

# IN SEARCH OF SPICES :

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON

### INDONESIAN SHORES

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In the sixteenth century the Portuguese dominated the scene between Europe, the coasts of Africa, Brazil, India, the Southeast Asian shores, China and Japan. It was a time in which many countries and many cultures had their first contact with Europeans, with new philosophies, different modes of life and different customs. The eminent sixteenth century Portuguese chronicler, Joao de Barros, wrote:

"The Portuguese arms and pillars placed in Africa and Asia, and in countless isles beyond the bounds of three continents, are material things, and time may destroy them. But time will not destroy the religions, customs and language which the Portuguese have implanted in these lands".

It is not the intention of this article to deal with the many motives, political, religious, economic and others which led the Portuguese on their journeys of discovery in search of the route to the Spice Islands. The material published on these subjects, through the centuries, in many languages and representing diverse viewpoints are found in abundance. But what we rather intend here is to concentrate on the human aspects of the story, focussing our attention on the political setting only when relevant and thereby endeavouring to establish whether Joao de Barros' statement is still of relevance for the present day.

For the Indonesian archipelago contact with the Portuguese started in 1511 and since that time various areas in Indonesia have seen the Portuguese at different times, continuing up to the last immediate contact in the 20th century with Timor. While the

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

historical facts from the political side of the story may differ, the human aspects follow the same pattern. The examples cited of Portuguese settlements in the Indonesian archipelago will be taken primarily from documents on the Moluccas, which harboured the Portuguese from 1511 until 1605, and became important as a result of being both the scene of the first intermarriages, and the main target of the overseas expeditions.

The eagerly sought of cloves, nutmeg, mace and the sandalwood, were known to come from an area usually called the *Spice Islands*. Their location and proper names were kept secret by Asian, Arab, Persian and Chinese traders and middlemen who sold these products to Western merchants. It was most probably only after Affonso de Albuquerque had captured Goa in 1510 and Malacca in 1511, that their proper names became known to the Portuguese. The area, which was called by Muslim traders *Jazirat-al-Muluk*, the area of the many lords, soon became known by its Portuguese orthography, *Molucos*, *Malucos*, which was the collective name for the islands of Jailolo (Halmaheira), Ternate, Tidore, Bachan, Motir and Makian. The cloves came from these islands, while the origin of the nutmeg and its mace were the Banda islands. The islands in the East, Timur, (Portuguese: *Timor*) produced sandalwood.

Malacca was captured in August 1511 and it was there that Affonso de Albuquerque saw a Javanese chart with the locations of the *Molucos*. In November of that year he sent out a flotilla under Antonio Abreu and Francisco Serrao to ascertain the route to the Spice Islands. This was to be the crown on a century of Portuguese searches. The expedition was fortunate in acquiring the services of a Malay skipper, Nachoda Ismail, who acted as their pilot. Upon departure from Malacca, Albuquerque gave strict instructions to his men to refrain from filibustering, to endeavour to achieve good relations with the peoples of the islands and to observe their customs. The expedition took the established route, coasting along the Northern shores of Java, Bali, and the island chain in the Lesser Sundas, where they undoubtedly stopped. From there they crossed over to Banda which they reached in the beginning of December 1511. Abreu returned to Malacca with a shipload of spices. While Serrao continued and after some misadventures reached the coast of Hitu peninsula on Ambon island. In January 1512 he was taken to the then most powerful village of Hitu and was cordially received by the Council of Four (the *Ampat Perdana*), in return bestowing

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

the title of *Kapitan* and the honorific *Dom* on the spokesman of the council, who is described in later local accounts as *Dom Jamila*. A treaty of friendship was closed (the *padrao*) and the Portuguese were allowed to establish a *loja* (warehouse cum temporary trading-post).

The news that Malacca had been seized by the Portuguese spread quickly throughout the Malay archipelago reaching the rulers of Ternate and Tidore who although related by blood, were engaged in continuous rivalry for political and economic domination of the area. Each hastened to send envoys to invite Serrao and his party to proceed to the Moluccas, undoubtedly hoping that the presence of a powerful ally would enhance his position, particularly since Serrao had successfully helped Hitu ward off an attack by the people of West Ceram.

The envoy of Ternate, the ruler's younger brother, Kaichil Koliba (later known under his Muslim name, *Daroes?*) arrived first. Serrao accepted the invitation and left for Ternate, leaving behind a small party in charge of the *loja*. He was well received by Kolano Magira, Ternate's ruler (henceforth known as Bayan Sirullah) and was allowed to set up a temporary trading-post (*feitoria*). Serrao, and his people settled and eventually he became the Kolano's adviser on military matters. Tidore had to wait another nine years, for the arrival of the Spanish, before its position was similarly strengthened.

