

Spices Trade and Social-Political Conflict at Molucca in the Literature

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ABSTRACT

In the sixteenth century trades on spices were a favorite trading activity. The spice trade became an important aspect of the economy in several Islamic kingdoms based in Malacca. The Islamic kingdoms, among them were Aceh, Banten, Banjar, Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, and Hitu. They contributed greatly to the trade because the trade from Aceh into Malacca considerably lucrative. The fall of Malacca after being attacked from Portuguese in the beginning of the century changed the route of the spice trade to the East, to Molucca: Ternate and Ambon. This international trade involved Portuguese, English, Dutch, Indian, and Japan. Several track records of these international trades were kept in the literary works such as *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, *Ikan-Ikan Hiu Idohoma*, and old documents which recorded the communication between ruler of Molucca and the Dutch colonial. This research was intended to see the social conflict as a result of the interaction in the spice trade roads. How the spices trade affected to the social-political conflict among nations in Molucca represented in literary works. This research will be conducted by qualitative method with sociology of literature approach. This research found that the social conflict among rulers of Molucca caused by the competition among nations in the spices trade. The tense of that clash impacted on the life of the people and the kingdoms of Molucca that had no longer power to control the trade and production of the spices. .

Keywords: *spice trade, social conflict, literature, Islamic kingdom, Moluccas islands.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Spices is the richness of Indonesia for the centuries. The recognition of Indonesia as center of spices trade has been recorded in various literary works and document. Spices were part of daily life of Indonesian people specially in East Indonesia for clove and nutmeg at that time. The glory of the kingdoms in east Indonesia was noted in the great history of the world.

Some of kingdoms grew larger due to the production of spices and the succeed of the trade. Ternate, Banten, Makassar, Aceh, Palembang, Jambi, Siak and north Javanese kingdoms were the empires of the spices (Wulandari in Razif and Fauzi, 2017). In the eastern route of voyage, The Sultanate of Ternate could attract the huge attention of global trade by owning spices. It was too desirable that Molucca was called by western people then as The Spice Island. (Fakhriati, 2010: 15). Clove and nutmeg were prima donna. Banda was the most crucial and largest plantation of nutmeg in Molucca in which seven islands were only planted it.

The growth of nutmeg there was supported by the climate of volcanoes, wind, and rainfall, while the clove rose naturally as endemic plants in Ternate, Tidore and Ambon.

Ternate and Tidore were two empires that expanded larger since 13th and 14th centuries because planted those plants (Razif dan Fauzi, ibid). Another kingdom was Hitu, which gained its greatness in 16th—19th centuries through trading the cloves. After Portugal took over Malacca in 1511, the eastern region, such as Molucca became the important point for Portugal's route of trade.

The magnificent of spices trade in Molucca was also noted in several literary works, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (shortened with HTH), and *Ikan-Ikan Hiu Idohoma* (IHI), in the letters and letters of agreement. HTH was written around 17th century by Sipar Radjali, a Bugis descendant. In the classical literary work was told that Hitu Kingdom gloried in cloves trade. As an advanced empire, Hitu had had diplomatic relation including the trade in it with the kingdoms around, Javanese

kingdoms, and foreign traders namely from, Portugal, Dutch, England, and Japan.

The story of spices commerce in that region was also written in a modern Indonesian literary work by Y.B. Mangunwijaya in 1984. *Ikan-Ikan Hiu Ido Homa* (IIHI) narrated the impressiveness as well as the destruction of Molucca because of conflicts. The high tense of conflicts resulted by the unfair competition in the spice commerce.

The conflict expressed in both of literary works reflected the life of Moluccan people at that period, while some historical document, the oldest letter from Ternate asserted the evidence of the commerce in the area and the its friction as well as the impact on the social political life of kingdoms there. The agreement letter between Ternate and the traders of Portugal as well as Dutch also showed the restraint of the political trade on all empires.

