

# KORA-KORA AND THE HONGI EXPEDITION: AN ALTERNATIVE READING OF THE BOAT POLITICAL METAPHOR

Raymizard Alifian Firmansyah<sup>1</sup> and Amos<sup>2</sup>

1. raymizard.notafraid123@gmail.com; 2. amoskampus@gmail.com

## ABSTRACT.

This study discusses political metaphors in the cooperative relationship between the Sultanate of Ternate and the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) on the Hongi Voyage of 1620-1656. The history of Maluku is not only about political power and political conflict between the 17th century Maluku kingdoms, but about expansion, social problems, socio-political domination, to the identity crisis. The use of the Kora-kora boat is often interpreted as limited to transportation, but more than that this research will prove that the Kora-kora boat was a Ternate-VOC expansionist political tool. Through Paul Ricoeur's ideas, the concept and study of metaphors is important to uncover "sediments of meaning" in existing cultural phenomena, in this case Kora-kora and maritime culture in Maluku. For this reason, Kora-kora needs to be seen through the lens of a study of metaphors, where metaphorical elements such as local epistemology, utopian depictions of a society, to symbols (*symbolic sacrum*) are elements that are present in the meaning of Kora-kora in the minds of the people of Maluku. In Maluku Historiography, writing about the cooperation relationship between Ternate and the VOC is only read as mere political cooperation, even though the form of cooperation between Ternate and the VOC is a political metaphor. Under the pretext of the expansion of power by Ternate and the monopoly of the spice trade by the VOC, the repression activities during the Hongi voyage were normalized. By using alternative historical studies, this research presents historical evidence regarding the Ternate-VOC expansionist metaphorical political narrative in the Hongi Voyage in the Seram Islands. This research is an attempt by the author to carry out an alternative perspective looking at the activities of the Hongi Shipping, which have implications for the formation of postcolonial trauma in the people of the Seram Islands.

**Keywords:** Kora-Kora; The Hongi Cruise; Seram Islands Community

## INTRODUCTION

Kora-kora is a type of boat originating from Maluku. Kora-kora were often used both in trade and in crossings between islands. There are many opinions regarding the etymology of Kora-kora, some say it comes from words in Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, or even traditional names that have lost their meaning. In one Spanish-language source, the Kora-kora fleet is referred to as the fleet de Carcoas, Coracora, or Caracora. In some other literature, kora-kora is also called *juanga* or *joanga* (Horridge, 1982: 37-70). During the spice trade, kora-kora played an important role in trade. The Arabs call kora-kora *qorqora* or in the plural it is called *qaraqir* which means "large trading ship", this vocabulary will later become an absorption word in Arabic. The origins of the kora-kora boat are still confusing, because of the many discoveries of boats with the same characteristics inside and outside Maluku. Some evidence of artifacts found at Borobudur Temple and boat paintings on Kei Island also refer to Kora-

Kora boats. Paintings found on Kei Island have similarities with paintings found in East Timor. In addition to the discovery of the boat painting, a researcher named Ruy Cinetti found a human and sun painting near the boat painting. This discovery indicates that the kora-kora boat is a boat from the Malayo-Polynesian civilization (Haris Sukendar, 1999: 29). This statement was reinforced by De Morga in Folkard, Morga said that boats that have characteristics with kora-kora also exist in Luzon to the South Solomon Islands (Folkard, 1901).

In its development, kora-kora was not only used for transportation and trade, but also for war and genocide. Even in the 16th to 17th centuries, the measure of the success of someone who owned a kora was the number of slaves who rowed their kora. Also during this period, the Kora-kora was used as a fleet by the Sultanate of Ternate to conquer several areas around the Sula archipelago.

The ups and downs of Ternate's relationship with the Portuguese or even Spain, made Ternate have deeper relations with the VOC. Ternate indirectly became a puppet power when the VOC succeeded in monopolizing the spice trade throughout the Maluku islands. In this connection, kora-kora became the means of the Ternate-VOC coalition forces in exercising their Extirpation Rights. In exercising this right, the Ternate-VOC coalition forces cut down thousands of clove trees to keep prices high. In addition, people who do not accept this right will experience physical violence against the Maluku customary community, especially the Seram Islands. Where this activity also made the local people feel scared when they saw the Kora-Kora fleet.

