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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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**Citation**

Mostert, T. (2023, March 28). *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

ter verkrijging van

de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,  
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties  
te verdedigen op dinsdag 28 maart 2023

klokke 15.00 uur

door

**TRISTAN MOSTERT**

geboren te 's-Gravenhage

## SPICE WAR

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This Ph.D. project was funded by a ‘Promoties in de Geesteswetenschappen’ scholarship of the NWO (The Netherlands organisation for scientific research), project number PGW-14-40.

Lay-out: F.J. Mostert  
Cover design: F.J. and T. Mostert  
Printed by: [printenenbinden.nl](http://printenenbinden.nl)

Published March 2023,  
print run 50 copies  
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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.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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.

Leiden University was an eminently inspiring place to do this research. Many staff members of our institute, including Alicia Schrikker, Carolien Stolte and Michiel van Groesen, helped the project forward with practical advice and historical insights. Leonard Blussé, my former MA advisor, now retired (at least officially), spurred the project on in various ways. The academic community in Leiden is an exceedingly stimulating environment, with so many Ph.D. students and other researchers working on exciting topics relating to my own. I have fond memories of the 'stropwafel sessions' we organised, and am glad a finished dissertation is no obstacle to continued participation. Bente de Leede, Neilabh Sinha, Sanne Ravensbergen, Leonor Álvarez Francés, Barend Noordam, Louie Buana, Lennart Bes, Norbert Peeters, Trude Dijkstra, Maarten Manse, Philip Post, Alexander van der Meer, Anne van der Veer, Byapti Sur, Ariel Lopez, Guamnian Xu, Sander Tetteroo, Alberto Feenstra and others did more for this project than I can enumerate here, and were great companions.

From the wider academic community, Hans Straver, Lance Nolde, Menno Leenstra and Gerrit Knaap shared insights or sources from their own research. Genie Yoo, Karel Weener and Timothy Romans were great sparring partners. Campbell Macknight was extremely supportive, for one by commenting on the bulk of the chapters. Tonio Andrade, who I have grown to consider a mentor and a friend over the past decade, has been more generous and supportive of the project than I can describe here, for which I am deeply grateful. I am also greatly indebted to Adam Clulow. Our research interests in the Ambon region steadily converged over the past years. Among our many exchanges and joint projects, a

shared visit to London, during which we combined our research with discussing and sharing insights and findings, stands out as particularly fun and productive. The great influence these exchanges had will speak from what follows.

My visits to Indonesia vastly enriched my understanding of the topic in all its aspects. For South Sulawesi, my thanks go out to Horst Liebner, for his hospitality and all his advice; Campbell Macknight, who took me on a hunt for 17th century relics and monuments; as well as David Bulbeck and Ian Caldwell. On Java, the hospitality and helpfulness of Simon Kemper and Hannah Iskandar included letting me stay in their house and making several trips - our visit to Gresik and Giri, in particular, has made an indelible impression on me. Before I first went to Ambon, ornithologist Kees Heij brought me into contact with Father Kees Böhm (MSC.), Liz and Avin, who all truly went to great lengths to help me. To my great regret, Father Böhm passed away in 2021 - I hope the Rumphius Library in Ambon, to which he was so dedicated, will accept the copy I will be sending them. Muhammad Al Mujabuddawat shared archaeological insights into the indigenous forts, and the people of Morela took me up to Kapahaha and shared their stories about its history and legacy. On Ternate, my thanks go out to Riswan and Irwan.

The collaboration within the Pala project of the Westfries Museum brought home to me how these seventeenth-century events in a far-off island world were a living part of history for members of the Dutch Moluccan community. My thanks go out to Rochelle van Maanen, Wim Manuhutu, Ron Habiboe, Fridus Steijlen, Michiel Baas, Cees Bakker, Joella van Donkersgoed and all the others.

