

Pluralistic Religious Societies and Cultural Crossroads in the Early Modern Sultanate of Tidore, Indonesia

Daya Negri Wijaya,^a Deny Yudo Wahyudi,^b Fernando Antonio Santiago Jr,^c Prisca Kiki Wulandari,^d Andhika Yudha Pratama^e & Firza Azzam Fadilla^f

Abstract

This paper presents a definitive account of the early modern Sultanate of Tidore and its development as a cultural crossroads from the 15th to 17th centuries. The researchers employed the historical method to gather primary sources and reconstruct the cultural history of Tidore, an island considered one of the four pillars of civilisation in the Moluccas. Along with other islands in the North Moluccas, Tidore became the leading producer of cloves, a commodity highly sought after by foreign traders. During the early modern period, Islam exerted a growing influence on the island, leading to a transformation of Tidore's political administration from a local system into one that was structured as an Islamic bureaucracy. From a geopolitical perspective, Tidore expanded its territory and controlled trade networks in the Moluccas while competing with Ternate for regional dominance. This rivalry directly resulted in the formation of a wider global political and trade network when the Iberians powers allied with both sultanates of Tidore and Ternate during the 16th century. Accompanied by the Arabs, Chinese, Malays, and Javanese, the Iberians transformed Tidore into an active space for cultural crossovers. Their encounters gave rise to Arabic, Portuguese, and Dutch loanwords in the Malay-Tidorese language, as well as the hybrid cuisine of *hula-keta* (baked sago), and the material culture that continues to be seen at the Tidorese Palace of Kadato Kie and the Iberian forts of Tahula and Torre.

Keywords: cultural crossroads, Iberian expansion, religious discourse, Tidore Sultanate, spice trade

Introduction

Tidore plays a significant role in the Moluccas Islands, particularly in terms of its historical and economic contributions. Located to the south of Ternate, Tidore is a prominent producer of high-quality cloves within the region.¹ Together with Ternate, Moti and Bacan, Tidore is one of the four

^a Daya Negri Wijaya (corresponding author), History Department & Center for Economics Humanities and Tourism, Research Institute and Community Engagement (RICE) Universitas Negeri Malang (UM), Malang, Indonesia. Email: daya.negri.fis@um.ac.id.

^b Deny Yudo Wahyudi, History Department, Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Negeri Malang (UM), Malang, Indonesia. Email: deny.yudo.fis@um.ac.id.

^c Fernando Antonio Santiago Jr, Department of History & Southeast Asian Research Center and Hub (SEARCH), De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines. Email: fernando.santiago@dlsu.edu.ph.

^d Prisca Kiki Wulandari, Department of Government Studies, Faculty of Social & Political Sciences, Universitas Brawijaya (UB), Malang, Indonesia. Email: priscakiki@ub.ac.id.

^e Andhika Yudha Pratama, Department of Law and Citizenship & Center for Economics Humanities and Tourism, Research Institute and Community Engagement (RICE) Universitas Negeri Malang (UM), Malang, Indonesia. Email: andhika.yudha.fis@um.ac.id.

^f Firza Azzam Fadilla, Perkumpulan Periset Karavan Cendekia, Malang, Indonesia. Email: firzaazzam1@gmail.com.

¹ Irfan Ahmad, *Ekspedisi Magellan: Poros Perdagangan Spanyol Di Tidore*, Laporan Penelitian (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2019).

pillars of civilisation in the Moluccas Islands.² These four islands are known as *Moloku Kie Raha*, which translates to the “union of four kingdoms” or *Kolano*.³ The four kingdoms played a pivotal role in the commercial history of the Moluccas Islands since the 13th century. Tidore and Ternate were indisputably the most important political, economic and military powers. Both kingdoms had similar political views of expansionism, driven by their formidable military strength. Tidore expanded in the eastern Moluccas and controlled three-quarters of Halmahera and East Seram. Tidore also exercised authority over the Raja Ampat and the West Papua Islands.⁴

The relocation of the Palace of Tidore from Balibungan to Soasio⁵ reflects the kingdom’s adaptation to changing political and cultural dynamics, influenced by increasingly strong links with Islamic culture and traditions after the Kingdom of Tidore was transformed into a Sultanate during the late 15th century.⁶ Tidore had already developed into a kingdom by the 13th century, managing an important trade network in the Moluccas. It also played a significant role in introducing Islam and Arabic culture to the Moluccas Islands.⁷

In 1495, Ciriliyati was appointed as the King of Kolano and bestowed with the title of Sultan. He subsequently adopted the name Jamaluddin and became widely recognized as Sultan Jamaluddin. Reigning from 1495 to 1512, Sultan Jamaluddin played a pivotal role in transforming Tidore’s administrative framework into a more structured sultanate.⁸

It is a matter of historical record that from the 16th to 17th centuries, Europeans- particularly the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch- had an increased presence in the Moluccas Islands.⁹ Their arrival, along with that of other newcomers such as the Chinese, Arabs and Malays, contributed to the emergence of a culturally diverse and pluralistic society in Tidore. These global interactions led to the emergence of hybrid identities within the region.¹⁰

² Wuri Handoko and Syahrudin Mansyur, “Kesultanan Tidore: Bukti Arekologi Sebagai Pusat Kekuasaan Islam Dan Pengaruhnya Di Wilayah Periferi,” *Berkala Arkeologi* 38, no. 1 (2018): 1.

³ Rusdiyanto, “Kesultanan Ternate Dan Tidore,” *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 3, no. 1 (2018).

⁴ M. Adnan Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950* (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2007).

⁵ Muhammad Amin Faaroek, *Jejak Sejarah Kesultanan Tidore* (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2016).

⁶ Faaroek, *Jejak Sejarah Kesultanan Tidore*.

⁷ Rusdiyanto, “Kesultanan Ternate Dan Tidore”; Nani Jafar, *Ternate-Tidore Titik Nol Jalur Rempah Dunia*, 2022.

⁸ Faaroek, *Jejak Sejarah Kesultanan Tidore*.

⁹ Handoko and Mansyur, “Kesultanan Tidore: Bukti Arekologi Sebagai Pusat Kekuasaan Islam Dan Pengaruhnya Di Wilayah Periferi.”

¹⁰ Jafar, *Ternate-Tidore Titik Nol Jalur Rempah Dunia*.

Prior studies have shown Tidore's history from various vantage points,¹¹ with several focusing on the spice trade.¹² However, the exploration of Tidore as a cultural crossroads remains an underrepresented area in the existing academic literature. The predominant focus centers on the initial interactions between the Portuguese and Spanish and the Moluccas, particularly the political and economic relations between the Portuguese and Spanish and the local rulers of Tidore and Ternate. It primarily addresses the establishment of relationships between European powers and the local monarchs, emphasizing the political and economic dimensions as documented in travel accounts during the early modern period. Consequently, discussions regarding cultural crossovers and hybrid identity, which are relevant in understanding the formation of early modern society are limited. It is therefore necessary to conduct a more thorough examination of cultural crossings and hybrid identities, particularly in relation to the identities of individuals in ports or trading cities such as Tidore.¹³ This study examines the geopolitics of the early modern Moluccas while also exploring the pluralistic religious society of Tidore during the commercial era. The authors also endeavor to reconstruct the hybrid identities of this region as reflected in contemporary society, focusing on language, culinary traditions, and material culture. Through the analysis of these dynamics, the study provides valuable insights into how the Tidorese people adapted to changing historical contexts, negotiated their identities, and maintained social cohesion within a culturally diverse environment.

