



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Lopez, A.C.

Citation

Lopez, A. C. (2018, September 18). *Conversion and Colonialism: Islam and Christianity in North Sulawesi, c. 1700-1900*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/65631> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Lopez, A.C.

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

Issue Date: 2018-09-18

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 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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) Jansen¹

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 Depencies; <i>Gouvernement</i>
1861	[Honors] Commander, Spanish Order of Isabella la Catholica; Commander, Luxembourgish Order of <i>Eikenkroon</i>

¹ Compiled from the "Almanak en Naam-Register van Nederlandsch-Indie."

Appendix 4

Schoolchildren in Minahasa, 1846²

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
	Kompjij	"	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
	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 Talaud³

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
			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 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’

Bibliography

1. Archival Sources

1.1.Indonesia

1.1.1. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia - Jakarta (ANRI)

- Arsip Daerah – Manado
- Arsip Daerah – Ternate
- Gouvernements Besluit (GB)
- Missive Gouvernements Secretaris (MGS)

1.1.2 Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia -Jakarta (PNI)

- Korte aantekeningen betreffende de geschiedenis van de rigting der grenzen van het landschap Kaidipan in het oorspronkelijke met alsmede vertaling en aantekeningen door JGF Riedel - inv. 111 D Sul 1/6.

1.2. Netherlands

1.2.1. Het Utrechts Archief – Utrecht (HUA)

- Archief Raad van de Zending (ARvdZ) – inv. 1102-1
 - o Archief van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap (NZG), 1797-1951
 - o Archief van het Sangi- en Talaud- Comité (STC), 1887-1951

1.2.2. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde - Leiden (KITLV)

- Verslagen uit het Gouvernement der Molukken, Verslag van de Residentie Manado over den jaar 1829 – inv. H 70

- De Biologische achtergrond van het Bevolkingsvraagstuk op Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe- en Talaud-Archipel’, Dr. PML Tammes, Manado 1940 – inv. H 1220

1.2.3. Nationaal Archief – The Hague (NA)

- Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie – inv. 1.04.02
- Comité Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen, 1796-1800 – inv. 2.01.27.01
- Archief van J. Wttewael en H. van Staveren, 1758 – 1804 – inv. 1.10.86
- Ministerie van Koloniën, 1814-1849 – inv. 2.10.01
- Ministerie van Koloniën, 1850-1900 (1932) – inv. 2.10.02
 - o Openbaar Archief, 1850-1900
 - o Geheim- en Kabinetsarchief (Kabinetsverbaal, 1850-1900)
 - o Mailrapporten, 1869-1900
 - o Oost-Indische Besluiten
 - Oost-Indische Besluiten, 1950-1932
 - 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

- *Geillustreerd Zendingsblad voor het Huisgezin; orgaan van het Java-Comite en van het Centraal Comite voor de oprichting en de instandhouding van een seminarie nabij Batavia (1869-1931).*

- *Maandberigten van het Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (1828-1917).
- *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* (1857-1919; from 1920-1942, *Mededeelingen; tijdschrift voor zendingswetenschap*).
- *Mededeelingen vanwege het Comite tot voorziening in de godsdienstige behoeften (Inlandsch) Protestantsche Christengemeenten op de Sangi- en Talauereilanden* (1906-1914; continued as *Maandblad der [vier] samenwerkende zendingscorporaties*, 1918-1920; and as *Nederlandsch Zendingsblad*, 1921).
- *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen*.

2.3. Books, journal articles, and unpublished works

Abidin, Andi Zainal and C. C. Macknight. "The I La Galigo Epic Cycle of South Celebes and Its Diffusion." *Indonesia* 17 (1974): 160-169.

"Acten-stukken in zake de vestiging van den Islam in Bolaan-Mongondou." *MNZG* 25 (1881): 79-92.

Adas, Michael. "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia." In *Colonialism and Culture*, edited by Nicholas B. Dirks, 89-126. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Adat Istiadat Daerah Sulawesi Utara. [Jakarta]: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977/1978.

Adriani, N. "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): 457-475.

———. "De Hoofden der Toradja's van Midden-Celebes." *Indisch Genootschap: Verslagen der Algemeene Vergaderingen* (1915-1916): 107-126.

———. "J. A. T. Schwarz als Taalbeoefenaar." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 73, no. 3 (1918): 438-445.

Adriani, N. and Alb. C. Kruijt. "Van Posso naar Mori 22 Augustus - 29 September 1899." *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 44, (1900): 135-214.

———. *De Bare'e Sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*. Vol. 2, *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1951.

Aebersold, Walter E. "Het Verhaal van Makaampo." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* (1957): 123-167.

Al Habsyi, Habib Abdurrahman bin Muhammad, and Prasetyo Sudrajat. *Sumur yang Tak Pernah Kering: Riwayat Habib Ali Alhabsyi Kwitang; "Dari Kwitang menjadi Ulama Besa."* Jakarta: Islamic Center Indonesia, 2010.

Alatas, Syed Hussein. "On the Need for an Historical Study of Malaysian Islamization." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (1963): 68-81.

Ali, Muhamad. "Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Kelantan." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 79, no. 2 (2006): 39-58.

"Almanak en Naam-Register van Nederlandsch-Indië." Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, 1815-1935.

Ampère, Jean-Jacques. *Promenade en Amérique : États-Unis, Cuba, Mexique*. Vol. 2. Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1856.

Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Leonard Y. Andaya. *A History of Malaysia*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982.

- Andaya, Barbara Watson and Yoneo Ishii. "Religious Developments in Southeast Asia c. 1500-1800." In *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, edited by Nicholas Tarling, 508-571. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Andaya, Leonard. *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
- Andaya, Leonard. "Cultural State Formation in Eastern Indonesia." In *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, edited by Anthony Reid, 23-41. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- . *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.
- Anderson, Benedict. *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.
- . "Nationalism and Cultural Survival in Our Time: A Sketch." In *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States*, edited by Bartholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi, 165-190. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- Aragon, Lorraine V. "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): 350-373.
- . "Relatives and Rivals in Central Sulawesi: Grounded Protestants, Mobile Muslims, and the Labile State." In *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, edited by Susanne Schroter, 259-290. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010.

