, Siau and Tagulandang island group.
[39] Most prominently: Gunung Awu in Sangir Besar, Gunung Api or Karangetang in Siau and Ruang, nearby Tagulandang.
[40] Composed of the three large islands of Karakelong, Salibabu, Kabaruang, and the islets of Nanusa.

from the main trading centers (Manado and Ternate). Talaud's unfavorable geographic position and general poverty were likely crucial factors which contributed to the Sangirese's domination of the Talaud islands.

Each petty Talaud chiefdom came to recognize an overlord in Sangir (see Map 5.2). For instance, Salibabu Island and vast swathes of Karakelong were domains of Tabukan. Kabaruang Island was under Siau while the densely populated Nanusa islands were under Taruna.[42] This political arrangement probably existed even before the Company was likely reinforced through Company's patronage of the various Sangirese kings. It also mirrored to a great degree the nature of the relationship between Halmaheran villages and their more powerful Tidorese and Ternatan neighbors who had better access to superior arms and commercial opportunities.[43]

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[41] See NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 304, Memorie van Overgave van Menado (1922), Resident Logeman, 10-11.

[42] Manganitu and Tagulandang respectively shared equally small parts of the west and east coasts of south Karakelong with Tabukan. However, Kendahe, the smallest of all Sangirese polities, did not possess any right in Talaud because its people were believed to have been relatively recent migrants from Mindanao. NA MvK, 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Staat aantonende het aantal Districten en Djogoegoeschappen en daartoe behoorende kampongs op de Talauer eilanden, ressorterende onder de verschillende rijken op de Sangir-eilanden; Arsip Manado inv. 166, no. 2, Bundle: Rapport betrekkelijk het oppergezag over- en den toestand van de Talaud eilanden, 12 August 1857, RM [Jansen]; NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 305, Memorie van Overgave van het Bestuur van den Res van M, J. Tideman (1926), 38.

[43] R. Z. Leirissa, "Factors conducive to the Raja Jailolo Movement in North Maluku (1790-1832)," in *Papers of the Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference*, ed. Sartono Kartodirdjo, 96-114 (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986).

Map 5.2
Map of the main Talaud islands showing the domains claimed by the various Sangirese polities (1896)[44]

A Talaud chief was obliged to deliver 10 slaves in order to be recognized as such by his corresponding Sangirese overlord.[45] This tributary relationship of Talaud to Sangir was probably

[44] Note: The Nanusa Islands to the northeast (claimed by Taruna) are not shown. NA MvK, 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22.
[45] In 1866, it was reported that a Talaud chief gave ten slaves to his Sangirese chief. HUA ARvdZ 1102-1, 2859, 12 May 1866, E. Steller to Mev. Gravin van Hogendorp; NA MvK, 1850-1900, 2.10.02, 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Letter of RM Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 August 1889.

a consequence of earlier raids that consequently established Sangirese power.[46] One could argue that the (seasonal) regularity of such slave tributes was partly beneficial to the Talaud villages, which did not have to fear intermittent Sangirese raiding expeditions. It also helped the Talaud chiefs increase influence among their subjects and chiefly peers by associating with the more powerful Sangirese overlord. On the part of the Sangirese chiefs, the slave tributes simplified what would have been an opportunistic, not to mention risky, acquisition of slaves through opportunistic raiding.

The Sangirese chiefs were known to have prevented direct contacts between their Talaud wards and their Dutch patrons in Manado in order to preserve their dominant status.[47] The raja of Tabukan was known to spend several months annually visiting his dependencies in Talaud,[48] probably to assert his authority and to extract further economic surplus (for example, slaves). In 1855, the centralizing colonial, Resident Jansen, declared that the Sangirese rajas had "no right to install chiefs in Talaud."[49] However, such pronouncements were at best admonitions since no actual punishment or regulation was forthcoming from the colonial government. One of the first permanent European missionaries in Sangir continually appealed for the colonial government to disentangle the tributary relationship of Talaud to Sangir.[50] However, as late as 1884, a Sangirese raja still carried out an "armed action"—a maritime raid—in Talaud.[51] It was only in 1912 that the Sangirese rajas formally relinquished their claims to Talaud after pressure from colonial authorities.[52]

However, despite these political and economic ties with Sangir, Talaud remained fragmented with intermittent warring villages. A Catholic priest and maritime adventurer (Carlos

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[46] According to Sangirese oral tradition, links between Sangir and Talaud can be traced to the hero, Makaampo, son of a Tabukan prince and Talaud princess. Makaampo launched raids against Talaud and was notoriously feared and remembered for his brutal ways in enslaving people. He was believed to have thrown a golden necklace in water and those who attempted to search for it ended up as slaves. In another occasion, he threw his fishing net over two *bangsa* women who immediately became his slaves and concubines. Walter E. Aebersold, "Het Verhaal van Makaampo," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, (1957). NA MvK, 1850-1900, 2.10.02, 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Letter of Res. Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 August 1889.

[47] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Bundle: Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado over het jaar 1855; Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 47.

[48] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2859, E. Steller to Mev. Gravin van Hogendorp, 12 May 1866.

[49] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Bundle: Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado over het jaar 1855.

[50] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Letter of the four European missionaries in Sangir to RM, 24 July 1862.

[51] NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 305, Memorie van Overgave van het Bestuur van den Res van M, J. Tideman (1926), 38.

[52] Ibid.

Cuarteron) who made a sojourn to Talaud in 1845[53] counted 50 "rajas" (versus six in Sangir).[54] One missionary attributed such fragmentation to the Sangirese rajas' division of Talaud.[55] However, the political fragmentation was likely due to the tenuous authority of the Sangirese chiefs who themselves were tmutually competing for influence and who generally lacked sufficient power to consolidate whatever authority they did have. Some of the Sangirese rajas even convinced the late nineteenth century colonial government to strengthen their respective positions vis-à-vis the Talaud chiefs.[56]

1.2.2. Relative status in Sangir

However, not all slaves came from chiefly rituals of recognition alone. Some were exchanged by their Talaud chiefs for rice or other articles of trade.[57] Others originated from within the Sangirese polities themselves. Within these polities, one's residence seems to have served as an important marker of slave status.

The farther away one lived from the core coastal *negeri*, the less likely they were to be members of the ruling *bangsa* class and, therefore, the more possibility of being taken as slaves by those from the center. This may have held true unless a new center was founded and whose new rulers intermarried with the ruling group of the old core settlement. H. Th. Chabot's reconstruction of pre-twentieth century Siau refers to the hierarchical distinction between the inhabitants of the large houses along the coast (*balé*) and the scattered smaller garden houses (*daseng*).[58] Affiliation with a *balé*, housing 10 to 20 matrilaterally-connected nuclear families, was more prestigious than living in the *daseng*.[59]

From the numerous cases forwarded by the Sangire elite to the Dutch East India Company during the early colonial period for adjudication, it appears that political life was

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[53] Mike Gibby, "The 'Pirate Priest'—A Reappraisal," *Sabah Society Journal* 22, (2005): 39.
[54] Carlos Cuarteron, *Spiegazione e Traduzione dei XIV Quadri relativi alle isole di Salibaboo, Talaor, Sanguey, Nanuse, Mindanao, Celebes, Borneo, Bahalatolis, Tambisan, Sulu, Toolyan, e Labuan* (Roma: Tipografia della S.C. di Propaganda Fide, 1855), 8.
[55] "Uit een brief van J. Ottow, zendeling op de Talau-eilanden," 13.
[56] Mailrapport 1913, No. 683/2013, Letter of the Res. of Manado van Marle to GG, 6 September 1912.
[57] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 July 1896, no. 22, Letter of Res. Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 Ag 1889. On the nature of and commodities exchanged during Sangirese recognition of Talaurese chiefs, see Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 76.
[58] H. Th. Chabot, "Processes of Change in Siau 1890-1950," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125, (1969).
[59] Ibid.

dominated by the contest for slave-ownership and control.[60] As late as 1853, Resident A. L. Andriessen adjudicated on a slave dispute between the raja of Tagulandang and his subjects. The raja captured a woman named Akumina whom he claimed to be a slave. However, her husband and relatives denied her slave status with the help of the testimony from the local (most likely Ambonese) schoolmaster.[61] In other instances, slaves defied the authority of the coastal raja by escaping to the hinterland or seeking patronage and protection from another supposedly less oppressive chief. In the 1830s, a conflict between the rajas of Siau and Tagulandang ensued after some hereditary slaves of Tagulandang fled to Siau. The slaves had previously built a fortification in the hills of Tagulandang to escape the control of the coastal raja. However, after the attack initiated by the raja against the *benteng,* which resulted in the death of four slaves, the remaining slaves left the island and sought refuge with the raja of Siau, who then claimed ownership over them.[62]

These frequent conflicts may have been symptomatic of the lack of hegemonic control of the chiefs over their subjects, as well as of other factors. Sangirese slavery provided ample room for achieving freedom and higher status to slaves[63] seemingly consistent with the general pattern of the "open-system" of slavery in the region.[64] For example, the rajas of Siau and Manganitu

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[60] There are numerous cases of slave-related conflicts documented by the Company. In 1780 for instance, the raja of Manganitu, Salomon Katiandaho, was accused by the closely allied chiefs of Siau and Taruna of keeping their slaves. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8141 Ternate, Generale Missive from Amsterdam to Batavia (1780), Report of Onderkoopman Francois Bartholomeus Hemmekam on his visit to Sangir (26 May 1780), 107. In the 1760s, the raja of Kandhar [Kendahe], Andries Manabon, complained to the Company that the raja of Tabukan David Johannes Philip and a certain Iman Parensa wanted to have his slaves and properties. The Tabukan raja sent his own mission to Ternate and claimed that the slaves living in Kendahe were his inheritance from his grandmother, Princess Johanna Lekubulam. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 11253, Memorie wegens den presenten staat der Molucckos opgesteld door Jacob van Schoonderwoert afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Ternaten tot narigt van zijnen succeseur Hendrik Breton, 24 July 1766, 18. The previously dismissed raja of Tagulandang was ordered by the Company sergeant at Tabukan to return the slaves he acquired "unlawfully" from a fellow chief. The raja of Tagulandang was said to have "gifted" 20 slaves to his brother-in-law, the raja of Tabukan. NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8100, Letter of the Gov of Ternate to Dirk Roos, Segt. at Tabukan, 11 December 1732, 414-415.

[61] The Resident postponed his decision because neither of the parties could provide legal proof of her ownership, assuming (quite naively) that keeping such "proof" was a widespread practice in this region. ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 1, Bundle: Diverse Correspondentie, 1853, Besluit of the Resident of Manado for 1853.

[62] KITLV H 91, Bundel contracten van de Residentie Menado, no. 3: Korte Aantekeningen op de bestaande Kontracten in de Residentie Menado.

[63] Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), see chapter 5.

[64] See Anthony Reid and Jennifer Brewster, *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St. Lucia and New York: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

were known to have granted freedom to a man slave after a successful headhunt for "service" to the raja.[65] The raja bestowed honorable titles to former slaves for showing loyalty. Such titles included *sadaha-majoor, sadaha, sawohi*, and *marinyo*[66]—all of which were many degrees below the status of the raja himself.[67] As a colonial official observed, "there were [lower] chiefs claimed to be of slave origin by other slaves."[68]

However, despite, or perhaps because of, the fluidity of relative status, distinctions between slave, freeman, and aristocrat were continually emphasized and reinforced, epecially when disruptions to social order arose. This was true during the death of a chief, possibly a time for political transitions and, therefore, of social opportunism. During the long mourning season for a departed chief, whose body could remain unburied for a hundred days, various prohibitions were imposed. If violated, the transgressor could be enslaved. The use of status markers, such as a parasol, was also prohibited, as well as playing musical instruments and firing arms. Those from the aristocratic class who disobeyed these rules lost their status while those from the class of free men became slaves.[69]

The same assertion of tradition amidst probable social mobility arose when European missionaries arrived in the mid-nineteenth century. A girl who wanted to attend Christian catechism in the 1860s was forbidden to do so because she was the first child of a marriage between a slave woman and a free man.[70] According to the tradition at the time, the first-born was owned by the mother—thus, the girl inherited her mother's slave status—while the second-born belonged to the father.[71]

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[65] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2861, E. Steller, Manganitu, 16 April 1861, 8.
[66]HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, 2860, E. Steller, 12 May 1866, 6.
[67] ANRI Manado inv. 46, no. 2 Bundle: Van Delden, 53. The titles after that of raja from highest to lowest were the following: *president-raja*, *jogugu*, *president-jogugu*, *kapitan-laut* (in Sangir, *kapitalaung*), *hukum-majoor*, *hukum*, *sadaha-negeri*, *kapitan bicara*, *sangaje*, *kumelaha*, *sawohi*, *sadaha kecil*, *syabandar*, *jurubahasa*, *marinjo-bicara*, *marinjo-balla*, and *marinjo*.
[68] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag, 1853.
[69] NA MvK, 1850-1900, 2.10.02, 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Letter of Res. Stakman to the GG, Taruna, 14 August 1889.
[70] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2860, E. Steller, 12 May 1866, 8.
[71] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8156 Ternate, 231.

1.3. Christianity as elite ethos

It is clear that Christianity functioned to maintain status-based politics in Sangir. However, the extent to which Christianity pervaded the actual social life of Sangir's Christian elite is less known. The story of the raja of Manganitu in the early nineteenth century provides a brief glimpse into this aspect. His case reveals that at the elite level, Christianity already provided a sort of ethos or, at the very least, a language to regulate behavior among and by the elite.

In the early nineteenth century, the raja of Manganitu named Barunas[72] (also known as Bagenda[73] or Philip David Katiandaho) became embroiled in a raging political conflict with his chiefly competitors who remained loyal to the Company and Christianity even at the time of regime change.[74] Raja Barunas, who was ready to exploit any advantageous option to enhance his authority and challenge the local status quo, threatened to seek patronage from neighboring Maguindanao and abandon his allegiance to the Company. He welcomed the Chinese traders, and he sought the assistance of Islamic and pagan religious figures.

When a Company envoy visited the raja to collect his outstanding debts, the raja was said to have declared his preference for, and allegiance to, the Chinese traders over the "greedy Company."[75] He also planned to sail to Maguindanao to "request assistance" if ever his chiefly competitor, the raja of Siau, was installed by the Company as the apical ruler of Sangir. Barunas' father had died in Mindanao fighting alongside the Maguindanaos against the Spaniards.[76] His grandfather had previously served in 1765 as the envoy of Siau and Tabukan when members of their ruling elites were captured and held hostage by Maguindanao.[77]

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[72] ANRI Manado inv. 68, no. 3, Ingekoomen stukken zoo voor als tegen den koning van Manganitoe Philip David Catjandaho, 1805, Translaat eener Maleidsche brief geschreven door den door de negorij Manganitoes volkeren verworpen koning Manuel Macadompis door de wandeling Lokum [Lokumbanua] genaamt, 7 January 1805, 19.
[73] Hayase, *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*, 200.
[74] Although the British occupied Dutch posts after 1803, the Moluccas remained under Dutch hands. Herman Burgers, *De garoeda en de ooievaar: Indonesië van kolonie tot nationale staat* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 70.
[75] ANRI Manado inv. 68, no. 3, Ingekoomen stukken zoo voor als tegen den koning van Manganitoe Philip David Catjandaho, 1805.
[76] Hayase, *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*, 200.
[77] NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8134 Ternate (1766), 31 July 1766, 55.

Barunas' chiefly competitors complained to the Company about his "un-Christian" behavior. When Barunas' daughter fell ill, he summoned two female pagan healers named Likuhiab and Likumati, instead of calling upon the schoolmaster *cum* medical practitioner who "follow[ed] the way of the Christians."[78] The indigenous (likely Ambonese) schoolmaster, who resided in what was called revealingly by the Sangirese as *baleng kumpania* (Company house),[79] also served as the de facto Christian religious leader of the community. In addition, the chiefs complained that when Barunas' daughter died, he summoned an *imam* and *hatibi* (in Islam, the person who provides the sermon) from the neighboring Muslim settlement of Kendahe to officiate at her burial "according to the manner of the Muslims."[80]

The Christian chiefs likewise denounced their raja's "immorality." They complained to the Company that Barunas had clandestine extra-marital sexual relations with a woman named Bililawah.[81] They complained of Barunas' blasphemy during a Christian religious service attended by aristocratic women and children. Having forced his way to the pulpit, the raja sexually insulted the women, most likely to insult his chiefly rivals.[82]

The dossier on Barunas lacks the final verdict of the Dutch authorities in Manado on his actions. Nonetheless, it provides important evidence that Christianity pervaded not only the political sphere and the social hierarchies of the Sangirese, but also and perhaps increasingly, the social ethos of its elite stratum. However, despite these broad social meanings attached to Christianity, mass conversions did not occur. This raises the following question: to what extent was the renewal of Dutch political and missionary interest in the region in the mid-nineteenth century critical to the mass conversions of the Sangirese?

2. Stalemate: government, chiefs, and missionaries, c. 1850-1890

The unprecedented government intervention in the mid-nineteenth century in the domestic affairs of north Sulawesi, including Sangir-Talaud, is a novel development. Propelled by Christian missionary zeal in Europe and actively endorsed by local colonial authorities, a

[78]ANRI Manado inv. 68, no. 3, Ingekoomen stukken zoo voor als tegen den koning van Manganitoe Philip David Catjandaho, 1805, 30b.
[79] Steller and Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register*, 26.
[80] ANRI Manado inv. 68, no. 3, Ingekoomen stukken zoo voor als tegen den koning van Manganitoe Philip David Catjandaho, 1805, 7.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 10-11.

pioneering batch of European missionaries settled permanently in select villages in Sangir-Talaud beginning in 1856. However, unlike the contemporaneous Christianization in Minahasa and Islamization in Bolaang-Mongondow, the missionization of Sangir-Talaud occurred without the benefit of colonial reforms. There was no streamlining of local political authority nor government-induced opening of markets. Instead, there was a continuity of the system where economy, politics, and religion converged under the chiefly elite. The chiefs—seeing no political nor economic incentive to promote Christian conversions—remained conveniently ensconced in power. The missionaries themselves, despite an initial clash of authority with local chiefs, eventually carved their own virtual fiefdoms. These so-called missionary-artisans (*zendeling-werklieden*) seem to have acceded to a modus vivendi with the chiefs while pursuing their own parochial economic interests. Consequently, Christian conversions were at best patchy and intermittent despite the vaunted discourse on the salvation of the Sangirese Christians from the supposed inroads of Islam and revival of paganism.

2.1. Resident Jansen and the missionary-artisans

The reformist colonial resident, A. J. F. Jansen, is crucial to understanding the story of Christianity in Sangir as elsewhere in the region. He was the most instrumental figure in sending permanent European missionaries to both Sangir and Talaud archipelagos.[83] He was a foremost believer in the notion of the Sangirese people as "abandoned Christians."[84] However, he believed that Sangirese Christian praxis was "better left imagined than described."[85] He, therefore, actively incited the government, among others, to "devote more attention [to Sangir] by providing Christian schools."[86] However, his enthusiasm for Christian schools was not shared by many of his colonial peers.

Jansen was likely intimately aware of Batavia's aversion to funding Christian missions as he himself had served its General Secretariat (*Algemene Secretarie*) as early as 1844.[87] He knew

[83] "Correspondentie En Berigten," *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 14, (1860): 563.
[84] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven Resident Manado 1ste Kwaartal 1854, RM Jansen, Manado 21 Feb 1854, no. 267 Aan het bestuur over de Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch Indie.
[85] ANRI Manado inv. 12, no. 2, Afgaande Brieven Resident Manado 1ste Kwaartal 1854, RM Jansen, 20 February 1854, no. 264 to the Kerkenraad der Protestantsche Gemeente in Menado.
[86] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1853.
[87] He rose from second *commies* in the General Secretariat (*Algemene Secretarie*) in 1844 to chief *commies* in 1847. See *Regeeringsalmanak*, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847.

that the economic insignificance of Sangir was a major downside. At that time, the Sangirese polities, in stark contrast with neighboring regions, did not deliver any local produce as tribute, and they did not pay monetary tax to the colonial government.[88] Moreover, Sangir's exports, primarily coconut oil and some cotton,[89] were not particularly prized in the market as Minahasan coffee and, to a lesser extent, Gorontalese gold.

To convince the higher authorities of the need for greater government interference and support for Christian missions, Jansen emphasized the following. First, the costs for the planned missionary schools would have to be shouldered by the Sangirese themselves.[90] Second, even though unprofitable, greater government presence was needed given the potential threat arising from the frequent visits of American whalers in Talaud. [91] Finally, the mission in Sangir was not to convert but to "maintain" the already existing, but "abandoned, Christians."[92]

The last point was a recurrent trope in missionary discourse,[93] but it became more so after Jansen's visit to Sangir in 1854 along with the Inspector for the Protestant Church of the Indies (*Indische Kerk*), S. A. Buddingh.[94] The Sangir islands had been a "Christian archipelago since the fifteenth century" but whose "thousand nominal Christians and twenty schools" had been "forgotten," as one later popular missionary magazine lamented.[95] This Christian irredentist trope of saving "lost" Christians was further emphasized by the missionary, S. D. van de Velde van Capellen, who visited Sangir in 1855 and whose report was published as the leading article in the maiden issue of the journal of the Dutch Missionary Society (*Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*). [96] It became widely believed that around 20,000

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[88] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1853.
[89] See HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, F. Kelling, "Het eiland Tagulandang en zijne bewoners."
[90] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag, 1854.
[91] Ibid.
[92] See Mailrapport 1893, no. 572, Toezicht op de zendingsarbeid op de Sangi en Talauer eilanden in de res. Menado, Letter from the Director of Onderwijs, Eeredienst and Nijverheid, to GG, 17 October 1893.
[93] It is important to note, however, that such a trope had existed in the region before the mid-nineteenth century. See Niemeijer, "Agama Kumpeni? Ternate en de protestantesering van de Noord-Molukken en Norod-Sulawesi 1626-1795,"*Het Indisch Sion: De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 171-173.
[94] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 253. The last visit by a European pastor had been in 1828. Cuarteron, *Spiegazione e Traduzione dei XIV Quadri relativi alle isole di Salibaboo, Talaor, Sanguey, Nanuse, Mindanao, Celebes, Borneo, Bahalatolis, Tambisan, Sulu, Toolyan, e Labuan*, 13.
[95] "Correspondentie en Berigten," *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 16, (1861): 125. See also, HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 3.
[96] S. D. van de Velde van Cappellen, "Verslag eener bezoekreis naar de Sangi-eilanden," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 1, (1857).