The competition among nations in Molucca ended with war. Widjojo (2013) analyzed the clash between Moluccan empire especially two of biggest kingdoms, Ternate and Tidore let them ally with foreign nations. The entanglement of foreign westerner trader exacerbated situation all areas at Molucca waters. Later, Portugal and Dutch controlled the commerce by making the rules strictly which was called Monopoly. The sultan or everyone who fought the rules was under arrested outside Molucca or murdered.

The issue that will be discussed in this paper is how did spices trade namely cloves and nutmeg affect social political conflict among nations in Molucca showed in literary works? By discussing this point, the paper able to have insight to reconstruct the spices trade in Nusantara and the conflict impacted through literary works. In addition, this paper can complete the previous studies which less focused on the notes of literary works about information of commerce related to the politic of spices.

2. METHOD

This research uses qualitative method by studying literatures. Several steps applied to obtain the aim, the illustration of spices trade (Cloves and nutmeg) in Molucca. First, inventing the data through primer source of research, namely classical, and modern literary works, also the letter of document such as the agreement letter. Those data of literary works and historical document are utmost important in this research by selecting them which relate to spices commerce and its implication in the social politic of Molucca area. The data chosen is specific that find in *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (HTH) and *Ikan-Ikan Hiu Idohoma* (IIHI) besides the letter of agreement. Three of the primer sources show the connectivity between cloves and nutmeg and the impact of those commodity in Molucca islands.

The Data will be analyzed with sociology of literature critics, the framework which declared the relation among the writer, literary works, and society. Damono, (2002:3) said that sociology of literature is an approach in literary critics by observing the second phenomena or epiphenomenon created by the author in the literary work. The Author is not only as an individual, but also as a knowledge system that embraced the situation and spirit of his/her time. Damono (2002:4) cited Ian Watt who underpinned that the social position of the author in his/her relation with the preserver system decided how the literary text produced. The society observed by the author became social factor which influenced the works of the author. HTH, IIHI and Letter of agreement here were written in the context of historical perspective. HTH and IIHI connected the author and social context of historical background, while the agreement letter was the historical document. Both kind of primer sources are crucial to cross check one another because the literary works with the historical background should be appropriate although the advantage of the previous one as artistic work is more imaginative.

Analysis and contextualization the works to the era of the spices commerce in Molucca as background is significant as an attempt to reconstruct spices business bearing on politics of kingdoms in Molucca and the conflict in it. The traces found show that the explanation of a historical journey narrating the affair of spices trade in 16th to 19th centuries in literary works have meaning to be contributed in the knowledge of spice traces in the world.

3. SPICES TRADE AND SOCIAL POLITIC CONFLICTS IN THE LITERATURE AND LETTER

3.1 *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*

The famous commodities of spices in Molucca such as nutmeg (and its fuli), clove called spices trinity, had appeal to invite the traders from all of the world. Before foreigner traders involved in the transaction, the local merchants from Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo, Bone, Makassar, Ambon, and Hitu had enlivened the market there. The foreigners who came in then were Portugal after fighting against local rulers in Malacca then controlled the trading, Spain, Dutch, English and Japan.

All of the occurrence around the trading then were told in HTH by Sipar Rijali in 1653. Rijali was the eyewitness who was ever seen by Valentijn in the warship arrived at Ambon in 1633. He was called the old man, at 60 years old (Putten, 2004). The manuscript of HTH has been investigated by Manusama (1977) with the title *Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Historie en Sociale Structuur van Hitu tot het Midden van de Zeventiende*

Eeuw and Putten (2004) *Historie van Hitu*. Mu'jizah (2005) has researched it too in the frame of encounter among nations.

HTH is classified in 4 parts, the beginning about the establishment of governmental system in Tanah Hitu (1500—1538) by four settler of leaders, Totohutu, Tanihitumese, Nusapati, dan Pati Tuban who lead the area with color as symbol of power. Totohutu wore the blue and green color of south as symbol of the sea, Tanihitumese wore the black color of west as symbol of earth, Pati Tuban was yellow, the symbol of land, and Nusapati used the red of east, the symbol of horizon.