- Argensola, Bartolome Leonardo de. *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*. Madrid: Miraguano/Polifemo, 1992.
- Aritonang, Jan Sihar and Karel Steenbrink. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Atkinson, Jane Monnig. "Review of *Minahasa Civilization: A Tradition of Change* by Wil Lundström-Burghoorn." *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982): 224-226.
- . *The art and politics of Wana shamanism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi*. Jakarta: Logos, 2003.
- . "The Coming and Spread of Islam." Chap. 1 in *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation*. Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2006.
- Baardewijk, Frans van. "The Colonial Report (Koloniaal Verslag): 1848-1939." In *The Colonial Past: Dutch Sources on Indonesian History*, edited by Peter Boomgaard, 22-27. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1991.
- Bakker, H. P. A. "Het Rijk Sanggau." *Tijdschrift voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 29 (1884): 353-464.
- Balk, G. Louisa, Frans van Dijk, Diederick J. Kortlang, and Pieter Koenders. *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: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia and Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Baradas, David B. "Maranao Law: A Study of Conflict and Its Resolution in a Multicentric Power System." In *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.

Barnard, Timothy P. "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*, edited by Eric Tagliacozzo, 65-82. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Bassett, D. K. *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 Hull, 1971.

Bastiaans, J. "Batato's in het oude Gorontalo, in verband met den Gorontaleschen staatsbouw." *TBG* 79, (1939): 23-72.

Benda, Harry. "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia." *The Journal of Modern History* 30, no. 4 (1958): 338-347.

Berg, A. J. van den. *Kerkelijke strijd en zendingsorganisatie: De scheuring in het Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap rond het midden van de negentiende eeuw*. Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997.

Bertling, Cornelis Tjenko. *De Minahasische "waroega" en "hockerbestattung"*. Den Haag: [no stated publisher], 1931.

Bigalke, Terence. "Government and Mission in the Torajan World of Makale-Rantepao." *Indonesia* 38, (October 1984): 84-112.

Blussé, Leonard. "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.

Boek panton deri waktu Bwool masok di Menado pada tahoen 1876. Menado: Menadosche Drukkerij, 1900.

"Bolaäng-Mongondou." In *Encyclopedië van Nederlandsch-Indië*.

Bongenaar, Karel E. M. *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië: 1855-1942.* Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005.

Boomgaard, Peter. "Bridewealth and Birth Control: Low Fertility in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1500-1900." *Population and Development Review* 29, no. 2 (2003): 197-214.

———. "Labour, Land, and Capital Markets in Early Modern Southeast Asia from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth century." *Continuity and Change* 24, no. 1 (2009): 55-78.

Boonstra van Heerdt, R. "De noorderarm van het eiland Celebes, van Paloe tot Bwool." *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 31 (1914): 725-765.

Bosma, Ulbe. "Het cultuurstelsel en zijn buitenlandse ondernemers: Java tussen oud en nieuw kolonialisme." *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2, no. 2 (2005): 3-28.

Bowen, John R. "Narrative Form and Political Incorporation: Changing Uses of History in Aceh, Indonesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 4 (1989): 671-693.

Broersma, R. *Handel en bedrijf in Zuid- en Oost-Borneo.* 's-Gravenhage: G. Naeff, 1927.

Brouwer, A. M. "The Preparation of Missionaries in Holland." *The International Review of Missions* 1, no. 1 (1912): 226-239.

Brouwer, M. "Celebes (Minahassa, Langowan)." *Maandberichten van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 77, no. 11 (1875).

———. *Bestuursvormen en bestuurstelsels in de Minahassa*. Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1936.

Bruinessen, Martin van. "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate." *Archipel* 50, (1995): 165-199.

Brumund, J. G. F. "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragment mijner reize door de Minahassa." *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 1, no. 2 (1855): 397-428.

———. "Twee dagen te Langowang, fragment mijner reize door de Minahassa." *Tijdschrift tot Bevordering van Christelijk Leven in Nederlandsch-Indië* 2, no. 2 (1856): 133-156, 269-292.

Buat, Mohd. Musib M. "Muslim Businesses in Mindanao." In *The Muslim Private Sector in Southeast Asia*, edited by Mohammed Ariff, 22-56. Singapore: ISEAS, 1991.

Buchholt, Helmut. "Christian Mission and Social Development." In *Kolonien und Missionen, Referate des 3. Paper presented during the Internationalen Kolonialengeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen*, edited by Wilfried Wagner, 309-324. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994.

- . "The Impact of the Christian Mission on Processes of Social Differentiation." In *Continuity, Change and Aspirations: Social and Cultural Life in Minahasa, Indonesia*, edited by H. Buchholt and Ulrich Mai. Singapore: ISEAS, 1996.
- Burgers, Herman. *De garoeda en de ooievaar; Indonesië van kolonie tot nationale staat*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Caldwell, Ian and Kathryn Wellen. "Family Matters: Bugis Genealogies and their Contribution to Austronesian Studies." *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* 12, no. Supp. 1 (2016): 119-141.
- Campo, Joseph N. F. M. á. "Discourse without Discussion: Representations of Piracy in Colonial Indonesia 1816-25." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 2 (2003): 199-214.
- Carey, Peter. *The Power of Prophecy: Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785-1855*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Cederroth, Sven. *The Spell of the Ancestors and the Power of Mekkah: A Sasak Community on Lombok*. Göteborg: Göteborg University, 1981.
- Chabot, H. Th. "Processes of Change in Siau 1890-1950." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125, (1969): 94-102.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, Suryadi, Reza Idria, Oman Fathurahman, and Pramono. *Naik Haji di Masa Silam: Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji, 1482-1964*. Vol. 1 (1482-1890). Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2013.
- Clarence-Smith, William G. "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*, edited by David Parkin and Ruth Barnes, 227-258. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002.

———. "The Economic Role of the Arab community in Maluku, 1816 to 1940." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 26, no. 74 (1998): 32-49.

Clavé, Elsa. "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)." PhD diss., Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2013.