On the ship that had carried Serrao to the Moluccas was a Javanese woman who must have become the first Indonesian bride of a Portuguese husband, when Serrao, putting into a harbour of Java's Northcoast, married her. After settling in Ternate, his crewmembers followed his example and took local girls as wives. This was the beginning of a Portuguese settlement initiated by Affonso de Albuquerque after his conquest of Goa in 1510. He was of the opinion that it was better to have married men in the various outposts because the local population would prefer to trade with people who were settled than with a bachelor disporting himself with doxies. No doubt Portugal's economic interests were better served by married men who settled in the new countries, as their heart was more steady and they did not want to return to the mother country immediately; by taking root in their new homelands they would at the same time plant roots for Portuguese interests. This policy was endorsed by a Royal Decree of 15 March, 1518, as the accepted rule

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

of giving special grants to *casados*, those married men who settled and cultivated the soil.

In the early years of Indonesian (and for that matter, Asian) — Portuguese relations, these settlements were still individual cases, as the natural outcome of men without homes, seeking companionship in faraway places. The majority of the unions were transient and not regular as it was often hard to induce the Portuguese men to marry.

These settlements were formed mostly in the immediate neighbourhood of the official centre of Portuguese activity, such as around a *loja*, a *feitoria* or a *fortaleza* (fortress). Such was the case in Ternate, where, as part of the friendship treaty, the Portuguese had been allowed to erect the fortress of Sao Joao Bautista (Saint John the Baptist). Since the Kolano had just died (of a poison?), the laying of the first stone took place in the presence of the young Kolano Abuhayat (then still a minor), his mother, now the Queen Regent, Nyai Chili Boki Raja (a daughter of the Kolano of Tidore), his nobles and retinue and was accompanied by the sounds of trumpets and the firing of canons. This fortress stood in the neighbourhood of the village of Malayo, on the Northeast side of the island and was meant to protect the trading-post, and the community living inside the fortification. Lojas were established on Ambon island, and the settlements expanded around such places as Hitu, Tawiri, and Hative. The same phenomenon occurred on Halmahera, Makian and Bachan in the following years, when small trading-posts were established.

To complete the implementation of Portugal's policy of *feitoria, fortaleza e igreja*, or, trading, military domination and the gospel (often pictured as *gospel, glory, gold*, in whatever order was opportune), these settlements were also centers of missionary activity. It had been the custom for every contingent on its way to Africa and Asia to be accompanied by lay missionaries who were in charge of the spiritual needs of the men on board. These laymen, however, were also very often the first people to spread the teachings of Christ when the ship reached its destination. It was not until 1522 that the first batch of missionaries arrived in the Indonesian islands in the form of a group of Franciscans who came to preach in Ternate: they came together with Antonio de Brito who started the building of the aforementioned fortress. Soon there

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

were churches and chapels in the Portuguese settlements. Apart from spreading the gospel it was certain that the irregular unions were sanctioned, the offspring baptised, and also many new converts made. As ships from Goa and Malacca began arriving more frequently, and the *loja* and the *feitoria* developed and retained a more permanent staff of officials, the mixed unions grew in numbers. At the time the Jesuit Francis Xavier came to the Moluccan islands in 1545 he claimed that there were already 37 Christian villages in Ambon and Lease.

The missionary activities are a chapter in themselves, it suffices to draw attention to the fact that the overseas church had been placed by 15th century Popes under the patronate (*padroado*) of the Portuguese kings in their capacity of Grand Masters of the Order of Christ. Thus every Vice-Rey, Governor or captain was a patron of the Church and every male Portuguese who left for the East did so in the service of the Crown or of the Church. After reaching India, laymen who married were allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders, and were termed *casados*, or married men. The remainder were classified as *soldados* (soldiers) and were liable for military service until they died, married, deserted, or were incapacitated by wounds or disease.

Albuquerque may have wished the settlements to grow out of unions between (white) Portuguese men and women, however, Portuguese women belonged to the most secluded group of women in Europe, and as a seventeenth century Portuguese writer once boasted, a virtuous Portuguese woman left her house only for her christening, her marriage and her funeral. Besides which the Portuguese Crown tended to discourage women from going out to the Asian and African colonies, with the sole exception of the *orfas do Rey* (orphans of the King) who were orphan girls of marriageable age who were sent out in batches at the expense of the Crown. Their dowries were attractive, consisting of a minor government post for anybody who would marry them. Be this as it may, their numbers were limited and it was alleged that the majority of them either died or else miscarried in childbirth. Others were virtuous enough but were either too old or too ugly to find husbands. There may have been enough Portuguese suitors but not all girls were necessarily married off to these; some were given in wedlock to refugees or vassal Asian princes. However, the number of girls was so small, (only comprising an estimated 20 or 30 among

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

the annual India Fleet that carried 3000 to 4000 men to Goa) that they made no significant demographical difference to the population of Portuguese Asia and Africa.

The scheme of settlements would have been more successful if there had not been so many captains who were more intent on taking advantage of the financial opportunities of their captaincies than in advancing stable relations with the local rulers and people. Since such was not always the case, there was little chance of making a second Goa, East of Malacca. Ternate, meant to be the Easternmost outpost in the line of defense to advance Portuguese activities, witnessed a turbulent period, finally resulting in a Portuguese withdrawal from the area.