"abandoned" Sangirese Christians had been "found" by visiting colonial visitors and missionaries in the 1850s.[97]

The trope ultimately hinted at the moral—and by extension financial—responsibility of the Christian Dutch towards their Sangirese brethren.[98] It likely served as a missionary hedge against the emergent policy of religious abstention, which came to be enshrined in the *Regeringsreglement* of 1855.[99] It, therefore, aimed to make the missionary activities in Sangir more palatable to the officially religiously neutral colonial government.[100]

However, while Jansen's advice for direct colonial control over Sangir was denied, his proposal to send missionaries was approved. One could surmise that the favorable decision was influenced, at least partly, by high government functionaries in the metropole sympathetic to the missions.[101] Nonetheless, there was a seeming compromise: the government committed only to a small subsidy instead of a fixed salary like that given to the missionaries in Minahasa.

The so-called missionary-artisans (*zendeling-werklieden*) were most suitable to Jansen's christianization agenda given the government's paltry support. They formed part of a broader evangelical renewal within the various European Protestant churches[102] exactly at a time when secularist ideas of governance in colonizing countries[103] began to spill out into the colonies. These missionary-artisans were young men who were supposed to be economically self-sustaining once they were in their respective mission fields.[104] Many were originally carpenters

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[97] W. B. de Weerd, *Blijvende opdracht : een blik op het zendingswerk op de Talaud-eilanden* (Hilversum: Classicale Zendingscommissie, [1948]), 6.

[98] This trope seems to have been instrumentalized for the missionization of Minahasa as well. See HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, [T. Kelling?], 'De Minahassa onder Nederlandsch Gezag en de aanvang der nieuwere zending', 14.

[99] Pijper, "De Islampolitiek der Nederlandse Regering, "*Balans van Beleid: Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië*.

[100] See HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2767, Letter to the Minister of Colonies by the Sangi Talaud Comite, 30 June 1902.

[101] See for instance, the letter of the high-ranking officials of the *Staatscommissie* to the Dutch King pleading for the active promotion of missions, NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 9141, Geheime Oost-Indische Besluiten, 27 August 1860 C 2.

[102] M. Verhoeff et al., *Inventaris van de Archieven van de Rechtsvoorgangers van de Raad voor de Zending, 1797-1950* (Het Utrechts Archief, 2009), 13-14.

[103] Vincent Houben, "Adat en Agama: Dayaks en montfortanen in West-Kalimantan," in *Woord en Schrift in de Oost: De Betekenis van Zending en Missie voor de Studie van Taal en Literatuur in Zuidoost-Azië* (Leiden: Opleiding Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, 2000), 33-34.

[104] Thomas van den End, "General Introduction to the History of the Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Church and its Predecessors (1797-1951)," in *Mission History and Mission Archives*, ed. Huub Lems (Utrecht: Stichting de Zending der Protestantse Kerk in Nederland, 2011), 187.

who received little, if any, formal education.[105] Some were sent to Java, New Guinea, Makassar, Flores, and Cape Town.[106] Those who came to Sangir-Talaud were recruited specifically from the *Berliner Mission,* which trained these would-be missionaries.[107]

In 1855, four of these German missionary-artisans—C. Schroder, E. Steller, A. Grohe, and F. Kelling—arrived in Batavia to study Malay.[108] They stayed for sometime in Manado, familiarizing themselves with the methods of the more established missionaries of the Dutch Missionary Society (NZG) in Minahasa[109] before continuing the journey to their respective stations in Greater Sangir, Siau, and Tagulandang in 1857.[110] They were joined in 1859 by another four missionary-artisans destined for Talaud—A. C. van Essen, P. Gunther, W. Richter, and C. E. W. Tauffmann.[111]

The addition of the latter four and the choice of their respective mission posts were likely a consequence of Jansen's personal inspection of the Talaud archipelago in 1857.[112] In addition to providing these missionary-artisans with bibles and catechism books,[113] Jansen also gave them cacao seeds to cultivate in the hope of stimulating economic self-sufficiency.[114]

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[105] A. van der Hoeven, *Otto Gerhard Heldring* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1942), 124.
[106] Hoeven, *Otto Gerhard Heldring*, 135.
[107] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 250..
[108] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 250.
[109] From these missionaries, the missionary-artisans learned the system of *anak piara* or the employ of young boys and girls as household help in return for "education." HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 3.
[110] Schroder was assigned in Tabukan and Steller in Manganitu, on opposite sides of Sangir Besar. Grohe was assigned to Siau while Kelling, was assigned to Tagulandang.
[111] A. C. van Essen was stationed in Lirung and was responsible for the entire island of Salibabu; P. Gunther was assigned to Mengarang and the entire area of Kabaruang; W. Richter was assigned to Rainis and the villages along the east coast of Karakelong; and C. E. W. Tauffmann was assigned to Beo and the western half of Karakelong. *Reenders, Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie, bijlage 1.* These missionary-workmen all came from Germany, except for Gunther who came from Wageningen. NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, Rapport van de Resident van Menado [Matthes] over de werkzaamheden van zendelingen op de Sangir Talauteilanden, Letter of RM Matthes to the Governor-General, Manado, 26 May 1881.
[112] ANRI Manado inv. 23, no. 3, Afgaande Brieven Manado 3de kwaartal, 13 Aug 1857, no. 812 to the GG.
[113] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 3.
[114] NA Mailrapport 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van zendelingen op de Sangir Talauteilanden, 624+ Letter of RM Matthes to GG, Manado, 26 May 1881. Some sources say Jansen also handed nutmeg for cultivation. HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C.W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 3.

However, to what extent were the missionary-artisans successful in converting the Sangirese?

2.2. Chiefly intransigence: Jacob Ponto, raja of Siau

The local political environment which the missionary-artisans encountered (and intruded upon) is best exemplified by the case of Siau under the rule of the young Jacob Ponto. His case illustrates that successful chiefly resistance to the Christian missions was possible because of the lack of economic and political support for the missions from the colonial state. Jacob Ponto's intransigence bore fruit in that the pioneer missionary-artisan, August Grohe, eventually retreated from Siau, where no permanent missions could be established until Ponto's forced exile 35 years later.

2.2.1. Christianizing a Muslim chief

Jacob Ponto, despite his relatively young age,[115] already typified the quintessential "man of prowess"[116] who was respected and feared by his Sangirese subjects. He strived to instill fear by sponsoring headhunting expeditions as well as awe by acting as an efficacious mediator of nature (volcanoes and rains). While he showed public deference to Dutch authorities who had sought to mold him as a "true Christian" in Manado, he discredited his patrons to consolidate his political interests in Siau.[117] Because of Ponto's political cunning and sharp sense of survival, Siau came to be known in missionary circles as the "worst station" in Sangir.[118]

However, one could also argue that Siau's political and economic circumstances were decisive factors in Ponto's ability to retain his position. Siau was a well-populated and fertile island-polity that had been the most influential among the Sangirese chiefdoms. It had traditionally claimed influence over geographically disparate settlements—from its neighboring

[115] He was approximately 21 when the missionaries arrived in 1857.
[116] See Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*.
[117] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman.
[118] S. Coolsma, "De Zending op de Sangir- en Talaut-Eilanden," *Nederlandsch Zendingstijdschrift* 5, (1893): 244.

Tagulandang,[119] Bolaang-Itang in mainland north Sulawesi, Tamako in Greater Sangir, and the entire island of Kabaruang in Talaud.[120] Jacob Ponto himself is a testament to these regional interconnections.

Ponto was born and raised in neighboring Bolaang-Itang. He was only 15 years old and was supposedly still literally "playing when he was 'captured' by the chiefs of Siau"[121] to become their raja. He was elected virtually as a "stranger-king"[122] after a political deadlock on the question of succession between two competing Siaurese families.[123] He later cemented his position as the undisputed apical ruler of Siau and the most important Sangirese raja when he married Inontat, the sister of the first Muslim ruler of Bolaang-Mongondow, Jacobus Manuel Manoppo, in the mid-1860s (see Chart 4.1).[124]

His family name, Ponto, is said to have originated from one of Mongondow's legendary chiefs named Mamonto—believed to have been the ancestor of the ruling families of Kaidipang and Bolaang-Itang.[125] However, a more plausible version points to a more modest origin—the first "Ponto" was a mere village chief (*sengadi*) who married the daughter of the raja of Kaidipang.[126] Whatever the origin of his name, it is clear that Jacob Ponto was agnatically and enatically well connected to the various ruling families of north Sulawesi. This connection not only made Siau distinct but also likely prestigious among the Sangirese polities.[127]

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[119] See the pretension of the son of the *jogugu* of Siau to the position of raja in Tagulandang. ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1854.

[120] NA MvK, 1850-1900, 2.10.02, 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Staat aantonende het aantal Districten en Djogoegoeschappen en daartoe behoorende kampongs op de Talauer eilanden, ressorterende onder de verschillende rijken op de Sangir-eilanden.

[121] Usup, *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang)*, 37.

[122] See David Henley, "Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, (2004).

[123] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman.

[124] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, JAT Schwarz, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 1.

[125] A. C. Veenhuijzen, "Aanteekeningen omtrent Bolaäng-Mongondo, ontleend aan het verslag over eene reis van 8 April tot en met 20 Mei 1900, tot onderzoek naar de gemeenschappelijke grenzen van de Minahassa en het landschap Bolaäng-Mongondo," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, (1903): 67.

[126] Usup, *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang)*, 30-31.

[127] The only comparable connection is perhaps that of the Tabukan and Kendahe's familial relations with Maguindanao in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Through the course of the eighteenth century however, the connection was lost as the Sangirese polities were directed into the political orbit of the VOC.

It is also probable that through these elite familial connections, Islamization took its path. In the 1830s, the chiefs of Bolaang-Itang, led by Jacob Ponto's father, Raja Daud Ponto (r. 1823-1863),[128] requested permission from the colonial Resident to officially convert to Islam.[129] However, they withdrew their request after the Resident placed the condition that Bolaang-Itang, a demographically small polity, be merged with the adjacent Kaidipang, whose chiefs had become Muslims during the English *interregnum* earlier in the century.[130] By 1846, Bolaang-Itang along with Bolaang-Mongondow were the only two polities with "nominal Christian" rulers.[131] One could surmise that Daud Ponto openly professed and sponsored Islam in 1848 around the same time as his counterpart, Jacobus Manoppo of Mongondow, announced his official conversion to Islam to his Dutch overlords (see Chapter 4).

Jacob Ponto's close familial association with Islam compelled Resident Scherius (r. 1849-1851) to verbally ask Raja Daud to have his son baptized as a Christian in Manado.[132] His aim was "to prevent any future conflict between Ponto and his [Christian] subjects."[133] Scherius had earlier urged the Christian chiefs of Siau, the three most important chiefs especially,[134] to choose the next raja from among themselves. However, the mutually competing chiefs affirmed that "they could not find any among them [suitable] to be a raja," so they chose Ponto, who was descended from Siau's ruling family (*katuronan deri hakh bangsa radja Siau*).[135] Their choice of Ponto seems to suggest that at this juncture in Sangirese history familial descent outweighed religious affiliation.

However, for the colonial officials who possessed a keen sense of religious differences, if not rivalry,[136] affiliation with Christianity was important. Thus, Scherius had Ponto baptized in 1850, and when Jansen assumed office in 1853, he soon required the young Jacob Ponto to be

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[128] See Usup, *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang)*.
[129] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Bundle: Verslag van de rijkjes en negorijen ten westen van Manado gelegen, Pietermaat, Resident van Manado, 31 December 1833, 13.
[130] Ibid.
[131] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2, Register der aanteekeningen van den Kommissaris voor Menado, 1846, 22r.
[132] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of the the chiefs of Siau to RM, 8 November 1849.
[133] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of the chiefs of Siau to RM, 13 January 1850.
[134] These were the chiefs (*President Raja)* of Ulu, Ondong, and Tamako Dagho. ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of the the chiefs of Siau to RM, 8 November 1849.
[135] ANRI Manado inv. 15, no. 1, Letter of the chiefs of Siau to RM, 13 January 1850.
[136] Lorraine V. Aragon, "Relatives and Rivals in Central Sulawesi: Grounded Protestants, Mobile Muslims, and the Labile State," in *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, ed. Susanne Schroter (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 265.

"educated and civilized."[137] Jansen arranged for Ponto to attend Manado's European primary school for three years. There he joined the children of Minahasan chiefs and European functionaries and settlers.[138]

2.2.2. Ponto and the missionaries

It is against this backdrop of deeply rooted traditional chiefly rule alongside an erratic, personality driven, and certainly not full-fledged colonial policy of Christianization that the lone missionary, August Grohe, arrived at his mission station. Grohe has been described as a "simple, pleasant man with a simple wife"[139] who experienced an unfortunate and unceremonious commencement of his missionary career. On the way to Siau for the first time, his vessel ran aground. He survived, but all his personal effects, including the handful of bibles and catechism books provided by Jansen, were lost at sea.[140]

Jacob Ponto, who was not pleased by the missionary's presence, refused to support the construction of a residence for Grohe. When Ponto finally decided to build one, he predicted that Grohe would "only last in Siau for two or three years."[141] Not long after this incident, Ponto masterminded—missionaries claimed—several poisoning attempts against the Grohe couple and the neighboring missionary in Tagulandang, F. Kelling.[142]

These incidents were very likely related to the missionaries' increasingly direct interference in local affairs. Grohe sought to enforce missionary Christian morality that ran counter to long-standing local practices. He dismissed a local schoolteacher for the "immorality" of marrying his first cousin.[143] This incestuous practice (*sumbang*), however, had long been

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[137] ANRI Manado inv. 51, no. 3, Politiek Verslag 1853.
[138] NA MvK 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 701 (1858), 'Toestand van het Schoolwezen in de Residentie Manado in 1853', 1.
[139] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1878, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van de zendelingen op de Talaut- en Sangi-eilanden, 345+, Report of the commissie for the Sangir-Talaud, 15 Oct 1877.
[140] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 252.
[141] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, undated letter.
[142] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman.
[143] ANRI Manado inv. 30, no. 2, Besluiten RM 1860, 11 February, 1860.

common in the broader region, especially among the inter-marrying local elite.[144] Ponto himself later in life was believed to have practiced incest.[145]

However, more threatening to Ponto's authority was Grohe's direct opposition to pagan rituals of which Ponto was the main sponsor. The missionary required the destruction of a pagan "offering place" (Sang.: *pangkunang*),[146] which was built primarily to appease the Karangetang volcano that towers over Siau. Ponto brought the case to the Resident of Menado. To suggest political loyalty, Ponto and his subordinate chiefs affirmed that they were Christians and declared that Siau had been a Christian island for 200 years.[147] Ponto himself agreed that the pagan offerings were indeed "unreasonable to the Christian religion"[148] but contended that these had been done since time immemorial.

Ponto further asserted that such offerings were essential to Siau's overall well-being. He drew attention to the tragic eruption of the nearby Awu volcano in 1856 and warned that Karangetang was higher and larger than Awu and, therefore, more destructive.[149] By doing so, he was likely drawing from the widespread local belief that the volcanoes of Awu and Karangetang were mutually connected.[150] With a portentous tone, he warned that that the shape of Karangetang's summit had changed and that climbing to the top—supposedly to perform offerings and sacrifices—was impossible as the path had been covered with darkness suggesting an imminent eruption.[151]

However, the destruction of pagan structures was not only supposedly connected to volcanic activity but also to Siau's public health. Ponto attributed a recent smallpox epidemic to

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[144] Shelly Errington, "Incestuous Twins and the House Societies in Insular Southeast Asia," *Cultural Anthropology*; Manuel R. Tawagon, "Maranao Oral Literature: In Search of Historical Sources" (paper presented at the International Conference on Philippine Muslim Historiography After Majul, Manila, Philippines, 2013), 11.

[145] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman. Throughout, the missionaries had been the primary opponents of this *adat* and openly encouraged its penalization. NA MvO, 1852-1962, 2.10.39, 1180, Nota betreffende bij de acte van verband dd. 13 September 1930 van den Heer A. A. Bastiaan [an indigenous raja], optredend als bestuurder van het landschap Kendahe-Taroena, 11.

[146] Steller and Aebersold, *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register*, 341.

[147] See reference to this letter, HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, quoting the letter of the Resident, undated [1859?].

[148] Ibid.

[149] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, citing Jacob Ponto's letter to the Resident, undated [1859?].

[150] NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 305, Memorie van Overgave van het Bestuur van den Res van M, J. Tideman (1926), 5.

[151] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, citing Jacob Ponto's letter to the Resident, undated [1859?].

Grohe's interference in pagan rituals.[152] He, therefore, pleaded that the Resident allow the construction of another pagan structure, although conceding that such a structure be built away from the core settlement (*negeri*) where the majority of the (elite) Christian population and the missionary resided.

Ponto's gambit of invoking Christian identity resembles the long-standing notion of Christianity as a marker of political affiliation and loyalty to the Dutch. However, while doing so had traditionally been expedient for local chiefs, Grohe's arrival emphasized a hitherto latent feature of Christianity—as a moral and theological force. By ordering the destruction of a pagan structure, Grohe challenged chiefly authority founded, as it were, upon the ruler's efficacious mediation between the immanent and transcendental aspects of reality. One might surmise that in the traditional Sangirese setting, as in comparable societies in the region, one of the ways of establishing political authority was through shamanic rituals in which chiefs played the initiatory role.[153]

Fortunately for Ponto, the over-arching colonial climate favored the continuity of traditional authority. The incumbent Resident C. Bosscher (1859-1861) was not keen in advancing the missionary project at the expense of unsettling the political status quo. While he reprimanded Ponto for not acting like a Christian, he was very critical of Grohe for his "disturbance of religious rituals and destruction of structures and images."[154] He considered Grohe's actions as a transgression of authority, reminding him that religious conversions should be "voluntary and not imposed."[155] He likewise threatened to withdraw Grohe's permission to remain in Sangir.

Following Ponto's proposition, the Resident permitted the continuation of pagan practices on the conditions that these were performed two miles away from the *negeri* and that no Christians could participate in these practices, especially the raja and the chiefs.[156] His decision supposedly emboldened the chiefly elite. For instance, the perfomance of a ritual and communal gathering (*tulude)* to appease the incessant rains and strong winds that had been preventing rice-

[152] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1860.
[153] Atkinson, *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship*, Preface.
[154] ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1860.
[155] Ibid.
[156] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, quoting the letter of the Resident, undated [1859?]; ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1860.

planting, a practice vehemently opposed by Grohe, was simply transferred from the core settlement to the hinterland.[157]

The government's firm support of traditional authority—founded on the broader policy of "colonial abstention"—ultimately spelled failure for the missionaries. Nevertheless, the missionaries achieved small gains. Through Grohe's instigation, the government endorsed the rebuilding of churches and schoolbuildings in Siau. The church collection, formerly under the control of the chiefs who supposedly misappropriated the funds if only to purchase *arak* (alcoholic drink) and gunpowder, were placed under Grohe's hands, and although the right to nominate local schoolmasters remained within the purview of the chiefs, Grohe's recommendation was neccesary for their appointment.

Despite these measures, however, Grohe became resigned to the fact that after ten years, he had baptized only 59 people and admitted only 19 of them into the church as confirmed members (*lidmaten*). He requested transfer to the remoter Aru archipelago,[158] which had earlier been planned as a destination for these missionary-artisans.[159] Although he was eventually assigned to the nearby Sangir Besar, he was also tasked to intermittently visit—but not settle in—the main Siau island.[160] Grohe attributed his failure to the hindrances posed by the intransigent Muslim and pagan Ponto.[161]

Ponto's political aspirations, however, did not end within the confines of Siau island. He sponsored an annual headhunting expedition in Tamako, an important Siaurese exclave known as the "most fertile district in Sangir."[162] It was widely believed by the locals that Ponto's headhunting missions were meant to cure an unspecified type of "head sickness"[163]—a seemingly recurrent problem that even led him to undergo a pagan healing ritual bath

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[157] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, undated [1859?].
[158] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, 6 Dec 1861.
[159] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 250.
[160] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, Uitgebreid verslag van een kontroleur over de situatie op de Talaut- en Sangireilanden, 330+, Veslag van eene reis naar de Talauer en Sangirelanden door den kontroleur H. van Heuckelum in de maanden October, November en December 1873 following the commission from the Resident of Menado, 5 October 1873 [van der Crab], 5.
[161] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, Ulu, 20 March 1865, 4.
[162] See NA VOC inv. 1.04.02, no. 8163, Memorie wegens den presenten staat van saaken in de Moluccos, opgesteld door Jan Elias van Mijlendonk, afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van Ternaten, 20 Julij 1756.
[163] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2861, E. T. Steller, 16 April 1861, 8.

(*monayuk*)[164] in Mongondow.[165] Ponto's sponsorship of headhunting could, therefore, be interpreted as a show of strength despite his apparent physical weakness.[166]

However, the more convincing reason is a more explicitly political one. Ponto likely aimed to sow fear and force submission instead of attempting to directly rule the exclave. He financially rewarded the headhunters or promoted them in the Sangirese status hierarchy. Headhunters hailing from the slave class were freed and accorded a distinguishing title (*hukum, sadaha, sawohi,* etc.), and those from the free class were supposed to receive the goodly sum of *f* 300. One of the lesser chiefs of Manganitu, a former slave, was accorded the distinguishing title *hukum* after providing a severed head to the raja of Siau.[167] Ponto's last headhunting sponsorship occurred in 1885 when a permanent colonial functionary was stationed in Sangir.[168]

Not long after settling into his assignment in Manganitu, adjacent to Tamako, E. T. Steller became embroiled in the headhunting issue. Steller reported the supposed heightened audacity of headhunters after Bosscher's decision allowing pagan feasts in Siau.[169] Steller had been regularly informed that in the rice harvest season a so-called *orang jahat* (wicked person) would snatch the head of an unsuspecting farmer or fisherman. Steller believed that those fishermen who had ventured into sea and failed to return could not have fallen victims to the Maguindanao slave-raiders as there had been no reported sightings of the Maguindanaos for the previous eight to ten years.[170] While Steller was convinced that these disappearances were caused by the raja of Siau, information was difficult to collect as many feared retribution by Ponto and other lesser chiefs. That the headhunters originated from Siau was, however, established by the fact that they spoke the Siau dialect of Sangirese.