———. "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): 235-256.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa." *American Ethnologist* 13, no. 1 (February 1986): 1-22.

Coolsma, S. . "De Zending op de Sangir- en Talaut-Eilanden." *Nederlandsch Zendingstijdschrift* 5 (1893): 193-298.

Coomans, Michael. *Evangelisatie en Kultuurverandering: 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.

"Correspondentie En Berigten." *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 14, (1860).

"Correspondentie en Berigten." *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 16, (1861): 122-134.

"Correspondentie en Berigten." *De Vereeniging: Christelijke Stemmen* 21, (1867): 675-684.

Cote, Joost. *Colonising Poso: The Diary of Controleur Emile Gobée, June 1909-May 1910* Working Paper 128. Victoria: Monash University Press, 2007.

Cruikshank, Bruce. "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): 124-151.

Cuarteron, Carlos. *Spiegazione e Traduzione dei XIV Quadri relativi alle isole di Salibaboo, Talaor, Sanguay, Nanuse, Mindanao, Celebes, Borneo, Bahalatalis, Tambisan, Sulu, Toolyan, e Labuan*. Roma: Tipografia della S.C. di Propaganda Fide, 1855.

Cummings, William. "Re-evaluating State, Society and the Dynamics of Expansion in Precolonial Gowa." In *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia*, edited by Geoff Wade, 214-231. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Curtin, Philip D. *Cross-cultural Trade in World History* Studies in Comparative World History. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Dam, Pieter van. *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*. Vol. 2, no. 1. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931.

de Clerq, F. S. A. "Schets van het Landschap Bolaang-Mongondow." *Tijdschrift van het Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 7 (1883): 116-125.

De Ocampo, Esteban A. *The Ternateños: Their History, Language, Customs, and Traditions*. Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007.

"De zelfbesturende landschappen Tahoelandang, Siaoë, Taboëkan (ten rechte: Tawoëkan), Kandhar-Taroëna (ten rechte: Kendahe-Tahoëna) en Manganitoe (Afdeeling Sangi- en Talaud-eilanden, Residentie Menado)." *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezittingen, bewerkt door Het Encyclopaedisch Bureau* 2 (1912): 1-82.

"De zelfbesturende landschappen van de residentie Menado, gelegen op den vasten wal van Celebes." *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurszaken der Buitenbezittingen, bewerkt door Het Encyclopaedisch Bureau 2* (1912): 84-206.

Delden, A. J. van. "De Sangir-eilanden in 1825." *Indisch Magazijn* 1, no. 7-9 (1844): 1-32.

Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur (Nederlandsch-Indië). *Overeenkomsten met de zelfbesturen in de residentie Menado* (S.l. : s.n., 1913).

Dinter, B. C. A. J. van. "Eenige geographische en ethnographische aantekeningen betreffende het eiland Siaoë." *TBG* 41 (1899): 322-389.

Dobbin, Christine. "Tuanku Imam Bondjol, (1772-1864)." *Indonesia* 13 (1972): 4-35.

———. "Economic Change in Minangkabau as a Factor in the Rise of the Padri Movement, 1784-1830." *Indonesia* 23 (1977): 1-38.

———. *Islamic revivalism in a changing peasant economy : Central Sumatra, 1784-1847* Monograph series / Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies,. London: Curzon Press, 1983.

———. *Kebangkitan Islam dalam ekonomi petani yang sedang berubah : Sumatra Tengah, 1784-1847* Seri INIS. Jakarta: INIS, 1992.

Drooglever, P.J. "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*, edited by Harry A. Poeze and Pim Schoorl, 115-142. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1991.

Dunnebier, W. "Over de vorsten van Bolaang-Mongondow." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 105, no. 1 (1949): 219-274.

———. *Bolaang Mongondowsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1951.

———. "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): 201-235.

Een ernstige bede voor Indië. Rotterdam: Zendingsbureau.

Elias, H. B. *Sejarah pergerakan kebangsaan Indonesia di Pulau Siau*. Manado: Markas cabang Legiun Veteran R. I. Kotamadya Manado, 1973.

Ellen, Roy. "Arab Traders and Land Settlers in the Geser-Gorom Archipelago." *Indonesia Circle* 70 (1996): 237-252.

End, Th. van den. "Tweehonderd jaar Nederlandse zending: een overzicht." In *Twee eeuwen Nederlandse zending, 1797-1997*, edited by Th. Van den End, Chr. G. F. de Jong, A. Th. Boone and P. N. Holtrop, 1-24. Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1997.

———. "General Introduction to the History of the Mission of the Netherlands Reformed Church and its Predecessors (1797-1951)." In *Mission History and Mission Archives*, edited by Huub Lems. Utrecht: Stichting de Zending der Protestantse Kerk in Nederland, 2011.

Enklaar, I. H. *Joseph Kam: "Apostel der Molukken."* 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum N.V., 1963.

Errington, Shelly. "Incestuous Twins and the House Societies in Insular Southeast Asia." *Cultural Anthropology*: 403-444.

- Evers, Hans-Dieter. "The Trader's Dilemma: A Theory of the Social Formation of Markets and Society." In *The Moral Economy of Trade: Ethnicity and Developing Markets*, edited by Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader, 7-14. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Forrest, Thomas. *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas from Balambangan, including an account of Magindano, Sooloo, and other islands*, 1799.
- Forstater, Mathew. "Taxation and Primitive Accumulation: The Case of Colonial Africa." In *The Capitalist State and its Economy; Democracy in Socialism*, edited by Paul Zarembka, 51-64. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005.
- Fox, James J. "The 'Movement of the Spirit' in the Timor Area: Christian Traditions and Ethnic Identities." In *Indonesia: The Making of a Culture*, 235-246. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1980.
- . "Precedence in Practice Among the Atoni Pah Meto of Timor." In *Structuralism's Transformations: Order and Revision in Indonesian and Malaysian Societies*, edited by Lorraine V. Aragon and Susan D. Russell, 3-36. Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 1999.
- Fraassen, Ch. F. van. "Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel van soa-organisatie en vierdeling: een studie van traditionele samenleving en cultuur in Indonesië, Deel 2." PhD diss., Leiden University, 1987.
- Freund, William M. "The Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony during the Batavian Period (1803-1806)." *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (October 1972): 631-645.
- Fry, Howard T. *Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade*. London: Frank Cass and Company, 1970.

