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

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## 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.). <i>Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia</i> . 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, <i>Sejarah Pergerakan Kebangsaan Indonesia Di Pulau Siau</i> (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)	1899 1899 [27 April] [RA, 1900]
Raja Salmon Doemalang	
Source: Hayase, Shinzo, Domingo M. Non and Alex J. Ulaen (comp.). <i>Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia</i> . 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.). <i>Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia</i> . Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1999.	

Rajas of Tabukan	
Gama	c. 1640s
Uda I (Franciscus 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 Manosoh	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.). <i>Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia</i> . 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.). <i>Silsilas/Tarsilas (Genealogies) and Historical Narratives in Sarangani Bay and Davao Gulf Regions, South Mindanao, Philippines, and Sangihe-Talaud Islands, North Sulawesi, Indonesia</i> . 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 zaman 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, <i>Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society</i> (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), 281.	



### Appendix 3

#### Colonial career of A. J. F. (Albert Jacques Frederik) Jansen<sup>1</sup>

Year	Position
1844-1845	Second Clerk, General Secretariat, Buitenzorg; <i>Tweede Commies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg</i>
1846	First Clerk, General Secretariat, Buitenzorg; <i>Eerste Commies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg</i>
1847-1850	Chief Clerk, General Secretariat, Buitenzorg; <i>Hoofdcommies, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg</i>
1851-1852	Consultant/Expert, General Secretariat, Buitenzorg; <i>Referandis, Algemeene Secretarie te Buitenzorg</i>
1854-1859	Resident, Menado Residency
1860-1861	Governor, Governor of Celebes and its Depedencies; <i>Gouvernement</i>
1861	[Honors] Commander, Spanish Order of Isabella la Catholica; Commander, Luxembourgish Order of <i>Eikenkroon</i>

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the "Almanak en Naam-Register van Nederlandsch-Indie."

Appendix 4

Schoolchildren in Minahasa, 1846<sup>2</sup>

District	Place	Funding Source	Number of registered children				
			Christians		Pagans		Total
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
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
	Kompj	"	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

<sup>2</sup> 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
	Kumelembajj	"	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<sup>3</sup>

Sangirese polity	Island or island group in Talaud	District	Chiefly domain ( <i>jogugu</i> )	<i>Kampong</i> (villages)
Tabukan	Salibabu or Lirung	Lirong	Lirong	Lirong Kampong Baharoe Palang Bantik Kaha [?] Tuwone Bambange Seres Serolang Kolongan Balane Aroede
			Morong	Morong Boene Palanga Alri [?] Lola
			Salibabu	Salibabu Pelong Doela (Daloeng) Tadore Bawong Tiwoeda Toade (Loassan)
			Kiama	Kiama Nanasaka [?] Mala Bolang Melonggoane Toele

<sup>3</sup> 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 Pantogka Ihika Urianga Napoe
			Todoale	Todoale Peresa

				Danaoe Bawangmanangga Dasoenama Akasa
Taroena	Nanusa eilanden	Nanusa eilanden	Nanusa eilanden	Laboche Mohampi Dampoeli Kakerottan Kaatán 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 commission
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 <i>kepala balak</i> )
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 <i>hukum tua</i> )
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 <i>kerk marinjo</i> )
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 <i>snaphaan</i> )
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 <i>timbukar</i> ; stone tomb in Minahasa usually with anthropomorphic carvings
Walian	religious practitioner in Minahasa; also as <i>bolian</i> in Mongondow; <i>belian</i> in eastern Kalimantan; and <i>babaylan</i> in the Philippines;
Zelfbesturende landschap	“self-governing” region
Ziekentroster	VOC-period functionary, lit. ‘comforter of the sick’

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  - o Oost-Indische Besluiten
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    - Geheime Oost-Indische Besluiten, 1850-1900
- Politieke Verslagen en Berichten uit de Buitengewesten, 1898-1940, gelicht uit de archieven van het Ministerie van Koloniën – inv. 2.10.52.01
- Archief Losse Aanwinsten Indische Bestuursambtenaren – inv. 2.22.09
- Memories van Overgave, 1852-1962 – inv. 2.10.39

1.2.4. KIT Collection (former Koninklijke Instituut voor de Tropen) – Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden

- A N Datau, Het Volk van Gorontalo- inv. BrRG 26.

## 2. Published and unpublished works

### 2.1. Newspapers (KITLV Leiden)

*Pangkal Kemadjoean*

*Rayat Bolaëng Mongondow*

### 2.2. Missionary journals and related periodicals

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