Steller personally complained against headhunting to the Resident of Menado in the presence of Ponto himself. Ponto lodged a counter-complaint denouncing Steller's "denigration

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[164] See a brief description in: Lily E. N. Saud, "Kearifan lokal dalam legenda Pulaugogabola (kajian tentang pembentukkan budi pekerti)," *Esagenang: Jurnal Hasil Penelitian Jarahnitra* 11, no. 19 (2012): 16.
[165] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 1221, JAT Schwarz, Sonder, 22 March 1867, Sonder, 4.
[166] This practice was also noted among the prehispanic Philippine datus. See Zeus A Salazar, "Faith healing in the Philippines: A historical perspective," *Asian Studies* 18, (1980).
[167] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2861, E. T. Steller, 16 April 1861, 8.
[168] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman.
[169] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2861, E. T. Steller, 16 April 1861, 2.
[170] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2861, E. T. Steller, 16 April 1861, 8.

of his status as a Dutch-recognized raja in front of other Europeans and his own subjects."[171] However, like Grohe's case, the colonial government sided in favor of Ponto. The Governor-General withdrew Steller's permission to stay in the Indies (a decision later reversed by The Hague—see below). He also promised to provide a steamship to the Resident ostensibly to improve colonial governance in Sangir.[172]

Jacob Ponto, the undisputed authority in Sangir, continued to consolidate his position by repeatedly proving his worth to the colonial authorities in Manado. He was referred to as a "trustworthy follower" by the Resident in the context of the deadly attack of the colonial fort by Islamic radicals led by Syarif Mansur of Buol in 1875 (see Chapter 4).[173] Ponto supplied invaluable intelligence report on his birthplace, Bolaang-Itang, where Syarif Mansur and his followers stopped before launching their suicidal assault. It was in Bolaang-Itang—ruled by Ponto's uncle (Tagupat)—that Syarif Mansur and his followers were noted to have "made a procession to the masjid" while "chanting jihad."[174] Ponto succeeded in catching two fugitives —so-called *bajak* (pirate)—who participated in what colonial officials suspected, and indeed was, a brewing "Islamic revolt."[175]

Additionally, Ponto participated enthusiastically in the colonial government's anti-piracy campaign. He proudly reported to the Resident his own encounter and subsequent triumph over five Maguindanao *prahu* manned by 50 raiders in 1864. He was supposed to have personally led the Siaurese in a bloody though successful battle in Biaro Island against the invading raiders.[176] The sailing raids of the Maguindanao in 1864 were likely counter-attacks in reprisal for the 1862 destruction of Maguindanao vessels in Sangir by the Dutch steamship, *Reteh.*[177] The Resident,

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[171] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politiek Verslag 1861.
[172] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politiek Verslag 1861.
[173] NA MvK, 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, 26 April 1876 L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal] Letter of RM to GG, 12 September 1875. See also, Adrian B. Lapian, "Holy warriors from the sea : (the raid on Manado of 1875)" (paper presented at the Indonesian-Dutch Historical Congress, Noordwijkerhout, May 19-22, 1976).
[174] NA MvK, 1850-1900, inv. 2.10.02, no. 6078, 26 April 1876 L10 no. 38 [Kabinetsverbaal], Asst Resident Riedel, Gorontalo, Letter to the RM, 30 Sep 1875.
[175] See the reference to Ponto's participation in a popular *pantun* (literary verse) composition, *Boek panton deri waktu Bwool masok di Menado pada tahoen 1876*, 13.
[176] ANRI Manado inv. 15a, Stukken Zeeroovers 1864, Letter of Raja Jacob Ponto to RM, 30 March 1864.
[177] It is symbolic that the steamship used for counter-piracy missions was named after Reteh (eastern Sumatra), a former stronghold of the Iranuns destroyed by forces led by the Dutch in 1858. See E. Netscher, *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak, 1602 tot 1865*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen, Deel XXXV (Batavia: Bruining en Wijt, 1870).

for his part, was encouraged by Ponto's actions and promised to deliver additional gunpowder for Ponto's own use.[178]

In sum, Jacob Ponto personified the quintessential traditional "strong man" when his chiefly counterparts in nearby Minahasa had effectively become salaried bureaucrats. He mirrored the earlier Minahasan chiefs, such as H. W. Dotulong (see Chapter 3), in that he saw the European missionary-led Christianization as a threat to his own position. As such, no missionary-artisan was able to fully penetrate Siau until Ponto's forced removal from office in 1889. However, to what extent were the rest of the missionary-artisans successful in their respective mission fields?

2.3. The missionary-artisans and the missionary "familial regime"

More than 20 years after the sending of the missionary-artisans to the Sangir and Talaud archipelagos, a government review concluded that "the fruits of their labor remain limited."[179] Without appropriate financial and political support or even basic linguistic competency, the missionary-artisans embedded themselves in native society in ways that inherently contradicted their missionary purpose—and as a consequence—carried out their missionary activities inefficiently.

Like their Minahasan counterparts, the missionary-artisans struggled to understand and be understood by the Sangirese. While they had received rudimentary lessons in Malay before their arrival,[180] their utterances were likely incomprehensible since Malay was not widely spoken in Sangir. Grohe was even known to have "preached gibberish [Malay] for two or three hours" that "men began to bring their *sirih* (betel) boxes to the church" and the "women and children start to search for lice in each other's head."[181]

Because Malay, especially the variety used by the missionaries, was learned only in school and church settings and because schooling had long been exclusive to the Sangirese elite, missionaries still deemed it necessary to learn the Sangirese language to be able to communicate

[178] ANRI Manado inv. 15a, Stukken Zeeroovers 1864, Letter of the RM to the Raja of Siau [Jacob Ponto], 31 March 1864.
[179] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1878, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van de zendelingen op de Talaut- en Sangi-eilanden, 345+.
[180] Reenders, *Alternatieve Zending: Ottho Gerhard Heldring (1804-1876) en de verbreiding van het christendom in Nederlands-Indie*, 250.
[181] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 4.

effectively to the larger public up until the early 1900s.[182] Despite that need, the translation of relevant religious texts into Sangirese was too late and too little.[183]

However, more critical than any linguistic shortcoming was the absence of a palpable colonial governance. In Siau the apical chief, Jacob Ponto, succeeded in forestalling the missionaries. However, in the more politically acephalous Talaud, the missionary-artisans almost immediately became chiefs in their own right. One missionary-artisan, P. Gunther, even "took the liberty of appointing [Talaud] chiefs."[184] Notwithstanding, such actions did not result in Christian missionary successes because of the highly fragmented nature of Talaud polities. The colonial government nonetheless viewed such activities as essentially incongruent with the missionaries' role. In the case of Gunther, the government sought the missionary's dismissal.

However, the most striking evidence and legacy of the missionary-artisans' infringements on colonial governance was the formation of what came to be known in colonial circles as the "familial regime" (*familie-regering*).[185] Figure 5.1 shows that the four pioneer missionaries (in yellow) became inter-related through their siblings and offsprings.

The marriages of the sisters of Schroder and Grohe to the missionaries, Steller and Kelling, appear to have been pre-arranged through missionary channels in Germany. The sisters eventually followed their brothers—and future husbands—to Sangir between the late 1850s and early 1860s or just a few years after the missionary-artisans were sent to their mission stations.[186] They travelled to the Indies free-of-charge under the auspices of the Dutch colonial government.[187] Although not stated explicitly at the time, Dutch colonial and missionary establishments seemed to prefer sending missionaries who were married to European wives. One

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[182] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2866, A. J. Swanborn (zendeling in Ondong, 1901-1904?), Jaarverslag omtrent den zendingsarbeid in het Ressort Ondong Anno 1902.

[183] The first of these texts were: F. Kelling, *Tentiro manimbu bou hal hikajet u elkitab ko susi, nisalun su bahasang Sangihe* (Pertaraan N. Z. G. di Tanawangko: H. Bettink, 1873). F. Kelling, *Katechismus, atou manga kakiwalo dingangu sasimbahe bou tatintirongu agama mesehi ko susi, nisalin su bahasang Sangie* (Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1890); F. Kelling, *Katechismus atou manga kakiwalo dingangu sasimbahe bou tatintirongu agama mesehi ko susi, nisalin su bahasang Sangie* (Batavia: Albrecht & Co., 1898).

[184] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1878, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van de zendelingen op de Talaut- en Sangi-eilanden, 345+Report of the commissie for the ST, 15 October 1877.

[185] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2768, RM Manado, EJ Jellesma, 14 March 1903 to Directeur van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid.

[186] See references on the arrival, HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, 2 March 1862; HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2838, C. W. L. M. Schroder.

[187] NA MvK 2.10.02, inv. 700, 10 April 1858, no. 11, "Eeredienst in O. Indie."

of the original missionary-artisans in Talaud, W. Richter, was prevented from fulfilling his role likely because of his marriage to the daughter of a Talaurese chief,[188] among other reasons.

However, as the familial regime became entrenched in Sangir, its members became less concerned with missionary activities and more concerned with perpetuating the political and especially the economic interests of the family.

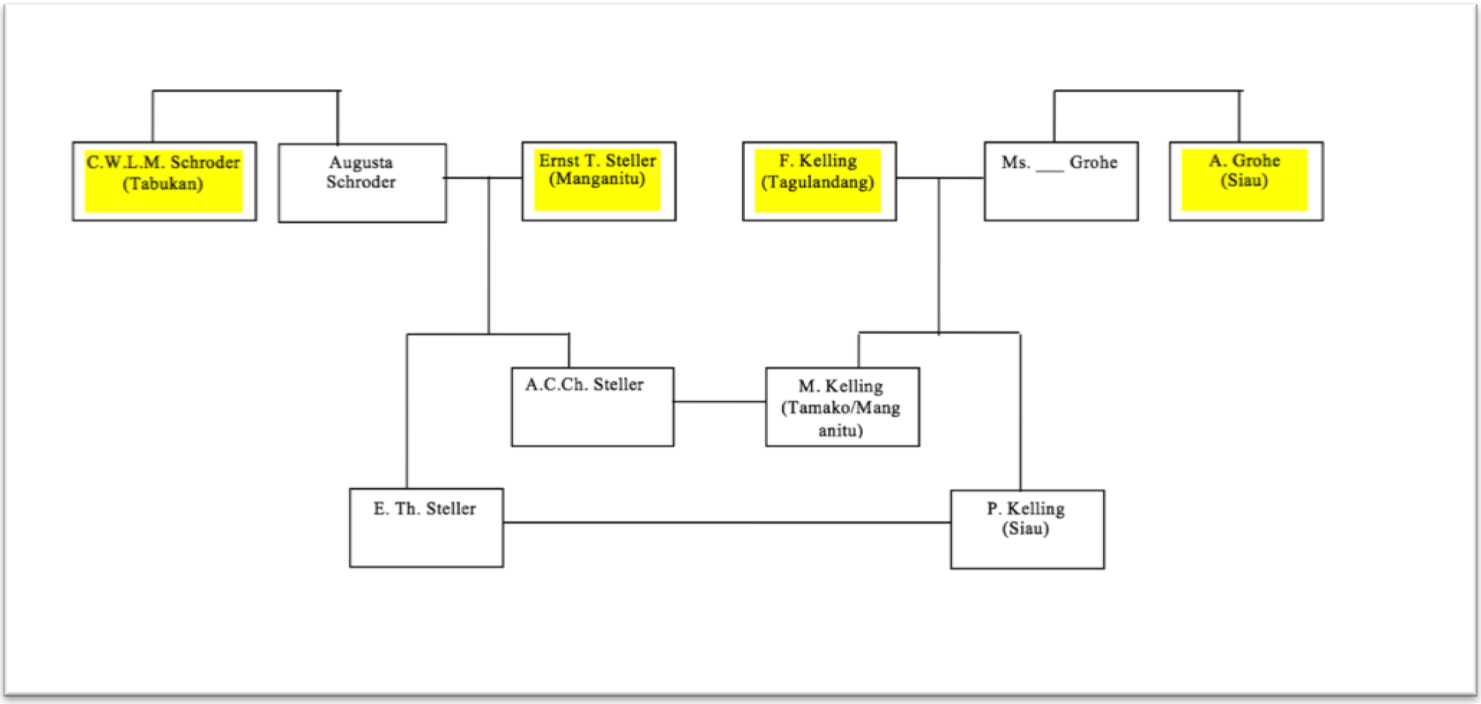

Figure 5.1[189]
Intermarrying missionary families in Sangir (19th century)

E. T. Steller, a leading member of the family, was an early advocate of social and political reforms in the Sangir archipelago. He had not only opposed Ponto's headhunting forays but also the slave system present in all Sangirese polities. Steller—like Grohe in Siau[190]—

[188] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1878, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van de zendelingen op de Talaut- en Sangi-eilanden, 345+Report of the commissie for the ST, 15 October 1877. It has been observed that "unlike many foreign missionary societies, the Dutch societies prefer that their missionaries should be married before going out to the mission field." A. M. Brouwer, "The Preparation of Missionaries in Holland," *The International Review of Missions* 1, no. 1 (1912): 233.
[189] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2821, Obituary of F. Kelling, 13 August 1902.
[190] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2817, A. Grohe, 20 March 1865, Siau, fo. 4.

protested the exclusion of slaves from church and school by the local elite.[191] While recognizing that slavery in Sangir was "light," he declared that "many slaves would like to be declared free."[192] He cited the case of a daughter of a slave-woman in Manganitu who attended Christian religious instruction but later suffered intimidation and physical assault from gangs (most likely aristocrats) who were resistant to her attendance and to the changing social order.[193]

The traditional function of schooling and Christianity as status-markers remained entrenched well into Steller's time. Pupils attended school "only for social distinction" for a while and would later drop out.[194] Even the locally hired schoolmaster supposedly considered his position as a fixed status and devoted most of his time to agriculture, palm wine production, or commercial fishing with his pupils. Many of these adolescent pupils supposedly continued to attend school only to escape corvée obligations imposed by their local chief.[195]

Successive colonial officials ignored Steller's complaints. Resident Jansen forbade the missionary-artisans from interferring with the slave issue in Sangir. Jansen perhaps thought that such a measure was premature, given the almost complete political reliance of the colonial state on the rajas to maintain a modicum of rule in Sangir.[196] Resident van Deinse (1864-1871) was adamant on the need to reprimand the chiefs not supportive of schools.[197] The Governor-General, upon the recommendation of the secularist Resident Bosch (1861-1862),[198] even recommended Steller's dismissal[199] for "acting like a raja."[200] However, the Minister of Colonies in The Hague, likely due to missionary lobby, reversed the decision. The Minister justified Steller's "discourteousness" towards the chiefs by invoking Steller's being a mere "craftsman" whose utterances offended the "Oriental ear accustomed to elegant metaphors and slavish subjection."[201]

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[191] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2859, E. Steller, 12 May, 1866, E Steller to Mev. Gravin van Hogendorp, 2; "Correspondentie en Berigten," 678-680.
[192] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2859, E. Steller, 12 May, 1866, E Steller to Mev. Gravin van Hogendorp, 7-8.
[193] Ibid.
[194] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 4.
[195] Ibid.
[196] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2859, E. Steller, 12 May, 1866, E. Steller to Mev. Gravin van Hogendorp, 2.
[197] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2860, E. Steller, 14 June 1868.
[198] See also his stance towards the missions in Minahasa in Chapter 2.
[199] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Politiek Verslag 1861.
[200] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1257, Besluit 3 November 1862 no. 25, Letter of Steller, Manganitu, 22 April 1862.
[201] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 1257, Besluit 3 November 1862 no. 25.

Figure 5.2[202]
Remains of the Stellers' house in the former coconut and nutmeg plantation "Gunung" (left); School in Manganitu proper where the Stellers taught (right)

However, while Steller's early years were distinguished by a seemingly socially progressive albeit politically inexpedient stance, his later career was characterized by accusations of corruption and neglect of duty. In his early years, Steller taught in the morning and "directed public works" (constructing sewerage and streets) in the afternoon with his pupils "as a payment for school supplies and clothing."[203] This ostensibly innocent use of free labor graduated into juvenile exploitation, especially after Steller "purchased" land for nutmeg and coconut plantation in 1874.[204] By 1890, his land possession had grown into a full-blown plantation estate—named Gunung (mountain) (see Figure 5.2)—likely acquired under duress from a local church assistant (*penulung*)[205] His plantation, adjacent to that of another pioneer missionary-artisan (Schroder), would eventually have 80 so-called *murids* (students) working in its fields.[206] Steller's program of combining schooling with labor was the reason why he was "detested" by the "more civilized"

[202] Photos taken 17 December 2013.
[203] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2738, Letter of [C. W. J. (Clara) Steller], [1908], 4.
[204] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1878, Rapport van de resident van Menado over de werkzaamheden van de zendelingen op de Talaut- en Sangi-eilanden, 345+Report of the commissie for the ST, 15 October 1877.
[205] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1891 Onderzoek naar de gang van zaken bij de zending op de Sangi- en Talauer eilanden res. Menado, 836+, Letter of the Res. of Menado, written in Tabukan, 26 october 1890 to the GG.
[206] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2778, Confidential [Report], Sangi-Talaud Comité, 4.

stratum of Sangirese society who, consequently, sought to transfer their children to the school of a missionary who did not have a plantation.[207]

Indeed, from the viewpoint of missionary authorities and patrons in Batavia and The Hague, the missionary-artisans' administrative autonomy coupled with unrestrained access to commerce was detrimental to the Christian missionary project.[208] Steller, in particular, was so deeply motivated by economic gains that his church services were reportedly only held to "earn money from the community."[209] In addition, Steller and the missionary-artisans came to be regarded as "lenient" in carrying out the core missionary goal of instituting "Christian morality" because of their economic dependence on the Sangirese.[210] For instance, Steller was seen as too permissive for allowing the Sangirese "pagan dances"[211] that were especially shunned by Protestant Christianity.

If the missionary-artisans were unsuccessful, concerned as they were in their own economic agenda, then what accounts for the Christian conversions of the majority of the Sangirese?

3. Religious conversion, political reforms, and commercial expansion

This section shows that the mass conversion of the Sangirese was closely related to the colonial political reforms and commercial expansion of the late nineteenth century. It illustrates a causal nexus between conversion, centralization, and commercialization. It argues that colonial centralization—propelled by the prospects of profit from the Sangirese's own "primitive accumulation"[212] or the nascent accumulation of capital—had the net effect of liberating the natives from their traditional economic and political subservience to local chiefly authority. Key

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[207] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1891 Onderzoek naar de gang van zaken bij de zending op de Sangi- en Talauer eilanden res. Menado, 836+, Letter of the Res. of Menado, written in Tabukan, 26 October 1890 to the GG.

[208] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2737, Copie van een brief van Mevrouw Esser [to Mvrw. Bassecour Caan], Buitenzorg, 2 September [1903?].

[209] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1891 Onderzoek naar de gang van zaken bij de zending op de Sangi- en Talauer eilanden res. Menado, 836+, Letter of the Res. of Menado, written in Tabukan, 26 October 1890 to the GG.

[210] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2778, Confidential [Report], Sangi-Talaud Comité, 3.

[211] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2737, 'Uit mijn dagboek' [E. Steller, undated].

[212] Mathew Forstater, "Taxation and Primitive Accumulation: The Case of Colonial Africa," in *The Capitalist State and its Economy: Democracy in Socialism*, ed. Paul Zarembka, 51-64 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005).

to this colonial offensive was the incipient bureaucratization of local chiefly offices and the imposition of an obligatory census-based taxation that aimed to monetarize and commercialize the economy. Freed from the traditional chiefly bondage, the Sangirese could now access the prestigious trappings of Christianity, which had been actively promoted by the state but had remained exclusive to the local elite. In addition (and perhaps equally fundamental), Christianity meant access to the emergent and rapidly expanding economy.

3.1. Persistence of the old order

Two waves of colonial centralization were crucial to the story of conversions in Sangir—the reforms implemented by Residents M. C. E. Stakman (1889-1892) and E. J. Jellesma (1892-1903), respectively. However, in order to better contextualize these reforms, a brief review of Sangir's political and economic condition is in order.

There had been attempts, halfhearted at best, from the government to impose modern colonial governance in Sangir. In 1882 A. C. Uljee, an Assistant Resident, was placed in Taruna (Greater Sangir), likely as part of a colony-wide attempt to divest the "economic basis of the chiefs" and centralize authority in the hands of professional European bureaucrats.[213] Uljee attempted reforms, but his tenure was cut short.

The political costs of implementing Uljee's reforms were apparently too high for the government after Jacob Ponto, who was "supported unanimously" by the Sangirese upper chiefs, complained to the Resident of Menado. Uljee was consequently removed.[214] Six successive colonial functionaries were stationed in Sangir following Uljee, but they also failed because their tenures were too short to initiate any meaningful change (either due to regular rotation or health reasons). This was a boon for Ponto and the old order. The regular transfer of posts by these functionaries to other regions away from Sangir was "interpreted by many Sangirese as a consequence of their opposing Ponto."[215]

Underneath Ponto's prodigious defense of the traditional political order were his avowed economic interests. He strived to protect his economic monopolies and preserve other traditional

[213] See *Staatsblad* 1881, nos. 18, 19 and 47; Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation," 124; note 19.
[214] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900 inv. 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux.
[215] Ibid.

chiefly privileges in commerce. His efforts resembled those of one of his predecessors in Siau (Raja Paparang), and indeed like many other rajas in the "traditional world" who were known to have "managed to achieve a monopoly on trade, and strictly forbade anybody to buy or sell anything except from and to himself."[216] Ponto notably sought to maintain control of the natural and human resources in the islets surrounding Siau. On the island of Makalehi, Ponto ordered his subjects—slaves in fact—to cultivate nutmeg exclusively for his own economic profit.[217] In the islands of Kalama and Karakitang, Ponto claimed as his personal appanage the profitable edible bird's nests.[218] He was known to have used unremunerated labor for the construction of his own house in Manado and in the building of his large sea-going vessel (*kora-kora*). However, it was not only Ponto who benefitted. He and his followers were known to have unduly appropriated lands. Ponto himself was known to have planned to usurp the profitable nutmeg and coconut plantation of one of the missionary-artisans (Schroder) in Talengen.[219]

The renewed interest of the government in Sangir in the 1880s can also be ascribed to the commercial boom. Although nutmeg was supposed to have been cultivated since the mid-nineteenth century,[220] vigorous trade of this commodity seems to have commenced only in the 1880s.[221] However, the most important commodity, "the product which really began to shake the regional economy loose"[222], was copra.

From the late 1870s Chinese and European traders based in Makassar and Manado actively participated in the Sangirese copra trade.[223] By 1881, two companies (Dutch and German, respectively) already had their representatives in Taruna.[224] The process of making copra itself was supposed to have been introduced by the Ternate-based Dutch trader, M. D. van

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[216] Delden, "De Sangir-eilanden in 1825," cited in Henley, Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930, 76.
[217] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900, inv. 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux, written on the order of and under the supervision of RM Stakman.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] UB- KITLV H 1220, no. 56, "De Biologische achtergrond van het Bevolkinsvraagstuk op Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe- en Talaud-Archipel," Dr. PML Tammes, Manado 1940, 21.
[221] UB-KITLV (Archives H. Th. Chabot) H 1251 inv. 66, no. 22, Penduduk, bahasa, asal bangsa dan adat istiadat, A. B. Dauhan, ca. 1950.
[222] Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 84.
[223] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Letter of RM 11 Jan 1890 to GG.
[224] NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 300, RM Matthes (1881).