- Gallop, Annabel Teh. *The Legacy of the Malay Letter/ Warisan Warkah Melayu*. London: British Library, 1994.
- Geertz, Clifford. "'Internal Conversion' in Contemporary Bali." Chap. 7 in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 170-189. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gibby, Mike. "The 'Pirate Priest'--A Reappraisal." *Sabah Society Journal* 22 (2005): 37-48.
- Gibson, Thomas. *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia from the 16th to the 21st Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- . "Egalitarian Islands in a Predatory Sea." In *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia*, edited by Thomas Gibson and Kenneth Sillander, 270-294. New Haven, CN: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2011.
- Graaf, Gerrit Roelof de. "De wereld wordt omgekeerd: Culturele interactie tussen de vrijgemaakt-gereformeerde zendelingen en zendingswerkers en de Papoea's van Boven Digoel (1956-1995)." PhD diss., Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2012.
- Graaff, M. G. H. A. de. *De eerste jaren van de samenwerking tussen de Nederlandse en Indonesische archiefdiensten; Verslagen 1974-1988 (2001)*. Santpoort-Zuid, 2013.
- Guide Arsip Algemeene Secretarie (1816) 1819-1850*. [Jakarta]: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2011.
- Hadi, Amirul. *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Hägerdal, Hans. "Expansion in the Shadow of the Company: Concurrent Representations of Karangasem." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 172, no. 1 (2016): 279-309.

- Hamka. *Sejarah Umat Islam*. 3rd ed. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara, 1980.
- Hayase, Shinzo. "Historico-Geographical World of Sangir: An Ethno-history of East Maritime Southeast Asia." *Kinaadman* 27 (2005): 1-23.
- 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.
- Heekeren, H. R. van. *The Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia*. Vol. 22 Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.
- Heeres, J. E. "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): 345-402.
- Heersink, Christiaan. "Islam & Islamisering in Bandjermasin van ein 18e tot begin 20ste eeuw." PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1987.
- Hefner, Robert. "The Political Economy of Islamic Conversion in Modern East Java." In *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning: Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse*, 53-78. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.
- . "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*, edited by Jajat Burhanudin and Kees van Dijk, 49-62. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

- . "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java." In *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 99-125. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- . "Multiple Modernities: Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism in a Globalizing Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 83-104.
- . "Introduction: The Politics and Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia " In *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 1-54. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
- . "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): 1031-1047.
- Henley, David. "Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies." PhD diss., Australian National University, 1992.
- . "A Superabundance of Centers: Ternate and the Contest for North Sulawesi." *Cakalele* 4, (1993): 39-60.
- . *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996.
- . *Jealousy and Justice: The Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in North Sulawesi*. Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 2002.
- . "Conflict, Justice, and the Stranger-King Indigenous Roots of Colonial Rule in Indonesia and Elsewhere." *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (2004): 85-144.

- . *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.
- . "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*, edited by Peter Boomgaard, David Henley, and Manon Osseweijer, 235-258. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005.
- . "The Fate of Federalism: North Sulawesi from Persatuan Minahasa to Permesta." *Moussons* 11 (2007): 89-105.
- Hisyam, Muhamad. *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.
- Ho, Engseng. *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006.
- Hoeven, A. van der. *Otto Gerhard Heldring*. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1942.
- Hooker, M. B. *Adat Law in Modern Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Horton, Robin. "African Conversion." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 41, no. 2 (1971): 85-108.
- Hoskins, Janet. "Entering the Bitter House: Spirit Worship and Conversion in West Sumba." In *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers, 136-160. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1987.

Houben, Vincent. "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.

Hughenoltz, W. R. "An East Indian Serial: Mailrapporten (1869-1940)." *Itinerario* 4, no. 2 (1980): 71-74.

Huizinga, F. "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*, edited by Jelle Miedema, Cecilia Ode, and Rien A. C. Dam, 385-419. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1998.

Ikhtisar Keadaan Politik Hindia-Belanda tahun 1839-1848. Vol. 5, Penerbitan sumber-sumber sejarah. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1973.

"Islam in Indonesia: Where to? Interview with Abdurrahman Wahid." *Inside Indonesia: Bulletin of the Indonesia Resources and Information Programme (Australia)*, October 1986, 2-4.

Jacobs, H. "The Insular Kingdom of Siau under Portuguese and Spanish Impact, 16th and 17th Centuries." In *Regions and Regional Developments in the Malay-Indonesian World*, edited by Bernhard Dahm, 33-43. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992.

Johns, Anthony H. "From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization in Sumatra, The Malay Peninsula and Java." *Hamdard Islamicus* 4, no. 4 (1981): 3-28.

Jones, R. "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia." In *Conversion to Islam*, 129-158. New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979.

Jong, Chr. G. F. de, 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): 52-90.

Jongeneel, Jan A. B. *Protestantse zendingsperiodiken uit de negentiende en twintigste eeuw*. Utrecht and Leiden: Interuniversitair Instituut voor Missiologie en Oecumenica, 1990.

Junker, Laura Lee. *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999.

Juwono, Harto and Yosephine Hutagalung. *Limo Lo Pohalaa: Sejarah Kerajaan Gorontalo*. Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2007.

Kappelhof, Ton. "Archives of Dutch Christian Missionary Organisations and Missionaries: Information = Power; from Hagiography to Historiography." In *Colonial Legacy in South East Asia: The Dutch Archives*, edited by Charles Jeurgens, Ton Kappelhof and Michael Karabinos, 151-170. 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2012.

Katalog Naskah Aneka Bahasa Koleksi Museum Nasional. [Jakarta]: Museum Nasional, 1983.

Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeya. "Socio-political Structures and the Southeast Asian Ecosystem: An Historical Perspective up to the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *Asian Perceptions of Nature: A Critical Approach*, edited by Ole Bruun and Arne Kalland, 25-47: Curzon Press, 1995.