My family has been an unending source of support. The comments of my father Frits, who ceased being a 'lay reader' long ago, were extremely valuable, and he formatted the dissertation. I am thankful for the faith and patience my mother Ruth and my siblings Sophie and James had. Finally I am deeply grateful to my wife Machteld and our children, Sanne and Arthur. The sprawling project impacted them and our family life most directly, but they gracefully put up with it, particularly towards the project's completion, while keeping my feet on the ground and bringing joy to my life.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>MAPS</b>	<b>IX</b>
Note on maps	ix
<b>LIST OF OTHER MAPS</b>	<b>XIV</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>XV</b>
Note on images	xvii
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>I</b>
Ternate, Makassar, and the struggle for the eastern archipelago 5; ‘Even-handed freedom for all’ or ‘considerations of state’? 7; ‘Doubts and a thousand fears’: VOC policy in the Spice Wars 11; Landscape, environment, and the conduct of war 12	
<b>I. FIRST OF ALL, THE VOLCANOES</b>	<b>17</b>
Deep water, shaky ground 18; The geology of the eastern archipelago 23; Coral, cloves, rice: the environment of the eastern archipelago 26; Settlement patterns in Maluku 33; A different path: environment and settlement patterns in South Sulawesi 34; Landscape, environment, and the art of not being governed 36; Monsoon islands: navigation, trade and the climate of the eastern archipelago 37; Concluding remarks 39	
<b>II. THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY</b>	<b>41</b>
Banda and the others 41; Ternate and the Maluku sultanates 43; An island divided: Ambon 48; Cloves and kimalaha: Hoamoal and the surrounding islands 51; Local political structures, alliances and rivalries: <i>ulisiwa</i> and <i>ulilima</i> 54; Beyond the European eye: Seram and further east 58; Connections to the west: Northeast Java and Melaka 61; The rise of Makassar 64; Concluding remarks 66	

- III. TERNATE, MAKASSAR AND THE EUROPEANS (1599-1616) 69**  
 Enter the Dutch 69; Spanish-Dutch rivalry in Maluku 72;  
 The VOC alliance with Ternate 73; The developing role of  
 Makassar in the European spice trade 76; European rivalry at  
 the Makassar roadstead 79; Diplomacy by proxy, escalating  
 conflict 80; Concluding remarks 83
- IV. ESCALATION IN AMBON (1616-1625) 85**  
 Internal discord: the Coen-Reael controversy 88; Tightening the  
 noose 92; ‘God does not bless such usury’ 94; Reverberations  
 from Banda 96; The rise of the Makasar spice hunters 101;  
 The Nassau Fleet and the beginning of the Ambon Wars 104;  
 Concluding remarks 114
- V. THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KING (1626-1631) 117**  
 Two princes: competition for the Ternaten throne 117; Gowa-  
 Tallo’s growing influence 124; Feigned friends? 127; Kaicili  
 Ali’s long stay in the Ambon Islands 134; A standoff 139; A  
 new strategy 145; Concluding remarks 152
- VI. BETWEEN WAR AND DIPLOMACY AROUND SULAWESI (1617-1632) 155**  
 Gowan overtures and continued Dutch aggression 156; Low-  
 level envoys and Venetian go-betweens 158; 1625: the Nassau  
 Fleet at Buton and Makassar 161; Hagglng over cannon and  
 castaways: Antonio Caen in Makassar and Buton, 1632 165;  
 Concluding remarks 171
- VII. THE WAR ON TREES (1631-1634) 173**  
 Mopping up 174; Uli, Alfurs, and uphill battles: the siege of  
 Tobo 176; ‘Revenge against the fruit trees’ 184; Assessing  
 Gijssels’ evolving strategy: indigenous forts and environmental  
 warfare 191; A war enthusiast in Batavia 194; To the far side  
 of Seram 201; Gerard Advance and other critics 212; A change  
 of power in Hitu 216; A change of power in Ambon 218;  
 Concluding remarks 225

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>VIII. REVOLT (1634-1637)</b>	<b>229</b>
Old enemies, old friends: Makassar and Buton 229; ‘That Hituese rascal’ arrested 233; ‘Therefore, it is better if we fight them’: fallout in Hitu 237; ‘All gone up in smoke’: crisis management in Batavia 239; The plot on Ambon thickens 242; The failed siege of Lusiela 245; One hongi too many 249; New enemies and elusive allies around Sulawesi 253; An empty church 258; Van Diemen’s intervention 263; Things left unresolved in Hoamoal 268; Buton: peace negotiations and a failed siege 270; Concluding remarks 273	
<b>IX. THE ART OF THE DEAL (1638)</b>	<b>275</b>
Quarrelling allies: Sultan Hamzah and the VOC 277; Waiting for the king 279; The meeting of two rulers 282; The deal: on paper... 286; ... and in reality 293; The outcome 294; Concluding remarks 295	
<b>X. A FAILED GAMBIT (1638-1643)</b>	<b>297</b>
Embassies to Makassar 297; The world clove market and shifting allegiances in Hoamoal 301; ‘These lands will be utterly lost’ 304; Makassar’s intervention 307; Fall-out 312; Concluding remarks 314	
<b>XI. CURED BY IRON (1643-1647)</b>	<b>317</b>
The attack on Wawani 318; Executions, defections and assassinations 324; The dissolution of the old political order 328; Remember Kapahaha! 333; An unusual peace 339	
<b>XII. THE MONOPOLY AND ITS DISCONTENTS (1647-1651)</b>	<b>343</b>
The challenges of an established monopoly 344; Resistance to political control: Ternate and its dependencies 348; A coup in Ternate 353; A surprise attack in the Ambon islands 357; Concluding remarks 359	