Renesse van Duivenbode, in 1862.[225] By around 1870, most of the coconut for export was processed into copra and not into coconut oil, as had been traditionally done.[226]

However, despite increased economic activity, the majority of the Sangirese languished in poverty, as real profits were realized by the chiefly elite and the outsider-merchants (European *borgo* and Chinese). Historical sources are insufficient to reconstruct a detailed political economy of the pre-reform copra trade in Sangir. However, one can surmise that the outsider-merchants directly or more likely indirectly acquired copra from the ordinary Sangirese by trading textiles and other goods for copra. These merchants probably made cash payments to the Sangirese chiefly elite who claimed control over the means of production (primarily land and labor) as a commercial concession of sorts. This barter trade was so profitable for the merchants that it probably yielded a profit margin ranging from 100 to 300 percent.[227]

This system hindered the monetarization and the dynamism of the economy. Money (copper and silver coins) was scarce despite significant exports. It was estimated that Sangir only had *f* 40,000 despite a population of between 80,000 to 90,000 around 1890.[228] The limited money available was almost certainly in the hands of the elite who used it to buy goods and services that they could not provide for themselves or procure through barter, for example, to import rice for themselves[229] in times of food scarcity, like "the great famine of 1877."[230] Ordinary Sangirese were flooded with *arak* (palm wine) and especially "worthless [textile] goods," such as blue cotton (*salemporis*), twilled cotton (*kain keper*), and cloth for sarongs that "just rot in their homes."[231]

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[225] B. C. A. J. van Dinter, "Eenige geographische en ethnigraphische aantekeningen betreffende het eiland Siaoe," *TBG* 41, (1899): 334.
[226] UB-KITLV (Archives H. Th. Chabot) H 1251 inv. 66, no. 22, Penduduk, bahasa, asal bangsa dan adat istiadat, A. B. Dauhan, ca. 1950.
[227] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Letter of RM 11 Jan 1890 to GG.
[228] Ibid. In contrast, the Philippines was even less monetarized. In the same period, the monetary system in the Philippines amounted to six cents per capita while the monetary system in Sangir amounted to 50 cents per capita (if the population of Sangir was 80,000). Willem G. Wolters, "How Were Labourers Paid in the Philippine Islands During the Nineteenth Century?," in *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jan Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 152.
[229] Rice was consumed primarily by the elites. G. L. L. Kemmerling, *De Vulkanen van den Sangi-Archipel en van de Minahassa* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1923), 6.
[230] UB- KITLV H 1220, no. 56, "De Biologische achtergrond van het Bevolkinsvraagstuk op Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe- en Talaud-Archipel," Dr. PML Tammes, Manado 1940, 16.
[231] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, inv. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Verslag van een reis naar de Sangir en Talauer eilanden van den 22 Juli tot 27 Aug 1889, Res. Stakman, Menado.

To sum up, the regular presence of a colonial official beginning in 1882 did not spell the end for the old order, since their respective appointments were not tied to broader and more sweeping colonial reforms, nor did increasing trade bring significant social transformations. The economic benefits brought about by the copra boom certainly did not trickle down to the rest of the Sangirese. Instead, it brought prosperity to outsider-merchants. Most importantly, it reinforced the political-economic dominance of the Sangirese elite over their claimed subjects.

3.2. Stakman's and Jellesma's reforms (1889-1903)

The years of tenure of Residents Stakman and his successor, Jellesma, witnessed a "final burst of pacification"[232] and consequent expansion of modern colonial governance in the broader north Sulawesi region. It saw the imposition of colonial bureaucratic apparatus in residual regions that hitherto had escaped formal control, namely, Bolaang-Mongondow and Talaud. However, it also signalled the beginning of mass conversions to Christianity in Sangir and especially Talaud.

Resident Stakman, over-stating the situation in what James Scott refers to as "state simplification"[233] wrote in 1890 that "two-thirds of the Sangirese population are now Protestants and the rest, even though not yet baptized, call themselves Christians."[234] However, a more reliable assessment comes from F. Kelling, one of the pioneer missionary-artisans. He lamented a year before that "two-thirds of the Sangirese remains unbaptized" notwithstanding decades, indeed centuries, of Christian missionary presence.[235] At any rate, in a little more than a decade (1889-1901) the island of Siau—Ponto's stronghold—came to have 32 established Christian communities with 9,235 baptized Christians constituting one-third of its population.[236] More

[232] From Klinken, *The Making of Middle Indonesia: The Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1908s*, 7.
[233] James C. Scott, "Freedom and Freehold: Space, People and State Simplification in Southeast Asia," in *Asian Freedoms: The Idea of Freedom in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. David Kelly and Anthony Reid, 37-64 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[234] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Letter of RM 11 Jan 1890 to GG.
[235] "Zending op de Sangi- en Talau-eilanden," *Geillustreerd Zendingsblad voor het Huisgezin*, (1889): 62.
[236] HUA ArvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2866, A. J. Swanborn (zendeling in Ondong, [1901-1904?]), Jaarverslag omtrent den zendingsarbeid in het Ressort Ondong Anno 1902.

remarkably, where virtually no Christian communities existed before the 1890s, Talaud saw its population becoming completely Christianized within two decades.[237]

Stakman's rhetoric resonates closely with that of Jansen in the 1850s. His insistence that all the Sangirese were already Christians "even though not yet baptized" reflects Jansen's influential trope of the Sangirese as "lost Christians." The phrase likely functioned as a defense against secularist critics to facilitate the conversion of the yet pagan Sangirese.

However, more fundamental perhaps was Stakman's deep-seated belief, like Jansen before him, that Christianity was a prerequisite to modernity, prosperity, and civilization,[238] which he stated explicitly in a provocative speech before all the Talaud chiefs in 1889.

> Many of you are still pagans and less developed; everyone who has been to Minahasa and Sangir islands, have seen the beneficial impact of religion and education on the development and prosperity [of people]. The government has appointed a missionary to instruct and Christianize you. The government will establish more schools to provide education for your children. I request that you help him [the missionary]. Your people will point to the great benefit that they enjoy once they have become Christians. I hope to hear when I return that many have converted and many follow the education given by the missionaries. [239]

Stakman's successor, E. J. Jellesma, was also known as a "friend of the missionaries," as he himself was a son of a pioneer missionary in Java.[240] He was a supporter of the Protestant missions in Poso (Central Sulawesi) under the leadership of Albert C. Kruyt. Jellesma personally introduced Kruyt to his future missionary territory and with the same devotion to the missionary project as Stakman, was supposed to have declared to the people of Poso that "all help that you render to this man [Kruyt], you render to me."[241]

Although one might simply ascribe the conversion of the mass of the Sangirese to the desire of the colonial residents to Christianize the peoples of the Dutch East Indies, such an

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[237] B. Roep, "Hygiene op de Talaud-eilanden," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 53, (1917). See also NA MvO, 1852-1962, inv. 2.10.39, no. 1183, Tamawiwy, M.S. (bestuurder), "Nota behoorende bij acte van verband landschap Talaud-eilanden," 1934.

[238] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Letter of RM 11 Jan 1890 to GG.

[239] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, inv. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Notulen van de algemeene vergadering, gehouden te Liroeng op den 15 September 1889, 21-22.

[240] Aritonang and Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 425; Maryse Kruithof, "'Shouting in a Desert': Dutch Missionary Encounters with Javanese Islam, 1850-1910" (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2014).

[241] Gerrit Noort, "De weg van magie tot geloof: leven en werk van Albert C. Kruyt (1869-1949), zendeling-leraar in Midden-Celebes, Indonesië" (Universiteit Utrecht, 2006), 42.

argument can easily be negated by the failure of the missionary project in Sangir in the 1850s at the time of the indefatigably pro-missionary, Resident Jansen.

The crucial element seems to lie not only peripherally in the promotion of Christianity by enthusiastic colonial officials, but mainly in the political and fiscal reforms that were embedded in the rhetoric of Christianization. Underpinning the discourse linking progress and Christianity was the effective opening of the Sangirese economy and transformation of the chiefs into salaried officials. This paved the way for the economic and political liberation of the Sangirese from the yoke of the traditional order—an important precondition for subsequent Christian conversions.

Census-based (monetary) poll taxation (*hasil*) was a key instrument in realizing these ends. One popular justification for taxation was to provide "progress and development" to the natives.[242] However, a substantial amount of cash went to government coffers. Only one-tenth of the total collected taxes was left for the local chiefly hierarchy as salary.[243]

In Sangir, the plan to impose a poll tax of *f* 1 for each household had long been considered since 1863,[244] but it came to fruition only in 1886.[245] The chiefs, under Ponto's leadership,[246] withheld actual demographic data to further their own political and economic interests. However, Stakman's tax reform in 1889 was based on a corrected census, which led to the dramatic increase of the *hasil* from *f* 1,350 to *f* 17,000 in the Sangir islands.[247] Resident Jellesma later increased the poll tax to *f* 2.50 per Sangirese household and instituted an *f* 1 poll tax in Talaud[248] that in its initial year yielded around *f* 30,000 for Sangir and *f* 5,800 for Talaud, respectively.[249]

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[242] See, for instance, NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 4554, Verbaal 10 March 1892, Stakman, to the GG Menado 27 September 1891.
[243] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5462, Letter of the Controleur in Taruna, FC Vorstman, 26 May 1897.
[244] ANRI Manado inv. 49, no. 2, Bundle: Politiek Verslag der Residentie Menado van het jaar 1863.
[245] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900 inv. 2.10.02, 1891, Verhoging van de schatting die het landschap Siauw aan het Gouvernement moet betalen, 493+, Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indie, Batavia, 13 Juni 1891.
[246] Ibid.
[247] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Batavia 13 Nov 1889 [Letter of the Director of Binnenlands Bestuur, H. Kuneman].
[248] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5545, Verbaal 10 December 1900, Contract between the Resident of Manado and local Sangirese chiefs.
[249] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22.

However, in order to provide avenues for the Sangirese to acquire cash for broader market-based exchanges and, especially to fulfill periodic tax obligations, the government sought to open the economy and create markets.

Stakman prohibited barter trade and required that cash be used in economic transactions. His regulation naturally elicited opposition from the merchants and the chiefly elite. Chiefs forbade their subjects to trade in a last-ditch attempt to control commerce.[250] As a result of obligatory monetary exchange, prices of copra saw a sudden (but temporary) spike as merchants switched from distributing cheap goods to paying hard cash.[251]

Stakman ordered the establishment of markets in Tabukan, Taruna, and Siau. He designated specific areas as "Chinese quarters" in Siau, Taruna, and Lirung.[252] He decreed the building of roads within and between villages.[253] Stakman also distributed large amounts of coffee and nutmeg seeds, brown beans, seeds of various trees, and seeds of various trees, including coconut trees for Talaud villagers to cultivate.[254] He prohibited the trade in *arak* that not only contributed to the habitual drunkenness of many Sangirese men but was also exchanged at unreasonably high prices by "unscrupulous European and Chinese traders."[255]

In addition, reforms that would alter traditional social and political structures were implemented. Stakman declared a blanket abolition of slavery and provisioned lands for former slaves to cultivate.[256] He also ordered the breaking down of multiple family houses in favor of single family ones, thus increasing the number of taxable population.[257] The compulsory building of single-family houses was particularly damaging to the authority of the *raja rumah*—leader of

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[250] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Besluit 26 April 1890.
[251] ANRI Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS), 1890-1942, inv. 3754, Kommissorial van den 13 Maart no. 4789.
[252] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, inv. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Vergadering van den Resident van Menado met den Kontroleur der Sangi en Talauereilanden en de Radja's en mantri's van de rijken Taroena, Kandahr, Taboekan, Manganitoe, Siauw en Tagoelandang, gehouden te Taroena op den 29 Juli 1889.
[253] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Batavia 13 Nov 1889 [Letter of the Director of Binnenlands Bestuur, H. Kuneman]. For instance, a road between the most important settlements of Siau (Ulu to Ondong) as well as of Tagulandang (Haas to Tagulandang) were built. "De zelfbesturende landschappen van de residentie Menado, gelegen op den vasten wal van Celebes," *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezitttingen, bewerkt door Het Encyclopaedisch Bureau* 2, (1912): 20.
[254] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Verslag van de reis van de resident naar de Sangi en Talauer eilanden van 4 October tot 12 November 1890, 20+ [Resident Stakman].
[255] Ibid.
[256] Chabot, "Processes of change in Siau 1890-1950," 98.
[257] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Verslag van de reis van de resident naar de Sangi en Talauer eilanden van 4 October tot 12 November 1890, 20+ [Resident Stakman]

the (aristocratic) matrilaterally structured kinship that occupied large family houses in Sangir's core settlements.[258] In his turn, Jellesma pushed for the abolition of obligatory *pinontol* (corvée) for the raja by allowing the ordinary Sangirese to extricate themselves from the arrangement by paying *f* 1.[259]

On the political front, colonial reforms were aimed at streamlining indigenous political offices and centralizing authority in the hands of colonial functionaries. This involved the reorganization of political boundaries for efficient taxation and administration.[260] It, therefore, meant the nullification of exclaves and territorial claims based on historical growth and genealogical continuity of original settlements.[261] The European *controleur* expanded his powers by assuming roles formerly performed by the chiefs. A *majelis* (council) headed by a European functionary and composed of the most important chiefs was formed to decide on criminal justice[262] and on various personal affairs (for instance, divorce), which were previously under the purview of the chiefs alone.[263] In addition, the European bureaucratic hierarchy allowed the ascendancy of commoners who were capable individuals to become chiefs.[264]

As a whole, these reforms tended to limit chiefly authority and control over the Sangirese social life. They restricted the political and economic power of the chiefly elite by providing market- and state-induced pathways for the ordinary Sangirese to relate with the outside world. However, these radical reforms naturally met resistance from chiefly quarters.

3.3. Hostility and attraction

In different parts of the Menado Residency, the elite resisted government reforms to varying degrees. In Minahasa, for instance, the further bureaucratization of native offices and the

[258] Chabot, "Processes of change in Siau 1890-1950," 99.
[259] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5545, Verbaal 10 December 1900.
[260] "De zelfbesturende landschappen van de residentie Menado, gelegen op den vasten wal van Celebes," 39.
[261] See, for instance, the merger of Kendahe and Taruna. NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5462, Besluit 15 February 1900, no. 48, Letter of the Controleur in Taruna, Vorstman, 20 May 1897. Also on the removal of Sangirese exclaves, see NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5545, Verbaal 10 December 1900, Letter of the GG to the Res of Menado, 8 February 1899.
[262] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Plakaat-rechtswezen, 12 September 1889.
[263] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 2768, RM Manado, E. J. Jellesma, 14 march 1903 to Directeur van Onderwijs, Eeredienst en Nijverheid.
[264] "De zelfbesturende landschappen van de residentie Menado, gelegen op den vasten wal van Celebes," 41.

abolition of the oft-abused *pinontol* (corvée) led to the disconcertion of the chiefs.[265] It occasioned an unprecedented direct appeal of a Minahasan chief (A. L. Waworuntu) to the Governor-General in Batavia and a consequent widely publicized government inquiry (Gallois Commission).[266] Meanwhile in Bolaang-Mongondow, the establishment of a permanent colonial presence in the core highland settlement gave rise to the intermittent armed incursions of gangs led by aristocratic sons (*abo-abo*) who felt threatened by the impending colonial order.[267]

In Sangir, these reforms marked the dénouement for Jacob Ponto's long career. He was formally dismissed and exiled to a village near Cirebon due to his opposition to the abilition of slavery.[268] However, while it was the immediate trigger, Ponto's long history of defiance was likely the deeper reason. He had been accused of numerous offenses including insubordination, slavery, incest, refusal to conduct a census, and "disparaging" colonial rule by "talking continuously about Aceh" where the Dutch was engaged in a protracted war.[269] Ponto's close familial ties with the Islamized polities of Sulawesi and his relatively late compulsory Christian conversion and education were fodders to the long-standing rumor of him being a "crypto-Muslim."[270] Whatever his personal theological convictions might have been, if he had any, he was buried with an Islamic tombstone (see Figure 5.3). Moreover, despite his fall from power, the continued prominence of his (matrilaterally structured) kinship group well into the next century was already secured in Siau and other Sangirese polities through prudent chiefly intermarriages.[271]

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[265] P. J. Drooglever, "Vernandel versus Sahelangi: Macht en moraal in de Minahassa omstreeks 1890," in *Excursies in Celebes: Een bundel bijdragen bij het afscheid van J. Noorduyn als directeur-secretaris van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, ed. Harry A. Poeze en Pim Schoorl, 115-142 (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1991); M. C. E. Stakman, *De Minahassa; Bezwaarschrift, opgemaakt naar aanleiding van het rapport nopens den staat van zaken in de Minahassa uitgebracht door W. O. Gallois, lid van den Raad van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Amsterdam: Van Holkema en Warendorf, 1893); J. K. W. Quarles van Ufford, "Koloniale Kroniek," *De Economist* 42, no. 1 (1893).

[266] Schouten, "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation."

[267] NA MvK Politiek Verslagen Buitengewesten, 1898-1940 inv. 210.52, Mailrapport 1902, 836 Kwaadwillige doen een aanval op de gevangenis te Popo (Mongondow), 19 Augustus, Letter of the Resident of Menado, E. J. Jellesma, 31 August 1902 to the Gov. General.

[268] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Batavia 31 March 1890 Director of Justitie, L. A. Buijn.

[269] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900 inv. 2.10.02, 1889, Ontslag van de radja van Siauw wegens wanbestuur, 715, Nota omtrent het bestuur en de handelingen van den vorst van Siauw, Jacob Ponto, Taruna, 24 Ag 1889, JFD Lux.

[270] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2825, P. Kelling, Ulu Siau, 6 July 1892, fo. 3.

[271] See the family tree of Ponto in H. B. Elias, *Sejarah pergerakan kebangsaan Indonesia di Pulau Siau* (Manado: Markas cabang Legiun Veteran R. I. Kotamadya Manado, 1973), 116.

Figure 5.3[272]
Tomb of Jacob Ponto in Sangkanhurip, near Cirebon (left); Details of his tombstone (center); A street in present-day Sangkanhurip, Kecamatan Cilimus, Kabupaten Kuningan, Central Java (right)

The most dramatic episode of political centralization of the period, however, occurred in Talaud. In one of its islands (Karakelong), Resident Jellesma supervised the bombardment of the village of Arangkaa aboard the steamship *Zeeduif* in 1893.[273] This last stage of pacification in Talaud saw dozens of knife-wielding, euphorically war-dancing (*cakalele*) men attempting to resist a steamship alongside auxilliary native boats. Since the late seventeenth century, an internecine conflict—closely resembling the *rido* (clan feuding) of contemporary southern Philippines—had existed between Arangkaa on one side, and Kiama, Lirung and other allied villages, on the other.[274] The show of superior brute force effectively ended the low-intensity but

[272] Photos taken June 2014.
[273] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900 inv. 2.10.02, 1893, Tuchtiging van de kampong Arangkaa op de Talauer eilanden, 1136+, 1138+, Letter of Jellesma to the Gov Gen, 29 Ag 1893. Verslag van den Controleur der Sangi- en Talaut eilanden, betreffende de tuchtiging van Arangkaa, noorkust van Karakelang, 23 juli 1893.
[274] NA Mailrapporten, 1869-1900 inv. 2.10.02, 1893, Tuchtiging van de kampong Arangkaa op de Talauer eilanden, 1136+, 1138+, Verslag van den Controleur der Sangi- en Talaut eilanden, betreffende de tuchtiging van Arangkaa, noorkust van Karakelang, 23 juli 1893.

frequent clashes over territory and resources. It also established the raja of Lirung as the apical Talaurese chief, since the Dutch chose his village as the seat of the Postholder in 1895.[275]

Taken as a whole, these direct colonial interferences and deep reforms slackened the ties between the ruling elite and their claimed subjects. They challenged the existing social hierarchy based on various elite strategies of dominance—descent-based status differentiation, wealth, and (threats of) violence. The reforms provided a pathway for the formerly exclusive religious affiliation to be accessed by the ordinary Sangirese.

In Tabukan, recently freed slaves were immediately noted to have attended schools.[276] In Siau, the islet of Makalehi, long cordoned-off by Ponto from outsiders (especially missionaries) because of its fertile fishing grounds, was finally "opened."[277] In a space of several years, many of its islanders were eventually baptized.[278] In Talaud, where the presence of the missions and government was relatively recent, accounts of mass conversions were more common. It is said that "entire villages convert to Christianity" in Karakelong (Beo) in 1898.[279] Numerous men who sought conversion originated from northern Karakelong,[280] whose chiefs had traditionally opposed Dutch rule which had been effectively confined to the southern part of the island.[281]

However, such chiefly intransigence was apparently not shared by the majority of the population. As colonial officials observed, conversion to Christianity was also a way to avoid oppressive chiefly authority.[282] Many wanted to be baptized in order to be considered for

[275] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Decision of the GG, 29 Mar 1896; "De Zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang, Siaoe, Taboekan (ten rechte: Tawoekan), Kandhar-Taroena (ten rechte: Kendahe-Tahoena) en Manganitoe (Afdeeling Sangi- en Talaud-eilanden, Residentie Menado)," 43.

[276] NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Verslag van eene reis naar de Sangi- en Talaut eilanden, ondernomen door de Resident van Menado Stakman, September 1889.

[277] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2825, P. Kelling, Ulu Siau, 6 July 1892, fo. 3.

[278] See HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2866, A. J. Swanborn (zendeling in Ondong, 1901-1904?), Table: Statistiek van het Zendingswerk Anno 1902, Ressort Ondong, Eiland Siauw.

[279] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2828, Zending op de Talaud-eilanden [1898], Den Houter.

[280] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2840, GJ Schroder, Beo, 26 June 1895.

[281] On the opposition of northern Karakelong chiefs to foreign intrusion, see NA MvK inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, Besluit 13 Juli 1896, no. 22, Verslag van de reis van de resident naar de Sangi en Talauer eilanden van 4 October tot 12 November 1890, 20+ [Resident Stakman]; ANRI Manado inv. 48, no. 4, Politiek Verslag 1859.

[282] "De Zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang, Siaoe, Taboekan (ten rechte: Tawoekan), Kandhar-Taroena (ten rechte: Kendahe-Tahoena) en Manganitoe (Afdeeling Sangi- en Talaud-eilanden, Residentie Menado)," 43.

employment in the colonial navy,[283] perhaps not only to be able to pay the obligatory *hasil* but also to escape the restrictive local social relationships.[284]

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has traced the long history of Christianization (or the absence of it) in the Sangir-Talaud archipelago. It shows that up until the radical colonial reforms of the late nineteenth century, Christianity as a form of social affiliation was denied to the lower classes by the Sangirese chiefly elite. It illustrates that in the intervening years, attempts to Christianize the mass of the Sangirese had been unsuccessful because of the continued economic and political dominance of the traditional elite, personified most vividly by Jacob Ponto, raja of Siau. The chapter has argued that the economic and political reforms of Residents Stakman and Jellesma were decisive in breaking the dominance of the chiefly authority. Through these reforms, the restrictive economic, political, and social bonds that tied many Sangirese to their locality were slackened, thus providing an avenue for conversion.

[283] HUA ARvdZ inv. 1102-1, no. 2840, GJ Schroder, Beo, 26 June 1895.
[284] See Henley, *Fertility, Food and Fever: Population, Economy and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*, 161.