Kawashima, Midori and Oman Fathurahman. "Islamic Manuscripts of Southern Philippines: A Research Note with Descriptions of Three Manuscripts." *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 29 (2011): 251-267.

Kelling, F. *Katechismus atou manga kakiwalo dingangu sasimbahe bou tatintirongu agama mesehi ko susi, nialin su bahasang Sangie*. Batavia: Albrecht & Co., 1898.

———. *Tentiro manimbu bou hal hikajet u elkitab ko susi, nisalun su bahasang Sangihe*.
Pertaraan N.Z.G. di Tanawangko: H. Bettink, 1873.

———. *Katechismus, atou manga kakiwalo dingangu sasimbahe bou tatintirongu agama mesehi ko susi, nisalun su bahasang Sangie*. Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche, 1890.

Kemmerling, G. L. L. . *De Vulkanen van den Sangi-Archipel en van de Minahassa*. Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1923.

Kemp, P. H. van der. "De geboorte van de Algemeene Secretarie te Batavia en van het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië." *Indische Gids*, no. 1 (1910): 433-447.

Kipp, Rita Smith. "Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bush Natives?" *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 3 (August 2004): 597-624.

Klinken, Gerry van. *The Making of Middle Indonesia: The Middle Classes in Kupang Town, 1930s-1908s*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.

Knaap, Gerrit. *Kruidnagelen en Christenen: De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*. 2nd ed., revised. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2004.

Kosel, Sven. "Christian Mission in an Islamic Environment: Religious Conversion in North Sulawesi in the Light of a Case-study from Bolaang Mongondow." *Paideuma* 51 (2005): 41-66.

———. "The History of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi: Rationalisation and Derationalisation of Religion." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 38, no. 110 (2010): 43-64.

Kroeskamp, H. *Early Schoolmasters in a Developing Country: A History of Experiments in School Education in 19th Century Indonesia*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974.

Kruithof, Maryse. "Shouting in a desert': Dutch missionary encounters with Javanese Islam, 1850-1910." PhD diss., Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2014.

Kruyt, Albert C. "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*, edited by B. Schrieke, 1-9. Batavia: G. Kolff, 1929.

Kruyt, Alb. C. and J. H. Kruyt-Moulijn. "Het Mohammedanisme op Midden-Celebes." In *Brieven van den Zendeling Dr. Alb. C. Kruyt en zijne echtgenoot, uitgezonden door het Ned. Zend. Genootschap, aan hunne vrienden*, 74, no. 2 van den negentienden jaargang. Leeuwarden: C. C. Hoekstein, 1926.

Kuhonta, Erik Martinez. "Southeast Asia and Comparative-Historical Analysis: Region, Theory, and Ontology on a Wide Canvas." *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 3 (2014): 485-508.

Kuipers, Joel. "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*, edited by Zheng Yangwen and Charles J-H Macdonald, 175-198. Singapore: NUS Press, 2010.

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

Lantong, Z. A. *Mengenal Bolaang Mongondow*. Kotamobagu: U. D. Asli Totabuan, 1996.

Lapian, Adrian B. "Holy Warriors from the Sea: The Raid on Manado of 1875." In *Indonesian-Dutch Historical Congress*, 87-100. Conference held at Noordwijkerhout on May 19-22, 1976.

- . *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut, Raja Laut: Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2009.
- Leirissa, R. Z. "Factors Conducive to the Raja Jailolo Movement in North Maluku (1790-1832)." In *Papers of the Fourth Indonesian-Dutch History Conference*, edited by Sartono Kartodirdjo, 96-114. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986.
- Leupe, P. A. "Het Journaal van Padtbrugge's Reis naar Noord-Celebes en de Noordereilanden." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 14, no. 2-3 (1867): 105-340.
- "Leven en werkzaamheden van J.G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 4, (1860): 253-303.
- "Leven en werkzaamheden van J.G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 5, (1861): 3-83.
- "Leven en werkzaamheden van J.G. Schwarz, den zendeling van Langowang." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 6, (1862): 357-406.
- Lieberman, Victor. *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.
- Liefde, C. J. van de. "[Amurang]." *Maandberigt van het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* 81, no. 1 (1879): 24-25.
- Lombard, Denys. *Le carrefour javanais : essai d'histoire globale*. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1990.
- . *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya (Kajian Sejarah Terpadu)*. 3 vols. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005.

Louwerier, J. "Tomohon (Minahassa)." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 20, (1876): 120-123.

Lulofs, C. *Onze politiek tegenover de buitenbezittingen*: Batavia: Van Dorp & Co, 1908.

Majul, Cesar Adib. "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia." In *Second Biennial Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia*. Taipei, October 6-9, 1962.

———. *Muslims in the Philippines*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1973.

———. "The General Nature of Islamic Law and its Application in the Philippines." In *Islam and Development: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Datu Michael Mastura, 155-175. Manila: Office of the Commissioner for Islamic Affairs, 1980.

Margana, Sri. "Java's last frontier : the struggle for hegemony of Blambangan, c. 1763-1813." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2007.

Masalah-masalah hukum perdata di kecamatan Manganitu, Kabupaten Kepulauan Sangihe dan Talaud, Daerah Hukum Pengadilan Negeri Tahuna, Wilayah Hukum Pengadilan Tinggi Manado. Jakarta: Direktorat Kehakiman, 1977.

McKenna, Thomas M. *Muslim Rebels and Rulers, Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Mednick, Melvin. "Encampment of the Lake: The Social Organization of a Moslem-Philippine (Moro) People." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1965.

Meersman, Achilles. *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago*. Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1967.

Mehden, Fred R. Von der. *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia: Burma, Indonesia, The Philippines*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963.

Meilink-Roelofs, M. A. P., R. Raben, and H. Spijkerman. *De Archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1795)*. Den Haag: Sdu, 1992.

Menopo, Johanis Manuel. "Menambahi deri kaeol 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): 481-497.

Merry, Sally Engle. "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): 460-470.