Greed on the part of the captains caused them to meddle in Ternate's internal affairs. In 1529, Ternate's regent, *Kaicil Daroes* (*Darwis?*), who ruled together with the Queen Mother was beheaded upon the instigation of the Portuguese. Abuhayat came to the throne, but soon died of an unknown cause. His younger brother Dayalo succeeded him but soon clashed with the Portuguese and was banished together with certain nobles to Halmahera.

The third brother, Tabarija, then came to the throne, but he too was accused of plotting against the Portuguese captain, Tristao de Ataide, was jailed, together with the Queen Mother and the Prime Minister, Patih Serang, and after two years of suffering was finally sent to Malacca and then on to Goa for trial.

A younger halfbrother, by his late father's Javanese concubine, Ha'run, was put on the throne by the Portuguese captain, however, in the meantime news of the misdeeds committed by the captains and the consequent unrest in the Moluccas had reached Malacca and Goa, and a new captain was sent to restore peace and order. Antonio Galvao's administration, from 1536—1539, indeed provided a contrast to that of his predecessor. His policy of good relations with the Ternatan and Tidoran rulers — after he had waged some wars, to consolidate Portugal's position — made it possible to embark on the consolidation of life in the settlement. At that time there were only 18 casados, although the majority of the soldiers had families.

Galvao brought new life to the community; he laid the pattern for the perpetuation and formation of future Portuguese communities. He had come with casados, and it is believed that he also took Portuguese girls along to be married off. Among the new arrivals

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

were artisans and many new ideas were introduced including the technique of using *pedra e cal* (stone and chalk) for building, first used on fortresses and later to build better houses for the settlers. The style of architecture most probably also changed in that period, making living more comfortable, as did also the introduction of different artifacts, which even today still form part of even the most basic household in isolated areas. The Indonesian language, which still retains Portuguese loanwords, bears evidence of this fact. Words like *janela*, *porta*, *mesa*, *cadeira*, *martelo*, *cacarola*, *tela*, come into general use.

Another influence on the Moluccan life-style was the introduction of new plants mostly for household use. Galvao had taken with him different samples from the settlements in Africa, Brazil, India and Malacca. He talks in his *Treatise on the Moluccas* about grapes, brought from Malacca, that were prospering and bearing two crops annually. Other plants introduced at that time which remain popular until the present, are the tomatoes, avocados, ketela; all of which greatly enriched the poor Moluccan diet.

A further project was launched which influenced the lives of the peoples in those islands considerably. A seminary was established, where the children of the Moluccan aristocracy came to learn reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism. The school became popular and even chieftains from as far as Jailolo and Morotai sent their children to attend. The best students were often sent to Malacca for further studies, as was the case with a number who accompanied Xavier on his return from the Moluccas in 1547.

A group of Jesuit priests who had come with Galvao started their missionary work, and were quite successful, even among the nobles. Tabarija's younger sister was baptised and took the name of Dona Catharina. In 1538 she married a trader, Gabriel Veloso, who had arrived in 1521, and had become one of the pillars of the settlement. Besides Dona Catharina, there were other conversions, as far as Jailolo and Moro.

The fame of the settlement spread; ambassadors from different islands came to Ternate, to pay homage, to send sons to school and to receive instruction in the new religion. Two nobles came from Macassar and were baptised, taking the names of Antonio and Michel Galvao. They returned to Celebes, but soon came back, accompanied by the sons of Macassarese chiefs, who also received baptism. It was

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

also in this period that the captain sent an expedition to the *Raja Ampat*, the rulers and chieftains of the islands of Misool, Waigeo, Gebe and other islands near the big island of *Papua*.

Meanwhile, on the island of Amboin, many changes had taken place since the Portuguese had set up a loja at Hitu. The area had an open harbour suffering from heavy winds during the West monsoon, which made it difficult for boats to berth. The raja of Hitu agreed to give the Portuguese a safer anchoring place on the South shore of the peninsula, near the village of Tawiri and Hatiwi. Here the Portuguese settled and married. The loja at Hitu was still kept to enable the fleet from Malacca to trade and get fresh water. Unfortunately, lust, greed, and ambition on both sides often resulted in clashes. The victims were not only the Portuguese but also the villagers of Tawiri and Hatiwi that had become Christian in the meantime. In 1536, the Hukum of Hative had gone to Malacca and further on to Goa to ask Portuguese assistance against the raids of Muslim Hitu. While there, Bermain had become Christian, and had taken the name of Dom Manuel. It was not until 1538 that Galvao sent a fleet to Ambon which dispersed the combined fleet of Hituese, Javanese, Macassarese and (heathen) Ambonese. Galvao's ships cruised the Ambonese waters to make peace and friendship. It was in this period that the conversion took place of the rajas of Nusaniwi, Kilang and Amantelo, on the peninsula of Leitimor. But there was still ill-feeling in Hitu which came to an open clash, at a banquet, in honour of a visiting Portuguese ship, when a drunken soldier insulted the daughter of the raja. When the soldier was reproached, he hit the raja on the head. The Hituese revolted against this insult and banned the Portuguese from Hitu. A letter to the Portuguese captain says that Hitu did not wish to harbour Portuguese boats anymore. The banned men crossed the mountains until they came to a place on the South shore, not far from the Christian villages, and the Portuguese settlement. Here they came to rest, at a place near the mouth (Boca, now Poka?) of the Inner Bay, and near to Cabo Martim Affonso (now called Tanjung Martafons).