Therefore, this research departs from the author's reading of Maluku historiography which only narrates about the heroism of local kingdoms such as the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore. In this context, narratives about kora-kora are more dominant, telling about the success of the Sultanate of Ternate expelling the Portuguese from Maluku. In addition, the form of the narrative about the conquest of dozens of small islands throughout the Maluku region under the banner of the Sultanate of Ternate seemed to be normalized. This form of normalization also departs from the story of pseudo heroism. In several studies, the authors found that the kora-kora was also used as a tool to expel the VOC, without explaining the further reality of how Ternate and the VOC carried out the Hongi Voyage which harmed the people of Periphery Maluku. In this way, it is hoped that this research will provide a new narrative or perspective in Maluku historiography.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The first methodology used in this research is historical methodology. Historical methodology is a process of knowing historical reality (Sjamsudin, 2007: 14). In practice, the reality taken is a reality that may be close to real events. The historical method has four research steps, namely heuristics, verification (source criticism), interpretation, and historiography. By using the historical method, this research will also be carried out conventionally. Although in practice the author tries to apply critical and alternative historical methods. This is done with the hope that the author can write research without carrying out activities that refer to certain biases.

## DISCUSSION

### *Studies about Kora-kora*

Maluku is a group of islands stretching from Sulawesi to New Guinea and from Timor Leste to Palau. The Maluku Islands themselves are located on the Eurasian and Pacific plates. The Moluccas constitute the frontier of the 'eastern Malay center and the Polynesian region'. From here the Malayo-Polynesians spread from north to south. From the findings of several potters, a correlation was later found for the spread of the Malayo-Polynesian with the Austronesian expansion from Melanesia to Polynesia (Bellwood, 1997: 22).

As an ocean area sprinkled with land, the Maluku Islands inter-island transportation is important for trading and daily needs. Boat is one of the means used in everyday life. This means that boats are part of the life of the Maluku people in general. Unlike the Southeast Asian region in general, the people of the Maluku Islands do not have sea nomadic communities who live nomadically at sea such as the Moken, Laut Tribe, or Bajo people. The characteristics of the maritime community in the past within this area are represented by coastal communities that have strong maritime traditions. This is reflected in the form of material and intangible cultural manifestations. The intangible aspect has something to do with maritime traditions, presumably in the form of traditional local knowledge about the sea and shipping. Likewise with the philosophy of the local community in seeing the sea. This of course includes within the ideological scope, such as cosmology, symbols, local beliefs, local narratives (in the form of mythology), to narratives of origins. Meanwhile, aspects of maritime cultural objects are represented in shipping and shipping technology, including engineering traditional boat technology, and up to related physical devices. Apart from that, other aspects of objects are products of local genius manifestations such as architecture, monuments, and symbolic artifacts.

Descriptions that are relevant to traditional local knowledge about the sea and shipping, are represented in the understanding of seasons, weather, and shipping navigation. Historical data shows that the traditional Kei-Banda-Seram shipping route shows that this distinctive capability has developed from time to time in the context of long-distance shipping between islands. The Kei people have long been famous for making reliable boats. This specific knowledge also extends to traditional capabilities in catching fish and other maritime resources, including identifying potential areas within the archipelago. Therefore, thanks to their abilities, the work of the Kei people is often sold as far as the Banda and Seram Islands, as well as the surrounding small islands (de Jonge & van Dijk, 1995).

With the reality of social contact within the scope of his life. Maritime images or maritime aspects penetrate the family sphere. This perspective relates the image of the family as a boat. The local understanding of the traditional community in the Babar Islands views women as like a boat waiting for a man to represent the helmsman. The unification in the symbol of marriage is the beginning of a voyage in the household. In its broader application, the village is also seen as a boat with families having social roles that are likened to the specific functions of the crew in a boat. The village head has a function as captain. Society in a broader sense is a representation of the crew who help in the passage of the boat when sailing. In this context, the boat is a maritime spirit which is a real inspiration in social governance in society. The complexity of the intangible aspects as seen in local knowledge then reaches the production stage in a physical form which reflects some of the unique values in a particular community.