Meulen, Dik van der. *Multatuli: Leven en werk van Eduard Douwes Dekker*. Nijmegen: Sun, 2002.

Milner, Anthony. "Islam and the Muslim State." In *Islam in South-East Asia*, edited by M. B. Hooker, 23-49. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983.

———. *The Malays*. Chichester.: Wiley -Blackwell, 2008.

Molsbergen, E. C. Godée. *Geschiedenis van de Minahassa tot 1829*. Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1928.

Moore, Gene. "Who are the Alfuros?" *Conradiana* 39, no. 3 (2007): 198-210.

Nagtegaal, Luc. *Riding the Dutch Tiger: The Dutch East Indies Company and the Northeast Coast of Java, 1680-1743*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996.

Netscher, E. *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.

Niemeijer, Hendrik E. "Political Rivalry and Early Dutch Reformed Missions in Seventeenth-Century North-Sulawesi (Celebes)." In *Missions and Missionaries*, edited by Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod, 32-49. Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2000.

———. "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*, edited by G. J. Schutte, 146-175. Hilversum: Verloren, 2002.

Niemeijer, Hendrik E., 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.

———. *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.

Noorduyn, J. "De Islamisering van Makassar." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 112, no. 3 (1956): 247-266.

Noort, Gerrit. "De weg van magie tot geloof: leven en werk van Albert C. Kruyt (1869-1949), zendeling-leraar in Midden-Celebes, Indonesië." PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2006.

Notosoesanto, R. P. "Bolaäng Mongondow." *Koloniale Studien*, (1933), 401-402.

Omar, Rahilah. "The History of Boné A.D. 1775-1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin." PhD diss., University of Hull, 2003.

Oosterwijk Bruyn, W. van. *Dr. Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp: De apostel van Zuid-Afrika*. Utrecht: C. H. E. Breijer, 1896.

Ota, Atsushi. *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the outer world of Banten, 1750-1830* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.

Otten, F. J. M. *Gids voor de archieven van de ministeries en de Hoge Colleges van Staat, 1813-1940*. Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis 2004.

Owusu-Ansah, David. "Islamization Reconsidered: An Examination of Asante Responses to Muslim Influence in the 18th and 19th Centuries." In *Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association*. Washington, D.C., November 4-7, 1982.

Palit, Fentje Eliezer. *Christianity as a Socio-Cultural Identity: A Study on the Minahasan Communities*. Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1999.

Parengkuan, Fendy E. W. "Pengaruh Penyebaran Agama Islam Terhadap Kehidupan Sosial Politik di Daerah Sulawesi Utara." In *Seminar Sejarah Nasional ke-III, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional*, November 10-13, 1981.

Peacock, A. C. S. "Introduction: Comparative Perspectives on Islamisation." In *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock, 1-18. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Pelras, Christian. "Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South-Sulawesi." *Archipel (Paris)* 29, (1984): 107-135.

———. *The Bugis*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996.

Phipps, John. *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade*. London and Calcutta: Wm. H. Allen and W. Thacker, 1836.

Pietermaat, D.F.W. "Statistieke aantekeningen over de Residentie Menado." *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 3, no. 1 (1840): 109-167.

Pigeaud, H. J. de Graff en Th. G. Th. *De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java: Studien over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974.

Pijper, G. F. "De Islampolitiek der Nederlandse Regering." In *Balans van Beleid: Terugblik op de laatste halve eeuw van Nederlandsch-Indië*, edited by H. Baudet en I. J. Brugmans, 209-222. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1961.

Quarles van Ufford, H. *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.

Rappoport, Dana. *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.

Ratu Langie, G. S. S. J. "Het Minahassisch Ideaal." *Indische Vereeniging: Voordrachten en Mededeelingen* 3, no. 1 (1914): 31-45.

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

Reid, Anthony. "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (1967): 267-283.

———. "A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makassar." *Masyarakat Indonesia* 8, no. 1 (1981): 1-28.

———. "An 'Age of Commerce' in Southeast Asian History." *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1990): 1-30.

———. "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*, edited by Laurie J. Sears, 87-97. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993.

———. "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550-1650." In *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era*, edited by Anthony Reid, 151-179. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.

———. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Vol. 2 Expansion and Crisis*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

———. "Pluralism and Progress in Seventeenth-century Makassar." In *Authority and Enterprise: Transactions, Traditions and Texts among the Bugis, Makassarese and Selayarese*, edited by C. van Dijk and Roger Tol, 433-449. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000.

———. "Global and Local in Southeast Asian History." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004): 5-21.

———. "Nineteenth-century Pan-Islam Below the Winds." In *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehese and Other Histories of Sumatra*, 226-248. Singapore: NUS Publishing, 2005.

- . "Religion in Early Modern Southeast Asia: Synthesising Global and Local." In *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, edited by Judith Schlehe and Evamaria Sandkuhler, 51-74. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014.
- . "Early Modernity as Cosmopolis: Suggestions from Southeast Asia." In *Delimiting Modernities: Conceptual Challenges and Regional Responses*, edited by Sven Trakulhun and Ralph Weber, 124-141. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.
- . "Review of *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora* by Kathryn Anderson Wellen." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 47, no. 2 (2016): 312-315.
- Reid, Anthony and Jennifer Brewster. *Slavery, bondage, and dependency in Southeast Asia*. St. Lucia and New York: University of Queensland Press, 1983.
- Renwarin, Paul Richard. "Matuari and Tona'as: The Cultural Dynamics of the Tombulu in Minahasa." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2006.
- Reynolds, Craig J. "A New Look at Old Southeast Asia." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (1995): 419-446.
- Rhijn, L. J. . "Een visitator in de Minahassa." In *God in Indië: Bekeringsverhalen uit de nedentiende eeuw*, edited by P. Boomgaard, Harry Poeze, and Gerard Termorshuizen. Leiden: KITLV, 1997.
- Ricklefs, M. C. "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java." In *Conversion to Islam*, edited by Nehemia Levtzion, 100-128. New York and London: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1979.
- . *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. [London]: Palgrave, 2001.