While the local traders did transaction, the diplomatic relation among local empires had been intertwined. As an example, the Molucca's empires had sent their scholars to study Islam in Java Island. After finishing study, they came to the home soil, and spread Islam to the society. Hitu became Islamic kingdom, and called Portuguese as kafir people. Furthermore, the Sultanate of Hitu cooperated with the kingdoms of Ternate, Tidore, Ambon, Bone, Kambelo, Luhu, Buton, and Makassar. In Ambon, Hitu made relationship with Sultan Khairun Jamil, Ambon ruler's as well as doing cooperation with the region of Jepara in Java. The Prince of Jepara even accompanied the delegate of Hitu to Bali with a huge ship. The cooperation with all empires was used by Hitu to fight against the opponent, Portugal, led by Sancho, although the first coming of the Portuguese traders, The Hitu Sultanate accepted them kindly. Here the text was cited:

“Darimana datang negerimu?” Maka ia menyahut, “Adapun kami ini datang dari negeri Portugal dan kehendak kami berdagang. Sebab kami datang di sini kami sesat tiada tahu jalan. Maka kami jatuh pesisir ke tanah sebelah dan kapal kami pun tekarang di laut Puluh Burung. Maka tinggal kapal kami, naik pada sampang enda pulang ke negeri Portugal. Tetapi malim tiada tahu, maka kami datang kemari. Apatah daya untung kami di sini?” (HTH: 15).

“Where are you from?” Then he answered, “as for we come from Portugal and we have aim to trade. Then we don't know the way here, so we get lost. Then we fall on the coast neighbor and our ship is wrecked in Puluh Burung sea. Then our ship there, we should use a boat to go there to return home. Then the happening, we never know, then we arrive here. What a destiny, here?” (HTH:15)

The hospitality from prime minister of Hitu as host to greet the guests was expressed by giving them a place to stay. Their ship was harbored to Hitu waters, moreover The Sultanate of Hitu permitted them to do spices business. However, the warmth of Hitu's prime minister was responded by the Portuguese traders with the tricky way in the business. In addition, they also had

irresponsible behavior by drinking in public space such as in the market and rubbering the goods owned by local people. The fighting was often occurred. After that the prime ministry translocated the Portuguese traders in certain place. Since then, the relationship between them were getting worst. The rift and tension between Hitu and Portugal could not be avoided until once the war called Sabil war occurred in 1512—1605.

In that war there was an agreement, but Portugal in fact was difficult to go out from Hitu. Based on that reason Hitu asked a help from the Dutch traders who furthermore contacted the Prince van Orange in Holland to get decision. This chance benefited for Dutch to come in Hitu and delegate Amiral Cornelis Sebastians zoon dan Steven der Hage to help Hitu after agreement made. The agreement of cooperation in the reality, had harmed for Hitu which less paid attention to the content. The aim of Hitu limited to the expulsion of Portugal from Hitu without careful consideration. This is the citation of the rule:

Apabila barang suatu perbuatan jika salah kepada adat jangan dikerjakan kepada dua kaum itu dan diperjanjikan upahan, apabila alah kepada kotanya, maka orang Hitu bayar empat ratus bahara kepada Wolanda. Adapun kotanya dan senjatanya dan orangnya hitam itu kepada orang Hitu dan orang putih itu kepada orang Wolanda. Apabila alah kepada kepada kapal, maka bayar empat puluh bahara. Kapal sertan senjatanya dan orang kulit putih kepada Wolanda, orang hitam kepada Hitu.... Apabila alah kotanya itu maka kami beri empat ratus bahara cengkik. Adapun kotanya serta senjatanya kepada orang Hitu dan orang hitam itu pulang kepada hitam dan orang putih kembali kepada putih. Apabila jika kalah kepada kapalnya maka beri empat puluh bahara. Adapun kapalnya serta senjatanya kepada Welanda dan orang putih serta kapalnya. Dan orang hitam kepada orang Hitu dan artinya dibahagi dua (HTH:39).