The traditional boat is a form of manifestation of the local genius of the Maluku collective community.

Generally in some areas of Maluku, boats are known as *belang*, *semang*, or *kole-kole*. This type of striped boat is a long boat without outriggers with a relatively large size. Small outrigger boats are generally called *semang*. Meanwhile, small boats without outriggers are called *kole-kole*. Based on its type, boats are distinguished by cultural functions and main functions. The cultural function is in the form of ceremonial supporting facilities. While the main function is a means of supporting everyday life. The *semang* and *kole-kole* are two types of boats that are often used daily. While the *belang* is a boat with a symbolic function in the form of a traditional ceremonial boat.

Apart from the *semang*, *belang* and *kole-kole* boats, the traditional boats from the Maluku Islands are the *gosepa*, *rurehe*, *kora-kora* and *orembai*. In use, *gosepa* tends to be simple because it is only a raft. *Gosepa* itself functioned as river transportation from upstream to downstream. While *rurehe* is a boat used by fishermen to catch fish. The *Rurehe* boat is characterized by a pole in the middle of the ship to place fishing equipment. *Kora-kora* is a well-known type of boat originating from the Maluku Islands. Because the name *Kora-Kora* is also used in one of the rides. At first the *kora-kora* were relatively small in size, and were only used for transportation and trade. However, in its development the *kora-kora* was used as a naval tool for the local Maluku rulers. The *kora-kora* boat is made of 90 percent *Gofasa* wood and 10 percent *Marfala* wood. This is because *Gofasa* wood can easily be found in the wilderness of Maluku. *Kora-kora* is also made adaptively according to its function and ability to break waves in different ocean characteristics.

The reality is that the Maluku Islands have the three most sought-after spice commodities in the world, namely cloves, nutmeg and mace (Czarra, 2009: 25). Make many traders from various parts of the world come to trade. Initially the spice trade introduced in Malacca received a good response from Arab and Chinese traders. However, over time it also invited Europeans with its monopoly concept. This also affects the development of *Kora-Kora* boat specifications.

*Kora* was initially only about 8 to 10 meters long. With a slim, narrow, and low body. *Kora-kora* also has outriggers made of bamboo to help keep the boat in balance. On this outrigger section there is also a long stage that allows rowers to sit. On the deck of the ship there is a thatched roof, where there are logistics goods and passengers. In addition, on the deck there are rowers outside the number of rowers on the outrigger boats. Therefore, in each *kora-kora* boat, at least 20-40 rowers are needed in total.

Robert Dick Read explained that every regional ruler in Maluku has his own *kora-kora* boat. The status of the ruler is determined by the number of rowing slaves who come from distant islands, these slaves are caught and rounded up. Therefore, it is not surprising that in its development each *Kora-Kora* boat was rowed by 300 rowers. In certain boats there are usually soldiers armed with spears, chopsticks, arrows and swords. These soldiers are placed on a wide board above the deck which is commonly called the 'hall'. The ship has two rudders on the sides and pole-like rods at the stern and bow. The stern and bow masts are decorated with ribbons that used to adorn the heads of enemies as a symbol of conquest (Robert Dick Read, 2008: 67).

When the Europeans (especially the Dutch) established their influence in Maluku, the *Kora-Kora* function developed as a means of conquest. Throughout the period of *Hongi Kora-kora*'s

voyages, they experienced growth in terms of size. This led to an increase in oarsmen on the Kora-kora boat. As a symbol of conquest, Kora-kora received a negative stigma and making one type of boat with almost the same function received a positive stigma. The boat was named *orambai* or *orembai*, the name *orembai* being a contraction for “a good thing” and this perception was acquired during the Hongi Voyage (Martin, 1903; Valentijn, 1724: 207). This is the opposite of Kora-kora which is a means of war and conquest, and of course has a negative connotation.