———. "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*, edited by Hui Yew-Foong, 17-46. Singapore: ISEAS, 2013.

Riddell, Peter. "The Implanting of Islam in Southeast Asia." In *More Islamic than We admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, edited by Isaac Donoso, 65-94. Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2014.

Riedel, J. G. F. *Inilah pintu gerbang pengatahuwan itu apatah dibukakan guna orang-orang padudokh tanah Minahasa ini*. 10 vols. Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij, 1862-1874.

———. "Het landschap Bolaang Mongondow." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 13, (1864): 266-284.

———. "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): 46-153.

———. "Het landschap Boeool; Korte aantekeningen." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 18, (1872): 189-208.

———. "De Minahasa in 1825: Bijdrage tot de kennis van Noord-Selebes." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 18, (1872): 458-568.

Riedel, Johan Friedrik. *Een levensbeeld uit de Minahasa op Celebes*. Rotterdam: M. Wyt & Zonen, 1874.

Roep, B. "Hygiene op de Talaud-eilanden." *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 53 (1917): 414-433.

- Rompas, A. E. and A. Sigarlaki. *Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kota Manado*. Manado: Universitas Sam Ratulangi, 1982/1983.
- Ruiter, Tine. "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*, edited by Geoffrey Benjamin and Cynthia Chou, 401-421. Leiden: IIAS; Singapore: ISEAS, 2002.
- Rutherford, Danilyn. "After Syncretism: The Anthropology of Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia: A Review Article." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 1 (2002): 196-205.
- Sánchez Pons, Jean-Nöel. "Misión y dimisión: Las Molucas en el siglo XVII entre Jesuitas Portugueses y Españoles." In *Jesuitas e Imperios de Ultramar Siglos XVI-XX*, edited by Alexander Coello, Javier Burrieza and Doris Moreno, 81-102. Madrid: Silex, 2012.
- Saud, Lily E. N. "Kearifan lokal dalam legenda Pulaugogabola (kajian tentang pembentukan budi pekerti)." *Esagenang: Jurnal Hasil Penelitian Jarahnitra* 11, no. 19 (2012): 13-26.
- Scherius, R. "Eenige bijdragen tot de kennis en den toestand der afdeeling Gorontalo (eiland Celebes)." *Verhandelingen en Berigten betreffende het Zeewezen en de Zeevaartkunde* 7 (1847): 399-421.
- Schoorl, J. W. "Islam, Macht en Ontwikkeling in het Sultanaat Buton." In *Islam en Macht: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, edited by L. B. Venema, 52-65. Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1987.
- Schouten, M. J. C. "De Veranderende Positie van het Walakhoofd in de Minahasa gedurende de 19e eeuw." Master's thesis, Vrije Universiteit, 1978.

- . "Myth and Reality in Minahasan History: The Waworuntu-Gallois Confrontation." *Archipel* 34 (1987): 119-141.
- . *Leadership and Social Mobility in a Southeast Asian Society; Minahasa, 1677-1983*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998.
- . "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 Sarmiento, Sara Brusaca, and Sílvia Sousa, 211-219. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.
- . "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): 205-225.
- Schrader, Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader. "Introduction." In *The Moral Economy of Trade: Ethnicity and Developing Markets*, edited by Hans-Dieter Evers Schrader and Heiko Schrader, 3-6. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Schrauwers, Albert. "In Whose Image? Religious Rationalization and the Ethnic Identity of the To Pamona of Central Sulawesi." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995.
- . "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): 298-328.
- Schrieke, B. *Indonesian Sociological Studies: Selected Writings of B. Schrieke*. Vol. 3, Part 2., *Selected Studies on Indonesia by Dutch Scholars*. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd. , 1957.
- Schrikker, Alicia. *Dutch and British Colonial Intervention in Sri Lanka, 1780-1815: Expansion and Reform*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

Schulze, Fritz. *Abstammung und Islamisierung als Motive der Herrschaftslegitimation in der traditionellen malaiischen Geschichtsschreibung*. Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien. Edited by Brend Nothofer, Mathias Diederich, and Fritz Schulze. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004.

Schumann, Olaf. "Christianity and Colonialism in the Malay World." In *Christianity in Indonesia: Perspectives of Power*, edited by Susanne Schröter, 31-81. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010.

Scott, James C. "Freedom and Freehold: Space, People and State Simplification in Southeast Asia." In *Asian Freedoms: The Idea of Freedom in East and Southeast Asia*, edited by David Kelly and Anthony Reid, 37-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994.

Sim, Teddy. *Piracy and Surreptitious Activities in the Malay Archipelago and Adjacent Seas, 1600-1840*. Singapore: Springer, 2014.

Slama, Martin. "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): 331-342.

———. "Translocal Networks and Globalisation within Indonesia: Exploring the Hadhrami Diaspora from the Archipelago's North-East." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39, (2011): 238-257.

Smeljik, J. C. "Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië." In *A. J. Duymaer van Twist: Gouverneur-generaal van Nederlands-Indië (1851-1856)*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007.

- Smith Kipp, Rita and Susan Rodgers. "Introduction." In *Indonesian Religions in Transition*. Tucson AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1987.
- Sprenger, Guido. "Dimensions of Animism in Southeast Asia." In *Animism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Kej Arhem and Guido Sprenger, 31-54. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Stakman, M. C. E. *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.
- Steenbrink, Karel. "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): 67-78.
- . "Conversion or Religious Revival? Modernist Islam and Christianity in Central Java." *Verbum SVD* 36, no. 4 (1995): 369-388.
- Steller, E. *De Sangi-archipel*. Amsterdam: De Hoogh, 1866.
- Steller, K. G. F. and W. E. Aebersold. *Sangirees-Nederlands Woordenboek met Nederlands-Sangirees Register*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959.
- Stoel, Ruben. *Focus in Manado Malay: Grammar, Particles, and Intonation*. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005.
- Supit, Bert. *Sejarah Perang Tondano (perang Minahasa di Tondano)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Lembaga Penelitian Sejarah dan Masyarakat, [1991].