Galvao's captaincy came to an end in 1539, unfortunately due to internal intrigues. There were too many of his colleagues interested in gaining a share of the lucrative trade. The Moluccans petitioned the captain in Malacca that *O Pai* (Father), as his nickname was, could stay on forever as captain. However, Galvao

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

left Ternate, a victim of the envy of his countrymen, after having spent his personal fortune on the development of the Moluccas, died destitute, sick and unknown in an almshouse in Portugal. His manuscript *Treatise on the Discoveries* became a classic; his other work *Treatise on the Moluccas*, a thorough account of life, mores and customs of the local people, and the political situation of that period, disappeared for four centuries and was only discovered and published in 1965, by an Indonesian Jesuit priest.

Meanwhile, in Goa, certain events were taking place which were to influence Ternate's future. Tabarija, detained in Goa, was befriended by Jordao de Freitas, who had often gone to Ternate either as captain of a flotilla or as a trader. They became close friends, and Freitas even wanted his niece to marry the young king. Freitas advised Tabarija to take the Christian faith, so that his plight and case would be sooner heard by the Portuguese king. Thus in 1536 Tabarija became Catholic, having as his godfather the Portuguese governor, Nuno da Cunha, and his friend, Freitas. Tabarija took as his Christian name, Manuel, with the title *Dom*. After this he was given a monthly allowance and a house, to enable him to take care of his mother, his stepfather (Patih Serang had married Nyai Chili), and his retinue.

Freitas came from Madeira, where his father was a feudal lord, having received a landgrant from the Portuguese king. He was therefore familiar with the feudal system of these *donatarios*, by which the king would give a piece of land to a faithful servant (noble or otherwise), who would develop the land, in return serving his lord in times of emergency with food and men.

In the same way, the lands of Brazil, after its discovery in 1499, were given away as *donatarios*, a scheme Freitas also envisaged for the Moluccas. He succeeded in persuading Dom Manuel Tabarija to grant him land in the Moluccas, to be exploited by him and other Portuguese. Thus he could form a Portuguese colony, where products for the spice trade would be directly grown by the population thereby becoming independent of the local people's harvest. Tabarija, having become Christian and thus *Portuguese*, influenced by his surroundings, and in good faith that he was still Ternate's ruler, conceded to the request. In 1537 he gave Freitas the lands between Buru, Ambon and Ceram as *doacao* (gift), for use by Freitas and his legitimate and illegitimate offspring, for as long as the Freitas family existed. This curious

document, which is still kept in the Torre do Tombo at Lisboa, was confirmed in 1543 when Freitas succeeded in obtaining the captaincy of the Moluccas. It was reconfirmed under the reign of King Dom Sebastiao in 1564, in answer to a claim of Gonçalo Freitas, the oldest son of Jordao. In later years, after the Portuguese had abandoned the Moluccan scene, and were part of the Portuguese-Spanish Union (1580 — 1640), the document became the gangplank of Spanish efforts to regain authority over Ambon in 1610.

Tabarija's fate improved for a few years, however, when both Nuno da Cunha and Freitas were recalled to Lisboa, the new governor — who was a man of lesser means and had many poor relatives to care for — did not keep to the agreement, and soon Tabarija was found to be living in destitute conditions. He was offered assistance from the Casa da Misericórdia, which he declined, but omit his contemporaries' record that he had to borrow clothes from a casado neighbour, if he wanted to go out.

Fortunately, Freitas returned in 1543 with both his appointment as captain to Ternate, and also the Royal decree stating that Tabarija had been found innocent, and should therefore be restored to his royal position and prerogatives. Instead, it continued, Hairun should be arrested and taken to Malacca and Goa for trial. It was a difficult task for Freitas who left for Ternate at the end of 1544. Hairun was arrested at the end of January 1545, kept prisoner in the fortress, and then taken in shackles, accompanied by some of his nobles, to Malacca.

Hairun, who as a young boy had been put on Ternate's throne by the Portuguese administrators, had certainly become wiser, and weary of Portuguese interference in internal affairs. His arrest must have been the turning-point in his life. He decided to take matters in hand and according to historical rumours that have persisted, the day after he left Malacca for Goa, his half-brother, Dom Manuel Tabarija, who had been waiting in Malacca for a ship to return to Ternate, fell ill and died, by a poison, administered by one of Hairun's men (30 June, 1545). It is possible that Hairun realized that the return of Tabarija, the rightful ruler, son of the Queen, would make his own position in Ternate difficult. He had not been elected according to custom by the Council of the Kingdom, and in the early years of his reign he was not popular. There had often been letters to the Vice-Roy in Goa, from the Ternatan nobles,

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

requesting the return of Tabarija, since Hairun was not the rightful heir.