If a certain deed is wrong to the customary law, it will not be done to two communities and will not promise the wage, while it disobeys to the town, Hitu people will pay 400 bahara to holland. While the town, weapon, black people to Hitu people and white people to Dutch people. If a certain deed is wrong to the holland ship, it will be paid 40 bahara. The ship and weapon and white people to the Dutch, black people to Hitu...if there is wrong deed to the town, we will give 400 bahara of clove. While the town and the weapon to the Hitu and black people depend on the black people, and white people depend on white people. If it is wrong to the holland ship, it will be paid 40 bahara. While the ship and the weapon to the Dutch and white people include its ship. And black people to the Hitu people and the property will be divided into two.

The agreement was dealt and then the Dutch military led by Amiral Matelief dan Steven van der Hagen encountered with Mihirjiguna, the leader of Hitu army. The soldiers from Laha joined in too. Together they attacked Portugal that had already controlled Ambon. Portuguese military was lost, after that Dutch army ruled Hitu and made monopoly of clove trade. Moreover, the Dutch asked to Kambelo and Luhu to be controlled in an agreement, although those laid outside Hitu's area. Finally, only Ternate was taken controlled by the Dutch. Since then, Dutch imperialism occupied Hitu.

The fight and resistance from the Hitu people to Dutch continued, and one of them countered to remove the indigenous governmental system that was applied by Dutch. However, Hitu and its allies were lost, as a result, Hitu, Ambon, Laha, Wawani, and Ternate were ruled by Dutch in 1643—1646. Many people then evacuated to Makassar.

3.2 Ikan -Ikan Hiu Ido Homa

The history of spice trade narrated by novel of IHHI was written based on research of history and culture in north Molucca. The commerce of spice commodity in fact, had consequence in the sharp competition of politics ended with wars, murders of the local leaders and sultan in Molucca, as well as the mass killing of thousands Banda people.

IHHI underlined that the competition among kingdoms in Molucca never went out especially two of the giants, Ternate and Tidore, the twin island which each owned the volcano that enriched the lands. Ternate as the background of the story of IHHI was told as a great empire which often expanded other kingdom's area and ruled it as vassal. One of the vassals of Ternate was Jailolo in Halmahera. This area possessed the famous village in the coast of Kao Bay lived Tobelo community as the boat maker at a time as the pirates. Once the village leader rejected the command of Ternate army to produce kora-kora boats which caused mass murder to Tobelo people. The killing leaved 4 persons, two of them hid in the jungle and became husband and wife then, while the remains were taken away to Ternate.

Through the figure, Mioti Lamo, and his wife (Loema Dara), IHHI opened the conflict of people along Molucca's water, how they fought, prejudice, and hate each other. Mioti came from Tobelo tribal lived in Gamfela, the coast of Kao Bay that his former village, Dowingo Jo was disappeared by Ternate army led by Musang Bader. After the mass killing, he run away and hid in the jungle with the widow of the village leader and married her. Later, they established the new village, Gamfela. Dowingo Jo was very famous village because there had tradition to create the boat and the people were also brave to do the profession as pirates.

Although they were under the ruler of Jailolo, they were independent society. The evidence of their freedom was their boldness to fight Ternate soldiers. While Mioti Lamo and his wife had the new life in Gamfela, they continued the tradition of making boat, but not pirates profession. Mioti Lamo was represented as the peace, pure, stupid but wise character from the grassroot.