Sutherland, Heather. "Power, Trade and Islam in the Eastern Archipelagos." In *Religion and Development: Towards an Integrated Approach*, edited by Philip Quarles van Ufford and Matthew Schoffeleers, 145-166. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988.

———. "Pursuing the Invisible, Makassar, City and Systems." In *Environment, Trade and Society in Southeast Asia: A Longue Duree Perspective*, edited by David Henley and Henk Schulte Nordholt, 133-148. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015.

Tacco, Richard. *Het Volk van Gorontalo (Historisch, traditioneel, maatschappelijk, cultureel, sociaal, karakteristiek en economisch) [uitgegeven vanwege de Vereeniging "Gorontalo-Instituut"]* Gorontalo: Yo Un Ann & Co., 1935.

Talens, Johan. *Een feodale samenleving in koloniaal vaarwater: Staatsvorming, koloniale expansie en economische onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java (1600-1750)*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1999.

———. "Het sultanaat Banten en de VOC, circa 1680-1720: Nieuwe tijden, nieuwe verhoudingen." In *Hof en handel: Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620-1720*, edited by Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Peter Rietbergen, 113-137. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004.

Tauchmann, Kurt. "Die Religion der Minahasa-Stämme (Nordost-Celebes/Sulawesi)." PhD diss., Universitat zu Köln, 1968.

Taulu, H. M. *Sedjarah Minahasa*. [Manado]: Badan Penerbit dan Penjiar Buku "Membangun," 1951.

Tawagon, Manuel R. "Maranao Oral Literature: In Search of Historical Sources." Paper presented at the *International Conference on Philippine Muslim Historiography After Majul*, 1-32. Manila, Philippines, 2013.

- Teitler, G., 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.
- Tempelaars, A. M. and H.B.N.B. Adam. "Een ingang op Indische Mailrapporten." *Nederlands Archievenblad* 82, no. 2 (1978).
- Tempelaars A. M. and R. Kramer. *Handleiding voor historisch onderzoek in het archief van de Algemene Secretarie en voorgangers, 1816-1942*. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1990.
- Thamrin, Umar. *How Economy Matters to Indigenous Identity of Bissu, Transgender Priests of South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Vol. 241 Working Paper Series Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2015.
- Tibbetts, G. R. "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no. 177 (1957): 1-45.
- Tichelman, G. L. *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*. N.p.: [publisher not stated], 1939.
- Turner, Mary. "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*, 26-42. Barbados: The Press University of the West Indies; Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999.
- Ufford, J. K. W. Quarles van. "Koloniale Kroniek." *De Economist* 42, no. 1 (1893): 312-339.
- "Uit een brief van J. Ottow, zendeling op de Talau-eilanden." *Geïllustreerd Zendingsblad voor het Huisgezin*, (1891): 10-14.

Usup, H. T. *Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Kaidipang Besar (Kaidipang dan Bolaang-Itang)*. 2nd ed. Manado: [publisher not stated], 1979.

Veenhuijzen, A. C. "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): 35-74.

Veer, Peter van der. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

———. "Religion in South Asia." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, (2002): 173-187.

Velde van Cappellen, S. D. van de. "Verslag eener bezoekreis naar de Sangi-eilanden." *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* 1, (1857): 7-26.

Velthoen, Esther and Gregory L. Acciaioli. "Fluctuating States, Mobile Populations: Shifting Relations of Bajo to Local Rulers and Bugis Traders in Colonial Eastern Sulawesi." In *International Seminar on Bajau Communities*. Jakarta: LIPI, 1993.

Verhoeff, M., G. van der Harst, L. van Stekelenburg, A. van Geyt, and B. Semeijn. "Inventaris van de Archieven van de Rechtsvoorgangers van de Raad voor de Zending, 1797-1950." Het Utrechts Archief, 2009.

"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): 5-39.

Vienne, Marie-Sybille de. *Brunei: From the Age of Commerce to the 21st Century*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2015.

- Warren, James Francis. *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.
- Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: The Free Press, 1947.
- Weerd, W. B. de. *Blijvende opdracht : een blik op het zendingswerk op de Talaud-eilanden*. Hilversum: Classicale Zendingscommissie, [1948].
- Wellen, Kathryn Anderson. *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014.
- Wessels, C. *De Katholieke Missie in de Molukken, Noord-Celebes en de Sangihe-Eilanden gedurende de Spaansche Bestuursperiode, 1606-1677*. Tilburg: Henri Bergmans and Cie., 1935.
- Widjojo, Muridan Satrio. "Cross-Cultural Alliance-Making and Local Resistance in Maluku during the Revolt of Prince Nuku, c. 1780-1810." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2007.
- . *The Revolt of Prince Nuku: Cross-cultural Alliance-making in Maluku, c. 1780-1810*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Winstedt, R.O. "The Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago." *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 77, (1917): 171-175.
- Wolters, O. W. *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2004.
- Wolters, Willem G. "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, edited by Jane Kate Leonard and Ulrich Theobald, 108-139. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.

———. "How Were Labourers Paid in the Philippine Islands During the Nineteenth Century?" In *Wages and Currency: Global Comparisons from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Jan Lucassen, 139-167. Bern: Peter Lang, 2007.

Woods, Damon L. "Out of the Silence, the Men of Naujan Speak: Tagalog Texts from the Seventeenth Century." *Philippine Studies* 63, no. 3 (2015): 303-340.

Wouden, F. A. E. van. "Mythen en maatschappij in Boeol." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 81, (1941): 333-410.

Yasil, Suradi. *Ensiklopedi Sejarah, Tokoh dan Kebudayaan Mandar*. Makassar: Lembaga Advokasi dan Pendidikan Anak Rakyat/ Forum Studi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Mandar, 2004.

Zanden, Jan Luiten van. "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*, edited by Jan Lucassen, 169-192. Bern: Peter Lang, 2007.

Zanen, A. J. van. *Voorwaarden voor Maatschappelijke ontwikkeling in het centrale Batakland*. Leiden: Luctor et Emergo, 1934.

"Zending op de Sangi- en Talau-eilanden." *Geïllustreerd Zendingsblad voor het Huisgezin*, (1889), 56-62.