

The Socio History of Plurality of Religions In Ambon

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Abstract—This paper discussed about the life situation of plurality of religion in Ambon in 1803-1854 and its correlation with postmodern era. The method of this paper is historiography method that give accentuation in Indonesian perspective, because the archive, which much focused on western perspective, had written by the colonial. Since ±1800, The Dutch East Indies Government imposed a freedom of religion. The *zendeling*, however, did not obey the rules, so they maintained the local Christian community and tried influencing other religion to become a Christian. The world that has already changed, see the Christianization as an effort to destroy the life among religious people.

Keywords—*plurality, religion, history, Ambon*

I. INTRODUCTION

Plurality become one of the biggest issue in Indonesia which grew since few years ago. It is started in 2015 that the governor of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok mentioned Quran and some of people accused him for disgracing Islam as a religion. The issues of religion spread all over areas of Nusantara, including Ambon, which becoming one of the peace building laboratory in Indonesia. Ambon ever had a conflict in 1999 that involving Christian community and Moslem community against each other. Based on this conflict which killing thousands of people, all of the communities in Ambon realize to live in a harmony without seeing the difference. Ambon is also a place that every religious community interact each other. All of the community which try to live in harmony and build a reconciliation continuously, however can be disintegrate because of the religious issues which grow increasingly few years ago.

The reality of religion diversity in Ambon had already exist gradually in a history.

- a. Before Indonesia culture met the foreign country which brought the big religions such as Islam and Christian, the local people already had animism, included in Ambon, which known as local religion. It is merely in specific region or community, that involving tribal warfare.
- b. The traders from Middle East, such as Arab and Persia, went to Indonesia, brought Islam through Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo, to become a monarchy religion and spreads it in Ambon.
- c. The Catholics which came from the Portugesse in 16th century for trading the spices enrich the religions in Ambon. The war, however, was the efforts of the

Portuguese in spreading the Christian, thus they joined one ruler against other rulers.

- d. *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC) came and spread the Christianity in the beginning of the 17th century (±1600 AD). At the era of VOC, there were a change of religion, which was not only from local religion and Moslem to Christian, but also the VOC tried to changed the Catholics people into a Christian, because of the motto “who owns the region, he owns the religion or *cuius region, eius religio*.[1]

The 1800-1853 AD is also interesting to see the reality of plurality because there were a transitional period of power, strated from The Dutch East Indies government (*Nederlandsch-Indie*) which replaced the VOC in 31th December 1799, at that moment. Herman Willem Deandels, who had become General Governor of the Dutch East Indies for three years since 1808, became a venerable pioneer for a freedom of life for all religions community in Dutch East Indies. It was certainly different with the rule concept of VOC at that time. The freedom of religion, gave a little space for the Catholic which came from Portuguese.[1] By tracing the history of plurality since the day of colonialism in 1800-1855, therefore, this article can answer and maintain the harmonization in the middle of plurality which is exist in Ambon.

Difference can be seen in 2 different sides to see the reality of plurality. In one side, the difference of religion can be seen as a thread for the living, so people who have this perspective is more exclusive to the other believers. They believe that “the others” should not be justified, because the authenticity is only in one religion. But in another side, the difference of religion can be seen as resources, thus it always teach the community about tolerance. The interesting part from these two different perspectives is they thought that their actions are based on God’s commandment. This is what Harold Coward said that religion is the ambivalence of sacred.[2]

The extremist community is the one of disagreement community toward the concept of pluralism, so they tend to use a violent as a religious obligation or a sacred duty that must be executed in the world. John Ruhullessin stated the people, who used this perception, believe that their concept of religion is more genuine than the other believers, so they have an over-spiritual attitude. The extremist community tend not to giving a space for another religion to express their freedom.[3] It is contrast with the non-extremist community who believe that dialogue and peace building is a component that should be done gradually. The dialogue and peace building are the center

of religion identity that aim to transform the dispute between the interfaith.[2] This community, therefore, try to against the extremist community which using religion to commit violence.

In addition to the extremist and non-extremist community, John Stott adding that one of the action to see the reality of religion is *laissez-faire*. [4] This term reflects the principal belief from a society in the beginning of 19th century that government should not intervene the economy side. The using of this term, however, gradually changed that showed the antipathy or passivity attitude. It is stated that people have no interest in imposing perspective, making propaganda, or insisting the other community to accept something which they do not want to accept it. *Laissez-faire* community, on the contrary, emphasizes to take care of themselves.