### ***Kora-kora and the Hongi Expedition in Maluku History***

In April 1511, Alfonso De Albuquerque from his post in Goa, headed for Malacca to immediately conquer the region. As a result, with a combination of determination, courage, and Portuguese military power, Malacca was conquered. However, the Portuguese aspiration to achieve glory by controlling Malacca turned out to be inaccurate. Local traders eventually adapted to this change and created replacement ports such as Aceh in the north and Banten in the south.

On the other hand, the conquest of Malacca allowed the Portuguese to reach the spice islands under the expedition of Antonio de Abreu and Francisco Serrao. The Sultan of Ternate, Bayanullah, who was expanding his power to the Sula, Buru and Ambon Islands with his Kora-koranya fleet. Salahakan (high-ranking) Ambon reported the arrival of the Portuguese fleet in Ambon to Sultan Bayanullah. After that, Sultan Bayanullah sent the Kora-kora fleet to pick up the two Portuguese expeditions. Upon arrival in Ternate, Sultan Bayanullah gave "all the land and its contents" to the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Manuel through Serrao (Sa, 1954: 86). Sultan Bayanullah was willing to become a vassal king of the Portuguese because this encounter had been a prophecy for the people of Ternate (Argensola, 1708: 6). Before the Portuguese visited the place, Maluku was still shrouded in various strange myths, medieval European explorers said that Maluku was an area that was still primitive with various bad temperaments (Jack, 2019: 29).

The relationship between Ternate and the Portuguese was romantic even when the Spanish left the Moluccas. This was a meaningful time for both Ternate and Portugal. Jailolo, which was known as one of the strongest sultanates in North Maluku, now had to be subjugated to the Ternate-Portuguese. The Ternate-Portuguese conquest of Jailolo apparently did not make the relationship between the two closer. A series of events caused by arbitrary Portuguese behavior, made the Ternate-Portuguese relationship strained. Until Ternate chose to expel the Portuguese. Finally, the Portuguese moved to the Hitu area.

The strained relationship between Ternate and Portugal resulted in a lot of bloodshed from both sides. In this event, the role of Kora-kora was very important for Ternate. The Sultan of Ternate at the time, Sultan Babullah ordered his Kora-kora fleet to attack the Moro Christian settlement which at that time there were also Portuguese soldiers trying to defend the settlement. As a result of this attack, many Moro people fell as well as some Portuguese (Adnan Amal, 2010: 83-84). A similar incident was repeated during the reign of Sultan Hamzah (Ternate) on two different Kora-kora expeditions, in 1627 and 1628. Sultan Hamzah captured 1,800 men, women and children from the Moro Christian settlement (Leonard Andaya, 2020: 215).

In 1575 the number of Portuguese in Ambon increased dramatically due to the expulsion of the Portuguese in Ternate. This made Ambon and its surroundings a target for Christianization. In 1590 a fleet of 30 kora-kora with a crew of 3,000 attacked Christian villages

in Ambon and its surroundings. This conflict occurred not only because of differences in faith, but also over the cultivation of cloves in Ternate and Ambon. Almost half a century of conflict had brought chaos to the people of Hitu, Leitimor, Ambon and surrounding areas. Until in 1605 the Dutch under the leadership of Steven van der Haghen took over Ambon from Portuguese hands (Widjojo, 2013: 17).

Throughout Sultan Babullah's time, Ternate always used its Kora-kor fleet to be formed as a conquest armada. This was done under the pretext that the Portuguese could no longer trade in Maluku. Sultan Babullah immediately sent the Kora-kora fleet to occupy Hoamoal, Buru, Manipa, Ambalau, Kelang and Buano. These areas were chosen because they were the main producers of spices in the whole of Central Maluku. In 1580, Sultan Babullah sent the combined Kora-kora fleet of Ternate-Sula to conquer lands along the east coast of Sulawesi such as, Banggai, Tobungku, Tiboro, Pangasain. All these areas were conquered smoothly. Afterwards, the Kora-kora fleet also tried to conquer Buton, although with fierce resistance Buton could still be defeated. Not stopping there, Ternate apparently also conquered Selayar without significant resistance. With the conquest of Selayar, Sultan Babullah was awarded the title "Ruler of 72 islands" (Heer van twee en zeventig eilanden) (Adnan Amal, 2010: 86-87).