Research Method

This study employed the historical method, including topic selection, source collection, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.¹⁴ The researchers examined European archival documents and chronicles, such as Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (1516),¹⁵ António Galvão's *Tratado dos Descobrimentos* (1557),¹⁶ and *História das Moluccas* (1544),¹⁷ Don Diego de Prado

¹¹ Faaroek, *Jejak Sejarah Kesultanan Tidore* (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2016); Muhammad Amin Faaroek, *Kilas Balik Kota Soasio Sebagai Pemerintahan Kesultanan Tidore Dan Prospeknya* (Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2019); Handoko and Mansyur, "Kesultanan Tidore: Bukti Arekologi Sebagai Pusat Kekuasaan Islam Dan Pengaruhnya Di Wilayah Periferi"; Willard Anderson Hanna and Des Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore: Masa Lalu Penuh Gejolak* (Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996); Muhammad Rais, "Wajah Islam di Bandar Jalur Sutera (Kajian Sejarah Sosial Pada Kesultanan Tidore-Maluku Utara)," *Al-Qalam* 16, no. 2 (2018): 2; Rusdiyanto, "Kesultanan Ternate Dan Tidore"; Hans Hägerdal, "Diplomacy in the Villages : VOC Agreements and Disagreements with Stateless Societies in Southeastern Maluku in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 4, no. 108 (2024); Philip Post, "A Benign Empire? The Instrumentalisation of Abolitionism in the Moluccas, 1817-1879," *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 139, no. 3 (2023); Amin Mudzakkir et al., "A Global Pela The Moluccan Diaspora in the Sister City of Vlissingen-Ambon," *Diaspora Studies* 17, no. 2 (2024); Antonia Soriente, "Cross-Cultural Encounters of Italian Travellers in the Malay World; A Perspective on the Languages Spoken by the Local Populations," *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 25, no. 2 (2024); Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Islas De Fabula Y Guerra: Como Las Molucas Demarcaron El Nuevo Mundo," *Intus - Legere Historia* 17, no. 1 (2023): 11–42.

¹² Ahmad, *Ekspedisi Magellan: Poros Perdagangan Spanyol Di Tidore*; Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*; M. Adnan Amal, *Portugis & Spanyol di Maluku* (Komunitas Bambu, 2010); Jafar, *Ternate-Tidore Titik Nol Jalur Rempah Dunia*; Matteo Salonia, "Encompassing the Earth: Magellan's Voyage from Its Political Context to Its Expansion of Knowledge," *International Journal of Maritime History* 34, no. 4 (2022): 543–60.

¹³ Anthony Reid, *Hybrid Identities in the Fifteenth-Century Straits of Malacca* (Asia Research Institute, 2006).

¹⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Tiara Wacana, 2018).

¹⁵ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, the Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, with McGill University Library (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944).

¹⁶ António Galvão, "Tratado Dos Descobrimentos António Galvão 1490-1557.," unpublished manuscript, Porto, 1557.

¹⁷ António Galvão, "História Das Molucas," unpublished manuscript, 1544.

y Tovar's *Relación Sumaria del Descubrimiento* (1607),¹⁸ Miguel Roxo de Brito's *Relaçion que Miguel Rojo de Brito da de la Nueva Guinea* (1590),¹⁹ and the travel accounts of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros (1595-1606).²⁰ This paper also referred to a 19th-century local chronicle from Ternate written by Naidah.²¹ This local chronicle complements the existing European sources and helps construct a more comprehensive historical narrative.

Source criticism entailed the evaluation of the authenticity, reliability, and relevance of historical sources, while interpretation was guided by theoretical frameworks that focus on pluralism and cultural hybridity. The interpretation of historical facts pertinent to the research area was conducted through the lens of hybrid identities, as articulated by Reid. Hybrid identity serves as a useful framework for analyzing and reconstructing the complexities of cultural identity, particularly in the context of cross-cultural Ternate and the manifestations of hybrid identities in early modern Tidore. These manifestations include creole languages, loanwords, fashion, culinary hybridity, and material cultures.²² The authors then analyzed the historical evidence and presented the finding in the form of a historical narrative.

Results and Discussion

The Geopolitics of Early Modern Moluccas

Islam began to spread in the Moluccas in the 15th century. The rulers of these islands gradually embraced Islam, although they were not fully immersed in its teachings.²³ The spread and influence of Islam in the Moluccas, particularly in Tidore, largely resulted from interactions with Javanese and Malay traders who initially visited the Banda coast.²⁴ During the reign of Kaicil (tribal chief) Gapi Baguna from 1432 to 1465, interactions took place between Moluccan rulers and Javanese traders. This period is documented by the 17th-century chronicler Ridjali from Hitu, who narrated that Kaicil Gapi Baguna admired the Javanese Muslim traders, learned to read and write the Holy Qur'an, and ultimately converted to Islam. This event marked the early stage of Islam's development in the Moluccas.²⁵ At that time, the islands of Tidore, Ternate, and Bacan were ruled by Muslims. The rulers of Bacan and Tidore were referred to as *Raja*, the king of Tidore was known as *Al-Mansur*,²⁶ while the ruler of Ternate held the title of "Sultan."²⁷

¹⁸ Diego de Prado y Tovar, "Relacion Sumaria Del Descubrimto," unpublished manuscript, 1607.

¹⁹ Miguuel Roxo de Brito, *The Report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of His Voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf and Seram*, 1590.

²⁰ Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, "The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606," unpublished manuscript, 1606 1595.

²¹ P. Van Der Crab, "Geschiedenis Van Ternate, in Ternataanschen En Maleischen Tekst Beschreven Door Den Ternataan Naidah," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 26 (1878): 381–493.

²² Reid, *Hybrid Identities in the Fifteenth-Century Straits of Malacca*.

²³ Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*.

²⁴ Merley Calvin Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*, Third (Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2007).

²⁵ Hanna and Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore*.

²⁶ Galvão, "História Das Molucas."

²⁷ Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*.

Figure 1: Antique Map of North



Source: Blaeu & Hondius (1571)²⁸

The history of the Moluccas during the early modern period was closely shaped by the rivalry between Ternate and Tidore. This contention was evident in the conflict between the eastern and western regions of the Moluccas, with the east controlled by Tidore, and the west by Ternate.²⁹ Both sides competed fiercely and sought global alliances with European powers. Tidore welcomed the Spanish, while Ternate allied with the Portuguese.³⁰

The Portuguese were determined to identify the sources of the spice trade. To achieve this, they began seizing lucrative ports across Asia. Following the occupation of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque and his fleet captured Malacca in 1511. As part of his broad strategy for the *Estado da Índia*, he successfully revitalized the economy of Malacca. The profitable trade in Malacca financed colonial and military operations in the *Estado da Índia* and brought wealth to the king. In the first half of the 16th century, the economy of Portuguese Malacca was driven by two main activities. First, a customs policy enforced on all ships passing through Malacca, whether they were anchoring, loading or unloading cargo, or buying and selling goods. Secondly, the establishment of numerous commercial links to Malacca as a key strategy for economic success.³¹

The Portuguese in Malacca actively sought to expand their commercial network, with regards to the spice trade. One of their primary objectives was to determine the source of these spices. Albuquerque believed that the price of spices in Malacca was higher than their place of origin. Thus, he sought to establish direct trade with the primary source of cloves, the Moluccas.³²

The Portuguese recognized that the spices were not cultivated in Malacca. Instead, cloves, nutmegs, and mace were produced in the eastern Indonesian archipelago, with some islands in the Moluccas producing cloves.³³ While mace and nutmeg were grown in the Banda Islands, the Moluccas were well known for their clove production. Cloves were transported, often outside

²⁸ Willem Janszoon Blaeu and Jodocus Hondius, *Antique Map of North Moluccas*, 1571.

²⁹ Leonard Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

³⁰ Leonard Andaya, "Local Trade Networks in Maluku in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries," *Cakalele* 2, no. 2 (1991): 71–96.

³¹ Paulo Jorge De Sousa Pinto, *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka, 1575-1619: Power, Trade and Diplomacy* (NUS Press, 2012).

³² Artur Teodoro de Matos, *On the Seaway to Spices from Malacca to Australia* (INCM, 1995); Laurence A. Noonan, *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque* (Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1989).