In structural level, IHHI depicted the correlation of Ternate official, the policy, and the blunder of sultanate politics when he decided to cooperated with the Dutch to empower the strength to battle against Portugal allied with Tidore. Some officials were drawn as the figures that had different opinion with the Sultan Said Berkhat. Jougugu Hidayat, Kaicil Ali, and later the prince Juanga Murari, one of brothers of the next Sultan, Modafar, took position to resist the Dutch. They developed the alliance secretly with local people under Ternate Kingdom and cooperated with local leader of Banda.

The alliance between Ternate and Dutch was no longer like Jougugu Hidayat, the right hand of Sultan thought. The horizontal clash occurred when The Dutch jailed Sultan Said Berkhat after a decade, and he was sent to Manila, Philippine, as a prisoner. After that Dutch controlled over Ternate, even interfered to the king appointment like pushed Ternate to coronated Modafar as Sultan although he was still teenager and had unstable psychology. The coronation of Modafar benefited the Dutch to intervened in ruling of Ternate especially in the policy of spices commerce and plantation.

Some Ternate officials who resisted with the Dutch found coalition, one of the friends was Banda. The journey of the prince Juanga Murari to Banda in IHHI at once discovered that Banda was independent area without the central government and it had their own local leader. Banda and the islands surrounded was managed by Orang Kaya. Those islands were targeted by VOC because of the nutmeg and its fuli. First time of VOC arrival in Banda got the antagonism from people. The Orang Kaya led Banda people to hunt the Dutch military and to trap admiral Farahoven. At that time Jan Peter Coen was still young soldier and he witnessed there. When he run away, he safe, and later, when he became governor general of VOC in Banten to replace Reael, he revenged to Orang Kaya and Banda people by killing them massively. There were thousand people in Banda were murdered by the hand of Samurai as the hatched man. The Banda islands after those attacks were under control of VOC from the policy of nutmeg plantation, the slaves, and spice trade routes.

While told the character of Juangan Murari as a hero in IHHI in Banda, there was rendezvous between Murari and Mioti, his father-in-law. Mioti in Banda in IHHI disclosed the story about the pirates of Papua who worked for Tidore empire. Mioti was caught by Papuan pirate when Mioti sailed to Seram to make warship

ordered by Juanga Murari for Ternate army. Mioti was sold by the pirate to one of Banda businessman as one of Orang Kaya in Banda. This Mr. Baker was a hybrid man (his father was Dutchman) who led Banda people as Orang kaya, and positioned himself as Banda people to fight VOC.

3.3 Letter and Agreement Letter

The affair of spice commerce which involved Ternate, Tidore, and almost entire areas of Molucca's water were proofed with the letter and agreement letter. In Mu'jizah (2013) it is affirmed that two oldest letters cited by Gallop (1994) and the agreement document from Ternate contained spices trade which resulted on socio-politic. One letter in 1521 was sent by Sultan Abu Hayat from Ternate to Portuguese king. In that letter was informed that there was dispute which caused the delegate of Portuguese, Fransisco Serrao killed in Ambon. The occurrence started from seven boats that were hijacked by Fransisco Serrao to bring to Ternate. The killing of Serrao was done in Tidore through the drink mixed with the poison.

Second letter in 1522 was sent by Sultan Abu Hayat from Ternate to the King of Portugal. The letter acclaimed that Portuguese king had come to the region with two ships delivering weapons and treasure to security of harbor. The weapon was shipped to protect The Sultan of Ternate. At that time was also given 40 rifles to Tidore Sultan and the ship allowed to stay there. The coming of Portugal and the mutual relation with Ternate made jealous other traders, England and Dutch.

Dutch finally succeed to enter Ternate and proved with MS 40320 written at 25th March 1785. This letter derived from Sultan Nuku to *East India Company* to join in spice trade. The letter was noted in relation to the crack of the alliance with Portugal. The Portuguese trade was expelled then the sultanate cooperated with the Dutch. The cooperation between Ternate and Dutch was the beginning of the new disaster.