Before his death, Tabarija made a testament on 29 June, 1545, in the presence of his mother, his stepfather, three of his brothers and his nobles, willing the crown of his kingdom to the King of Portugal. In this very European act, we see the influence of the Portuguese surroundings in which Tabarija had lived during the impressionable years of his life. The testament stated that the reason for doing so was that his halfbrother, Hairun, was not the son of a Queen, and was also Muslim. The testament records that his kingdom stretched over Motir, Makian, Kajoa, Moro, Batachina (Halmaheira), and it further requested that his people should become Christian. Dom Manuel was interred at Goa, his mother and stepfather returned to Ternate where they were well received and taken care of by the Portuguese captain and the Portuguese community.

After Tabarija's death, the Portuguese administration could only reinstate Hairun as ruler, and they therefore asked him to return to Ternate. This request he refused vowing to have his name cleansed and insisting on staying at Goa, until his case was investigated and his innocence officially proved. He stated that if necessary he would go on to Lisboa to see the King of Portugal in person, however, he was eventually officially proven innocent, but it was two years before he returned.

Meanwhile, Jordao de Freitas, now captain of the Moluccas, domiciled in Ternate, had sent his nephew Vasco de Freitas and confreres to Ambon island, to take possession of his doação. Among the new settlers was a certain Fausto Rodrigues, who later accompanied Franciscus Xavier on his travels, and eventually became the head of the Portuguese settlement in Leitimor (Ambon).

The new settlers choose a piece of land on the Southcoast of Hitu peninsula, near the already existing settlements. It was a fertile strip between Hukualo (in later documents called Rumahtiga) and near to the Boca, where there was an abundance of sago-forests, and where the ships could safely harbour, protected against the West winds and attack by the Hituese. The new community differed in nature from the previous settlements in that it consisted of men who had come out specifically to exploit and till the land and to

grow the crops needed for trading, thus removing them from sole dependence on what the local population offered for food or merchandise. The settlement came under the jurisdiction of the fortress at Ternate, but it had its own chief. There may have been women among the settlers and in fact Jordao himself had come with his wife, Dona Maria de Silva, two small children, and two grown sons by a previous marriage. Conditions on the ships were better than in the early days of overseas voyages and thus hardships were more bearable for women.

Freitas dreamt of a Christian kingdom. In the period during which there was no local ruler on the throne, he appointed Nyai Chili Boki Raja as Queen Regent. When his son, Antonio, came with a copy of Tabarija's testament (the original had gone to the Vice-Roy in Goa), he proclaimed the Moluccas as a Christian kingdom. Nyai Chili had to resign, and Freitas himself took over the reign, as governor. It was in this period that Franciscus Xavier arrived. He chose as his headquarters the Portuguese settlement at Hukunalo, and from there he made his travels to the neighbouring Christian villages on the island, then crossed to Seran and Nusalaut and most probably also Lease and Haruku. The following year he visited Ternate, Moro and the islands around it. Wherever he went, he had irregular marriages made official, the offspring baptised, and he preached. Due to his charismatic personality, there were many who took the new faith. His sermons were in Malay, which he had learned in Malacca, and thus he had the Credo, the Paternoster and the Catechism translated into this language. Among the new converts was Nyai Chili; she must have become weary of the misfortunes in her life, and although she was known as a devout Muslim, the contacts with Xavier must have been her salvation. She became Christian, taking the name of Dona Isabela.

Freitas schemes of developing the lands after the example of the Brazilian settlements were never fully realized. In October 1546 a ship arrived, with the envoy of the Vice-Rey in Goa, Bernaldim de Souza, and Hairun! De Souza brought the news that Hairun was officially cleared and would return as ruler. Freitas was recalled and to be taken prisoner for his misdeeds, and de Souza himself replaced him as captain. Upon Freitas' protests, de Souza answered that no one in Goa or Malacca knew of the existence of Tabarija's testament. Hairun, who had stayed on board the ship, disembarked the next day. Although there was great uproar among the Ternatan

## PORUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

nobles, since they had confiscated his harem and property, no clashes took place, due to the security precautions of the Portuguese captain. The stay in Goa had apparently changed Hairun.

He wore Portuguese clothes and had adopted a European life-style; moreover he had become versed in its arts and letters. Hairun visited Dona Isabela and made peace with her. He had long philosophical conversations with Xavier, who was very impressed by him. This idyllic situation did not last long; soon Hairun deprived Dona Isabela and her husband of their properties and allowance, and most of her retinue was banished to other islands. Although he did not oppose missionary activities, he was re-establishing himself as a Muslim ruler. Xavier left the Moluccas, disgusted and disappointed, both with the actions of the Portuguese administrators and with the growth of Muslim power. When he arrived in Malacca, he sent a Jesuit padre to Ambon, who set up the first permanent Jesuit settlement, and from that period on the activities increased and spread over the islands, as far as Siau, Minahasa, Kaudipan, Bolaang in the North, and the islands South of the Moluccas.