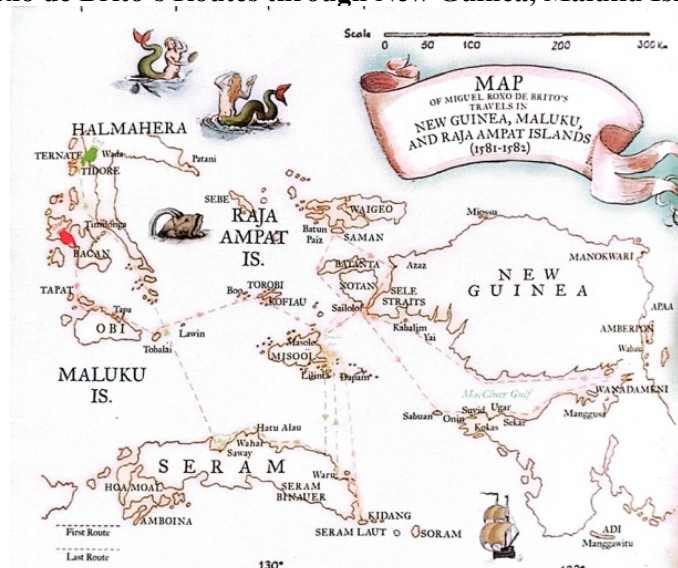
³³ Galvão, "Tratado Dos Descobrimentos António Galvão 1490-1557."

official trade channels, to the central Moluccas, particularly Hoamoal and Hitu, during the late 15th century.

The Portuguese were determined to monopolize the Asian clove trade, as cloves were a highly sought-after commodity during the early modern period. After occupying Malacca, they launched an expedition to the Spice Islands (Moluccas).³⁴ While traveling to Ternate on his journey east, Serrão's ship became separated. In 1512, he discovered an island known as Nugini, which means "the land of the Papuans." João de Barros noted that Serrão was the first person to discover Nugini.³⁵

News of the discovery of New Guinea reached Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer. When the Portuguese and Spanish arrived in the 16th century, they described the local kings of Papua as formidable pirates. Additionally, the Portuguese and Spanish established trade routes to New Guinea via Seram. The commodities transported along this route included birds-of-paradise feathers, cloves, nutmeg, mace, masoi, and gold.³⁶ The trade route was established much earlier by the people of Maluku and Papua (New Guinea) (see Fig. 2). It seems that the interactions between the Moluccas and Papua date back to a much earlier period. Papua and Tidore maintained a close connection as they were part of the Uli-Siwa alliance. In contrast, the relationship between Ternate and Papua is evident from Serrão's reports of gold found in the Sultanate of Ternate, which originated from New Guinea. It appears that this gold was acquired through the trade network extending from Seram Island.³⁷

Figure 2: Miguel Roxo de Brito's Routes through New Guinea, Maluku Island, and Raja Ampat



Source: Donoso et al. (2022)³⁸

The Portuguese sought to maintain a monopoly on the clove trade, despite the many risks involved. They were supported by local leaders from Ternate and Jailolo. The Spanish also strengthened their presence after Sultan Al-Mansur of Tidore welcomed them. In November 1521, the Spanish

³⁴ Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World* (Edited by Herbert Weinstock) (Methuen, 1964).

³⁵ João de Barros, "Decadas da Asia," unpublished manuscript, 1788.

³⁶ Greg Poulgrain, *Kutukan Emas Papua* (Komunitas Bambu, 2025).

³⁷ Brito, *The Report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of His Voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf and Seram*.

³⁸ Isaac Donoso et al., *Boxer Codex El Códice A Modern Spanish Transcription and English Translation of 16th-Century Exploration Accounts of East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, 2nd Edition (Vibal Foundation, 2022).

were able to advance inland to the Moluccas. The Spanish and the Sultanate of Tidore formed a treaty of friendship, in which the Spanish promised to defend Tidore against invasion from the Portuguese and Ternate. In return, the Sultan granted the Spanish the exclusive rights to the clove trade and allowed them to load cloves in Tidore. In December 1521, the Spanish vessels set sail for Sevilla. Following the success of the initial expedition to the Moluccas, the Spanish were instructed to send two additional voyages. Garcia Jafre de Loasia commanded the expeditions in 1525, while Alfaro de Sanedra led another in 1527.³⁹

The Portuguese protested against the Spanish presence in the Moluccan seas.⁴⁰ The Portuguese claimed that they could assert their rights in Spanish territory because the Spanish had already built a fortress in Ternate. The Spanish, on the other hand countered that the Portuguese had violated the Treaty of Tordesillas by venturing west of the American continent. To resolve the dispute, both countries sought to reconcile and discuss the issue scientifically in 1522 and 1524.⁴¹

After a deadlock, the parties decided to bring the issue directly to the Pope. A resolution was reached in 1529, following the political marriage between King Carlos V of Spain and Princess Isabel of Portugal. This led to the Treaty of Zaragoza, which stipulated that Spain would sell its rights to the Moluccas to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats (or 500,000 cruzados) and would refrain from participating in the clove trade in the Moluccas. This agreement proved advantageous for both parties. The Castilians made a significant profit and established a new trading hub in Manila in the Philippines. Meanwhile, the Portuguese felt a sense of revenge, as the Spanish were barred from joining the lucrative trade in the Moluccas.⁴²

In 1580, Spain assumed control of Portugal, forming the Iberian Union and significantly reshaping the political structure of the Iberian empires. The union placed Portugal and its overseas territories under Spanish Habsburg rule. It began with the coronation of King Philip II of Spain as Philip I of Portugal. The Iberian Union lasted until 1640, when Portuguese independence was restored during the reign of Philip IV of Spain. This period is also referred to as the Habsburg Union.⁴³ During this time, Spain gained formal control over Portuguese territories in Asia, including the Moluccas.⁴⁴

In the early 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) launched a series of attacks against Portuguese strongholds in the Moluccas. In 1605, Dutch forces allied with Ternate successfully captured the Portuguese fortress at Ambon and expelled the Portuguese from several key positions in the region. These victories marked a significant expansion of Dutch influence in the spice islands and weakened Iberian control over the Moluccan trade networks.⁴⁵

³⁹ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*.

⁴⁰ Galvão, "Tratado Dos Descobrimentos António Galvão 1490-1557."

⁴¹ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*; Elke Timme, *A Presença Portuguesa Nas Ilhas Das Moluccas 1511 - 1605* (Grin Verlag, 1998).

⁴² Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*; Timme, *A Presença Portuguesa Nas Ilhas Das Moluccas 1511 - 1605*.

⁴³ Heather McTaggart, "Dom António and the Early Modern Iberian World: Global Approaches to the Portuguese Succession Crisis of 1580," *History Compass* 19, no. 7 (2021): e12677.

⁴⁴ Queirós, "The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606."

⁴⁵ Carmen Nocentelli, "Spice Race: The Island Princess and the Politics of Transnational Appropriation," *PMLA* 125, no. 3 (2010): 572–88.

The Habsburg government was prompted to act by news of Dutch advances in the Moluccas. In 1606, a major expedition was organized with the clear objective of securing Spanish control of the Moluccas.⁴⁶ The expedition was led by the governor-general of the Philippines, Pedro de Acuna, who landed at Ternate. The expedition quickly overcame local resistance and took control of the island.⁴⁷ The Spanish government then established a military administration connected to Manila following Acuna's success.⁴⁸

The Spanish maintained a foothold in Ternate and Tidore until 1662, but never mounted a major attack after a failed Spanish military campaign led by Don Juan de Silva, the Spanish governor-general of the Philippines in 1615. As a result, the spice trade continued to be under Dutch control.⁴⁹ The relationship between Tidore and Spain lasted until the 1630s. Tidore played a crucial role in supporting Spain's efforts to send reinforcements and troops to Ternate. In November 1630, Tavora sent reinforcements to Ternate to secure it from the enemy, the Dutch.⁵⁰ During that period, the Dutch dispatched approximately 30 vessels to Ambueno, with half of them setting sail for Ternate to escort Moro, who sought to establish himself as the rightful leader of the island.⁵¹ Spanish rule in the Moluccas continued to decline and eventually ended in 1664 when Tidore fell to the Dutch East India Company (VOC).⁵²

Plural Religious Society in Early Modern Tidore

The Spice Islands are renowned for their immense wealth and became, a legendary source of riches for. The eastern Indonesian islands were the primary producers of cloves and nutmeg. During the medieval period in Europe, these commodities commanded high prices in the marketplace.⁵³

Clove plants thrived in the forests of the Moluccas Islands, especially on Tidore, Ternate, Bacan, Moti, and Makian.⁵⁴ The local populations of Tidore, Ternate, Makian, Moti, and Kasiruta began cultivating these plants around 1450.⁵⁵ Cloves were derived from the dried flower buds of the tropical evergreen tree species *Syzygium aromaticum* (also known as *Caryophyllus aromaticus*). This tree could produce approximately 34 kilograms of cloves, making it an essential commodity for Chinese traders in the 14th century.⁵⁶

Chinese traders frequently visited the Moluccas Islands, particularly Tidore. In the 1340s, they transported cloves by ship. However, there is no evidence that the Moluccas Islands region was involved in trade activities during the 15th-century expedition of the Chinese naval fleet led by Admiral Zheng He. This suggests that the trade relationship between Chinese traders and the

⁴⁶ Queirós, "The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606."