The Ambon archipelago consists of several islands, namely Hitu-Leitimor, Saparua, Haruku and Nusalaut. The archipelago is located southwest of the Seram Islands. The Ambon Islands were a very important area for several local and foreign rulers. The arrival of the Portuguese in Ambon also led the Portuguese to build a fort. For the Dutch, Ambon was the most important area to control, besides its strategic location, Ambon also produced spices with quality and quantity to be reckoned with. Not only was the harbor suitable for a trading post, but the 280 square miles of clove plantations were also a consideration. Quoting Captain Humphrey Fitzherbert in Pithy Description of the chief Islands of Banda and Moluccas, it is stated that "Ambon became the 'Queen' among the Banda and Moluccas islands" (Capt. Humphrey Fitz-Herbert, 162: 697). Coen also chose Ambon as the headquarters of the Spice Islands (Giles Milton, 1999: Section Eleven).

In 1644, Sultan Hamzah eliminated all his opponents throughout the Ambon region and Hitu was no exception. The past relationship between Ternate and Hitu, which had been bad, allowed Hitu to be destroyed with vengeance (Valentijn, 1724: 442). After this attack, many Hitu people switched sides to Gowa. In response, Sultan Hamzah asked the Dutch to carry out another attack on Hitu. With this relationship, Sultan Hamzah created a strong precedent for Dutch involvement with Ternate, a legacy that would haunt Ternate's successors (Leonard Y. Andaya, 2020: 219).

Ternate's relationship with the Dutch continued with 'activities of interest' between the two. In the period 1624-1658 a series of physical violence occurred between the VOC-Ternate and the inhabitants of Hitu, Hoamoal, and the Seram Islands. The physical violence in the form of warfare, known as the Ambonse Oorlog (Ambon War), was not only caused by cloves, but also by compulsory labor. During 1636-1637, several Ambon communities rebelled because they had to participate in the Hongi Voyage (Muridan Widjojo, 2013: 28). Sula Besi Island, for example, sent 43 Kora-kora, each containing 50-70 people. In 1644, two other islands from the Sula Archipelago, Taliabu and Mangole, could complete 60 Kora-kora.

After the death of Sultan Hamzah, it seems that Ternate's relationship with the VOC continued during the reign of Sultan Mandarsyah. Ternate's closeness to the VOC was normal since the time of Sultan Hamzah, although in reality there were VOC interventions in the

Ternate government. The Dutch persuaded the Sultan of Mandar to continue the relationship in order to expel Makassarese traders from Maluku.

The violent activities against Luhu in 1625, as well as Lusiela in 1637 are enough material to show the tactics of the VOC and Ternate in the series of physical violence of the Hongi Voyage. In some attacks, the Kora-kora fleet would begin with a bombardment using the ship's cannons. But this would only lead to a prolonged war between the Ternate-VOC and the people of the Maluku Pinggiran. In 1625 at Hamoal, the VOC burned houses, destroyed hundreds of boats and cut down 10,000 clove trees. Similar incidents occurred twice in Manipa and Kelang in 1651 and 1653, and on the Buru coast in 1652. Those who resisted were crushed, with an estimated 100 victims in Loki and 700 in Laala. Not only that, about 400 women, children and the elderly were treated as slaves. Casualties were certainly higher, given the scope of the Hongi Expedition and the hard-to-reach settlements. The Sultan of Mandar was finally able to rebuild his sultanate with the help of the VOC. The Sultan of Mandar asked the VOC to ask the Dutch to rule Hoamoal and Hitu on his behalf (Valentijn, 1724: 457).

In 1662, the Mandar Sultan was able to summon some 2,630 warriors from northwest Halmahera; in Makian, Ngofakiaha Village, 400 warriors, Ngofagita, 170 warriors, and the combined villages of Sabaleh, Talapao, Tapasoho, Bobawa, Ngofabobawa, and Lagona, 345 warriors. In contrast, the Sultan of Mandar experienced a shortage of Kora-koranya crews from the region around Ternate. Therefore Ternate forced the people of the Sula Islands to become Ternate's Kora-kora rowers. This treatment was enforced during his reign (Leonard Y. Andaya, 2020: 227).