Freitas was sent back to Goa, leaving his wife and family behind. After long, costly processes he succeeded in having his name cleared. He returned again to the Moluccas, but not as captain. The Portuguese administration in Goa realized that this would antagonize Hairun and endanger the fate of the trade and of the Portuguese community. Freitas endeavoured to develop the lands he regarded as his, in Ambon, but did not succeed entirely. In order to protect the settlements, he had a wooden fortress constructed which was not to Hitu's liking, and the raja sent an envoy to the Ratu of Japara, asking her support in return for vassalage. She sent a fleet and prevented the fortress from being built. Freitas protested to Hairun about the incident, whereupon Hairun made it clear that it was Freitas who was *senhor* of the lands in Ambon, while Hairun was only a vassal of the King of Portugal. Freitas finally returned to Goa, where he died in 1555. The settlement, under leadership of his nephews lived on, but did not distinguish itself from the other Portuguese communities, in the years to come. Hairun, and through him, Islam, was gaining power. It did not come to outbreaks of armed clashes with the Portuguese, but skirmishes were not lacking. He was shrewd enough to maintain status quo relations with the captains, and even backed them in their expeditions, among others against Jailolo, thereby extending his own authority.

While Hairun's power was growing, so also did the interest of the Portuguese in the lucrative spice trade. There were no other European competitors in that period as the routes to the Spice Islands were kept secret. It was not to be until 1579 that another Western trader would appear on the scene, in the person of Francis Drake. However, as Portuguese trade activities increased, so also did their lust and greed. There was little left of the ideology with which the journeys of discoveries were initiated; if they had once sought first God then Mammon, it had now become first Mammon then God. And although missionary activities spread in this period, and more Portuguese trading posts were established on other islands, such as in Macassar and Supa on Celebes, in Solor, Flores and other islands in the Southeastern corner of the archipelago, the race to and the rape of the Spice Islands continued.

In Ternate, around 1555, the situation slowly developed into a culmination of clashes. The final issue was the harvest of cloves from the island of Makian, which were traditionally reserved for the rulers of Ternate and Tidore. This was appropriated by the Portuguese captain, an act felt as a great infringement on the rules of conduct, involving a matter of adat. When Hairun protested, he was detained together with his ministers. It was rather curious that in this incident the Portuguese were assisted by the Christian Kolanos of Jailolo and Bachan, meanwhile the Kolano of Jailolo had been given the (Muslim) title of *Sultan* (sic.). On the other hand, the Portuguese casados, the traders, the missionaries and the Mestizo population formed one bloc against the Portuguese captain, protesting against the inhuman treatment of Hairun and his retinue. The captain was eventually arrested and sent back to Malacca, and Hairun freed. His authority was growing. The new captain arrived, bringing with him a letter from the Vice-Rey, saying that in line with Tabarija's testament, the King of Portugal was the ruler of the Moluccan islands, while Hairun was his vassal. There was no Hairun's part.

While his authority was growing, he kept opposing Portuguese efforts to build a permanent fortress in Ambon. His reasons may have been many and varied; a second fortress would certainly mean a consolidation of Portuguese power. Trading activities would be stimulated in Ambon. To Ternate it would also mean that Hitu, which had shown ambitions to become a political power in itself and had offered vassalage to the Ratu of Japara in Java, would

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

benefit from direct trading from Ambon, and thus become less dependent on Ternate.

For the Portuguese, the growth of the settlements, and most probably the increase in produce from these lands, needed more permanent protection. Thus in 1562, Ambon had its first captain, who was, however, still under the jurisdiction of the fortress of Ternate. Antonio Paes, the first captain on Ambon island, attempted again to erect a fortress of more durable material. This action was protested by the ruler of Ternate. The captain in Ternate advised Paes not to go on with his plans, since trade would be endangered. However, Paes did succeed in at least to organizing a militia among the Christian population for the first time in the annals of Moluccan history, an action probably accounting for the Ambonese fame as good military men.

Meanwhile, Hairun was endeavouring to establish himself and his line as the legitimate rulers of a kingdom that was growing in size and power. His position in terms of indigenous rules of law may often have been shaky. As the son of a concubine, put on the throne by foreigners, and not elected by the rules as laid down by adat, — this is the election of a ruler by the Council of the Kingdom — he must have felt the need to legalize his fate. Until the time that Tabarija died, his position vis-à-vis the Ternatans, in particular in palace circles was questionable, added to which was the fact that although Tabarija's mother had remarried and become Christian, her influence was still great. Three brothers of Tabarija who were mentioned in the testament, — although this did not settle whether they were his step- or halfbrothers — may have been contestants for the crown. Hairun's oldest son and crown-prince, Baab, must have come from one of the many wives he had, but her name is never mentioned. With the political situation as it was, both internally and in relation to the Portuguese it would be better to legitimize his position and the accession to the throne by his offspring.

Thus, on 12 February, 1564, one sees presented the testament of Hairun, in which he acknowledges his vassalship to the King of Portugal, and the latter's authority over the Moluccan islands, forever lasting (*perá sempre*), thereby obliging his offspring ruling over the island to acknowledge this authority. His son, Baab, is twice specifically mentioned as his hereditary crown-prince, and

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

also signs the testament, together with a number of Ternatan nobles, most probably members of the Council of the Kingdom, thus guaranteeing that his heir would also become his successor.