⁴⁷ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*.

⁴⁸ Gary William Bohigian, *Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire: Presidio Society in the Molucca Islands, 1606-1663* (UMI Dissertation Services, 1994).

⁴⁹ Charles Ralph Boxer, *Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1904).

⁵⁰ Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander, *The Philippine Island, 1493-1898-Volume XXIII* (Gutenberg, 2005).

⁵¹ Emma Helen Blair, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898-Volume XXVII*. (2005); Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander, *The Philippine Island, 1493-1898-Volume XXIV* (Gutenberg, 2006).

⁵² Nocentelli, "Spice Race."

⁵³ Bernard Hubertus Maria Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia* (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2023).

⁵⁴ Jafar, *Ternate-Tidore Titik Nol Jalur Rempah Dunia*.

⁵⁵ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*.

⁵⁶ Ahmad, *Ekspedisi Magellan: Poros Perdagangan Spanyol Di Tidore*; Anthony Reid, *Asia Tenggara Dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680 Jilid 2: Jaringan Perdagangan Global* (Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2011).

Moluccan population in the 14th century was limited. Nevertheless, Chinese traders appear to have influenced the local population about the economic importance of the clove plant.⁵⁷

In 1390, around six metric tons of cloves from the Moluccas were shipped to Europe annually.⁵⁸ Furthermore, trade relations between the inhabitants of the Moluccas and Javanese traders flourished during the reign of Kaicil Gapi Baguna (1432-1465). At that time, Kaicil Gapi Baguna invited Javanese, Chinese and Arab traders to settle in Moluccas. He utilized the knowledge and skills of the foreign traders to improve the know-how of the local population, a strategy that proved to be successful. Rather than relying solely on natural conditions, the Moluccan population actively promoted the cultivation of cloves.⁵⁹

Spices were in high demand in the world market and thus sought-after by foreign traders, from China, Malaysia, Persia, Arabia and Europe during the 15th to 17th centuries. The high demand for spices contributed to economic and political developments, even wars. European traders were determined to gain control of the Moluccas, driven by the lure of high profits from the spices they could obtain. These spices were brought from the Moluccas and traded in Asian and European markets. One of the trade routes was through Manila and Malacca.⁶⁰ The spice trade network between the Moluccas, Java and Malacca lasted until the 16th century. Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (1516) provides clear evidence that eight junks were used for trading trips from Malacca, Banda and then to the Moluccas. Each junk belonged to a Grisee (Gresik) trader and a Malacca trader. Both traders made significant profits from the sale of cloves.⁶¹

Portuguese contact with the Moluccas began soon after they captured Malacca in 1511. In 1513, Sultan Abu Lais of Ternate established trade relations with the Portuguese and allowed them to take part in the clove trade. The Portuguese later built a fortress in Ternate, which strengthened their political and commercial presence in the region.⁶² Portuguese missionary activity gradually spread to nearby areas, including Halmahera. However, these early missions faced resistance. In 1534, members of the Tabaru community reportedly acted under the orders of the ruler of Jailolo and attacked Christian converts connected to the Portuguese mission.⁶³ This incident shows that the arrival of Portuguese missionaries was not always welcomed in regions where Islam had already become established.

However, the success of the Portuguese missionary influence in Tidore was inseparable from the dispute between *Uli-Lima* (Ternate, Bacan, Seram, Obi and Ambon) and *Uli-Siwa* (Tidore, Halmahera, Jailalo to Papua). In 1546, Francis Xavier (a missionary of the Jesuit order) arrived in the Leitimor peninsula (including the Uli-Siwa region). The arrival of the Portuguese was welcomed by the Catholics who had been baptized in 1538.⁶⁴ The arrival of the Portuguese was

⁵⁷ Reid, *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680 jilid 2*.

⁵⁸ Anthony Reid, *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara* (LP3ES, 2019).

⁵⁹ Hanna and Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore*.

⁶⁰ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*; Reid, *Asia Tenggara dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680 jilid 2*; John Villiers, "Manila and Maluku: Trade and Warfare in the Eastern Archipelago, 1580-1640," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 34, no. 2 (1986): 2.

⁶¹ Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*.

⁶² Andaya, *The World of Maluku*; Adolf Heuken, *Umat Kristen Di Asia Dari Abad Ke-16 Hingga Sekarang* (Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2011).

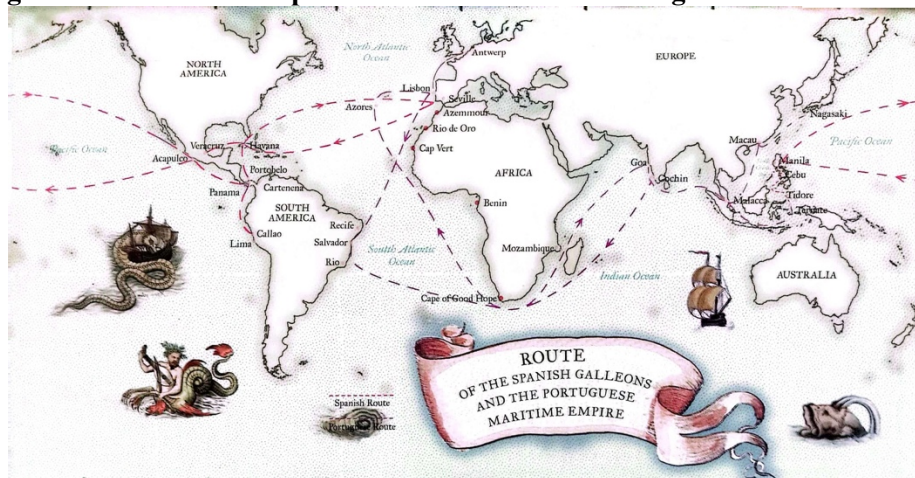
⁶³ Jos Platenkamp, "Encounters with Christianity in the North Moluccas (Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries)," in *The Appropriation of Religion in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, 1st ed. (Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2017); Heuken, *Umat Kristen Di Asia Dari Abad Ke-16 Hingga Sekarang*.