After the Ambon War and Hoamoal War, clove production was restricted to Ambon, Haruku, Saparua and Nusalaut (Widjojo, 2013: 30). After this enforcement, the VOC also committed some physical violence. This was done to eradicate 'illegal' clove production and trade from the Moluccan population (Knaap, 1992: 7). In exchange for the cutting down of clove trees during the Hongi Voyage, the VOC gave 12,000 ringgit annually to the Sultanate of Ternate as compensation.

### ***Memahami Analisis Metafora dalam Kajian Sejarah***

Metaphors are often understood as majas or language styles, where metaphors are interpreted as figures of speech in everyday expressions. In the KBBI itself, metaphor is defined as the use of words or groups of words not with the actual meaning, but as a painting based on similarities or comparisons, for example, the backbone in the sentence youth is the backbone of the country. The backbone in the expression youth is the backbone of the country is not a backbone in the real sense, the backbone can be referred to as a figure of speech and a metaphor about youth as a productive age group that carries out many activities in the sustainability of a country. Metaphors in this most general sense can be said to be limited to linguistic matters, but then metaphors have a broader and deeper meaning.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson outline five important arguments about metaphor, the first is that metaphor is a concept, not a mere arrangement of words, the second is that the function of metaphor is to understand a conception rather than artistic beauty, the third is that metaphor is not merely based on similarity, the fourth is that metaphor is used daily by lay people not by trained or educated people, the fifth is that metaphor is a process of human efforts to think (Zoltan Kovecses, ix-x). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson are linguists who see metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon, conceptual dissection of metaphor is based on the

realization that metaphor is the realm of cognitive linguistic studies. Initially, studies of metaphor and metaphor theory were developed massively in the realm of linguistics and language, although later the study of metaphor developed and was discussed in many scientific disciplines. One of the thinkers who discussed metaphor in a new way in his day was Paul Ricoeur.

Paul Ricoeur through the book *The Rule of Metaphor* places metaphor more broadly than mere linguistic matters, according to Ricoeur metaphor at the word level is the realm of rhetoric, metaphor at the sentence level is the realm of semantics, and metaphor in the realm of discourse is the realm of hermeneutics (Karl Simms, 2003: 61-62). By placing metaphor in the realm of hermeneutics, Ricoeur focuses on how the narrative and discourse built by a metaphor are connected to many other things, apart from linguistic matters alone. Discussing metaphor in the context of discourse results in the breadth of things studied, this is because discourse can be interpreted as a collection of knowledge that is structured and formed in a community. Placing metaphor as a discourse also means seeing narratives in metaphor as part of a broader knowledge system, not just a linguistic phenomenon but a phenomenon that is in contact with social norms, political structures, and how knowledge is produced.

Paul Ricoeur is a thinker who focuses on the studies of hermeneutics, collective memory, and cultural philosophy at large. Paul Ricoeur's philosophical projects, particularly on hermeneutics and cultural analysis, have influenced the theoretical development of the social sciences and humanities in the 20th century. Hermeneutics is a very influential study in the way Ricoeur reads metaphors, hermeneutics itself can be interpreted as a study of interpretation where efforts to interpret are efforts to understand, whether understanding cultural, social, political, and other phenomena (George, 2021).

To understand metaphor in the ideas of Paul Ricoeur and contemporary social humanities thinkers, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive study in looking at the phenomenon. Metaphor in a hermeneutic context will be useful if the word in the text is placed in a broader context, namely a context that involves the socio-cultural order in which the text is located. This is what Paul Ricoeur calls metaphor as "living meaning" or *la metaphore vive*, where the effort to interpret is an effort to bring meaning and being to life (interpreting being). Understanding metaphor in contemporary social and humanities studies requires an interdisciplinary effort, where there is a diversity of knowledge, study approaches, and theories to understand metaphor as both text and context.

