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Spice War: Ternate, Makassar, the Dutch East India Company and the struggle for the Ambon Islands (c. 1600-1656)

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SPICE WAR

Ternate, Makassar, the Dutch East India
Company and the struggle for the Ambon Islands
(c. 1600-1656)

Proefschrift

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TRISTAN MOSTERT

geboren te 's-Gravenhage

SPICE WAR

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Cover image: attack on Asaudi, 1655. Detail from image of the conquest of Erang in the Brussels manuscript copy of Bor, Amboinse oorlogen. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel, Ms. 17982.

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Dissertation writing has a wholly undeserved reputation of being a lonely enterprise. Rather, it has been my experience that, much like it takes a village to raise a child, it takes a community to finish a dissertation, and I am indebted to so many generous and inspiring people that I can't possibly thank all of them adequately here.

My supervisors, Ben Schoenmaker and Jos Gommans, and my co-supervisor, Kathy Wellen, helped the project with interest, trust, patience, generosity, criticism when needed, and a much-needed final nudge towards the finish line.

Simon Ferdinand edited the bulk of the final text, making it much better. Armand Haye made the wonderful reference maps. Chia, of Hasanuddin University, translated Makasar military manuals into Indonesian for me. Louie Buana translated the summary into Indonesian.

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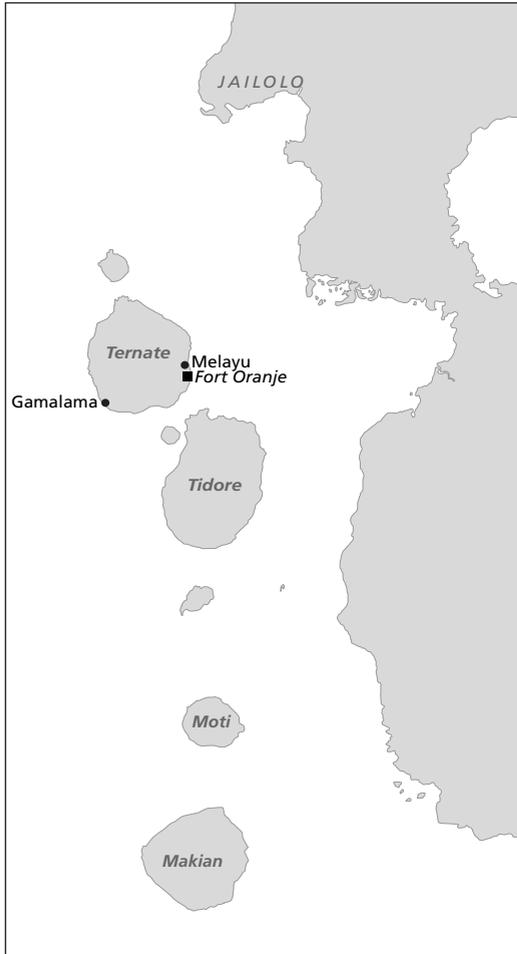
The maps in this dissertation aim to provide insight specifically into the regions, islands, settlements, geographical features etc. discussed in the text. They do not provide a complete geographical or political overview of these regions. For more complete overviews, refer to the source works mentioned below.

All maps were made by Armand Haye, Amsterdam. For the settlements and political layout of the Ambon region, I primarily relied on the maps in Georg Rumphius (Chris van Fraassen e.a. eds.) *De Ambonse eilanden onder de VOC: zoals opgetekend in De Ambonse landbeschrijving*. Utrecht: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2002, as well as Gerrit Knaap. *Kruidnagelen en christenen: de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1987. For North Maluku I mainly made use of the maps in Chris van Fraassen 'Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische archipel: van soa-organisatie en vierdeling: een studie van traditionele samenleving en cultuur in Indonesië.' PhD. Diss, Leiden University, 1987. For South Sulawesi and Buton I mainly relied on Leonard Andaya. *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: a History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981; David Bulbeck. 'The Landscape Of The Makassar War.' *Canberra Anthropology*, 13:1 (1990): 78-99; and Jennifer Gaynor. *Intertidal History in Island Southeast Asia: Submerged Genealogies and the Legacy of Coastal Capture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. In some cases I relied on seventeenth-century maps to locate a specific settlement or polity, mostly by making use of the Atlas of Mutual Heritage (atlasofmutualheritage.nl). The geological and climatological maps in chapter I were primarily based on Kathryn Monk e.a. *The Ecology of Nusa Tenggara and Maluku*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; as well as as well as Robert Parthesius. *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: the Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia 1595-1660*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.

SPICE WAR



Map 1 The eastern archipelago



Map 2 Ternate, Tidore and surroundings

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Map 3 Seram, Buru and environs. Refer to detailed map 4 for the Ambon and the Lease Islands, and detailed map 5 for the Hoamoal peninsula and the surrounding islands.



Map 4 Ambon and the Lease islands. The dotted lines are a rough indication of the early 17th century division between Christian (usually *ulisiwa*) regions under Company rule to their south, and Muslim (usually *ulilima*) regions to their north. On Ambon, the area north of the line is the Hituese state; the western corner of the Hitu peninsula separated by the smaller line is the Muslim area that was not part of the Hituese state but stood under Company rule.

MAPS



Map 5 The Hoamoal peninsula and the adjacent islands of Boano, Kelang and Manipa.

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NOTE ON IMAGES

The conflicts described in this dissertation are richly documented in image - too richly, in fact, to include all the relevant maps and drawings - the Gijssels archives in Karlsruhe and the manuscript copies of Livinus Bor, Amboinse oorlogen, in particular, contain a wealth of additional material. Nor does a dissertation allow for including them at a sufficient size. Virtually all images, however, can be found online through the Atlas of Mutual Heritage, atlasofmutualheritage.nl, which contains, among other things, the complete Gijssels and Bor images, at high resolution.