⁶⁴ Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Adriaan Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (BRILL, 2008); Heuken, *Umat Kristen Di Asia Dari Abad Ke-16 Hingga Sekarang*.

welcomed by the community with the intention of fighting the Hitu people, who were included in the *Uli-Lima*. At this time, baptism became a symbol of friendship and coalition with the Portuguese.⁶⁵

In the early 16th century, the Portuguese and Spanish engaged in trade, political and religious competition with Muslim traders in the Moluccas Islands (see Fig. 3). The Moluccas were named *Jazirah al-Muluk*, meaning “the land of kings,” by Arab traders.⁶⁶ The Portuguese began a spice-shipment expedition from Malacca to the Moluccas under the leadership of Francisco Serrão between 1511 and 1522. Their goal was to find cloves and nutmeg. The Portuguese anchored in Ambon, Ternate and then Tidore.⁶⁷

Figure 3: Routes of the Spanish Galleons and the Portuguese Maritime Empire



Source: Donoso, et.al. (2022)⁶⁸

The Portuguese had a significant impact on Ternate, particularly in terms of culture and religion. The Ternate people welcomed the arrival of the Portuguese with open arms. Even the Sultan of Ternate, Abu Lais or Bayansirullah (1522), cooperated in the political and economic sectors. In 1522, the Sultan of Ternate and the Portuguese built a fort in Ternate. Meanwhile, Tidore, a competitor of Ternate, established political and economic cooperation with Spain after the end of Fernao de Magalhães' expedition in 1521.⁶⁹

Pigafetta's journal documents the relationship between Tidore and Spain for the first time on November 8, 1521. The journal reveals that Sultan Al-Mansur welcomed the arrival of two fleets of Spanish ships and expressed his willingness to serve the King of Spain. Sultan Al-Mansur granted Spain permission to trade, transport clove commodities, and build a fort in Tidore.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Henry Venn, ed., “Xavier a Director of Jesuit Missions In The East, And a Royal Commissioner From The King of Portugal,” in *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier Taken from His Own Correspondence: With a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen*, Cambridge Library Collection - Religion (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Heuken, *Umat Kristen Di Asia Dari Abad Ke-16 Hingga Sekarang*.

⁶⁶ Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*; Galvão, “História Das Molucas.”

⁶⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam Nusantara Jaringan Global dan Lokal* (Mizan, 2002).

⁶⁸ Donoso et al., *Boxer Codex El Códice A Modern Spanish Transcription and English Translation of 16th-Century Exploration Accounts of East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific*.

⁶⁹ Azra, *Islam Nusantara Jaringan Global dan Lokal*; Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*.

⁷⁰ Amal, *Portugis & Spanyol di Maluku*; Salonia, “Encompassing the Earth.”

In the mid-16th century, relations between the Portuguese and the Sultanate of Ternate significantly deteriorated. This decline was primarily due to the Portuguese efforts to promote Christianity in the Ternate region. In 1570, the Portuguese assassinated the ruler of Ternate, Sultan Harun, with the clear intention of undermining the influence of Islam in the area. Meanwhile, the Spanish endeavored to Christianize Tidore through the efforts of missionaries such as Saint Francis Xavier and Saint Ignatius de Loyola of the Jesuit Order between 1506 and 1552.

Both Portuguese and Spanish missionaries played a crucial role in the Christianization process within the Moluccas during the 16th century. It is evident that religious factors were significant in the competition for the spice trade and control over trading ports in the Moluccas. The arrival of the Portuguese and Spanish in Tidore and Ternate undoubtedly intensified the rivalry between Islam and Christianity.⁷¹

The arrival of Christianity in the Moluccas, particularly in the Tidore region, was brought about by European missionaries from Portugal and Spain. This introduction sparked several conflicts during the early stages of the evangelization process. Two primary causes contributed to these conflicts: 1. The Europeans and their missionaries approached the teachings of Catholicism with a traditional attitude of antagonism toward Islam in the Moluccas region, particularly in Tidore. 2. The community's loyalty to a particular religion significantly influenced how they viewed the acceptance of a new faith by other communities. For instance, some settlements in Halmahera chose to accept and adopt Catholicism as a counter to the Islam practiced by their rivals in Ternate, Tidore, and Jailolo. This situation reflects a broader phenomenon where a society's adherence to a belief system is shaped by political, social, and religious competition.⁷² The Christianization efforts by Spanish missionaries in the Tidore region during the 16th century were rooted in this antagonism toward Islam. The Iberians sought to dominate global trade, intertwining their economic pursuits with religious motives. Their colonial exploration efforts were not solely focused on economic and political aspects, but also heavily influenced by the interests of the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, achieving these goals often involved the use of violence in the process of spreading Catholicism, particularly in the Moluccas and Tidore regions.⁷³

The antagonistic attitude of the Iberians—specifically the Spanish and Portuguese—toward Islam was evident when they arrived in Tidore during the 16th and 17th centuries. These European nations approached the region with suspicion toward the local Muslim population. One particular figure of suspicion was Sultan Gapi Baguna, the local leader of Tidore in the mid-16th century. The Iberians were wary of the Sultan's actions, especially when he invited a Catholic tailor to the Sultanate Palace and pressured him to convert to Islam. As a result, Tidore experienced numerous acts of violence and conflicts, both small and large scale, often driven by religious factors, particularly during the process of Christianization.⁷⁴

The conflict during the 16th and 17th centuries involved geopolitical and economic competition among the Portuguese, Spanish, and Muslim communities in the Tidore and Ternate regions. The rivalry between the Iberians (Spanish and Portuguese) was effectively exploited by the Muslim community, which benefited greatly in terms of trade and politics. This conflict was deeply

⁷¹ Azra, *Islam Nusantara Jaringan Global dan Lokal*; Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*.

⁷² Andaya, *The World of Maluku*.

⁷³ Platenkamp, "Encounters with Christianity in the North Moluccas (Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries)."

⁷⁴ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*; Robert Markley, "Riches, Power, Trade and Religion: The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1720," *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 3 (2003): 494–516.

intertwined with religious considerations and included the active involvement of the Muslim Sultanate in various battles.⁷⁵

One significant event was the war between Spain and Portugal, which involved Captain Martín Íñiguez de Carquizano in late October 1526. In that same year, Carquizano allied himself with local rulers (Sultans) in Jailolo and Tidore to combat the Portuguese forces. This conflict persisted for 20 years, continuing until Ruy Lopez de Villalobos arrived in the region in 1546. Villalobos formed alliances with the Muslim Sultans of the Moluccas, who were also opposed to Eastern European Christians at the time.⁷⁶

Ultimately, Villalobos signed a treaty with representatives of the Portuguese Christian side to end the hostilities. In the treaty, he expressed the sentiment that “*porque se escusem guerras e escandalos antre cristãos especial [mente] estando antre mouros imiguos de nossa santa fe católica.*” This translates to his belief that preventing religious conflict between Islam and Catholicism was a vital approach to resolving differences.⁷⁷

Competition between Islamic and Catholic preachers to spread their influence was driven by their legitimacy and interests in the Moluccan people, particularly in Tidore. Islamic forces gained control over the trade routes and the region 50 to 80 years before the arrival of the Iberians in the Moluccas Islands.⁷⁸ The presence and dominance of Islam were notably strong in this area, especially in Tidore and Ternate.⁷⁹

This dominance became a significant factor in opposing Catholic missionaries during the Christianization process, as many Tidore Muslims demonstrated rejection and resistance to Catholic teachings. A notable event of opposition occurred during a Jesuit mission led by Brother Jorge de Fonceca, assisted by Brother Lorenzo Masonio, in 1613. They managed to baptize the consort of a prince who was set to become the successor to the throne of the Sultanate of Tidore. However, the queen’s conversion to Christianity was met with a negative response and strong opposition from Islamic clerics and the Tidore Muslim community at that time.⁸⁰ This tension escalated into larger conflicts, with Muslims labeling Europeans and Catholics as “infidels” and calling for “Holy War” or *Jihad*. They aimed to defend their political and economic interests while preserving their faith against the influence of Christianization.⁸¹

The process of Christianization in the Moluccas Islands, particularly Tidore, was marked by violence and faced considerable conflict and opposition from the Muslim community. Nonetheless, some Spanish and Portuguese Catholic missionaries adapted their approach to align with the culture, traditions, customs, and local beliefs of the Tidore people. Similar to the process of Islamization, Christianization allowed adherents to maintain long-held practices, such as having

⁷⁵ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*; K. A. Steenbrink and J. S. Aritonang, *Chapter Two. 1530–1670: A Race Between Islam And Christianity?* (2008), 9–21.

⁷⁶ Tovar, “Relacion Sumaria Del Descubrimto.”