CHAPTER 6
Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the causation of mass conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow and to Protestant Christianity in Sangir-Talaud and Minahasa. It examines these regions individually and analyzes the respective political, economic, and social milieus within which these conversions occurred. It demonstrates that despite deviations in particularities, the mass conversions to world religions in these regions broadly shared similar causations. It places emphasis on particular periods in the nineteenth-century when the Dutch colonial state centralized political authority and imposed census-based monetary taxation with the aim of commercializing the economy. It points to these reforms as the immediate triggers that enabled both Dutch apical rulers and especially indigenous apical rulers to weaken the authority of subaltern chiefs. It illustrates that these reforms were weaved into the religious conversion agenda of rulers as a strategy to further consolidate authority by depriving the subaltern chiefs of their functionally undifferentiated and socially embedded authority. As such, this dissertation shows that the apical rulers could expand their political and economic reach while paving the way for their claimed subjects to access prestigious religious identities, which had hitherto been exclusive to the ruling elite.

1. Demand-side and supply-side causation

The dissertation has presented a two-pronged explanation to the question of causation to conversion. On the one hand, there is the external trigger—the supply side—or the colonially induced political centralization and fiscal expansion. On the other hand, there is the internal motivation—the demand side—or the intention of the people to access a cosmopolitan religious identity that represented material, symbolic, and relational freedom from the constrictive old order.

However, while this dissertation endorses these complementary "supply" and "demand" causal sides, extant historical sources tend to almost exclusively focus on the former. Given the lack of egodocuments from people who were converting to Christianity or Islam, it is difficult to identify the essentially personal and motivational factors that constituted the "demand-side" causes of conversion. As such, one can often only guess at what motivated people to convert to

Islam or Christianity when they did. On the other hand, the archival records of various colonial institutions describe the events surrounding the chiefly and mass conversions in Minahasa, Bolaang-Mongondow, and Sangir-Talaud. These records make it possible to infer the probable "supply-side" causes of the chiefly and mass conversions. Notwithstanding the uncertainty inherent in acts of inference, the core argument stands: mass religious conversions were underpinned by the centralization of authority and commercialization of economy that undercut the traditional authority of the local chiefly elite and opened the pathway for many ordinary people to access a cosmopolitan religious identity.

The dissertation's emphasis on the intentions and motivations of key social actors within the broader context of state, society, and market to understand religious conversion challenges existing views on conversion. While the seemingly influential "expanding horizon theory" highlights the motivation of actors to access a cosmopolitan religious identity, it fails to take into account the equally crucial social forces that prevented or facilitated access to such cosmopolitanism. The "trade theory" points to the desire of likely converts for the legal and political stability that world religions provide. However, evidence from north Sulawesi points not to religion but to the colonial state as the ultimate arbiter of disputes and the source of political legitimacy. While not denying the attraction of commerce as a motivation to convert, this dissertation highlights serious impediments to deep and frequent contacts between the traders and most ordinary inhabitants of north Sulawesi. These included the chiefly monopoly of trade, which was perhaps most important of these impediments.

The "missionary theory" suggests the pivotal role of missionaries not only in the elite but also in the mass conversions. This can readily be confuted by the fact that there was a disproportionately small number of missionaries in comparison with the large number of converts. Also, the presence of both Islamic and Christian missionaries in north Sulawesi (and their attendant successes, if any) were often under the sponsorship of the incumbent political authorities. The "comprehensive social crisis theory" points to the immense social disruption following colonial intervention that made the people "susceptible" to proselytization as it responded to the people's supposed "spiritual vacuum." However, in the case of north Sulawesi, one can argue that the disruption caused by colonial rule was not so much a generalized crisis but a social transformation resulting from the reconfiguration of local chiefly authority. The local chiefs remained in power, but their numbers were reduced and their authority was streamlined to

fit the designs of expanding Dutch colonial rule. Although the internal motivation of individual converts remains difficult, if not impossible, to unravel, this dissertation interprets the general willingness of inhabitants to convert not as a result of a "spiritual vacuum" but of the freeing of the inhabitants from the social restrictions of the old order.

The "bottom-up theory," this dissertation suggests, supplies an important yet incomplete element in the conversion phenomenon. Religion in north Sulawesi possibly had a socially liberating and equalizing effect, and the would-be converts were likely imbued by the desire to acquire an identity similar to the elites. However, this theory lacks the conceptual tools to explain the social mechanisms of how such an intention to convert could be translated into actual conversion. The "marriage theory" directs attention to the role of cross-cultural marriages as a key factor to conversion. However, while marriages indeed were—and still are—a reason to convert, it cannot explain the rapid and almost contemporaneous conversions to Islam or Christianity in two vast regions of north Sulawesi. In addition, widespread cross-cultural marriages between foreign traders and local women would have been limited given the small number of traders in the area.

To recapitulate, while a number of these theories hint at important parts of the causal narrative of conversions in north Sulawesi (notably, the socially liberating nature of conversions and the pivotal role of the colonial state), they are silent on a key aspect—the dynamics of intra-elite competition. This aspect is, therefore, one of the main elements emphasized in the individual causal narratives of conversion.

2. Elite conversions and relative status

In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, this dissertation has presented how religion functioned as a mark of elite status for a long time. Christianity, as propagated by the Dutch East India Company and weaved into the elite fabric of local societies in the region, served as a distinguishing marker for the ruling chiefly class alongside its explicit function of strengthening the ties between the Company and its local vassals. In this way, Protestant Christianity became a convenient layer of elite identity on top of the older and deeper social affiliations based on familial ties and descent. In addition, the case of Sangir in the early nineteenth-century, exceptional as it may seem, reveals that Christianity was already invoked not only as an elite status marker but also as a moral language for the local chiefly class to sanction each other.

The north Sulawesi polities ruled by Christian rajas also received an occasional inspection of a Dutch pastor who likely only had a tangential influence on the social lives of the majority of the people ruled by self-professed Christian rajas. These rajas were also obligated to support Christian schoolteachers who often, and perhaps mainly, served as scribes who wrote missives on behalf of the raja to the Company and as Malay language teachers to the children of the local elite. The Company's deployment of schoolmasters in north Sulawesi was a part of the Company's geopolitical strategy to protect the north Sulawesi region from possible foreign intrusions since it was adjacent to the valuable Company outposts in Maluku.

However, the prestigious position occupied by Christianity gradually eroded in consonance with the decline of the Company and the consequent weakness of colonial authority in the peripheral areas of the Indonesian archipelago. Various micro-polities in north Sulawesi saw their rulers convert to Islam beginning with Buol around the 1780s and spreading eastwards to Bolaang-Mongondow in the 1840s. Siau in Sangir would have had in Jacob Ponto its first Muslim ruler in the 1850s, if not for the decision of some authorities to require him to convert to Christianity as a precondition to rule and as a measure to "preserve" Christianity in the archipelago. Minahasa is an exception in this regard, not only because its core settlements were found inland and, therefore, largely isolated from the earlier wave of ruler conversions, but also because of the relatively vigorous support for the Christian missions in the nineteenth century. Despite these differences, the pattern of early Christianization in Minahasa, as in the coastal polities in the previous century, was by and large limited to the local elite.

Although ruler or elite conversions to Company-sponsored Christianity and "maritime Islam" seem to have had different modalities, they were transmitted through and, therefore, refracted by elite interests. Unlike the earlier conversion to Christianity, ruler conversion to Islam in the region—especially that of the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow—was less explicitly propelled by the maintenance of local political authority. Rather, it was likely tied to the ruler's desire to partake of the economic benefits arising from the emergence of an "Islamic" regional economy led by the Arabs and Bugis.

The chiefly elite was very likely aware that while access to Islamic trade was an important economic channel to tap, conversion to Islam and contacts with various Muslim trading communities carried attendant political risks. They were averse to the extreme political flux to which the polities of north Sulawesi were inherently vulnerable, given the political

weakness of their indigenous elite. This was exemplified by the rapid change of rulers in Islamized Buol and Tolitoli, where the indigenous elite was eventually eclipsed by the powerful family led by the trader and mystic, Syarif Ali.

Such a risk was likely mitigated by mechanisms, such as the aristocratic marriage of wealthy and powerful Muslim traders to a member of the aristocracy (like the marriage between Syarif Aluwi and Hontinimbang of Mongondow), and the continued political and military patronage of the Dutch (as was the case in Gorontalo). Through these strategies the traditional elite sought to subsume religion under the traditional system of political authority and high relative status based on descent from a prestigious family line. Though marriage as a modality of religious conversion appears unique to Islam, it nonetheless shared the same objective of elite conversions to Christianity from the earlier period—to maintain the preponderance of indigenous elite rule and to utilize religion as an additional layer of status difference, rather than as a tool to challenge the traditional order.

However, while the affirmation of elite status difference widened the gap between the emergent social classes, it likely narrowed the social distance among the members of the constantly competing ruling elite who now shared not only the legitimacy from descent but also from religious affiliation. An aspiring apical ruler acting as the main sponsor of mass conversions to a world religion could effectively question and break the long-standing political and economic advantages claimed by subaltern chiefs, whose political legitimacy and social prestige were partly drawn from religious affiliation. The apical chief and other elites just under him could therefore, in theory, appear benevolent by sharing with the rest of the population a hitherto exclusive religious identity that symbolized prestige and wealth. However, underneath the explicit conversion agenda was the economic and political dividend that could accrue to the apical chief and his allies if the domestic economic pie was increased and political authority centralized.

This chiefly ambition to consolidate authority under the banner of religious conversion could not, however, be realized without sheer and incontestable political authority. To that end, the intensified presence of the colonial state in north Sulawesi was particularly crucial.

3. Conversion, colonial reforms, and the consolidation of chiefly authority

The colonial reforms of the nineteenth century, this dissertation argues, provided the immediate impetus for the slackening of the traditional bonds between the local chiefs and their subjects. These reforms likewise proffered unprecedented authority to the apical chief, which allowed him to centralize his rule and consequently succeed in folding the agenda of centralization into a project of religious conversion. As Heather Sutherland suggests, "kings" in the "maritime polities of Southeast Asia" had long strived to use "religious and cultural strategies" to counter the "centrifugal tendencies inherent in geography and the mobile nature of their primary economic resource—trade."[1] In the case of north Sulawesi, the authority of the colonial state provided crucial avenues for apical rulers to centralize. Two instances of colonial reforms appear instrumental. The first instance is the set of reforms implemented in the 1840s and 1850s under Residents van Olpen and Jansen, and the second instance is the set of reforms implemented in the 1880s and 1890s under Residents Stakman and Jellesma.

3.1. Minahasa

In Minahasa, the first significant increase of Christian conversions likely began in the late 1840s when van Olpen allowed the payment of *recepis* (copper certificates) instead of the obligatory rice deliveries. These *recepis* functioned as de facto money and thus substituted for the scarce copper coins. Under the previous system, the colonial state required the local chiefs to deliver a specified amount of rice (along with coffee) in exchange for textiles. The chiefs in turn redistributed the textiles to their subjects in the uplands more as gifts than as commodities. Such an imposed "barter system" naturally inhibited the growth of markets as the economic surplus was controlled by the state and the chiefs—thus concentrating unrealized market power on the lower levels of Minahasan society. However, van Olpen's order to accept *recepis* likely encouraged ordinary Minahasans to exchange their rice produce at a more competitive price and perhaps even without the mediation of their chiefs. Consequently, Minahasans, who were hitherto limited by the chiefly constraints of venturing into autonomous commerce, could sell

[1] Sutherland, "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos,"*Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, 155.

their rice produce at prices determined by market conditions and acquire textiles at cheaper prices.

However, the imposition of census-based monetary taxation and its attendant political reforms seem to have posed the most serious challenge to local chiefly authority and to local monopolies. These occurred in Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow in the 1850s and in Sangir-Talaud in the 1890s. Resident Jansen (1853-1859) was well known for his wide-ranging reforms that forcibly commercialized the economy of Minahasa. He promoted the planting of cash crops (maize, abaca, cacao, tobacco, and especially coffee) and more importantly, abolished the obligatory rice deliveries in exchange for monetary taxation. The rule that had been in place since the beginning of the cultivation system prohibiting Minahasans to migrate from one *walak* (village confederation) to another was revoked—likely facilitating the (seasonal) movement of cash-seeking laborers to more prosperous regions. To hasten the implementation of colonial fiscal and economic reforms, Resident Jansen consolidated colonial authority by abolishing the traditional commercial role of chiefs while strengthening their limited political authority. Some of the most important beneficiaries of these reforms were the higher-ranking chiefs (*hukum besar*) who saw their previously tenuous and often peer-contested authority assured and even amplified by the colonial state.

Riding on the back of the colonial state, local chiefs sought political consolidation under the banner of religious conversion. For instance, empowered by Jansen's reforms, O. J. Pelenkahu, the *hukum besar* of Tonsea, effectively limited the local chiefs' ability to compete for the power and status that they needed to be considered as serious contenders for the position of the paramount chief of Tonsea in three ways. First, Pelenkahu actively promoted the integration of the rice economy by establishing a rice market in the uplands. This prevented the local chiefs from arbitraging the upland-lowland rice trade to realize a profit. Second, Pelenkahu prohibited the lower chiefs from sponsoring status-giving "pagan" feasts (*fosso*). Third, Pelenkahu encouraged and succeeded in bringing about his claimed subjects' conversion to Christianity.

In effect, Pelenkahu replicated Jansen's Minahasa-wide agenda of centralization through Christianization, but on a smaller scale. Like Jansen, Pelenkahu successfully implemented economic and political changes that limited the competing chiefs' traditional privileges and monopolies which, in turn, allowed them to challenge his authority. Christianity likely served as a symbolic instrument for realizing Pelenkahu's chiefly consolidation. For example, Pelenkahu's

prohibition of potlatch rituals sponsored by other chiefs could be justified as a logical consequence of his people turning towards Christianity and away from animism. This potentially not only undercut the competing chiefs' symbolic authority but also increased Pelenkahu's authority.

This dissertation's use of colonial and local consolidation of authority as lenses to view the Christianization of Minahasa thus departs from the earlier explanations of mass conversions in the region. While previous scholars attribute mass conversions to a purported widespread social breakdown,[2] this dissertation points to the dynamics of local chiefly politics under the umbrella of colonial state centralization.

3.2. Bolaang-Mongondow

In Bolaang-Mongondow, contemporaneous "modernizing" colonial reforms were also introduced. After Jansen toured the Mongondow uplands which were largely unknown to the colonial state, he ordered the imposition of census-based monetary taxation (*hasil*). However, unlike Minahasa, where the colonial state had a deeper and more extensive presence as a consequence of forced coffee cultivation, Bolaang-Mongondow remained relatively autonomous until the early twentieth century, when a permanent colonial functionary was placed in the uplands. The lack of a colonial presence resulted in Jansen's reformist fiscal policy being exclusively channeled through the Mongondorese political elite—especially the raja. The raja, backed by the colonial state, then issued an order that allowed the uplanders to trade without the mediation of their lower chiefs in order to facilitate monetary accumulation in view of monetary taxation. This gave the raja greater political power and financial resources (from taxes) than he could possibly have accumulated under the traditional system of trade.

This dissertation argues that in both Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow, these essentially economic and political reforms assumed an explicitly religious character. Perhaps motivated by the desire—among others—to undercut the authority of subaltern chiefs, the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow used his new power from the colonial state to encourage the Islamic conversion of his claimed subjects. He facilitated the commercial contact between coastal

[2] Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983*; Buchholt, "Christian Mission and Social Development,"*Kolonien und Missionen, Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialengeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen*.

Muslim traders and the unconverted uplanders, and opened Bolaang-Mongondow's religious school (likely a *pondok*) to the recent converts. The raja's conflation of religious conversion with economic expansion and political consolidation was an effective strategy. A compelling hint of his success were the pockets of resistance among local chiefs whose respective positions had been circumvented. For example, the Mokoginta family led similarly dissatisfied chiefs to resist the raja by refusing to pay taxes collected for the raja and by declaring one of its family members as a raja in his own right. In their own bailiwick (Passi), Islamization was markedly slow. A later Mokoginta descendant was a known sympathizer of Christian missions, which was likely a consequence of the family's traditional antagonism to the Islamizing and centralizing raja.

In Bolaang-Mongondow, as in Minahasa, the choice of religion of the uppermost elite through which colonial centralization took place was seemingly path dependent. Permanent Christian missionaries had been present in Minahasa since the 1820s and the conversion of its chiefs took place even earlier. The main difference between the conversions in Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow lies, most obviously, in the incomparably more encompassing role played by the colonial state in Minahasa. Resident Jansen (and later Resident Stakman) was even unusually explicit in his staunch support of Christianization. Jansen was a figure who demonstrated an all-encompassing authority (religious, political, and economic) even through the Dutch colonial state maintained a secular policy in which the religious sphere was separate from the political-economic sphere. However, in Bolaang-Mongondow, the main vectors of religious authority (particularly the Arabs) were not allowed to have real political power; instead, they were confined to the religious and commercial spheres of social life. As a result, even after ruler and mass conversions, the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow maintained a more considerable degree of political authority in contrast to his Minahasan counterparts. Nonetheless, in both Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow, both Christianity and Islam served to circumvent the authority of the local chiefly elite, who likely clung to their traditional entitlements and status difference partly based on their not sharing their religious identity with their subjects.

It should also be pointed out that the Islamization of Bolaang-Mongondow in the nineteenth century mirrors, to a certain degree, the contours of Islamization in neighboring Gorontalo. In the early modern period, the Dutch East India Company underpinned the political survival of Gorontalo's indigenous elite vis-à-vis the increasingly influential Bugis merchants even as the apical ruler (Monoarfa), himself a loyal client of the Dutch, sponsored Islamization.

Bolaang-Mongondow mirrors Gorontalo in the use by its apical ruler (A. C. Manoppo) of Dutch authority to sponsor Islamization. In doing so, Manoppo was motivated, at least partly, by the desire to expand influence and subvert his opponents (the competing chiefs of Mongondow). The fact that it occurred in Bolaang-Mongondow in the nineteenth-century and not in the earlier period as it did in Gorontalo can be attributed to the deficiency of a profitable economic resource to attract the Dutch to settle in Mongondow. The profits arising from monetary poll taxation in nineteenth-century Mongondow underpinned Dutch interest in the region while it was the gold trade that attracted the Dutch in Gorontalo in the previous century. This dissertation thus affirms an earlier view that the "Islamization of Indonesia would be furthered, in extent as well as in depth, by the extension of the *Pax Neerlandica*."[3]

3.3. Sangir-Talaud

The case of Sangir-Talaud differs from both Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow in that the modernizing colonial reforms occurred four decades later. However, while Sangir had long shared the designation of Christian region with Minahasa, its religious politics for the most part of the nineteenth century seems more comparable with that of Bolaang-Mongondow. The absence of economic and political reforms that undercut local chiefly authority and the need to maintain a modicum of colonial governance necessitated the governmental defense of the Sangirese traditional elite. This need likely strengthened the authority of Jacob Ponto, the ruler of Siau, one of Sangir's most important polities. However, unlike Bolaang-Mongondow, the arena of possibilities for chiefly consolidation in Sangir-Talaud was more limited. Politics from the colonial metropole and the personal convictions of various high-ranking functionaries maintained Protestant Christianity among Sangir's ruling elite. Therefore Ponto, unlike the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow and despite being born into an Islamized aristocratic family (Bolaang-Itang), could not initiate the Islamic conversion of his subjects. Likewise, Ponto could not use Christianization like his Minahasan counterparts did to further consolidate his power because he regarded the missionary-artisans in Sangir as competitors to his own local political pre-eminence. As a result, Ponto's strategy for political consolidation was not to initiate conversions to world religions but to continue, perhaps even intensify, the traditional "big man" offensive—

[3] Harry Benda, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia," *The Journal of Modern History* 30, no. 4 (1958): 341-342.

headhunting rituals and other religio-communal gatherings (for instance, the *tulude*—likely similar to Minahasan *fosso*)—while maintaining close clientelistic relationship with colonial authorities. Such a strategy notably operated and thrived outside the formal and institutionalized religious domain of the missionary-artisans whom Ponto sought to undermine.

The political and economic reforms of the late 1880s ultimately brought about Ponto's fall from power. These reforms initiated by Residents Stakman and Jellesma mirrored closely those of Jansen in the 1850s, which included streamlining the local chiefly hierarchy (especially in Talaud), introducing a census-based monetary taxation, and requiring cash-mediated exchanges. Because Ponto was considered as a hindrance to the realization of these goals, he was dismissed and exiled to Java. His unceremonious removal from office and the bloody pacification of Arangkaä (Talaud) a few years later likely instilled in the Sangirese and Talaurese the supremacy of their Dutch colonial overlords, as had been the case in Minahasa during the Tondano war in the early nineteenth century.

These colonial centralizing regulations, as in the 1850s Minahasa, were couched in the language of Christian conversions. Stakman was explicit in his desire to convert the Talaurese, who were expected to follow the conversion of their Minahasan and Sangirese neighbors. However, despite Stakman's expectation, the dynamics of mass conversions—as in Bolaang-Mongondow and Minahasa—seem to have followed the logic of local politics. In places where colonial authority effectively backed the local ruler (Lirung, for instance), the apical chief became more invested in the conversion of his subjects as he likely saw himself not only as a handmaiden of colonial rule but also as a direct beneficiary of the political and economic dividends arising from mass conversions.

4. Conversion and the promise of social liberation

Finally, although this dissertation focuses mainly on the "supply side" causes of conversions to Christianity and Islam in north Sulawesi, it recognizes the importance of the "demand side" causation, despite the lack of sources in which people described their process of conversion or that of other people. There were likely varied personal motivations for the individual Sangirese, Minahasan, and Mongondorese to convert, which ranged from personal reasons to economic and political motives. This dissertation suggests, however, that there are sociologically demonstrable reasons why conversion to Islam or Christianity could have been

seen as beneficial. Foremost among these are reasons related to the possibility of symbolically and materially increasing one's status. In Sangir, schooling was limited to the local elite. In Minahasa, the traditional communal structure (*kalakeran*) was reserved exclusively for the chiefly class. However, Christianity expanded these social spaces for the previously marginalized classes. In Bolaang-Mongondow, Islamic conversions likely undermined the old system of property rights that allowed only the uppermost elites to own certain luxury goods. While the local indigenous elites reinforced their status-difference through familial descent, non-elites likely rallied around Islam—a cosmopolitan and prestigious social identity that had the potential to curtail the traditional elite entitlements.