In 1565 war broke out when the Vice-Rey in Goa sent 1000 troops to Ambon, under the leadership of Gongalo Pereira Marramaque. The Javanese troops, numbering 600 men had settled on Hitu peninsula, and together with 2000 Hituese, they fought the Portuguese. Pereira was able to ward off the attack, and being in an advantageous position, asked Hairun's permission to build a permanent fortress on Ambon island. Hairun agreed, on condition that the Portuguese recognise his rights on Veranula, Lessidi and Kambelo (the Western part of Seran). Pereira refused, but he did succeed in erecting a fortress with the aid of the Christian and "heathen" population of the area.

For a while all was quiet, however, war broke out again in 1570, when the then captain again tried to raise the issue of the clove harvest of Makian. Hairun was murdered, and all the Moluccan kings now united and laid siege to the Portuguese fortress, preventing foodstuffs from reaching the men. This siege lasted five years before the Portuguese surrendered and abandoned the fortress.

The ruler of Tidore, afraid of Ternate's power, granted permission to build a new fortification on his island. There the Portuguese moved, including many of the casados and the Mestizos. Meanwhile, Hairun's son succeeded to the throne, calling himself Baab Ullah. His power was continually extending, reaching from the island in Mindanao, Sangihe, Manado and the rest of North Celebes, to the islands in the Sunda archipelago. Such was his authority that he called himself Sultan, and soon he sent envoys to Demak and Johore.

Portuguese power was very much curtailed, and they never regained the glory of the mid-fifties. Their activities increasingly centred on Ambon island, where in 1571 the then captain of Ambon had moved the fortress to Leitimor peninsula, away from the constant attacks of the Hituese. Several moves were made until finally the raja of Soya granted him a piece of land where the permanent fortification was built at the end of June, 1576. Together with the captain and his men, many of the casados and the Mestizo families had moved across the bay as also did parts of the indigenous villages, now Christian, such as Hatiwi. They founded new villages

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

on Leitimor. The fortress on Ambon became again the centre of trading, administrative and religious life. As before the married men lived within the four walls while the Christian villagers lived outside, but still in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, constructing here their own church and school. Soon, the other villages on the peninsula, which had relations with the Portuguese administration, had their "representatives" living in the surroundings, and until the present day one remembers the part of town, where the rajas of Nusaniwi, Kilang Hitu and even Luhu (on Seran) had their "embassies".

No mention has been made yet of a group of people, part of the Portuguese community, called the *Mardika*. They were originally slaves, who upon becoming Christian were freed by their masters. They were of mixed blood, Asian, African, Brazilian and Indian ancestry; they had joined their masters at the different fortresses and had also come to the Indonesian islands. Although they had become free men, and could find their livelihood outside the Portuguese settlements, many stayed with their former masters. They lived mostly outside the walls, but in the smoke of the fortress, forming own settlements, having their own chiefs and elders. Like their masters, they married either with the local girls or within their own community. But they remained a group in itself, and only slowly integrated into the indigenous population. Most of them were peddlers, small craftsmen, servants and menial labourers.

In the meantime a new force was appearing on the scene. Since the inception of the Portuguese-Spanish Union under the Spanish king, Philip II, the ports of Lisboa and Oporto were closed by the Spanish for the spice-trade. Soon, Goa and Malacca suffered from this measure and became short of men, money and munitions. This gave the people in Holland the opportunity to develop their own ports in Zealand, Antwerp and Amsterdam, and to compete with the Portuguese for the hegemony of the spice-trade. The first Dutch fleet under Steven van der Haghen arrived in Ambon in 1599, and although Portuguese strength was still superior, he was allowed by the Hituese to build a redoubt on their shores, the *Kasteel van Verre* (at Kaitetu near Hila). It was only in 1605 that the final blow came to Portuguese power when the then captain, Gaspar de Mellos surrendered the fortress to the Dutch admiral, Steven van der Haghen.

The fall of the fortress and of the Portuguese administration deeply shocked the Christian communities. They were afraid of attacks on the villages from the Dutch side; and thus a few hundred fled into the hills south of Ambon town. Two days after the fall, two priests came to see van der Haghen to discuss the lot of the Christian communities, in particular with regard to the safety of their homes and property and the free execution of their religion. In the days following a deputation of the Christian community approached the Dutch admiral. They were led by Diego Barbudo, a Portuguese casado, accompanied by the rajas of Kilang and Soya, and the chieftains of twenty-one Christian villages and Mestiço communities of Leitimor and Hitu. Barbudo, on behalf of the deputation promised allegiance to the *Council of States of Holland* and requested protection for the Christian communities.

The time had come for the last Portuguese captain to leave Ambon; he went, accompanied by his men and their families, a few hundred in total. The captain went back to Malacca, but the men left partly for Solor, where the Portuguese had maintained a fortress since approximately 1560. The greater part went to Malacca. About 32 families stayed on in Ambon, and Barbudo was appointed their head. The two priests also stayed on.