⁷⁷ Jean Andrews, “‘Requeiro Huma Duas e Tres Vezes’: The Confrontation between Ruy López de Villalobos and Jorge de Castro over the Maluku Islands in 1543-4,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 30, no. 1 (2024): 1–18.

⁷⁸ Andaya, *The World of Maluku*; Platenkamp, “Encounters with Christianity in the North Moluccas (Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries).”

⁷⁹ Crab, “Geschiedenis Van Ternate, in Ternataanschen En Maleischen Tekst Beschreven Door Den Ternataan Naidah.”3/16/26 10:17:00 AM

⁸⁰ Galvão, “História Das Molucas.”

⁸¹ Barbara Watson Andaya, *Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia 1600-1700* (ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016).

Pluralistic Religious Societies and Cultural Crossroads in the Early Modern Sultanate of Tidore, Indonesia multiple wives and the ancestral belief in worshipping the spirits of their ancestors (animism).⁸² However, this strategy of Christianization, which emphasized adaptation and flexibility, ultimately failed to achieve the missionaries' goal of converting the population of the Moluccas, including Tidore, to Christianity. This was largely due to the very small number of baptized individuals in the region until the 16th century. During this time, the political system of Islamic governance established by the Sultanate in the Moluccas continued to evolve and strengthen.⁸³

Early Modern Tidorese Cultural Crossroads

Cloves and other spices were in such high demand, resulting in frequent visits by Chinese, Arab, Javanese, Malay and European traders to the Moluccas during the 15th to 17th centuries.⁸⁴ The arrival of foreign communities in Tidore resulted in a clear process of crossing local culture with foreign culture. Tidorese had to strengthen, adapt and absorb foreign cultural values and elements to survive the influx of foreign cultures. This process resulted in the hybrid identities of the various foreign loanwords in the local language, culinary hybridity, and material culture.⁸⁵

Tidore is unquestionably a cross-linguistic language. Its vocabulary is intermingled with loanwords from indigenous languages, Arabic, and European languages (Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch). Foreign loanwords have been part of the Malay language since it was first introduced in North Moluccas, especially in Tidore.⁸⁶ Islam has had a significant presence in the Moluccas Islands, particularly Tidore, since the 14th century.⁸⁷ Islam and Arabic culture were brought to the islands by traders invited by the local chief (*kaicil*). The chief embraced Islam and named his son after the Islamic preacher, Sultan Al-Mansur.⁸⁸ Arabic culture has undeniably influenced the Malay-Tidorese language. The local language has borrowed Arabic words, including *sulthan*, *khalifat fi al-ardh*, *baiat*, *tadbir*, *abd*, *majlis*, *aman*, *amar*, *wazir*, *dawan* and *shah*.⁸⁹ Other loanwords are terms related to Islamic religious practices, including *masjid* (mosque), *do'a* (prayer), and *ilm* (science).⁹⁰ Furthermore, Arabic loanwords are evident in the term *Jazirah Al-Mamluk*, the nickname of the Moluccas Islands, which translates to "Islands of Kings". The name Tidore has its roots in the Iraqi dialect word *Thadore*, which means "I have arrived".⁹¹

The Tidorese also welcomed and interacted with the Iberians, borrowing some Portuguese and Spanish words.⁹² Some loanwords can be traced from the toponyms of the Moluccas (in Ambon and Tidore), namely *Poka* (lips); *Cova* (cave); *Cabo de Martafos*; *Gang da Silva*; *Noodwyck Fence*; *Torre* Fortress; and *El Cano* Monument.⁹³ The Tidorese borrowed some Dutch loanwords

⁸² Andaya, *The World of Maluku*.

⁸³ K. A. Steenbrink and J. S. Aritonang, "1530–1670: A Race Between Islam And Christianity?," in *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, vol. 35 (BRILL, 2008).

⁸⁴ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*; R. Z. Leirissa, *Sengketa Rempah: Halmahera Timur Dan Raja Jailolo Abad Ke-19* (Komunitas Bambu, 2022).

⁸⁵ Reid, *Hybrid Identities in the Fifteenth-Century Straits of Malacca*; Daya Negri Wijaya, "Film Dokumenter 'Hula-Keta' Sebagai Media Penguatan Ketahanan Sosial-Budaya Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan," *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional* 29, no. 2 (2023): 220.

⁸⁶ Don Van Minde, *European Loan Words in Ambonese Malay*, version 1.0, 2002, PDF, 2.9M, 193-216 pages.

⁸⁷ Galvão, "História Das Molucas."

⁸⁸ Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*.

⁸⁹ Rais, "Wajah Islam di Bandar Jalur Sutera (Kajian Sejarah Sosial Pada Kesultanan Tidore-Maluku Utara)."

⁹⁰ Eliana Pangestika et al., "Differences in Arabic-Indonesian Vocabulary Absorption in Religious Terms: Phonological Studies," *Al-Irfan: Journal of Arabic Literature and Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2023): 190–207; Van Minde, *European Loan Words in Ambonese Malay*.

⁹¹ Ahmad, *Ekspedisi Magellan: Poros Perdagangan Spanyol Di Tidore*.

⁹² Amal, *Portugis & Spanyol di Maluku*.

⁹³ Daya Negri Wijaya and Deny Yudo Wahyudi, *Nusa Ambon Silang Budaya: Pertemuan Jaringan Global Abad XVI-XVII* (Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi Republik Indonesia, 2023).

when the Dutch settled in the Moluccan Islands. Dutch loanwords are an integral part of the Moluccan language. Therefore, in the Moluccan language, Dutch loanwords are often used daily. These words are *rim* (belt), trap (stairs), ~~fork~~, *lopas* (run), *fader* (father), *muder* (mother), and *danke* (thank you).⁹⁴

Culinary practices are undoubtedly a form of hybrid identity, and the *hula-keta* serves as a prime example of culinary hybridity. *Hula-keta*, also known as baked sago, illustrates the blend between Tidore and European cuisine. Traditionally, *hula* is prepared using sweet potato or cassava combined with sago starch, and it's shaped using square molds known as *keta* and *forno* in the local language. Interestingly, "*forno*" is the Portuguese word for "oven." However, the *keta* or *forno* is not a conventional oven; rather, it is a simpler clay mold used for this unique dish.⁹⁵

Hula-Keta has indisputable historical value, especially in the early modern period from the 15th to 17th centuries. Tidore was one of the most significant spice-producing regions in the Moluccas Islands, renowned for its cloves and nutmeg. These commodities attracted the interest and arrival of foreigners, especially the Spanish and Portuguese. When the Spanish arrived in Tidore, they had no choice but to process sago starch (*hula*) using a simple mold (*keta*) to meet their food needs. The Spanish asked the Tidorese to make the sago bread, which became a staple food. *Hula-keta* reflects the cultural hybridity between the Iberian and Tidorese people. This is evident from the process of interaction, absorption, and adjustment.⁹⁶ Sago for the Tidorese was not merely a staple food but a culture as well. The Tidorese used the sago in various cultural activities and rituals from birth to daily activities and death. There is a tradition named *toso lojo-lojo* (piercing the throat), which involves forcing liquid sago into the baby's throat. This practice has recently been criticized by the health sector. They think that the practice can disrupt the baby's digestion. Not all Tidore people have digestive problems.⁹⁷

The material culture is another clear example of a hybrid identity. Material culture and artifacts are indisputably the physical manifestations of a culture. Material culture is created by complex ideas and patterned behavior. Material culture is defined as objects and things that can be touched, seen and documented.⁹⁸ The material heritage is a human creation. It can be fully explained in terms of the physical form of the building, how it was constructed, the philosophical significance of each architectural element and the building's function. Furthermore, buildings can be classified as either vernacular or modern architecture.⁹⁹

Tidorese Palace is a prominent material cultural heritage for the Tidorese. This palace is where the center of Tidore was located. The Tidorese capital was moved several times from Rum to Soasio, located on the east coast of Tidore Island and facing Halmahera Island.¹⁰⁰ The Sultanate capital was moved for security reasons during the reign of Sultan Syaifuddin in 1657. In Soasio, the palace was called *Kadato Kie*.¹⁰¹ *Kadato Kie* is a traditional vernacular building with a profound

⁹⁴ Wijaya and Wahyudi, *Nusa Ambon Silang Budaya: Pertemuan Jaringan Global Abad XVI-XVII*.