Appendix 1

List of rajas and apical chiefs of the various north Sulawesi polities

Rajas of Tagulandang	
Ratu Lohoraung	1570-1609
Raja Walango	1609-1650
Raja Wawiosi	1650-1689
Raja Aralung (Philips Anthonie)	1689-1734
Raja Manilusi (Johanis Anthonie)	1734-1772
Raja Tamaroli (Joseph Tamaroli)	1772-1812
Raja Makaedeghi (Korneles Tamaroli)	1812-1825
Raja Mozes Philips Jacobs (Musa)	1825-1850
Raja Amberi (Johanes Philips Jacobs)	1850-1856
Raja Kambea (Frederik Philips Jacobs)	1856-1861
Raja Tuwombango (Lukas Philips Jacobs)	1861-1871
Raja Christian Matheos	1871-1880
Raja Lorens Philip Jacobs	1880-1889
Raja Nicodemus Philips Jacobs	1889-n.d.
Raja Salmon Takaliuang Bawole	1889-1907
Raja Laurens Tamara	1907-1912
Raja Cornelius Tamaleroh	1912-1917
Raja Bogar (Siau)	1918-1922
Raja Kansil (Siau)	
Raja Laihad (Siau)	
Raja Hendrik Philips Jacobs or Malembe	1922-1936
Raja Wellem Philips Jacobs or Simbad	1936-1942
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Siau	
Lokonbanua	1510-1549
Raja Pasumah	1549-1587
Raja Wuisang	1587-1591
Raja Winsulangi	1591-1631
Raja Batahi (Franciscus Batahi)	1631-1678
Raja Monasehiwu (Xaverius Jacobus)	1678-1680
Raja Rarame Nusa (Hendrik Daniel Jacobus)	1680-1716
Raja Lohintundali (David Jacobus)	1716-1752
Raja Ismail Jacobus	1752-1788
Raja Begandulu (Erisus Jacobus)	1788-1790
Raja Umbolowitang (Egenos Jacobus)	1790-1821
Raja Paparang (Franciscus Octavianus Paparang)	1822-1838
Raja Nicolaas Ponto	1839-1850
Raja Jacob Ponto (I Tuang su Seribong)	1850-1889
Andris Salindeho	1889-1890
Lemuel David	1890-1895
Manalang Dulag Kansil	1895-1908
A.J. Mohede	1908-1913
A.J.K. Bogar	1913-1918
Lodewijk Nicolaas (LN) Kansil	1920-1929
Aling Janis	1930-1935
P.F. Parengkuan	1936-1945
Ch. David	1947-1956
Source: H. B. Elias, *Sejarah Pergerakan Kebangsaan Indonesia Di Pulau Siau* (Manado: Markas cabang Legiun Veteran R.I. Kotamadya Manado, 1973).	

Rajas of Taruna	
Don Martin Tatandang	1677-n.d.
Don Luis Melangin	1697-n.d.
Zacharias Paparang	1705-n.d.
Cornelis Paparang	1736-n.d.
Phillips Cornelis Paparang	1740-n.d.
Dirk Rassaballa	1748-n.d.
Zacharias Paparang	1757-n.d.
Egenos Lorens Tamarol Rasoe Bala	1883-[RA, 1894]
(from 1897 becomes Kandhar-Taruna) Raja Salmon Doemalang	1899 1899 [27 April] [RA, 1900]
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Manganitu	
Raja Tolosang	1600-1645
Raja Tompoliu	1645-1670
Raja Betaha Santiago	1670-1675
Raja Don Charles Diamanti	1675-1694
Raja Martin Joutulung Takaengatang	1694-1725
Raja Martin Don Lazaru	1725-1740
Raja Katiandagho	1740-1770
Raja Lombangsuwu	1770-1785
Raja Daniel Katiandagho – Darunualing II	1785-1792
Raja Bagenda	1792-1817
Raja Dirk Mokodompis – Lokongbanua III	1817-1848
Raja Tampungan II- Jacob Bastian Tamarol	1848-1855
Raja Hendrik Corneles Tamarol (Mondo)	1855-1860
Raja Jacob Laurens Tamarol (Kasehang)	1860-1864
Raja Manuel Mokodompis	1864-1880
President Raja - S. Tingkue - J. Makahekung - D. Katiandagho - S. Katiandagho - Lambert Ponto	1880-1894
Raja J. E. Mokodompis	1894-1910
W. M. Pandensolang Mokodompis	1910-1944
W. Kansil	1944-1945
Raja Ambon Darondo	1946-1946
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non, and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Tabukan	
Gama	c. 1640s
Uda I (Francicus Makaampo)	1677-n.d.
Dalero (Jacobus Markus)	1688-1722
Mehengkelangi (Matheus Makaampo)	1722-1724
Philip Makaampo (Karula)	1722-1724
Mawu Sinaka (Sani Makaampo)	n.d.
Pahawuateng (H. D. Paparang)	n.d.
Uda II (W.A. Paparang)	n.d.
Bebesang (J. N. Paparang)	n.d.
President Pengganti Raja Mawu Nilawu (H. D. Paparang)	1851-1880
Ahogho (Herman Paparang	1880-n.d.
Labanese Manossoh	1882-n.d.
Wuli-wuli (W. Janis)	1883-n.d.
Manganguling Laihad	1883-n.d.
Dulage (Ansa Kansil)	1884-1885

C. S. Darea	1885-1892
Papukule (David Sarapil)	1892-1922
Kehandake (W. A. Sarapil)	1922-1930
Levinus J. P. Macpal	1930-1944
Umar Muhamad	1944-1945
Kehandake (W. A. Sarapil)	1948-1953
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non, and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Kendahe	
Raja Buisang	1677-n.d.
Siam Sialam	1704-n.d.
Johannes Karambut	1729-n.d
Manuel Manabung	1771-n.d.
Daniel Petrus Janis	1864- [RA, 1894]
(from 1897 becomes part of Kandhar-Taruna) with a jogugu	
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non, and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). *Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Bolaang-Mongondow	
Mokodoloedoet	n.d.
Jajoebangkai	n.d.
Damopolii Kinalang	n.d.
Boetiti	n.d.
Makalalo	n.d.
Mokodompit	n.d.
Mocoagow	n.d.
Tadohe	n.d.
Loloda Mocoagow	n.d.
Salmon Manoppo (Sultan)	n.d.
Christoffel Manoppo	n.d.
Egenus Manoppo	n.d.
Franciscu Manoppo	n.d.
Marcus	n.d.
Manuel Manoppo	1779-1822
Cornelis Manoppo	1819-n.d.
Ismael Manoppo	n.d.
Jacobus Manuel Manoppo (Sultan)	n.d.
Adrianus Cornelis Manoppo [son of Cornelis Manoppo]	n.d.
Johannes Manuel Manoppo [son of Jacobus Manuel Manoppo]	1864 -1879
Abrahan Sugeha	1879-n.d.

Riedel Manuel Manoppo (son of JM Manoppo)	1893-n.d.
Datoe Cornelis [D.C.] Manoppo	1902-1927
Laurens Cornelis Manoppo	1927-n.d.
Sources: Hikajet keradjaan Bolaang-Mongondo moelai dari zeman poerbakala hingga pada masa ini (1909), -Kotabangon, 31 Augustus 1909, Paduka Raja B. Mongondow, D [?] Manoppo, Collectie Korn (KITLV), no. 14 [fiche no: 323]	

Appendix 2

List of residents of Menado

Residents of Menado, 1819-1942	
J. F. Roos	1819-1825 (assistant-resident)
J. Wenzel	1825-1826
D. F. W. Pietermaat	1826
H. C. De Groot	1827-1828
D.F.W. Pietermaat	1828-1831
J. Wenzel	1829 August
J. F. Roos	1829 April
J. P. C. Cambier	1831-1842
A. J. van Delden	1842-1843
A. J. van Olpen	1843-1849
R. Scherius	1849-1851
A. L. Andriessen	1852-1853
A. J. F. Jansen	1853-1859
C. Bosscher	1859-1861
J. C. Bosch	1861-1862
M. W. Scheltema (acting)	1862
W. C. Happé	1862-1864
F. J. H. van Deinse	1864-1871
P. Van der Crab	1871-1875
S. C. J. W. van Musschenbroek	1875-1876
A. H. Swaving	1876-1878
P. A. Matthes	1878-1881
T. L. Wattendorf	1881-1883
O. M. de Munnick	1883-1885
J.C.W.D.A. van der Wijck	1885-1889
M. C. E. Stakman	1889-1892
E. J. Jellesma	1892-1903
S. van Geuns	1903-1906
J. van Hengel	1906-1910
Ph. J. van Marle	1910-1914
W. F. J. Kroon	1915-1919
F. H. W. J. R. Logeman	1919-1922
J. Tideman	1922-1926
H. J. Schmidt	1926-1930
A.Ph. van Aken	1930-1932
F. H. Visman	1932-1935
J. Jongejans	1935-1936
M. van Rhijn	1936-1941
F. L. H. Hirschmann	1941-1942
Source: M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 281.	

Appendix 3

Colonial career of A. J. F. (Albert Jacques Frederik) Jansen[1]

Year	Position
1844-1845	Second Clerk, General Secrretariat, Buitenzorg; *Tweede Commies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg*
1846	First Clerk, General Secrretariat, Buitenzorg; *Eerste Commies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg*
1847-1850	Chief Clerk, General Secrretariat, Buitenzorg; *Hoofdcommies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg*
1851-1852	Consultant/Expert, General Secrretariat, Buitenzorg; *Referandis, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg*
1854-1859	Resident, Menado Residency
1860-1861	Governor, Governor of Celebes and its Depedencies; *Gouvernement*
1861	[Honors] Commander, Spanish Order of Isabella la Catholica; Commander, Luxembourgish Order of *Eikenkroon*

1 Compiled from the "Almanak en Naam-Register van Nederlandsch-Indie."

Appendix 4

Schoolchildren in Minahasa, 1846[2]

District	Place	Funding Source	Number of registered children				
			Christians		Pagans		
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Total
Under the supervision of missionary-teacher Riedel							
Tondano	Tulimambot/Tulian	Government	53	40	57	30	180
	Kapataran	"	34	15	12	11	72
	Watumea [Watimea?]	Missionary Society	30	15	11	11	67
	Kl. Tulian	"	3	5	17	12	37
	Rerer [?]	"	2	2	15	7	26
	Kolongan	"	6	4	21	14	45
	Kompij	"	18	9	24	21	72
	Pulap	"	6	7	9	11	33
	Lalumpeij	"	25	23	11	4	63
	Negorij Baharu	"	-	-	51	42	93
Under the supervision of missionary-teacher Schwarz							
Langowan	Langowan	Government	1	-	119	-	120
	Palamba	Missionary Society	-	-	35	15	50
	Palawatu	"	-	-	23	7	30
	Atep	"	-	-	34	6	40
Kakas	Kakas	Government	5	7	92	26	130
	Sembokij	Missionary Society	-	-	18	9	27
Kawangkoan	Kawangkoan	"	10	4	65	27	106
	Kaijwerij [?]	"	-	-	25	7	32
Remboken	Remboken	"	9	5	86	10	110
Sonder	Sonder	"	4	4	137	50	195
Tompasso	Tompasso	"	9	5	77	22	113
	Tolukh	"	-	1	25	24	50
Passan	Wawalij	"	-	-	38	2	40
Tombassian	Tombassian boven	"	9	-	57	12	78
Under the supervision of missionary-teacher Schwarz							
Tonsea	Kema	Government	76	7	7	-	90
	Treman	Missionary Society	13	7	79	2	101
	Kassar	"	4	-	63	5	72
	Pumaluntung [?]	"	1	-	85	-	86
	Lakikit	"	2	-	58	-	60

[2] ANRI Manado inv. 50, no. 2.

	Tatellu	"	2	-	50	-	52
	Mapanget	"	2	-	72	-	77
	Sjukur	"	-	-	53	-	53
	Sawangan	"	1	-	57	-	58
	Lilang	"	7	-	38	-	45
Likupang	Likupang	Government	21	16	-	-	37
	Paslatan	Missionary Society	-	-	58	-	58
Kakaskassan	Lotta	Government	-	-	102	-	102
Under the supervision of missionary-teacher Hermann							
Amurang	Amurang	Government	93	23	27	-	143
Kawangkoan	Waroukh	Missionary Society	4	6	40	22	72
	Pinangmorongan	"	2	4	12	12	30
	Wakan	"	1	-	24	20	45
	Kumelembaij	"	4	1	56	29	90
	Karimboa	"	-	-	29	13	44
	Lewasen	"	-	-	23	11	34
Sonder	Tumpaang	"	2	1	29	30	62
Tombassian	Piteij	"	-	-	39	24	63
Romohon	Romohon	"	15	1	53	5	74
	Romohon boven	"	-	-	53	31	84
Under the supervision of missionary-teacher Wilken							
Tomohon	Tomohon	"	1	-	143	-	144
	Tataaran	"	8	3	62	6	79
Sarongsong	Sarongsong	"	3	2	76	1	82
	Lahendong	"	-	-	42	13	55
	Rambanan	"	-	-	22	-	22
	Pinares	"	-	-	20	-	20
Tombariri	Tanawangko	Government and Missionary Society	58	22	70	-	150
	Wolohan	Missionary Society	-	-	50	-	50
	Taratara	"	-	-	63	-	63
	Lola	"	1	-	81	-	82
Kakaskassan	Kakaskassan	"	-	-	95	5	100
	Patelij	Government	-	-	80	-	80
Sub-total		Government- 8 Missionary Society- 50 Both - 1	545	239	2,421	383	
Total			784		2,804		3,588

Appendix 5

Pre-modern Sangirese domains in Talaud[3]

Sangirese polity	Island or island group in Talaud	District	Chiefly domain (*jogugu*)	*Kampong* (villages)
Tabukan	Salibabu or Lirung	Lirong	Lirong	Lirong Kampong Baharoe Palang Bantik Kaha [?] Tuwone Bambange Seres Serolang Kolongan Balane Aroede
			Moronge	Moronge Boene Palanga Alri [?] Lola
			Salibabu	Salibabu Pelong Doela (Daloeng) Tadore Bawong Tiwoeda Toade (Loassan)
			Kiama	Kiama Nanasaka [?] Mala Bolang Melonggoane Toele

[3] Source: Ministerie van Koloniën (MvK) inv. 2.10.02, no. 5063, 13 Juli 1896, no. 22.

				Sawangansela [?]
	Karakelang	Beo	Beo [President]	Beo Maroemoeng Bowangpotos Matahit Makatara Peoh Poenoh Boeloeda
			Lobos	Lobos Hayila Hay Awika
			Esang	Esang Bawonggoemowe Sambolara Proenan Taloeara Baloemerango Dare Ambia Koema Marierie Laloewe Boeloede Saang Memahang Bamboeng Langgimilitoema
			Arangkaa	Arangkaa Taloerana Gemes Taroehana Malaka Banada Apanna Laho
			Amata	Amata Ganalo Lapalana

				Dapihe Rioenja Binalanga Toeabatoe
			Rainisa	Rainisa Tabanga Paniie Nolnoe [?]
Manganitu	Karakelang	Njampaha	Njampaha [President]	Njampaha Batoeloemoe Teraghan Roessah
			Taroeng	Tarung Bowone Balane Pampalo Sawang
Tagulandang	Karakelang	Poelossana	Poelossana [President]	Poelossana Bawalanga Boene Bawangbanoea
			Lalana	Lalana Moenwie Alas
Siau	Karakelang	Mengarang of Kaburuang	Mengarang [President]	Mengarang Saloepoola Tedolna Rarange Otodoaala Boeloeda Pangeran Panoelana
			Kaburuang	Kaboeroewang Beo Hioliana Pantoegka Ihika Urianga Napoe
			Todoale	Todoale Peresa

				Danaoe Bawangmanangga Dasoenama Akasa
Taroena	Nanusa eilanden	Nanusa eilanden	Nanusa eilanden	Laboehe Mohampi Dampoeli Kakerottan Kaatan Merangasa

Glossary of terms

Alifuru	indigenous people of Maluku; frequently used to refer to pagan Minahasans
Ambtenaar	Dutch civil servant
Anak piara	foster child (in Minahasa)
Bala-bala	common people (Sang.)
Balak	village (in Minahasa)
Balé	big house (Sang.)
Barabangsa	aristocratic descent group
Beras	unhusked rice
Borgo	European [and Eurasian?] settlers
Cakalele	war dance performed to honor guests
Commissaris	high-ranking Dutch civil servant, usually under special commssion
Controleur	junior colonial "field officer"
Cultuurstelsel	compulsory cultivation system of cash crops
Daseng	garden house (Sang.)
Duiten	small copper coins
Fosso	general term for a religious ritual in Minahasa; likely equivalent to the "tulude" in Sangir and "monayuk" in Mongondow
Gantang	measure of weight used in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago varying from place to place (For example, in West and Middle Java a gantang was 10 kati while in East Java it was only 5 kati)
Guru	Teacher
Hajji	pilgrim to Mecca
Hasil	poll taks
Herendienst	lit: "service to the feudal lord;" corvee labor

Hoofdenschool	school for sons of north Sulawesi's chiefs (est. 1863) and daughters (est. 1881)
Hukum	lower chief (in Minahasa)
Hukum besar	district chief in Minahasa
Hukum majoor	honorific title for a district chief in Minahasa
Hukum tua	village chief in Minahasa (also *kepala balak*)
Jogugu	usually the second highest indigenous local authority; sometimes serves as the intermediary between the apical ruler and lower chiefs
Kain	unit of measure of textile; sometimes refers to textile itself
Kalakeran	communal pagan house in Minahasa
Kampung	residential quarters; village
Kepala balak	village chief in Minahasa (also *hukum tua*)
Kepala jaga	village notable (under the village chief) in Minahasa
Kerajaan	Chiefdom
Keramat	lit. "sacred"
Koffo	Manila hemp
Kora-kora	large sea vessel commonly used in eastern Indonesia
Koyang	unit of measure for weight
Krankbezoeker	Functionary of the Dutch East India Company; lit. "visitor of the ill"
Imam	leader of the Friday prayer
Majoor	district chief (Minahasa)
Mantri	high-ranking chief
Marinjo (Dutch)	overseer; low-ranking church functionary (especially as *kerk marinjo*)
Negorijscholen	village schools
Opziener	low-ranking European or Eurasian colonial functionary
Penulung	local church assistant
Pondok	Quranic boarding school

Posthouder	postholder; low-ranking Dutch colonial civil servant
Predikant	Dutch Protestant minister
Pukul salah	Fines
Raja	local or regional ruler
Recepis	copper certificate
(Het) Regeringsreglement van Nederlandsch-Indië	The Constitutional Regulation of the Netherlands Indies
Resident	regional colonial administrator
Rijksdaalder	silver coin
Sadaha	chiefly title in Mongondow
Salemporis	blue and white cotton textile
Sayyid	descendant of the Prophet Muhammad
Sengadi	village chief in Bolaang and other coastal polities of north Sulawesi
Serah (Malay)	tributary rights given by the Dayak to a Malay chief
Syahadat	Muslim profession of faith
Sinapang	firearm (from Dutch *snaphaan*)
Syarif	descendant of Prophet Muhammad
Tarekat	Sufi brotherhood
Tulus	pre-colonial headwear used as a marker of status
Walak	village confederation in Minahasa
Waruga	also *timbukar*; stone tomb in Minahasa usually with anthropomorphic carvings
Walian	religious practitioner in Minahasa; also as *bolian* in Mongondow; *belian* in eastern Kalimantan; and *babaylan* in the Philippines;
Zelfbesturende landschap	"self-governing" region
Ziekentroster	VOC-period functionary, lit. 'comforter of the sick'

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Summary

Conversion and colonialism: Islam and Christianity in north Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

This dissertation deals with the roughly contemporaneous conversion to Islam and Christianity in the three sub-regions of north Sulawesi. In particular, it explains the causes of elite and mass conversions to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow and to Protestant Christianity in Minahasa and Sangir-Talaud in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It devotes special attention to the nineteenth century transformations in the colonial political economy and their broader social and religious consequences in the region. It illustrates that notwithstanding local particularities, the mass conversions to Islam and Christianity in these areas shared a similar cause. This dissertation thus diverges from the existing scholarly literature on Indonesia that often views Christian and Islamic conversions as separate phenomena having distinct and divergent roots.

This dissertation argues that the immediate impetus for mass conversions was the centralizing reforms of the Dutch colonial state in the nineteenth century. These reforms loosened traditional patron-client bonds and consequently provided non-elites with access to material wealth and prestigious social affiliations—notably, membership to a world religion—that had been exclusively for the ruling elite. In some cases, apical chiefs whose positions were strengthened by the colonial state, became invested in the promotion of religious conversion among the non-elites. This was a strategy of the apical chiefs to facilitate the centralizing of power in their realms. As differences in status decreased between subaltern chiefs and their subjects, the apical chiefs not only gained greater cultural legitimacy but also claimed political authority over the converted.

By focusing on the political and economic aspects of conversion (and in particular, the role and motivations of the chiefly elite), this dissertation points to the inadequacy of some important conventional theories of conversion in the literature on Indonesia. For instance, what could be called as the "bottom-up theory" points to the widely shared desire to convert to a cosmopolitan religious identity; but it fails to consider the inevitable social forces that allow or hinder access to such identity. Meanwhile, the "trade theory" ascribes mass conversions to the attraction to the overseas connections, legal framework, and interpersonal trust—features associated with a world religion. However, sustained and frequent interactions between overseas traders and the majority of the masses were likely absent in north Sulawesi since the chiefs monopolized external trade and

prohibited their claimed subjects to engage in commerce. Besides, historical evidence suggests that the Dutch colonial state acted as the primary provider of political stability and as mediator of last resort at the time when the peoples of north Sulawesi were converting to Islam or Christianity. Finally, the "comprehensive social crisis theory" points to a massive breakdown of traditional society that induced widespread spiritual uncertainty, which in turn predisposed the population to accept foreign religious identities. But in north Sulawesi, the end of the traditional order was less catastrophic than the "comprehensive social crisis theory" would suggest. There were marked continuities in the social and political structures of indigenous societies. In addition, and perhaps more crucially, the motivation of the masses seems to have been driven less by "spiritual uncertainty" and more by the abiding desire to emulate the elite. Overall, these theories, among others discussed more fully in the dissertation, devote inadequate attention to the political dynamics of the local society.

Considering the shortcomings of the existing theories, this dissertation proposes that "demand-side" and "supply-side" factors as important analytical variables in understanding both Islamic and Christian conversions. The term, demand side, refers to the desire of north Sulawesi non-elites to adopt cosmopolitan religious identities in order to achieve status equivalence with the ruling elite. This dissertation shows that this desire was, however, frustrated by the elites who resisted mass conversions in the same way that they opposed mass ownership of prestige goods. Elite opposition to conversions was a political strategy to maintain social differences in the context of intense status competition between apical chiefs and subaltern chiefs to be the paramount leaders of their respective polities in north Sulawesi. The term, supply side, refers to the centralizing policies of the Dutch colonial state in the nineteenth century that streamlined local political authority, commercialized the regional economy, and introduced monetary taxation. These policies were first implemented in Minahasa in the 1850s and later applied in other regions since Dutch colonial interests had focused mainly on Minahasa.