II. METHODOLOGY

Historiography generally interpreted as the process of history. It becomes an important part because it contains facts that there are historical sources and can explains the ideas contained in it. Doing historiography, in fact, needs to be careful in reading the colonial archives which is written based on the western mindset of that era. The description that contained in the archives of the colonial era need to be reinterpreted and made historical writing in Indonesian's perspective.[5] As a theologian, historiography is not enough to see only in its historical sense, so it is important to add the theological aspect. God, as the subject of history, works and speaks to the people who lived in heterogeneity, thus they should respond God's calling. [6]

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Socio Life of Plurality of Religion in 1803-1854

1. Christianization of "Pagan" Religions

Ambonese sources of the nineteenth century, particularly the *zending* of NZG (*Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap*), mention frequently how they, like Joseph Kam, Luijker, and Keyser, saw "pagan" religions based on their perspective and their attitude against other believers. During the *zending* evangelism in Ambon, besides the Christianity and Chinese people, the tribal religion followers is the main object for them to Christianization. The influence of Daendels on the freedom of all religions' life, certainly, applied throughout the Indies, including Ambon. The freedom of religious life, nevertheless, did not prevailed for tribal religion, moreover it must be destroyed because it is not in accordance with the doctrine of Christianity. The tribal religion followers, therefore, could free if they became a Christian.

The people, basically, who be a volunteer to become a Christian were not based on their desire as a major factor, otherwise the other interests to become Christians, as the desire to marry someone, obtained subsidy in the old days, and so on. For instance an unnamed soldier, with his spouse and also his son, came to Keyser to be baptized. His desire to become a Christian is because he wants to marry his beloved spouse.[7] It is undeniable though many people became Christianity with

variety of factors, some of them wanted to know Christianity more deeply and found no obstacles that could be a distraction for them. A man who came and asked Keyser to baptize a child, later named Daniel Raphael, whom he considered his own son. It was also not aggravated by his biological parents, although his parents still embraced the tribal religion. Or a Chinese woman who had desire to become a Christian she wanted to be like her children who were already baptized. This woman said that she had no any religion, neither Chinese religion nor Java religion, thus she did not know what will happen to her in the future. Yet the spirit of accepting Christianity did not happen only in a personal, but also to one particular community. Just as a *Negeri*, which Kam had found great difficulty around 1822, wanted to know more about Christianity.[8]

There were some people, nevertheless, had to deal with the surroundings that raises them to know more about Christianity. Like a Moslem young man who came to Keyser. His seriousness to the Christian faith, however, was blocked by his family and co-religionists who came to the Keyser house, so that the conversation had to stop. Or a young man, aged 18-20 years, who is not written in the report what was his religion. Kam stated that although his mother prevented him becoming a follower of Christ, he constantly prevented, compared to other religions, the high value of religion which taught by by the *zendeling*. In accordance with the Kam's perspective, the young man who had accepted Christianity, on the one side avoided the bad behaviors that were inconsistent with the will of Christ, on the other side he also avoided "pagan" religions followers.

The missionaries also wanted the other believers to convert religion became a Christianity immediately, but the *zendeling* did not easily baptize them with adequate knowledge and understanding of Christ, like the soldiers that already mentioned. He wanted to become a Christian immediately because had to return to Java in a short time. Keyser wisely refused it, for only two times he had received religious education, then his request to be baptized could not be held accountable to God and Christian community.

In converting the "pagan" religions into Christianity, Christ's follower candidates should follow several stages. The first thing to was the *zendeling* efforts to introduce the Christianity for them, such as advises or discourses that appropriate with their ability to understand, as Keyser did to the young man. This was the effort of the *zendeling* in preaching about Christ to attract the attention of other believers in order to they were kept away from superstitions (cp.11).[7] it was just that the effort of the *zendeling* preaching about Christ is like a parent talking to his children who did not know God at all. Then they would asked their main reason for following Christ. Someone who was motivated to become a Christian, however not focusing on Christ as their primary motivation, should be properly guided by the *zendeling*. It was intended that they only embrace the Christianity. Education was also done many times so they deepen faith in Christ. They would be tested about the behavior and lifestyle in order to be confident in the sincerity of the admission of faith (cp. 15).[7] A deep knowledge of Christ can be continued with baptism in order for the person to became a Christian.

In addition to a number of methods, made in Rotterdam, in accordance with NZG instructions, there are also a *zendeling* attempted to break the superstitions of tribal followers in certain ways. J.J. Bar. Sr., for instance, taught his disciples not to believe in the sacredness of a place which only a certain people could get there or not to believe in a disease that came from demons or magic. By destroying the mindset of their parent inheritances, Bar went to the forbidden place, and also his wife healed various fatal deceases by using traditional herbs.