<b>XIII. THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT HOAMOAL WAR (1651-1652)</b>	<b>361</b>
Interrogations and anxieties 361; ‘So that no humans can feed themselves there’: environcide on Manipa and beyond 365; ‘Affairs of state’: diplomacy in Makassar 369; The siege of Loki and the scouring of Hoamoal 375	
<b>XIV. A BROADER CONFLICT (1652-1655)</b>	<b>381</b>
‘I Daeng ri Bulekang went east to Ambon’: Makasar intervention 381; Stand-off at Asaudi 384; Stuck in a hard place 388; The struggle for sago 391; Laala: a ‘proper siege’... 397; ...and improper conduct 401; The wider war 403; Fall-out within the Ternaten ranks 410; ‘Now come to an end’: clove eradication in North Maluku 413; The fall of Asaudi and the pursuit of the survivors 416; Inglorious end in Alfur territory 421; Concluding remarks 424	
<b>EPILOGUE</b>	<b>427</b>
‘An eternal wasteland’: the depopulation of Hoamoal 429; A precarious monopoly 432	
<b>XV. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>437</b>
The Spice Wars and wider power dynamics in the eastern archipelago 437; The Spice Wars and early modern colonial warfare 441	
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>449</b>
References to archival sources: 449; Primary sources and source publications: 450; Secondary works: 453	
<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>467</b>
<b>SAMENVATTING</b>	<b>471</b>
<b>IKHTISAR (INDONESIAN SUMMARY)</b>	<b>475</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE</b>	<b>479</b>

## MAPS

### NOTE ON MAPS

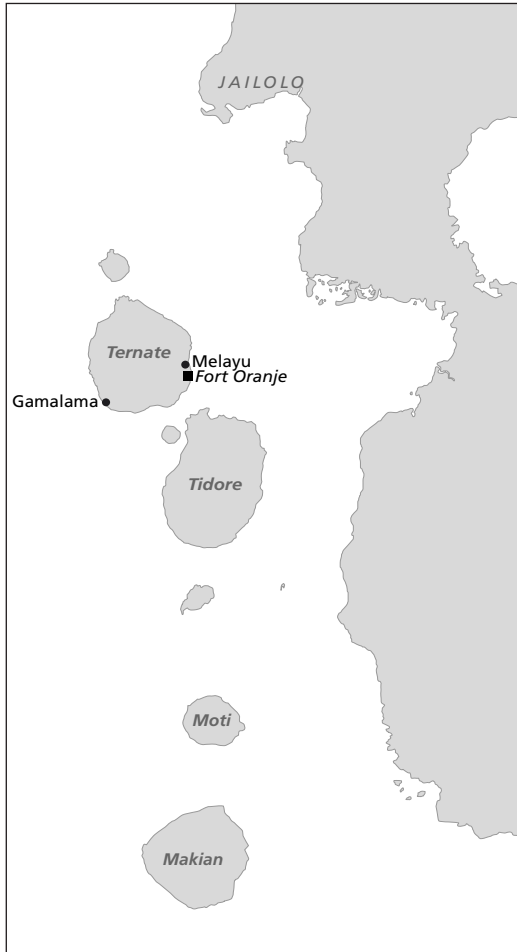
The maps in this dissertation aim to provide insight specifically into the regions, islands, settlements, geographical features etc. discussed in the text. They do not provide a complete geographical or political overview of these regions. For more complete overviews, refer to the source works mentioned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

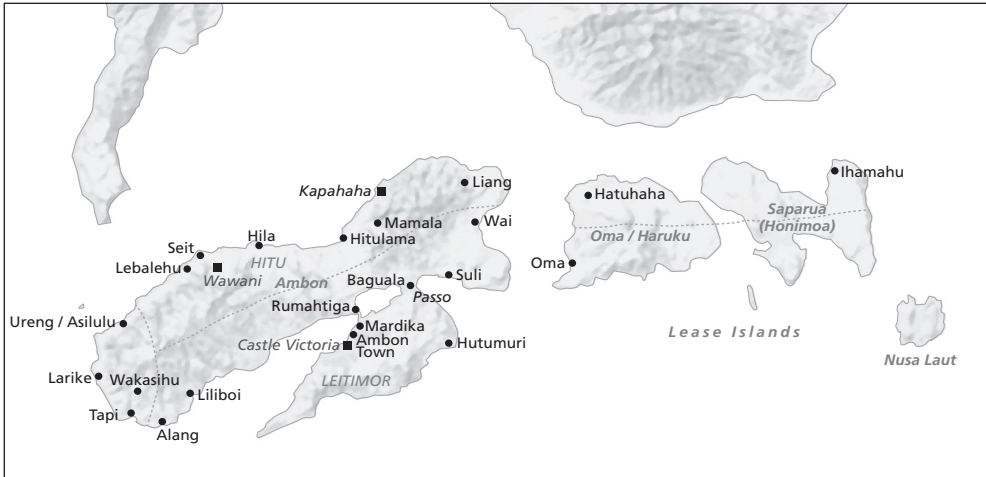


Map 2 Ternate, Tidore and surroundings

## SPICE WAR



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.