⁹⁵ Wijaya, "Film Dokumenter 'Hula-Keta' Sebagai Media Penguatan Ketahanan Sosial-Budaya Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan."

⁹⁶ Wijaya, "Film Dokumenter 'Hula-Keta' Sebagai Media Penguatan Ketahanan Sosial-Budaya Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan."

⁹⁷ Wijaya, "Film Dokumenter 'Hula-Keta' Sebagai Media Penguatan Ketahanan Sosial-Budaya Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan."

⁹⁸ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas dan Pembangunan* (Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2015).

⁹⁹ Daya Negri Wijaya et al., *Kebudayaan Materi Di Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah Abad XV-XVII* (Jagat Litera, 2023).

¹⁰⁰ Leirissa, *Sengketa Rempah: Halmahera Timur Dan Raja Jailolo Abad Ke-19*.

¹⁰¹ Faaroek, *Kilas Balik Kota Soasio Sebagai Pemerintahan Kesultanan Tidore Dan Prospeknya*.

philosophical value in its architecture. The building also houses a place of worship and the center of *Kadato Kie*. This building is adorned with a variety of ornaments, including nutmeg and clove symbols, as well as the emblem of the Sultanate of Tidore. This building's unique shape is evident in its roof, which features a combination of pyramid and traditional Javanese roofs, namely *Joglo*.¹⁰² The security post in the main entrance is the other architectural feature.¹⁰³

There is no doubt that Tidorese material culture has been influenced by European culture. Tidore was aware that their rival, the Luso-Ternate alliance, had fortified their strongholds to monitor Tidorese activities. The Tidorese welcomed the Spanish and permitted them to build a fortress on their island. In 1528, Hernando de la Torre constructed two forts in the center of Tidore to strengthen Spanish military defenses.¹⁰⁴ In 1529, King Charles V made a significant decision by transferring Spanish monopoly rights in the Moluccas to the Portuguese, accompanied by adequate compensation. The Spanish Crown was facing financial difficulties due to the ongoing war with France. This transfer was finalized on April 22, 1529, during negotiations in Zaragoza. The Portuguese King João III signed the agreement in Lisbon in 1530. This negotiation is known as the Treaty of Zaragoza, which established a clear agreement that the Kingdom of Spain would relinquish all its rights over the Moluccas Islands to the Portuguese, with an agreed compensation of 350,000 gold ducats.¹⁰⁵

Spain took control of the Portuguese in 1580 and immediately made all Portuguese colonies Spanish property, especially Tidore. Spain re-established an alliance with the Sultanate of Tidore and built a fortress, Fort Torre. Sancho Vasconcelos built this fort in 1578.¹⁰⁶ In 1615, Governor Juan de Silva ordered the construction of another fort in Tidore. This fort was called *Tahula* or Santiago de los Caballeros and was built in a year. This fort was built to demonstrate the existence and importance of Spanish influence on the Tidore Sultanate.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

The Sultanate of Tidore played a crucial role in the spice trade from the 13th to the 17th centuries, establishing itself as a key player in the global exchange of goods, ideas, and cultures. The influx of foreign traders, including those from China, Arabia, Java, Portugal, and Spain, transformed Tidore into a cultural crossroads where hybrid identities emerged. This hybridization can be seen through the integration of Arabic and European loanwords, culinary traditions like *hula-keta* (baked sago), and material culture represented by the Kadato Kie Palace and Iberian forts.

While there is limited information about fashion or textiles in the early modern period, Indian textiles from Malacca were present in the Moluccan markets. Future studies focusing on miscegenation could provide further insights. Theoretically, intermarriage acts as a catalyst for hybrid culture, creating intimate spaces where cultural elements are negotiated, fused, and invented. The result is not merely a blending of cultures but the emergence of a “third space” where new and dynamic forms of identity and tradition flourish. The offspring of these unions inhabit a “between” space and culture, preserving their hybrid heritage from their ancestors.

¹⁰² Wijaya et al., *Kebudayaan Materi Di Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah Abad XV-XVII*.

¹⁰³ Leirissa, *Sengketa Rempah: Halmahera Timur Dan Raja Jailolo Abad Ke-19*.

¹⁰⁴ Dan Marco Ramerini, *The Spanish Forts on the Island of Tidore 1521-1663: (Colonial Voyage, 2023)*.

¹⁰⁵ Amal, *Portugis & Spanyol di Maluku*.

¹⁰⁶ Juan Carlos Rey et al., *Benteng-Benteng Di Kepulauan Maluku: Ternate Dan Tidore (Yayasan Pustaka Obor, 2022)*.

¹⁰⁷ Ramerini, *The Spanish Forts on the Island of Tidore 1521-1663:*

However, social interaction and cultural contact did not always run smoothly. They shaped the social, economic, and religious dynamics of Tidore, creating a complex fabric of cultural exchange. These hybrid identities not only redefined Tidore's local culture but also laid the groundwork for its modern cultural identity. The lasting impact of this cultural amalgamation is still evident today in Tidore's language, cuisine, and material culture, making it a unique testament to the historical interactions between local and foreign powers.

Stakeholders must recognize the importance of preserving the richness of Tidorese culture. Continuous documentation, transmission, and exhibition of Tidorese culture are essential. Alongside other colleagues, the authors have created and released a documentary film about baked sago. Furthermore, Tidorese hybrid culture should be promoted in innovative and creative ways to attract a wider audience. Stakeholders also need to support and improve the quality of life for cultural preservers, as they play a pivotal role in sustaining daily cultural activities.

References

Ahmad, Irfan. *Ekspedisi Magellan: Poros Perdagangan Spanyol Di Tidore*. Laporan Penelitian. Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2019.

Amal, M. Adnan. *Kepulauan Rempah-rempah Perjalanan Kepulauan Maluku Utara 1250-1950*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2007.

Amal, M. Adnan. *Portugis & Spanyol di Maluku*. Komunitas Bambu, 2010.

Andaya, Barbara Watson. *Islam and Christianity in Southeast Asia 1600-1700*. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2016.

Andaya, Leonard. "Local Trade Networks in Maluku in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries." *Cakalele* 2, no. 2 (1991): 71–96.

Andaya, Leonard. *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*. University of Hawaii Press, 1993.

Andrews, Jean. "'Requeiro Huma Duas e Tres Vezes': The Confrontation between Ruy López de Villalobos and Jorge de Castro over the Maluku Islands in 1543-4." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 30, no. 1 (2024): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14701847.2024.2325291>.

Aritonang, Jan Sihar, and Karel Adriaan Steenbrink. *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. BRILL, 2008.
Azra, Azyumardi. *Islam Nusantara Jaringan Global dan Lokal*. Mizan, 2002.

Blaeu, Willem Janszoon, and Jodocus Hondius. *Antique Map of North Moluccas*. 1571. <https://www.helmink.com/print/19165/blaeu-moluccas>.

Blair, Emma Helen. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898-Volume XXVII*. 2005. <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/26004>.

Blair, Emma Helen, and James Alexander. *The Philippine Island, 1493-1898-Volume XXIII*. Gutenberg, 2005. <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/26004>.

Blair, Emma Helen, and James Alexander. *The Philippine Island, 1493-1898-Volume XXIV*. Gutenberg, 2006. <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/26004>.

Pluralistic Religious Societies and Cultural Crossroads in the Early Modern Sultanate of Tidore, Indonesia
Bohigian, Gary William. *Life on the Rim of Spain's Pacific-American Empire : Presidio Society in the Molucca Islands, 1606-1663*. UMI Dissertation Services, 1994.
<https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130000795622148608>.

Boxer, Charles Ralph. *Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1904.

Brito, Miguuel Roxo de. *The Report of Miguel Roxo de Brito of His Voyage in 1581-1582 to the Raja Ampat, the MacCluer Gulf and Seram*. 1590.