People who were just accepting Christianity by being baptized were divided according to age. The children who still did not understand Christianity through the teachings of the church will be accompanied by the parents of witnesses who already known and lived in Christ. The role of witness parents was very useful to their children as a nonesuch. Parents who still wanted to be in Tribe or Islam religion so that they did not want to be Christians, was considered by the *zending* that they were incapable to educate their children in the light of Christ. Hence the inability of biological parents obliged witnesses parents to be responsible for their godson. It was contrast with adults, they would be baptized directly without being accompanied by godparents.

Another interesting point of Christianization was not only their religion from "pagan" to Christianity, but also changing names were given to those who have accepted Christ as a Savior. This is supposedly an explicit separation between the new Christians and followers of other religions. For instance, a wife of the director of a government hospital who was originally Muslim, was named Maria by *zendeling* when she had embraced the Christian.

Evangelistic *zending* activities which undertaken by western *zendeling* were based on a letter from the Church Council that attaching the invitation of NZG in Rotterdam. Its contents declared to evoke the spirit of evangelism amongst the pagans. The NZG, which influenced by the French revolution, was a product of enlightenment that aimed to spread the gospel without the supporting of government. They saw the gospel message as Jesus' word to fellow human beings. However the elements of western culture were dominant in the field of mission, because the *zendeling* saw that only western cultures were shaped and purified by Christianity. On the other hand, the local cultures were thought contradictory from Christianity. Therefore the NZG's efforts to evangelize other religions, besides the education, was clear.

In accordance what was stated in the NZG instructions on 07 October 1822 that *zendeling* of NZG should prioritized the tribal religion, they were required to live among them, spread the teachings of Jesus, and save their fellow men. The Christian congregation were strictly prohibited to have pastors from the NZG *zendeling* envoys (cp. 1) as long as their faith was strong and not influenced by other religions, even lived in their midst (cp. 11).[7] Although the NZG instructions were clear enough to declare that *zendeling* were required to be in the midst of tribal religion, yet the fact that G. J. Hellendom, according to Kam's instruction, was placed in Dutch Christians area and became a sermon preacher for its congregation.

2. *Protecting the Life of the Church from Catholics*

It is interesting to see the religious diversity in the nineteenth century in Ambon that the NZG delegations were not only resist to the religions they regarded as pagan, such as Islam and tribal religion, but they also rejected the development of Catholic in Ambon. The Catholic religion did not certainly give an effect as the Christian religion that be brought by NZG, still the worries of the *zendeling* were quite visible. This is reflected in the report which was written by Luijke. He described his concerns about the arrival of a Roman Catholic clergyman who did not know for certain his purpose whether he will stay in Ambon or not. Luijke was worried that the Catholic clergy who wanted to come to Ambon meant that the Ambonese Christians would re-embrace their religion as the Portuguese had attempted at the beginning of the sixteenth century, their coming to preach the gospel. He described his concerns about the arrival of a Roman Catholic clergyman for purpose whether he would stay in Ambon or not. If the Catholic clergy wanted the local Christian people in Ambon re-embrace their religion as the effort Portuguese at the beginning of 16th century, this was going to be a problem for the NZG *zendeling*.

In overcome Luyke's concerns about the possibility of Catholic priest's arrival, he made a serious effort to remind the churches by providing counseling the differences between the two churches, Christians and Catholics. It is possible that the local Christians community of that time had already forgotten what Catholic was like, for ±200 years they had abandoned it, which was brought by the Portuguese, by the arrival of the VOC. For Luyke, by increasing the congregation's knowledge of religions which were almost identical for the laity, the Christian congregation was not easily incited by the Catholic priest.

However, there were two contradictory differences. The letter which was written by the government of Dutch East Indies in Batavia, regarding the right of freedom of religion, on the one side, should ensure the freedom of other religions' life. Luyke's actions to Christian congregations in Ambon, on the contrary, described that the actions of Luyke actions to Christian congregations in Ambon illustrate the lack of other religions' freedom for introducing their religion, in addition to tribal and Islam religion as a "pagan" religions.