In contemporary historical studies, there are several thinkers who try to apply metaphor studies to see historical phenomena and explain what happened in the past, one of them is Philip Stambovsky through a journal article entitled *Metaphor and Historical Understanding*. In the journal article, Stambovsky sees that metaphorical studies can be applied as an approach to looking at historical facts. According to Stambovsky, metaphor has a space in historical writing as an effort to illustrate (fictional narrative). Stambovsky sees that metaphors can be used as a way to tell history and also a way to read history. Then not only for the purposes of writing history, more deeply, metaphor, back to Paul Ricoeur's idea, can be placed into an epistemological perspective. For Ricoeur, the way we look at phenomena determines the way we interpret, so a process of "seeing as" is needed which becomes a new way of seeing phenomena (Karl Simms, 2003: 74-75).

In an effort to respond to the study of metaphor to see historical phenomena, this research uses Paul Ricoeur's idea of metaphor as a complementary theoretical tool for historical



methodology. Gilbert Garraghan defines historical method as a systematic collection of principles and rules intended to assist effectively in the collection of source materials from history, in assessing or testing these sources critically, and presenting a "synthesis" (generally in written form) of the results achieved (Garraghan, 1957: 33-34). One of the things that needs to be completed in historical methodology is the use of theory, especially as an effort to synthesize factual findings through documents and primary sources with the historian's interpretation of them. In order to achieve what Garraghan calls synthesis, it is necessary to use theoretical perspectives carefully, especially because the effort to interpret itself cannot succeed just by interpreting factual findings in a literal way.

If we return to Kuntowijoyo's idea of historical research methods, there are five stages that need to be done to achieve scientific historical studies, namely topic selection, source collection, verification, interpretation, and writing. The interpretation stage in the historical research method is the central stage, because to truly reconstruct what happened in the past requires interpretation. The data that has been collected in the previous stages of research must be interpreted or interpreted. Kuntowijoyo even wrote that without interpretation, data cannot speak (Kuntowijoyo, 2004: 98-99), so no matter how many archives or primary documents have been collected, they will be useless without interpretation.

In relation to this study of the Kora-kora boat metaphor, there are indeed a lot of primary and secondary sources available about kora-kora and maritime culture in the Maluku region, but the main argument in this study is not about re-explaining the position of kora-kora in Maluku maritime culture. This research wants to analyze how Maluku maritime culture along with symbols and cultural expressions are connected to the socio-political dynamics that have occurred in the history of the Maluku region since the 17th century. Metaphorical studies are the most suitable study to read, "seeing as", and understand historical phenomena in the Maluku region along with the cultural dynamics that occur. Understanding Kora-kora metaphorically is also understanding the relationship between power, socio-economic contestation, and various cultural dynamics that occur in the Maluku region. This is because Kora-kora is not just a boat and a maritime transportation tool, Kora-kora is a symbol as well as a metaphor itself in the mindset of the Moluccan people.

## **CLOSING**

### ***Conclusion***

From Ternate's relationship with the Portuguese to Ternate's relationship with the VOC, Kora-kora played an important role in the violence that occurred in Maluku. In fact, this violence caused almost half of the human population in Maluku to die. From the burning of clove plantations in Seram to the famine in Hamoal. From these historical events, we can conclude that the history of Kora-kora cannot be separated from the history of violence. In the sense of Kora-kora's past as a spice trading ship in the Maluku Islands, but there was a shift in meaning that even resulted in postcolonial trauma. So this alternative reading can be an initial introduction to rethink Kora-kora historiography as an inclusive historical narrative. In this context, the narrative of kora-kora is more dominant in telling about the success of the Ternate Sultanate in expelling the Portuguese from Maluku. In addition, the narrative form about the conquest of dozens of small islands in the entire Maluku region under the banner of the Ternate Sultanate seems normalized. This form of normalization also departs from the story of pseudo heroism. In several studies, the author found that the kora-kora was also used as a tool to expel the VOC, without explaining the subsequent reality of how Ternate and the

VOC carried out the Hongi Voyage which was detrimental to the Maluku Periphery. Therefore, this research is expected to provide a new narrative and or perspective in Maluku historiography.

So this article succeeded in providing a new discourse on Kora-kora. Especially in the study of text or metaphor. The context of meaning conveyed explicitly harbors a dark memory of how residents in spice-producing areas must be exterminated in order to keep spice prices high.

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