The dynamics between the demand-side and supply-side factors played out differently in the various sub-regions of north Sulawesi. In Minahasa, the period of mass conversions to Christianity began during the liberal rule of the colonial Resident A. J. van Olpen (1843-1849) and intensified during the tenure of Resident A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). Van Olpen, and especially Jansen, promoted the use of monetary instruments as the medium of exchange and taxation as well as sought the abolition of obligatory rice deliveries in exchange for textiles. The liberal policies of

the period likewise streamlined local authority and effectively bureaucratized the Minahasan chiefs. The chiefs—especially the subaltern ones—were made to shed their commercial roles as traders and were limited to the role of tax collectors for the colonial state. In general, these economic and political reforms loosened the hold of the subaltern chiefs over their claimed subjects who in turn could access Christianity—the prestige religion of the Minahasan chiefly classes since the Company times. The case of O. J. Pelenkahu, the Christian chief of Tonsea, illustrates the above dynamics. Pelenkahu succeeded in undermining the authority of the subaltern chiefs, who competed with him for power, through the use of the colonial state's authority. He took away the lower chiefs' commercial monopolies in rice and prevented them from holding pagan potlatch rituals (*fosso*) on the pretext that these indigenous religious rituals ran counter to efforts promote Christianity. Pelenkahu's success in doing so led to achieving political supremacy in his district under the Dutch-sanctioned banner of Christianization. He thus re-affirmed the symbolic efficacy, power, and status long associated with Christianity while exposing the loss of authority of the pagan subaltern chiefs.

In Bolaang-Mongondow, the first recorded mass conversions to Islam likewise occurred during the period of colonial centralization in the 1850s. In order to implement the drastic fiscal and political reforms, the colonial state strengthened the authority of the apical ruler (A. C. Manoppo, the raja of Bolaang-Mongondow). Manoppo, like his Minahasan counterpart O. J. Pelenkahu, took advantage of this opportunity to weaken the authority of competing chiefs and to centralize his own in the following way. Whereas the subaltern chiefs of the Bolaang-Mongondow uplands prevented their subjects from trading along the coast and establishing contacts with Muslim traders, Raja A. C. Manoppo encouraged the opposite. With such policy, Raja A. C. Manoppo enlarged the tax base of his realm and fulfilled his fiscal obligations to his political patron—the Dutch colonial state. Manoppo's promotion of Islam was another cultural strategy to undermine the authority of the subaltern chiefs especially because religion had long been a mark of status difference of the subaltern chiefs with their subjects. In Mongondow, as in Minahasa, there was considerable resistance among the weakened chiefly elite. The Mokoginta family of the Passi district for instance, opposed the authority of the Manoppos by leading a faction of chiefs who resisted paying the taxes that the raja demanded. The members of the Mokoginta family resisted the Islamization of their subjects as much as they resisted the centralization of the

Manoppo rajas. It suggests therefore that the mass conversion to Islam in Mongondow was closely associated with the political consolidation by the apical ruler of the realm.

In Sangir-Talaud, the colonial reforms that were described in Minahasa and Bolaang-Mongondow in the 1850s occurred only around 1890s. As a consequence, the chiefs maintained their traditional authority and remained powerful in countering the Christian missionary offensive. For instance, Jacob Ponto, the apical chief of Siau, was long successful in his resistance to the European "missionary-artisans" who had been appointed by the colonial government. Ponto sponsored head-hunting expeditions and celebrated large "pagan" gatherings to enhance his authority. However, the sweeping reforms of Residents M. C. E Stakman and E. J. Jellesma in the late 1880s and 1890s ultimately brought about the downfall of Ponto. These reformist Residents sought to further commercialize the economy by instituting census-based monetary poll taxation and by obliging cash-mediated exchanges. They also streamlined the local chiefly offices and demonstrated the sheer military prowess of the Dutch colonial state through a strategic military pacification campaign. In Sangir-Talaud, as in Bolaang-Mongondow and Minahasa, these reforms had broad societal consequences. In Siau, for example, the islanders of Makelehi were freed from the oppressive economic and political ties with Siau's ruling elite, and especially Jacob Ponto. In a few years, many of these islanders became active members of the local Christian church which by then likely became the locus of a communal life notably without the authoritative—and often oppressive—figure of the local raja.

This dissertation thus reveals the shared causation of elite and mass conversions to Islam and Christianity in colonial Indonesia. It takes into account the shared motivations of the people who were converting without losing sight of the broader political and economic shifts. This dissertation likewise emphasizes the varying dynamics of social competition among the indigenous elite that had been hitherto under-recognized in the literature on religious conversions.

Samenvatting

Bekering en kolonialisme: islam en christendom in noord-Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

Dit proefschrift gaat over de min of meer gelijktijdige bekering tot de islam en het christendom in drie deelregio's van noord-Sulawesi. Het verklaart in het bijzonder de elite- en volksbekeringen tot de islam in Bolaang-Mongondow en die tot het protestantse christendom in de Minahasa en Sangir-Talaud in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw. De aandacht gaat met name uit naar de negentiende-eeuwse veranderingen in de koloniale politieke economie en de bredere sociale en religieuze doorwerking in deze gebieden. De studie beargumenteert dat ondanks unieke lokale omstandigheden de volksbekeringen tot de islam en het christendom in deze gebieden een vergelijkbare oorzaak hadden. Hiermee wijkt dit proefschrift dus af van de bestaande wetenschappelijke literatuur over Indonesië waarin christelijke en islamitische bekeringen veelal worden beschouwd als afzonderlijke verschijnselen met specifieke en uiteenlopende oorzaken.

Dit proefschrift betoogt dat de centraliserende hervormingen van de Nederlandse koloniale staat in de negentiende eeuw de aanzet gaven tot grootschalige bekeringen. Deze hervormingen versoepelden de traditionele patroon-cliënt-relaties en waardoor de bevolking toegang kreeg tot materiële rijkdom en prestigieuze sociale verbanden – met name die van een wereldreligie - die tot dan toe exclusief voor de heersende elite waren geweest. In sommige gevallen waren opperhoofden, wiens positie werd versterkt door de koloniale staat, nauw betrokken bij het bevorderen van bekering van de bevolking. Zij pasten deze strategie toe om de macht in hun rijk te centraliseren en naar zich toe te trekken. Naarmate verschillen in status tussen onderhoofden en hun onderdanen kleiner werden, nam niet alleen de culturele legitimiteit van de opperhoofden toe, maar kregen zij ook politieke macht over de bekeerlingen.

Door zich te concentreren op de politieke en economische aspecten van bekering (en in het bijzonder op de rol en motieven van de hoofdenstand), toont dit proefschrift de ontoereikendheid aan van enkele dominante conversietheorieën in de literatuur over Indonesië. De theorie die ook wel de “bottom-up-theorie” genoemd kan worden, wijst op het alom gedeelde verlangen om zich te bekeren tot een kosmopolitische religieuze identiteit, maar gaat voorbij aan de onvermijdelijke sociale factoren die het verkrijgen van die identiteit kunnen vergemakkelijken of belemmeren.

Daarnaast schrijft de “handelstheorie” volksbekeringen toe aan de aantrekkingskracht van buitenlandse contacten, het wettelijke kader en het onderlinge vertrouwen – de kenmerken van een wereldreligie. Het is echter zeer waarschijnlijk dat er van aanhoudende en frequente interactie tussen overzeese handelaren en de meerderheid van de bevolking geen sprake was, omdat de hoofden de buitenlandse handel monopoliseerden en hun geclaimde onderdanen verboden om handel te drijven. Bovendien wijzen historische bronnen op de voorname rol van de Nederlandse koloniale staat in het brengen van politieke stabiliteit en het bemiddelen in de periode waarin de bevolking in het noorden van Sulawesi zich bekeerde tot de islam of het christendom.

Ten slotte legt de “veelomvattende sociale crisis-theorie” de verklaring voor de bekeringen bij een ineenstorting van de traditionele samenleving die een algemeen gevoel van onzekerheid veroorzaakte, en die de bevolking vatbaar maakte voor buitenlandse religieuze invloeden. Echter, in het noorden van Sulawesi was het einde van de traditionele orde minder catastrofaal dan de “allesomvattende sociale crisis-theorie” beschrijft. Er waren duidelijke continuïteiten zichtbaar in de sociale en politieke structuren van inheemse gemeenschappen. Bovendien, en wellicht nog belangrijker, lijkt de bekering van de bevolking in mindere mate te zijn gedreven door “geestelijke onzekerheid” en juist meer door de sterke wens om zich gelijk te stellen aan de elite. Kortom, de hier uiteengezette theorieën besteden onvoldoende aandacht aan de politieke dynamiek van de lokale samenleving.

De tekortkomingen van de bestaande theorieën in beschouwing nemend, beargumenteert dit proefschrift dat de "vraagzijde" en de "aanbodzijde" belangrijke analytische variabelen zijn in het begrijpen van zowel de islamitische als de christelijke bekeringen. De term “vraagzijde” verwijst naar de wens van de bevolking in het noorden van Sulawesi om kosmopolitische religieuze identiteiten aan te nemen en zo een status te bereiken die gelijk staat aan die van de heersende elite. Dit proefschrift laat zien dat dit streven echter werd bemoeilijkt door de elite die volksbekering tegenwerkte op dezelfde manier als het bezit van prestige objecten door het volk. Dit verzet van de elite tegen bekeringen was een politieke strategie om sociale verschillen in stand te houden in de intense strijd tussen opperhoofden en onderhoofden om het leiderschap in hun lokale gemeenschap in het noorden van Sulawesi.

De term “aanbodzijde” verwijst naar het centralisatiebeleid van de Nederlandse koloniale staat in de negentiende eeuw dat het lokale bestuur efficiënter maakte, de regionale economie commercialiseerde en een monetair belastingsysteem introduceerde. Dit beleid werd voor het eerst

toegepast in de Minahasa tussen 1850 en 1860 en pas later in andere regio's, omdat Nederlandse koloniale belangen voornamelijk in de Minahasa waren geconcentreerd.

De wisselwerking tussen de vraag- en aanbodzijde werkte in de verschillende deelregio's van noord-Sulawesi anders uit. In de Minahasa begon de periode van volksbekeringen tot het christendom tijdens het liberale bewind van de koloniale resident A. J. van Olpen (1843-1849) en intensiveerde tijdens de ambtstermijn van resident A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). Van Olpen, maar met name Jansen, bevorderde het gebruik van een muntstelsel als betaalmiddel en voor belastingheffing en streefde naar de afschaffing van verplichte rijstleveranties in ruil voor textiel. Het liberale beleid van deze periode versimpelde eveneens het lokale bestuur en leidde tot een effectieve bureaucratisering van de Minahasase leiders. De hoofden – vooral de onderhoofden – werden gedwongen om afstand te doen van hun commerciële rol als handelaar en verwerden tot belastinginners van de koloniale staat. Deze economische en politieke hervormingen verminderde de greep van de onderhoofden op hun geclaimde onderdanen, die op hun beurt toegang kregen tot het christendom – de prestigieuze religie van de Minahasase vooraanstaande elite sinds de tijd van de Compagnie.

Het voorbeeld van O. J. Pelenkahu, het christelijke hoofd van Tonsea, illustreert de hierboven beschreven dynamiek. Pelenkahu slaagde erin om het gezag van concurrerende onderhoofden te ondermijnen door de macht van de koloniale staat in te zetten. Hij hief de commerciële monopolies op rijst van de lagere hoofden op en verbood de hoofden om heidense potlatch-rituelen (*fosso*) te houden onder het voorwendsel dat deze inheemse religieuze rituelen de inspanningen ter bevordering van het christendom tegenwerkten. Door deze succesvolle maatregelen verkreeg Pelenkahu de politieke macht in zijn district onder het door de Nederlanders gesanctioneerde motto van kerstening. Hij bevestigde daarmee de symbolische kracht, invloed en status die lang aan het christendom was toegekend, terwijl hij het verlies van autoriteit van de heidense onderhoofden blootlegde.

In Bolaang-Mongondow vonden de eerste opgetekende volksbekeringen tot de islam eveneens plaats in de periode van koloniale centralisatie in de jaren 1850. Om de drastische financiële en politieke hervormingen door te voeren, versterkte de koloniale staat de positie van de opperhoofden (A. C. Manoppo, de raja van Bolaang-Mongondow). Manoppo maakte, net als zijn Minahasase tegenhanger O. J. Pelenkahu, van deze gelegenheid gebruik om het gezag van rivaliserende leiders te verzwakken en zijn gezag te centraliseren. Terwijl de onderhoofden van de

hoogvlakten van Bolaang-Mongondow verhinderden dat hun onderdanen langs de kust handel dreven en contacten legden met islamitische handelaren, moedigde Raja A. C. Manoppo dat juist aan. Middels dit beleid breidde Raja A. C. Manoppo de belastinggrondslag van zijn rijk uit en vervulde daarmee zijn fiscale verplichtingen jegens zijn politieke patroon, de Nederlandse koloniale staat. Het bevorderen van de islam was een andere culturele strategie van Manoppo om het gezag van de onderhoofden te ondermijnen, omdat religie lange tijd een middel was om het statusverschil tussen de onderhoofden en hun onderdanen te benadrukken.

In Mongondow bestond, evenals in de Minahasa, aanzienlijke weerstand onder de verzwakte hoofdenstand. De Mokoginta-familie in het Passi-district verzette zich bijvoorbeeld tegen het gezag van de Manoppos door een factie van hoofden te vormen die zich verzette tegen het betalen van de hen door de raja opgelegde belastingen. De leden van de Mokoginta-familie verzetten zich echter net zo sterk tegen de islamisering van hun onderdanen als zij zich verzetten tegen de centralisatie van de Manoppo-rajas. Het toont daarmee aan dat de volksbekering tot de islam in Mongondow nauw verbonden was met de consolidatie van de macht van het opperhoofd van het gebied.

In Sangir-Talaud vonden de koloniale hervormingen die in de jaren 1850 in Minahasa en Bolaang-Mongondow werden doorgevoerd pas plaats rond 1890. Hierdoor behielden de hoofden hun traditionele macht en konden zij krachtig weerstand bieden tegen het christelijke missionaire offensief. Jacob Ponto, het opperhoofd van Siau, was bijvoorbeeld lang succesvol in zijn verzet tegen de Europese “zendeling-werklieden” die door de koloniale regering waren aangesteld. Ponto organiseerde koppensnelexpedities en hield grote “heidense” bijeenkomsten om zijn machtspositie te versterken. De ingrijpende hervormingen onder de residenten M. C. E Stakman en E. J. Jellesma aan het einde van de jaren 1880 en 1890 leidden echter tot de uiteindelijke val van Ponto. De hervormingsgezinde residenten probeerden de economie verder te commercialiseren door op de volkstelling gebaseerde peilingen belastingheffing te heffen en het gebruik van geld als ruilmiddel te verplichten. Zij verbeterden ook het plaatselijk bestuur en demonstreerden de militaire bekwaamheid van de Nederlandse koloniale staat door het uitvoeren van een strategische pacificatiecampagne. In Sangir-Talaud, hadden deze hervormingen evenals in Bolaang-Mongondow en Minahasa grote maatschappelijke consequenties. Op Siau bijvoorbeeld, werden de eilandbewoners van Makelehi bevrijd van de beklemmende economische en politieke banden met Siau's heersende elite, en met name met Jacob Ponto. In een paar jaar werden veel van deze

eilandbewoners actieve leden van de plaatselijke christelijke kerk die intussen waarschijnlijk uitgroeide tot de centrale plaats van het gemeenschapsleven, vooral zonder de gezaghebbende - en vaak onderdrukkende - persoon van de lokale raja.

Dit proefschrift legt dus de gedeelde verklaring van elitaire en volksbekeringen tot de islam en het christendom in koloniaal Indonesië bloot. Het let daarbij op de gedeelde motieven van de bekeerlingen zonder de bredere politieke en economische verschuivingen uit het oog te verliezen. Daarnaast benadrukt dit proefschrift de invloed van de wisselende sociale dynamiek en de competitie tussen de inheemse elite op religieuze bekering die tot nu toe onvoldoende erkenning in de literatuur heeft gekregen.

Buod

Kumbersyon at kolonyalismo: Islam at Kristiyanismo sa hilagang Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

Ang disertasyong ito ay nakatuon sa halos magkakasabay na kumbersyon patungong Islam at Kristiyanismo sa tatlong sub-rehiyon ng hilagang Sulawesi. Sa partikular, ipinaliliwanag nito ang mga dahilan ng kumbersyon ng parehong elite at masa patungong Islam sa Bolaang-Mongondow at patungong Protestantismo sa Minahasa at sa Sangir-Talaud noong dantaon 18-19. Pinagtutuunan ng partikular na pansin ang mga pagbabago sa kolonyal na ekonomiyang pulitikal at ang malawakang epekto ng mga ito sa rehiyon. Ipinakikita sa pag-aaral na ito na sa kabila ng pagkakaiba sa lokal na konteksto, ang mga kumbersyon patungong Islam at Kristiyanismo ay may magkakatulad na dahilan. Samakatuwid, natatangi ang disertasyong ito sa mga pang-akademikong akda sa kasalukuyan ukol sa Indonesia na madalas tumitingin sa kumbersyon patungong Kristiyanismo at patungong Islam bilang magkakahiwalay na penomena na may magkaiba at natatanging sanhi.

Pinatutunayan sa pag-aaral na ito na ang tuwirang sanhi sa likod ng malawakang kumbersyon ay ang mga nakakapagsentralisang reporma ng kolonyal na estado ng mga Olandes noong dantaon 19. Ang mga pagbabagong ito ang nakapagpahina sa tradisyunal na ugnayang *patron-client* at bunsod nito'y nagbigay daan sa mga hindi elite na makapagkamit ng materyal na yaman at makibahagi sa mga prestihiyosong ugnayang panlipunan—lalo't higit, ang pagsapi sa isang unibersal na relihiyon—na sa matagal na panahon ay eksklusibo sa mga naghaharing elite. Sa ilang pagkakataon, ang mga pinakanakatataas na pinuno na may kapangyarihang pinagtibay ng estadong kolonyal, ay naging abala sa pagpapalaganap ng kumbersyon sa mga hindi elite. Naging istratehiya ito ng mga nasabing pinuno upang mapadali ang sentralisasyon ng kapangyarihan sa kanilang mga nasasakupan. Kaya't habang lumiliit ang agwat sa pagitan ng mga nakababababang pinuno at ang kanilang mga tagasunod, ang mga pinakanakatataas na pinuno nama'y hindi lamang nakikinabang sa mas malawak na lehitimidad-kultural kundi nakapag-angkin din ng mas malawak na kapangyarihang pulitikal sa mga sumailalim sa kumbersyon.

Sa pamamagitan ng pagtuon sa mga aspektong pampulitika at pang-ekonomiya ng kumbersyon (partikular ang papel at motibasyon ng mga pinunong elite), tinutukoy sa disertasyong ito ang mga kakulangan ng ilang mahahalagang kumbensyunal na teorya ng kumbersyon sa

literatura ukol sa Indonesia. Halimbawa, ang natatawag na *bottom-up theory* na tumutukoy sa malawakang hangarin na magkaroon ng isang kosmopolitan na panrelihiyong pagkakakilanlan; ay nabigong isaalang-alang ang mga hindi maiwasan na puwersang panlipunan na nagpapahintulot o pumipigil sa pag-angkin sa nasabing pagkakakilanlan. Samantala, ang *trade theory* naman ay iniuugnay ang mga kumbersyon ng masa sa atraksyon sa ugnayang panlabas, balangkas ng batas, at tiwala sa kapwa—mga katangiang iniuugnay sa isang unibersal na relihiyon. Ngunit sa hilagang Sulawesi, walang tuloy-tuloy at madalas na interaksyon sa pagitan ng mga dayuhang mangangalakal at ng karamihan sa mga karaniwang mamamayan dahil minomonopolisa ng mga pinuno ang kalakalang panlabas at pinagbawalan ang kanilang mga inaangking sakop na makibahagi sa kalakalan. Gayundin, ipinapakita rin ng mga batis pangkasaysayan na ang estadong kolonyal ng mga Olandes ang nagsilbing pangunahing tagapagtaguyod ng pulitikal na kaayusan at pinakamahalagang tagapamagitan sa panahon ng Kristiyanisasyon at Islamisasyon ng hilagang Sulawesi. Panghuli, ang *comprehensive social crisis theory* naman ay tumutukoy sa malubhang krisis ng tradisyunal na lipunan na nagdulot ng malawakang pag-aalinlangang ispirituwal na siyang tinitingnang nagtulak sa marami na tanggapin ang mga banyagang relihiyon. Subalit sa hilagang Sulawesi, ang pagtatapos ng lumang kaayusan ay hindi lumikha ng malubhang krisis na inilalarawan ng *comprehensive social crisis theory*. Kapansin-pansin ang pagpapatuloy ng mga istrukturang sosyal at pulitikal ng mga katutubong lipunan. Dagdag pa, at marahil mas mahalaga, ang kagustuhang tularan ang naghaharing-uri sa halip na "ispirituwal na pag-aalinlangan" ang tila mas matingkad na internal na dahilan sa kumbersyon. Sa pangkalahatan, hindi sapat ang atensyong inilalaan ng mga teoryang ito sa dinamikang pulitikal ng lipunang lokal.

Habang isinasaalang-alang ang mga kakulangan ng mga umiiral na teorya, ipinapanukala ng disertasyong ito ang *demand-side* at *supply-side* na mga salik bilang mahalagang mga analitikal na elemento sa pag-unawa ng Islamisasyon at Kristiyanisasyon. Ang terminong *demand-side* ay tumutukoy sa hangarin ng mga hindi elite sa hilagang Sulawesi na magkaroon ng pagkakakilanlan ng mga relihiyong kosmopolitan upang matumbasan at matularan ang naghaharing-uri. Ipinapakita sa disertasyon na ang hangaring ito, sa kasamaang palad, ay tinutulan ng mga elite tulad din ng kanilang pagtutol sa pagmamay-ari ng mga nakababababang-uri sa mga mamahalin at prestihiyosong kalakal. Ang pagtutol ng elite sa mga kumbersyon ay isang istratehiyang pulitikal upang mapanatili ang panlipunang agwat sa pagitan ng elite at di-elite. Mahalaga ito lalo na sa konteksto ng matinding kompetisyong pulitikal sa pagitan ng mga nakatataas na pinuno at ng mga

nakababababang pinuno. Sa kabilang banda, tumutukoy ang terminong *supply-side* sa mga nakakapagsentralisang patakaran ng estadong kolonyal ng mga Olandes noong dantaon 19 na nakapagpahina sa lokal na kapangyarihang pulitikal, nagtulak sa komersyalisasyon ng ekonomiya sa rehiyon, at nagpasimula ng monetaryong buwis.