## LIST OF OTHER MAPS

In addition to this map section, three maps have been placed in the main text:

1.1 Plates, fault lines and volcanoes of the eastern archipelago	24
1.2 Prevailing winds over the eastern archipelago	38
2.1 Map of archipelagic Southeast Asia, showing Maluku's contacts	62

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Cloves on a branch of the clove tree. Botanical illustration from manuscript copy of Rumphius, <i>Kruid-boek</i> , c. 1692-1701. Collection Leiden University.	30
2.1	The Ternaten capital of Gamalama. Print from Van Neck, <i>Het tvveede boeck, iournael oft dagh-register etc.</i> , 1601. Collection Universiteit van Amsterdam.	46
3.1	Map of the islands of Ternate and Tidore. Coloured engraving from the Atlas Blaeu – van der Hem, orig. c. 1635. Collection Austrian National Library.	74
4.1	Map of the Ambon region. Anonymous engraving from Valentijn, <i>Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën</i> , 1724-1729. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.	86-87
4.2	View of Ambon. Anonymous painting, c. 1617. Collection Rijksmuseum	89
4.3	Map of the Hoamoal peninsula. Detail of image 4.2.	105
4.4	Kora-kora. Watercolour by Johannes Vingboons, from the Atlas Blaeu – Van der Hem, c. 1665-1668. Collection Austrian National Library.	107
5.1	Baileu in Noloth, Saparua. Photograph by author, 2019.	129
5.2	Bird's eye view of Kambelo, titled <i>Korte ontwerpingh ende afbeelding der negerij Cambelle</i> . Anonymous drawing, 1630. Collection Nationaal Archief, The Hague.	143
5.3	Portrait of Philip Lucasz. Painting by Rembrandt van Rijn, 1635. Collection National Gallery, London.	149
7.1	Siege of Tobo, 1632. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1632-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	180
7.2	Siege of Ihamahu, 1632. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1632-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	187
7.3	Destruction of Erang, 1633. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1633-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	199
7.4	Map of Seram Laut, 1633. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1633-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	203
7.5	View of Seram Laut, 1633. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1633-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	205



7.6	Siege of Henatelo, 1633. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1633-1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	222
8.1	Siege of Lesiela, 1635. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	247
8.2	Burning villages around the Bend of Kaibobo, 1635. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	248
8.3	Bird's eye view of Baubau, Buton. Pen drawing by Pierre du Bois, c. 1651. Collection Nationaal Archief, The Hague.	273
9.1	View of Somba Opu. Watercolour by Johannes Vingboons, c. 1665. Collection Nationaal Archief, The Hague.	276
10.1	The city of Makassar. Watercolour by Johannes Vingboons, c. 1665. Collection Nationaal Archief, The Hague.	299
11.1	Kapahaha and Mamalo. Anonymous drawing from Gijssels archive, c. 1635. Collection Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe.	333
13.1	Fort Hardenberg, Kambelo. Anonymous pen drawing, originally from the journals of De Vlaming, c. 1651. Collection Nationaal Archief, The Hague.	363
13.2	Conquest of Loki, 1652. Pen drawing, signed SvH(?). From manuscript copy of Livinus Bor, Amboinse Oorlogen, c. 1661-1663. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel.	378
14.1	Siege of Laala, 1654. Pen drawing, signed SvH(?). From manuscript copy of Livinus Bor, Amboinse Oorlogen, c. 1661-1663. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel.	399
14.2	Attack on Tiworo, 1655. Pen drawing, signed SvH(?). From manuscript copy of Livinus Bor, Amboinse Oorlogen, c. 1661-1663. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel.	409
14.3	Attack on Asaudi, 1655. Pen drawing, signed SvH(?). From manuscript copy of Livinus Bor, Amboinse Oorlogen, c. 1661-1663. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel.	419
15.1	Ruins of Fort Wantrouw. Photograph by Syahrudin Mansyur, 2007.	431
15.2	Portrait of Arnold de Vlaming. Drawing signed MP(?), 1661. From manuscript copy of Livinus Bor, Amboinse Oorlogen, c. 1661-1663. Collection Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussel.	434

## LIST OF FIGURES

### 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](http://atlasofmutualheritage.nl), which contains, among other things, the complete Gijssels and Bor images, at high resolution.