Carletti, Francesco. *My Voyage Around the World (Edited by Herbert Weinstock)*. Methuen, 1964.

Crab, P. Van Der. "Geschiedenis Van Ternate, in Ternataanschen En Maleischen Tekst Beschreven Door Den Ternataan Naidah." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 26 (1878): 381–493.

Crewe, Ryan Dominic. "Islas De Fabula Y Guerra: Como Las Molucas Demarcaron El Nuevo Mundo." *Intus - Legere Historia* 17, no. 1 (2023): 11–42. <https://doi.org/10.15691/%25x>.

Donoso, Isaac, Ma. Luisa García, Carlos Quirino, and Mauro García. *Boxer Codex El Códice A Modern Spanish Transcription and English Translation of 16th-Century Exploration Accounts of East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific*. 2nd Edition. Vibal Foundation, 2022.

Faaroek, Muhammad Amin. *Jejak Sejarah Kesultanan Tidore*. Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2016.

Faaroek, Muhammad Amin. *Kilas Balik Kota Soasio Sebagai Pemerintahan Kesultanan Tidore Dan Prospeknya*. Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan Kota Tidore Kepulauan, 2019.

Hägerdal, Hans. "Diplomacy in the Villages : VOC Agreements and Disagreements with Stateless Societies in Southeastern Maluku in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 4, no. 108 (2024).

Handoko, Wuri, and Syahrudin Mansyur. "Kesultanan Tidore: Bukti Arekologi Sebagai Pusat Kekuasaan Islam Dan Pengaruhnya Di Wilayah Periferi." *Berkala Arkeologi* 38, no. 1 (2018): 1.

Hanna, Willard Anderson, and Des Alwi. *Ternate dan Tidore: Masa Lalu Penuh Gejolak*. Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996.

Heuken, Adolf. *Umat Kristen Di Asia Dari Abad Ke-16 Hingga Sekarang*. Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2011.

Jafar, Nani. *Ternate-Tidore Titik Nol Jalur Rempah Dunia*. 2022.

Koentjaraningrat. *Kebudayaan, Mentalitas dan Pembangunan*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2015.

Kuntowijoyo. *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Tiara Wacana, 2018.

Leirissa, R. Z. *Sengketa Rempah: Halmahera Timur Dan Raja Jailolo Abad Ke-19*. Komunitas Bambu, 2022.

Markley, Robert. "Riches, Power, Trade and Religion: The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1720." *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 3 (2003): 494–516.

Matos, Artur Teodoro de. *On the Seaway to Spices from Malacca to Australia*. INCM, 1995.

McTaggart, Heather. "Dom António and the Early Modern Iberian World: Global Approaches to the Portuguese Succession Crisis of 1580." *History Compass* 19, no. 7 (2021): e12677. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12677>.

Mudzakkir, Amin, Prima Nurahmi Mulyasari, and Ray Ferza. "A Global Pela The Moluccan Diaspora in the Sister City of Vlissingen-Ambon." *Diaspora Studies* 17, no. 2 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1163/09763457-bja10084>.

Nocentelli, Carmen. "Spice Race: The Island Princess and the Politics of Transnational Appropriation." *PMLA* 125, no. 3 (2010): 572–88. <https://doi.org/10.1632/pmla.2010.125.3.572>.

Noonan, Laurence A. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*. Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1989.

Pangestika, Eliana, Tulus Musthofa, and Nasiruddin Nasiruddin. "Differences in Arabic-Indonesian Vocabulary Absorption in Religious Terms: Phonological Studies." *Al-Irfan : Journal of Arabic Literature and Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2023): 190–207. <https://doi.org/10.58223/alirfan.v6i1.6797>.

Pinto, Paulo Jorge De Sousa. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka, 1575-1619: Power, Trade and Diplomacy*. NUS Press, 2012.

Pires, Tomé. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, the Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*. With McGill University Library. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944.

Platenkamp, Jos. "Encounters with Christianity in the North Moluccas (Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries)." In *The Appropriation of Religion in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, 1st ed. Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56230-8_8.

Post, Philip. "A Benign Empire? The Instrumentalisation of Abolitionism in the Moluccas, 1817-1879." *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 139, no. 3 (2023).

Poulgrain, Greg. *Kutukan Emas Papua*. Komunitas Bambu, 2025.

Rais, Muhammad. "Wajah Islam di Bandar Jalur Sutera (Kajian Sejarah Sosial Pada Kesultanan Tidore-Maluku Utara)." *Al-Qalam* 16, no. 2 (2018): 2. <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v16i2.485>.

Ramerini, Dan Marco. *The Spanish Forts on the Island of Tidore 1521-1663: Colonial Voyage*, 2023. <https://www.colonialvoyage.com/spanish-fortresses-island-tidore-1521-1663/>.

Reid, Anthony. *Asia Tenggara Dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680 Jilid 2: Jaringan Perdagangan Global*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2011.

Reid, Anthony. *Hybrid Identities in the Fifteenth-Century Straits of Malacca*. Asia Research Institute, 2006.

Reid, Anthony. *Sejarah Modern Awal Asia Tenggara*. LP3ES, 2019.

Rey, Juan Carlos, Antonio Campo, and Dan Marco Ramerini. *Benteng-Benteng Di Kepulauan Maluku: Ternate Dan Tidore*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor, 2022.

Ricklefs, Merley Calvin. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2004*. Third. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2007.

Pluralistic Religious Societies and Cultural Crossroads in the Early Modern Sultanate of Tidore, Indonesia
Rusdiyanto. “Kesultanan Ternate Dan Tidore.” *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 3, no. 1 (2018).
<https://doi.org/10.30984/ajip.v3i1.631>.

Salonia, Matteo. “Encompassing the Earth: Magellan’s Voyage from Its Political Context to Its Expansion of Knowledge.” *International Journal of Maritime History* 34, no. 4 (2022): 543–60.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/08438714221123468>.

Soriente, Antonia. “Cross-Cultural Encounters of Italian Travellers in the Malay World; A Perspective on the Languages Spoken by the Local Populations.” *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 25, no. 2 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v25i2.1679>.

Steenbrink, K. A., and J. S. Aritonang. “1530–1670: A Race Between Islam And Christianity?” In *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, vol. 35. BRILL, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004170261.i-1004.11>.

Steenbrink, K. A., and J. S. Aritonang. *Chapter Two. 1530–1670: A Race Between Islam And Christianity?* 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004170261.i-1004.11>.

Timme, Elke. *A Presenca Portuguesa Nas Ilhas Das Moluccas 1511 - 1605*. Grin Verlag, 1998.

Van Minde, Don. *European Loan Words in Ambonese Malay*. Version 1.0. 2002. PDF, 2.9M, 193-216 pages. <https://doi.org/10.15144/PL-529.193>.

Venn, Henry, ed. “Xavier a Director of Jesuit Missions In The East, And a Royal Commissioner From The King of Portugal.” In *The Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier Taken from His Own Correspondence: With a Sketch of the General Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen*. Cambridge Library Collection - Religion. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Villiers, John. “Manila and Maluku: Trade and Warfare in the Eastern Archipelago, 1580-1640.” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 34, no. 2 (1986): 2.

Vlekke, Bernard Hubertus Maria. *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2023.

Wijaya, Daya Negri. “Film Dokumenter ‘Hula-Keta’ Sebagai Media Penguatan Ketahanan Sosial-Budaya Di Kota Tidore Kepulauan.” *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional* 29, no. 2 (2023): 220.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jkn.87551>.

Wijaya, Daya Negri, Hariyono Hariyono, Ari Sapto, and Deny Yudo Wahyudi. *Kebudayaan Materi Di Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah Abad XV-XVII*. Jagat Litera, 2023.

Wijaya, Daya Negri, and Deny Yudo Wahyudi. *Nusa Ambon Silang Budaya: Pertemuan Jaringan Global Abad XVI-XVII*. Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi Republik Indonesia, 2023.