As long as van der Haghen was in Ambon, the (Catholic) Christians could perform their religious duties as usual, but after van der Haghen left, the Dutch troops, Calvinist by denomination, started bothering the villages. Churches were destroyed, houses wrecked and burned. De Houtman, van der Haghen's representative was seemingly not in a position to stop these acts. Though he punished the soldiers, he also accused the Portuguese headman and the two priests of instigating anti-Dutch acts. Finally he banned the Portuguese from the island. One-hundred and fifty people left, with the minimum of provisions, water and navigational instruments and without a captain on the boat. They sailed Northwards and after drifting for some time reached Sebu, where they were welcomed by the Catholic Spanish communities.

The events in the Portuguese period have become blurred by the passing of times; both local accounts and those of foreign writers — apart from a few scholars, who are not known to the men in the street — have not always recounted in full the eventful history of the Moluccas of those days. Thus, whatever took place in this period, whether activities of local foreign traders in the early centuries,

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

the coming of Islam, or the exploits of the Portuguese and Spanish, has all become parts of the "time of the ancestors", or of "Portuguese things", meaning something in the far, mysterious past. Yet, if one carefully examines the numerous accounts, letters, and other documents of the period, one is also aware of the changes that were taking place, changes that had already started with the advent of foreign traders, whether these came from the Malayan islands or from as far away as Persia and Arabia. Islam again brought new values and changes in attitudes, new life-styles and an awareness of the money-economy. When the Westerners came, there was another influx of changes, brought about by the Christian religion. In a very typical Indonesian way, all these changes were accepted, *diterima*, and integrated. However, thereby loosening or forgetting the ties with the old religion and its social order. Adat, as an expression of man's relations to the Divine Order and the ancestors became a set of rituals, of man-made codes and customs. Adat, the spine of life of the village and its members, became a vine to cling to, in particular when one's personal interest was at stake. Examples of this sudden awareness of the adat, can be found in incidents such as, when the raja of Hitu was hit on the head by a Portuguese soldier. This was felt an insult of the gravest nature, finding its origin in the belief that man's esoteric life is centered in the head of the body. A similar incident is reported in Malacca, by other Portuguese authors, resulting in armed conflict.

Trouble arises again over the harvest of cloves from the island of Makian, when a Portuguese captain tries to appropriate it. According to the rules of the indigenous territorial-genealogical units, the villages, ownership of the produce of the land and sea is solely the prerogative of the member of a village. When raja-ships arose out of the original units, certain parts of land or sea was reserved for the raja's household and his other obligations. Thus, confiscation by an outsider was the gravest injury to the rules of adat. On the other hand, we see the influence of both Islam and Christianity, in the appointment of an heir by testament. Ancient rules of conduct prescribed the election of a ruler (the chieftain) by the village council, or council of elders, whose membership was defined by a system that went back to the original founding of the village by the first ancestors. There was no system of hereditary rulers, but they were indeed elected from a roster of candidates

## THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

that came from the family that had always produced them. The rules were strict, and applied to both female and male members; but the criteria for leadership were character, ability and dedication, rather than primogeniture.

Another example of the loosening of adat-links was the introduction of the militia. As first introduced by the Portuguese, its members came from the *Mardika*, and later, *Mestiço* population, who did not always have strong links with the village community. Thus, as member of the militia they came under direct control of the fortress, and in later Dutch times, were known as *burgers* (citizens). Their services were rewarded in money or kind, and it is this method, which shifted them from the original codes of conduct prevailing in the area. In the eyes of the villagers, they were not free men. They were not like those people who had the right to live and enjoy the land and the right and honour to defend it in times of emergency. They did not like the villagers have the obligation to keep up the village, to care for the other community-members, and work and do service without remuneration. The recruitment of military men among the village community created an upheaval, whereby the person concerned lost his rights as a village-member and thus became a member of a different social group. Thus was born, in the later colonial times, a *barrack culture*, which brought havoc to the traditional ways of life, and had its repercussions in modern time.

Not enough attention has been paid to the hybridization of the Christian communities, on whom the influence of the Portuguese-*Mestiço* villages was strong. These villages lived around the Portuguese fortress, the stronghold of social, economic and religious life. Like moths attracted by light, people came to live around these centers, and imitated and adopted prevailing life-styles. It is thus that the mestization of culture in Ambon and Lease in particular began; it is still strong and examples abound: the "Helayu-Ambon" jargon which still retains a number of Portuguese loanwords; songs and dances, added to in later times by other colonial nations. The style of dress, the armoury, food habits and many other exotic memorabilia. And most of all, the attitude towards the esoteric meaning of the traditional laws. It is true that fewer changes took place in the Muslim communities. Their less friendly contacts with the fortress or the trading-post, their clashes of a religious nature;

## PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS ON INDONESIAN SHORES

the continued use of their own language meant they did not change their life-styles so completely.

The strains of different cultures, and in this context the Portuguese culture, accepted first as something new and interesting, then integrated into the autochthonous culture, to become truths, have caused the birth of a new way of life, whose values were more and more removed from the original values. It is true what Joao de Barros once said. The contacts with the Portuguese has in many ways brought an opening up of horizons, and eventually changes, but change is not always progress.

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