Various agreement between Ternate and Dutch were signed in although those fettered Ternate's policies related to commerce and politics. The letter number 113 8/3A (Indonesian national library) is additional agreement which contented the deal between Yacob Bens Bach and Sultan Tajul Mahsul from Sultanate of Ternate. The letter was made at 10th February 1855 in which was explained about war tools like putting in and pulling out the weapons as well as installing the bullet that should have license from the Dutch resident. The Sultan of Ternate should be subdued under the judge and court of Dutch government, and if Sultan disobeyed, they would be punished referred to the law.

The shackles suffered by Ternate was appeared in the agreement letter no. 113 A 1/35 collected by Indonesian national library. It was between Sultan Tajul Mulku Amiruddin Iskandar and Johanes Alexander

Neys. The contract of this dealt included not to do the crime and persecution to Holland people. In the first article was declared that the king should have loyalty and obedience to the law made. The second article said that not to receive and trade to other who positioned in opponent with Dutch. The sultanate did not build the fortress without informing to Dutch. The other article was declared if the Holland ships and boats sailed in waters of Molucca then they got difficulties on the middle of the sea, the sultanate should protect them. If the Dutch was attacked by the enemies, the sultanate should mobilize the warship and the army. If the sultan of Ternate died, the kingdom could not coronate a new sultan without approval from the Dutch. The sultanate and the people in Ternate could not rebel to the Dutch in order to maintain the justice in that land. The offering of tribute was replaced from clothes to a bucket of cinnamons and 40 buckets of sea cucumber in every year. They could not debt to the traders. Finally, the agreement ruled the private small things for example, if they had dying relative, and the died man left the treasure, it will be taken and regulated by the Dutch. (Mu'jizah, 2013).

The Dutch even applied the extirpation, the rule to chop down clove and nutmeg tree intended to limit the harvest of those commodities, resulting in the price was always valuable. All of the rules determined the indigenous emperors, moreover the politics of monopoly in trading that closed the access of harbor for foreign flagging ships. To preserve the power, Dutch monitored the situation by patrolling called *hongitochten*, united of expedition to monitor the spices plantation in Molucca. (Leirissa, 1996: 104). The policy applied by VOC at that time was influenced from the developing of economic mercantilist in European. (Fakhriati, 2010: 21).

4. THE FALL AFTER THE GLORY IN ERA OF SPICES

Spice commerce with the highly intensive conflict in HTH and IIHI were told in conjunction with the strategy of the trade and maintain the power to maximize benefit. Although HTH, IIHI, and the letters did not discovered amount of profit, they showed the lost of local empires in the encounters with the western traders. Mangun Wijaya in IIHI tended to argue that cooperation with western traders caused disaster. While, Rajali in HTH called as the luck and misfortune.

Likewise described in the agreement letter, the legitimated alliance between Tidore-Dutch, Ternate-Dutch, and other local kingdoms to Dutch profited only that orange country. Instead, it showed the rights and duties to each side, it looked not necessarily obtaining the huge power and authority to Molucca's empires, and affected in decreasing the independence of that kingdoms to rule the own country.

Rijali in HTH reflexed that the naivety of Hitu people and the kingdoms around had been used trickily and greedy by the European traders. The competition among local kingdoms also trapped them to the worst situation, namely imperialism, the authorization of other nations. European traders in both texts Portugal and Dutch had controlled or dominated the local empires started from spice commerce. Mangun Wijaya in IHHI expressed the critical situation in similar. The rival among local empires had divided their selves and the disintegration was benefited the imperialist. Mangun Wijaya called it as the biggest fish (the shark) eats the smaller fish (Ido fish), and Ido fish eats the smallest (homa fish). The peak of that disunited was domination in which the management of land system, and spice trade was under control of rulers who was coopted by huge power from European nations. People who resisted was disappeared.