Magkakaiba ang dinamika ng *demand-side* at *supply-side* sa iba't ibang sub-rehiyon ng hilagang Sulawesi. Sa Minahasa, ang panahon ng mga malawakang Kristiyanisasyon ay nagsimula sa liberal na pamumuno ng Residente (*Resident*) na si A. J. van Olpen (1843-1849) at umigting sa panahon ni Residente A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). Si Van Olpen, at lalo na si Jansen, ay nagsulong ng paggamit ng instrumentong monetaryo bilang midyum ng palitan at buwis; at gayundin ay naglayon ng abolisyon ng sapilitang pagpapadala ng bigas kapalit ng tela. Ang mga patakarang liberal noong mga panahong iyon ang siya ring nakapagpahina sa kapangyarihan ng mga lokal na pinunong Minahasan at nagtulay sa ilan na maging bahagi ng burukrasyang kolonyal. Kung gayon, napilitang iwanan ng mga nakababababang pinunong lokal ang kanilang kanilang tradisyunal na papel bilang mangangakal at nalimitahan sa gampanin bilang tagakolekta ng buwis para sa estadong kolonyal. Sa kabuuan, ang mga repormang ito sa ekonomiya at pulitika ay nakapagpahina sa hawak ng mga nakababababang pinuno sa kanilang mga inaangking sakop kayat nagbukas sa mga sakop na ito ang oportunidad na maangkin ang Kristiyanismo—ang prestihiyosong relihiyon ng mga uring pinuno ng Minahasa simula pa noong panahon ng Kompanyang Olandes. Inilalarawan ng kaso ni O. J. Pelenkahu, ang Kristiyanong pinuno ng Tonsea ang dinamikang nabanggit. Nagtagumpay si Pelenkahu na pahinain ang kapangyarihan ng mga nakababababang pinuno na kanyang katunggali sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng kapangyarihan ng estadong kolonyal. Tinanggal niya ang pagmomonopolisa sa kalakalan ng bigas ng mga nakababababang pinuno at pinigilan silang magsagawa ng mga paganong *potlatch* (*fosso*) sa kunwaring dahilang ang mga katutubong ritwal ay makababalam sa mga pagsisikap na palaganapin ang Kristiyanismo. Ang tagumpay ni Pelenkahu sa pagpapatupad ng mga ito ay naging lunsaran upang makamit niya ang pulitikal na supremasya sa kanyang distrito sa ilalim ng bandila ng Kristiyanismo na isinusulong ng mga Olandes. Samakatuwid, muli niyang pinatunayan ang simbolikong bisa, kapangyarihan, at katayuan na matagal nang inuugnay sa Kristiyanismo habang inilalantad ang pagkawala ng kapangyarihan ng mga paganong nakababababang pinuno.

Sa Bolaang-Mongondow, naganap din ang unang naitalang malawakang kumbersyon patungong Islam sa panahon ng sentralisasyong kolonyal noong dekada 1850. Upang maipatupad

ang mga radikal na repormang piskal at pulitikal, pinalakas ng estadong kolonyal ang kapangyarihan ng mga nakatataas na pinuno (partikular si A. C. Manoppo, ang raha ng Bolaang-Mongondow). Katulad ng kanyang kasabayan sa Minahasa na si O. J. Pelenkahu, sinamantala ni Manoppo ang pagkakataon upang mapahina ang kapangyarihan ng mga katunggaling pinuno at masentralisa ang kapangyarihan. Habang ang mga nakababababang pinuno ng Mongondow ay matagal nang pinigilan ang kanilang mga nasasakupan na mangalakal sa tabi ng dalampasigan at makipag-ugnayan sa mga dayuhang mangangalakal na Muslim, ang kabaligtaran nito ang isinulong ni raha A. C. Manoppo. Sa pamamagitan ng patakarang ito, napalaki ni Raha A. C. Manoppo ang pondong buwis ng kaniyang nasasaklawan at nagampanan ang kanyang tungkuling piskal sa kanyang patrong pulitikal—ang kolonyal na estadong Olandes. Isang istratehiyang pulitikal ang pagtataguyod ni Manoppo ng Islam tungo sa pagpapahina ng kapangyarihan ng mga nakababababang pinuno, lalo't higit sa dahilang ang relihiyon ay matagal nang naging tanda ng pagkakaiba sa katayuan ng mga pinunong ito at ng kanilang mga tagasunod. Sa Mongondow, katulad din sa Minahasa, mayroong malawakang pagtutol sa hanay ng mga pinahinang pinunong elite. Halimbawa, sumalungat sa kapangyarihan ng mga Manoppo ang pamilya Mokoginta ng distrito ng Passi sa pamamagitan ng pangunguna sa isang pangkat ng mga pinuno na tumutol sa pagbayad ng buwis. Ang mga kasapi ng pamilya Mokoginta ay naging bantulot din sa Islamisasyon ng kanilang mga sakop. Samakatwid, ipinapahiwatig nito na ang malawakang kumbersyon tungong Islam ay maiuugnay sa sentralisasyong pulitikal ng nakatataas na pinuno ng Mongondow.

Sa Sangir-Talaud, nangyari lamang bandang dekada 1890 ang mga repormang kolonyal na inilarawan sa Minahasa at Bolaang-Mongondow. Bunga nito, napanatili ng mga pinuno ang kanilang tradisyunal na kapangyarihan at nanatiling malakas sa kanilang pagsalungat sa maigting na kampanya ng mga misyonerong Protestante. Halimbawa, naging matagumpay sa loob ng mahabang sa panahon si Jacob Ponto, ang pinakamataas na pinuno ng Siau, sa kanyang pagsalungat sa mga Europeong "misyonerong-manggagawa" na itinalaga ng pamahalaang kolonyal. Itinaguyod ni Ponto ang mga pangangayaw at ipinagdiwang ang mga malalaking "paganong" pagtitipon upang lalong mapalakas ang kanyang kapangyarihan. Gayunpaman, ang mga malawakang reporma nina Residente M. C. E. Stakman at E. J. Jellesma noong huling bahagi ng mga dekada 1880 at 1890 ay tuluyang naging sanhi ng pagbagsak ni Ponto. Isinulong ng mga repormistang Residenteng ito ang komersyalisasyon ng ekonomiya sa pamamagitan ng monetaryong pagbubuwis batay sa sensus at sa pag-obliga ng mga palitan sa pamamagitan ng

salapi. Pinaliit din nila ang bilang ng mga lokal na naghahari-hariang pinuno. Bukod dito, ipinamalas din ng estadong kolonyal ang kanyang kapangyarihan sa pamamagitan ng isang istratehikong kampanyang militar ng pasipikasyon sa Talaud. Sa Sangir-Talaud, katulad sa Bolaang-Mongondow at Minahasa, nagkaroon ng malawakang epekto sa lipunan ang mga repormang nabanggit. Sa Siau, halimbawa, napalaya mula sa mapanupil na ugnayang ekonomiko at pulitikal sa mga naghaharing-uri ang mga taga-isla ng Makelehi. Hindi kataka-takang makalipas ang ilang taon, karamihan sa kanila ay naging aktibong kasapi ng simbahang Kristiyano. Ang simbahan sa panahong iyon ay maaaring naging sentro ng isang bagong komunidad at mapagpalayang pamumuhay hiwalay sa mapanupil na kapangyarihan ng lokal na raha.

Samakatuwid, ipinapamalas sa disertasyong ito ang magkakatulad na dahilan ng Kristiyanisasyon at Islamisasyon sa Indonesia noong panahong kolonyal. Binibigyang-halaga rito ang maaaring naging personal na motibasyon at pati na rin ang malawakang pulitikal at ekonomikong pagbabago sa lipunang lokal. Binibigyang-diin din ang magkakaibang dinamika ng tunggaliang panlipunan sa pagitan ng mga katutubong elite na madalas hindi nabibigyan nang sapat na tuon sa mga akdang pangkasaysayan tungkol sa kumbersyon.

Ringkasan

Perpindahan dan kolonialisme: Islam dan Kristen di Sulawesi Utara, c. 1700-1900

Disertasi ini bergumul dengan masalah perpindahan agama menjadi Muslim dan Kristen yang berlangsung pada periode yang sama di tiga sub-daerah di Sulawesi Utara. Secara khusus disertasi ini ingin menjelaskan penyebab perpindahan kepercayaan elit dan massa menjadi Muslim di Bolaang-Mongondow dan Kristen Protestan di Minahasa dan Sangir-Talaud pada abad kedelapan belas dan kesembilan belas. Perhatian utama ditujukan pada perubahan-perubahan abad kesembilan belas pada ekonomi-politik kolonial dan akibat-akibat sosial dan agama yang luas di wilayah tersebut. Ia menunjukkan bahwa walaupun terdapat keberagaman kondisi lokal, perpindahan agama ke Islam dan Kristen di daerah tersebut memiliki akar sebab yang sama. Oleh karenanya disertasi ini berbeda dengan literatur akademis lain mengenai Indonesia yang seringkali melihat perpindahan agama menuju Kristen dan Islam sebagai fenomena yang terpisah dengan akar yang khas dan berbeda.

Argumen disertasi ini adalah bahwa dorongan langsung terjadinya perpindahan massal diakibatkan oleh karena usaha sentralisasi negara kolonial Hindia Belanda pada abad kesembilan belas. Reformasi yang dilakukan oleh negara merenggangkan hubungan patron-klien tradisional dan sehingga membuka kesempatan non-elit untuk mendapatkan kekayaan materi dan hubungan sosial yang dihormati – yaitu, menjadi anggota salah satu agama dunia – yang selama ini dimonopoli oleh elit penguasa. Dalam beberapa kasus tertentu, ketua suku teratas (*apical chief*) yang posisinya diperkuat oleh negara kolonial memiliki kepentingan pribadi untuk mendorong perpindahan agama dikalangan orang-orang non-elit. Strategi yang dipilih ketua suku ini bertujuan untuk memusatkan kekuasaan diwilayah mereka. Seiring dengan penurunan status dikalangan ketua-ketua bawahan (*subaltern chiefs*) dan penduduk dibawah mereka, maka ketua suku teratas ini meningkatkan legitimasi budaya mereka dan sekaligus mengklaim otoritas politik atas mereka yang telah berpindah agama.

Dengan memusatkan perhatian pada aspek politik dan ekonomis dari perpindahan agama (khususnya peran dan motivasi dari elit ketua), disertasi ini menunjukkan keterbatasan dari beberapa teori konvensional dalam literatur akademis tentang Indonesia. Sebagai contoh, apa yang sering disebut sebagai teori ‘bottom-up’ mengarah pada keinginan orang untuk berpindah

ke identitas keagamaan yang kosmopolitan; tetapi sering gagal memikirkan bagaimana kekuatan sosial yang ada membuka atau menutup akses terhadap identitas yang dimaksud. Sementara itu, 'teori perdagangan' percaya bahwa konversi massal didorong oleh koneksi luar-negeri, kuatnya kerangka hukum dan kuatnya rasa saling percaya (*trust*) antar-pribadi – yang semuanya kelebihan yang tersedia kepada mereka yang menjadi anggota agama dunia. Tetapi interaksi yang sering dan terus-menerus antara pedagang luar negeri dan mayoritas penduduk itu kemungkinan tidak ada karena ketua suku memonopoli perdagangan dengan dunia luar dan melarang kawula untuk berdagang. Selain itu, bukti sejarah menunjukkan bahwa negara kolonial Hindia Belanda berfungsi sebagai penyedia utama kestabilan politik dan sebagai mediator utama dimasa ketika penduduk Sulawesi utara sedang berpindah agama ke Islam atau Kristen. Terakhir, 'teori krisis sosial komprehensif' merujuk pada ambruknya masyarakat tradisional yang menyebabkan terjadinya kegalauan spiritual yang luas dan sehingga mendorong penduduk untuk menerima identitas agama asing. Tetapi berakhirnya tatanan tradisional di Sulawesi utara tidak sekacau dan seluas yang dituntut oleh 'teori krisis sosial komprehensif. Terdapat beragam bentuk sosial dan politik masyarakat pribumi yang dilanjutkan setelah konversi. Selain itu, dan mungkin lebih penting, dorongan masyarakat untuk pindah agama tampaknya didorong bukan oleh 'kegalauan spiritual' melainkan keinginan kekal untuk meniru kaum elit. Secara umum, teori-teori diatas tidak memberi porsi perhatian yang cukup terhadap dinamika politik masyarakat lokal.

Mengingat keterbatasan teori-teori yang ada, disertasi ini mengajukan faktor-faktor 'permintaan' dan 'penawaran' sebagai variabel analitis yang penting dalam memahami perpindahan agama ke Islam dan Kristen. Permintaan disini merujuk pada keinginan warga Sulawesi utara non-elit untuk mengadopsi identitas keagamaan yang kosmopolitan guna mencapai status yang sama dengan elit penguasa. Disertasi ini menunjukkan bahwa keinginan ini sering ditantang oleh kaum elit yang menolak perpindahan agama massal yang mirip dengan penolakan mereka terhadap kepemilikan massal barang-barang prestisius. Oposisi elit terhadap konversi merupakan sebuah strategi politik guna mempertahankan perbedaan status sosial dalam konteks kompetisi status yang kuat antara ketua utama dan ketua bawahan agar tetap menjadi ketua utama dalam beragam masyarakat di Sulawesi utara. Penawaran disini merujuk pada kebijakan sentralisasi negara kolonial Hindia Belanda di abad kesembilan belas yang menyederhanakan aliran otoritas politik lokal, mengkomersilkan ekonomi regional dan

memperkenalkan perpajakan berbasis uang. Kebijakan-kebijakan ini diperkenalkan pertama di Minahasa pada tahun 1850an dan baru kemudian diterapkan di wilayah lain karena fokus utama kepentingan kolonial Belanda utamanya tertuju hanya di Minahasa.

Dinamika antara faktor-faktor permintaan dan penawaran terejawantahkan secara berbeda di berbagai sub-wilayah di Sulawesi utara. Di Minahasa, periode perpindahan agama secara massal ke agama Kristen terjadi dibawah kekuasaan liberal Residen A. J. van Olpen (1843-1849) dan menguat dibawah kekuasaan Residen A. J. F. Jansen (1853-1859). Van Olpen dan Jansen mendorong penggunaan uang sebagai alat pertukaran dan perpajakan serta mencoba menghapus pertukaran wajib tekstil dengan beras. Kebijakan liberal periode tersebut juga menyederhanakan aliran otoritas lokal dan sehingga mengubah ketua-ketua Minahasa menjadi pegawai. Para ketua – khususnya ketua bawahan – dipaksa untuk meninggalkan peran mereka sebagai pedagang komersil dan dibatasi peran mereka sebagai pengumpul pajak untuk negara kolonial. Secara umum, reformasi ekonomi dan politik yang dijalankan merenggangkan ikatan ketua-ketua bawahan atas kawula mereka dan sehingga mendorong mereka menuju agama Kristen – agama prestisius dari kelas ketua Minahasa semenjak zaman Kompeni. Kasus O. J. Pelenkahu, ketua Kristen di Tonsea, menggambarkan dinamika diatas. Pelenkahu berhasil melemahkan otoritas dari ketua-ketua bawahan, yang berkompetisi dengannya untuk kekuasaan, lewat penggunaan otoritas negara kolonial. Ia menghapus monopoli perdagangan beras dari kaum ketua bawahan dan melarang mereka untuk melaksanakan upacara fosso dengan alasan bahwa ritual agama pribumi ini berseberangan dengan usaha-usaha mendorong penyebaran agama Kristen. Keberhasilan Pelenkahu dalam hal ini mengakibatkan pencapaian supremasi politik di distriknya dibawah usaha Kristenisasi yang didukung oleh Belanda. Oleh karenanya, ia membenarkan kekuatan simbolis dan status yang dikaitkan dengan agama Kristen selagi menelanjangi hilangnya otoritas dikalangan ketua bawahan yang berbasis kepercayaan lokal.

Di Bolaang-Mongodow perpindahan masal ke agama Islam pertama yang terekam terjadi juga pada masa sentralisasi negara kolonial pada tahun 1850an. Dalam usaha menerapkan reformasi fiskal dan politik, negara kolonial memperkuat otoritas dari penguasa utama (*apical*) (A. C. Manoppo, raja Bolaang-Mongondow). Manoppo, seperti rekan Minahasanya O. J. Pelenkahu, memanfaatkan kesempatan ini untuk melemahkan otoritas dari ketua lainnya dan memusatkan kekuasaannya dengan cara tertentu. Ketua bawahan dari Bolaang-Mongondow wilayah pegunungan menghambat penduduknya untuk berdagang disepanjang pesisir dan

membangun hubungan dengan pedagang muslim, tapi Raja A. C. Manoppo malah mendorong hal tersebut. Dengan kebijakannya, Raja A. C. Manoppo melebarkan basis pajak dari wilayah kekuasaannya dan memenuhi kewajiban fiskal kepada patronnya – negara kolonial Hindia Belanda. Promosi Manoppo terhadap agama Islam merupakan strategi kebudayaannya guna meruntuhkan otoritas dari ketua-ketua bawahan khususnya karena agama telah selama ini menjadi penanda perbedaan status antara ketua bawahan dengan penduduk yang berada dibawah mereka. Sama seperti di Minahasa, di Mongondow terdapat banyak resistensi diantara elit ketua yang telah dilemahkan tersebut. Sebagai contoh, keluarga Mokoginta dari distrik Passi menolak otoritas dari keluarga Manoppo dengan cara mengepalai faksi dari ketua-ketua yang menolak membayar pajak yang diminta oleh raja. Anggota dari keluarga Mokoginta menolak Islamisasi dari penduduk mereka bersamaan dengan penolakan mereka terhadap sentralisasi kekuasaan dibawah raja-raja Manoppo. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa perpindahan masal ke agama Islam di Mongondow berhubungan erat dengan konsolidasi kekuasaan politik dari ketua utama dari wilayah tersebut.

Di Sangir-Talaud, reformasi kolonial yang terjadi di Minahasa dan Bolaang-Mongondow pada tahun 1850an baru terjadi pada tahun 1890an. Akibatnya, ketua berhasil mempertahankan otoritas tradisional dan tetap kuat untuk menolak strategi penginjil Kristen. Sebagai contoh, Jacob Ponto, ketua utama dari pulau Siau, sukses untuk menolak kedatangan 'penginjil-tukang' (*zendeling-werklieden*) Eropa yang telah ditunjuk oleh pemerintah kolonial. Ponto mengadaka ekspedisi-ekspedisi *ngayau* (perburuan kepala) dan merayakan upacara-upacara 'pagan' guna memperkuat otoritasnya. Tetapi reformasi luas yang dijalankan oleh Residen M. C. E. Stakman dan E. J. Jellesma pada akhir tahun 1880an dan 1890an pada akhirnya mengakibatkan kejatuhan kekuasaan dari Ponto. Residen-residen reformis ini menginginkan terjadinya komersialisasi ekonomi lokal dengan mengetrapkan perpajakan uang berdasarkan sensus serta memaksa penggunaan uang dalam pertukaran. Mereka juga menyederhanakan kantor ketua lokal dan menunjukkan kehebatan militer negara kolonial Hindia Belanda lewat serangkaian strategi kampanye pasifikasi militer. Sama seperti di Bolaang-Mongondow dan Minahasa, reformasi demikian memiliki efek yang luas terhadap masyarakat Sangir-Talaud. Sebagai contoh, di Siau, penduduk pulau Makelehi terbebaskan dari hubungan-hubungan ekonomi dan politik yang opresif dengan elit Siau, dan khususnya dengan Jacob Ponto. Dalam hanya beberapa tahun, banyak dari penduduk pulau menjadi anggota aktif gereja kristen lokal yang pada saat itu telah

berubah menjadi pusat kehidupan masyarakat tanpa melibatkan otoritas raja yang seringkali penuh hubungan penindasan.

Disertasi ini mengungkapkan sebab yang sama untuk menjelaskan perpindahan agama elit dan massa ke Islam dan Kristen dimasa kolonial Indonesia. Disertasi ini mempertimbangkan motivasi penduduk dalam berpindah agama dengan tetap mempertimbangkan pergeseran-pergeseran politik dan ekonomi yang luas. Disertasi ini oleh karenanya menekankan beragam dinamika sosial dan kompetisi diantara elit pribumi yang selama ini kurang diperhitungkan dalam buku-buku tentang perpindahan agama.

Curriculum Vitae

Ariel C. Lopez (b. 1986, Lucena City, Philippines) received his first BA degree in History (*summa cum laude*) from the University of the Philippines (UP), Diliman in 2007. He was later accepted in the Encompass Programme at the Institute for History, Leiden University and obtained an Advanced BA (*cum laude*) (2010) and Research MA (M.Phil.) (2012). He was subsequently appointed as a trainee-researcher (*assistent-in-opleiding*) under the Cosmopolis Programme of Leiden University. In 2017, he returned to the Philippines as a faculty member of UP's Department of History.

STELLINGEN

Conversion and colonialism: Islam and Christianity in north Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900

1
Since religious identity have long served as a marker of higher social status in north Sulawesi, the non-elite strove to convert yet they were hindered by the local elite who sought to maintain status difference and social distance.

2
The colonial reforms of the nineteenth century which commercialized the economy of north Sulawesi and bureaucratized the local chiefly offices loosened the traditional patron-client bonds between the chiefs and their claimed subjects thus opening the opportunity for many to access a prestigious religious identity hitherto exclusive to local ruling elite.

3
Riding on the authority of the colonial state, aspiring apical rulers of north Sulawesi acted as sponsors of mass conversions which eroded the long-standing political and economic advantages claimed by competing chiefs and therefore appear benevolent by sharing a prestigious religious identity with their claimed subjects.

4
The contemporaneous mass conversions to Protestant Christianity in Minahasa and to Islam in Bolaang-Mongondow could be explained by the shared timing of economic and political centralization of the Dutch colonial state in these sub-regions.

5
The literature on religious conversions in pre-modern insular Southeast Asia have inadequately paid attention to the dynamics and specificities of local political contexts, in particular with regard to intra-elite rivalry.

6
Aspiring apical rulers in insular Southeast Asia utilized religion and religious conversions to centralize authority and weaken competing chiefs (H. Sutherland, "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos" (1988), 55; C. Majul, "The General Nature of Islamic Law and its Application in the Philippines" (1980), 63)

7
The pull of cosmopolitan religious identities in early modern Southeast Asia—occasioned ultimately by expanding market relations—should be understood alongside local political interests that tend to counteract such phenomenon. (A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, vol. 2 (1993) 136-145; V. Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830*, vol. 2 (2009), 813).

8
The notion that mass conversions occur after colonial intervention due to "spiritual vacuum" is less tenable and demonstrable than the idea that that colonial interference successfully eroded the political, economic, and cultural barriers to conversion to a world religion. (H. Buchholt, "The Impact of the Christian Mission on Processes of Social Differentiation" (1996), 15; M. J. C. Schouten, *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society: Minahasa, 1677-1983* (1998), 108).

9
Universities all over often assume the possibly contradictory roles of a learning institution, commercial enterprise, and political instrument for domestic ideological control or international projection of soft power.

10
Separable verbs (*scheidbare werkwoorden*) are some of the most difficult features of the Dutch language.