While, in fact, Rijali was not only as writer. He witnessed the occurrences at the time in the chaos of socio-politics caused by imperialism in Hitu. He saw the track record of Dutch in interfering Hitu government even appointed governor who accompanied the duty of local ruler. There Rijali experienced the war, seeing the spirit of people in Hitu to storm to Dutch and massive people evacuated to Makassar. He immersed himself to those of refugees together hiding in the forests going to Bone, and arriving in Makassar. The suffering of him and Hitu people then was written in HTH.

In addition, Mangunwijaya was further generation interested in the writing of novel based on history of Molucca in the era of spices. His passionate to the past history could reflex the auto-critics of that time, the situation when local society only thought about the desire of competition, and praise themselves. Hence, he underlined the characters who thoughtful and wise regarding of the conflict situation although the hero came from ordinary people.

Compared to historical reference from Muridan Widjojo (2013), affirmed that the fierce competition between two largest empires in eastern kingdom never ended. It was getting acuter after the arrival of trading mission from Portugal, Spain, Dutch by VOC, and England. Portugal built the fortress on Ternate land and their alliance dealt to combat Tidore and caused the complex of the Sultan's palace of Tidore ruined. Meanwhile the association of Tidore and Spain lasted no longer, because Spain chose to leave Tidore and went to Luzon, Philippine. Ternate and its ally continued to combat Jailolo, the confederate of Tidore, Jailolo suffered from that attack and became the vassal of Ternate and Portugal. However, the friendship between them was broken after Sultan Hairun was killed by Portugal. Hairun was Ternate

sultan who win the dispute with Captain Duarte and seized the clove harvest from Makian.

The murdering triggered revenge and war led by next sultan of Ternate, Babullah. He defeated Portugal until they fleet to Ambon. The Fortress they built was seized by Babullah. In Ambon and Hitu Portugal was accepted at the beginning, but The Hitu people felt threatened. For that reason, Hitu people drove out Portugal to Laitimor, then in fortune Leitimor welcome Portugal, even the people there helped Portugal to attacked one day the Muslim of Hitu, Sultan Babullah, also the Javanese army that involved in that war positioned in Ternate.

The follower of Portuguese Christian in Ambon was growing, and Muslim people under Sultan Babullah combated them. The conflict expanded in the field of religion. When Portugal gained the victory, the Portuguese captain allowed the fortress to the Dutch. Later, The Dutch was more powerful than Portugal and controlled almost all the land of Molucca.

5. CONCLUSION

Spices commerce had appeared naturally the cultural interaction. However, the competition in the trading to get maximum benefit of each nation (among local kingdoms and westerner countries) guided the interaction to the sharply social-political clash ended with the war.

Spices in the beginning was the richness of Molucca's empires and blessing for them. HTH narrated the glory of Hitu empire because of Cloves, how that empire was respected in the diplomatic relationship with many other kingdoms in the same region in Nusantara. However, Rijali the writer of HTH who witnessed all of the experiences of that era argued in HTH that because of the cunning of the western traders, Portugal and Dutch, Hitu kingdom was suffer. Rijali said, that the hospitality from Hitu was reacted with imperialism and colonialism by both countries which suffered people and had fallen the glory of Hitu. While Mangun Wijaya in IHHI argued that the fall of eastern imperium was affected by the unfair competitive passion among the local empires selves then the situation was utilized by the westerner traders such as Portugal and Dutch to ruin them and to take control of them. Mangun Wijaya opinion looks more detach than Rijali's, because Mangun Wijaya lived in the next several centuries and he was not living witness of the occurrence In addition, based on historical document, the agreements dealt among westerner countries and the local kingdoms aimed to share the balancing of rights and duty, in fact they impacted conversely. The political legitimation through legal agreement situated precisely the position of local kingdoms in Molucca in the worst

situation which could not decide their independent policy.

Finally, Indonesian people should learn from that history that the management of nature resources needs strategy including in the trade activity and the politic of diplomacy because it has great impact to the society. The glory can turn to the fall is the meaningful message from HTH, IHHI and agreement letters.

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