3. *Maintenance of the Christian Faith*

Most of the Ambonese in this period were Christian, but they sometimes, in practice, did not reflect truly Christianity. *First*, the Christianity of the local people was the literal Christianity that religion only covered the infidel elements that still thrived in their life. On the one side, yet they used elements of tribal religions. The act of merge things from other religions into Christianity was disconcerting the *zendeling* and it was a necessary for the *zendeling* to keep the faith of the congregation so as that they were not getting influenced by other religions. The view of the *zendeling* of the local Christian congregation might return to the tribal religion if they still did the same. On the contrary, the church was under the leadership of the Muslims in case, they would become followers of the Islam religion. This indicates that their faith was still weak and they had not fully understood about Christianity. Though some

times the pastors were absent as a result of years of warfare,[9] the congregation luckily was maintained by the congregational teachers. They helped preserving the local Christian faith, although the understanding of Christianity of church teachers, according to *zendings'* perspective, were not qualified. *Second*, although the bawdy houses did not exist during Kam's ministry in Ambon (in the beginning of 1815), the next 30 years later, however, the local Christians were brave to do cohabitation and to do affair with the Muslims and Chinese.[7] These kinds of action which against God's will, could make some local Christian people changed their religion become a moslem or "pagan" religion.

In the midst of a large local Christian congregation, it required many of *zendeling* staffs to keep their faith. Before Kam's arrival in Ambon, there were three pastors, Hendrik Snethlage, J.F. Rousselet, and J.F. Feij, who served local Christian congregations around 1985 for 5 years. They faithfully served this congregation in all the limitations that exist in all the limited circumstances, both books, school teachers, and visitors of the sick. In 1815, however, Kam came to fill the void of *zendeling* for few years and he became the only pastor serving in the large field of ministry, so he could not serve all congregations or certain fields maximally. With his great enthusiasm and integrity, he preached using Dutch and *Melayu* language at different hours of the week. He also relentlessly printed a religion study book, so that he had to import a printing press from Holland using with his own money. Therefore Kam's Integrity was well respected and loved by the local Ambonese Christian congregation.

The lack of *zendeling* staff and the limited knowledge of the congregation of Christianity made Kam and the local church councils asking to add three or four *zendeling* staffs, excluding the *zendeling* staffs for the churches outside Ambon island. It aimed to overcome the lack of congregations, including pastors and teachers. The pastor, according to Kam's experienced, was required to know the *Melayu* language which was used by the majority of the congregation, and Dutch language for the Dutch congregation in Ambon as experienced by G.J. Hellendom that already mentioned before. The fluently of *Melayu* was important for *zendeling* to serving the sermons as well as to translating books to increase the knowledge of local Christian congregations. Teachers were also needed, both catechism teachers and school teachers, in fostering the colonist's children.

In addition to the pastor's role as a caretaker in the church, the school which based on religious education was also needed to fostering knowledge and faith of the population, especially the children. The condition of education in every region in Ambon, nevertheless, was not the same. There was a good educational situation, but some places were not expected for the *zending*, but still had a progress. The condition of 2 schools in 1827 had a bad condition though they were in the midst of Christianity. The situation in Waai was alarming due to the lack of regent attention for its education. The condition of schools, the damaged of teachers' homes and school buildings, in addition to the negligence discipline on education, was the evidence of regent's inattention, so the students did not show a big progress in their school. It also happened in Passo-Baguwala where the children truanted the school, while the teachers

sometimes got drunk. Different from the land of Suli which had a progress, the elders of the congregation seek to restore everything, including in the field of religion since the *patih* or regent of *Negeri* died. While in 1849, Larike's Christian school that had been visited by Roskott went well. Adequate education systems, as well as the quality of Madam Noiija as a teacher, proved that it survived in the midst of a mostly Muslim population.

In order to improve the last education in Ambon, Roskott strictly drafted 50 instruction chapters for teachers in a Christian school in 1849. He stated that the candidate teachers should have a quality in biblical knowledge (cp. 3). They were also expected to lead on Sundays' ceremony consisting of reading a part of the Bible or reading a sermon that had been translated into *Melayu*, and also leading prayer, psalms and hymns that appropriated the circumstances (cp. 4). In addition to the provision that contained matters relating to teachers, he also contained matters about students. It stated that the student who were absent because of an unclear reason would be recorded by the school teacher. Their parents' name would also be recorded and be sent to the regent, so that it can be followed up by the student's absence (cp. 10). The students were also required to use *Melayu*, while the mother tongue was not allowed within the school (cp.12).[7]

The increasing of Christian knowledge in education was closely related to the church. A member of the congregation could be *sidi* if he had received sufficient education. J.F.G. Brumund, nevertheless, wrote that large numbers of pupils, teenagers until elderly, found difficulty to *sidi* because of their inability to memorize large numbers of catechism, though they were really hard to try. Brumund replaced the old book, which used by the student, with Brink's textbooks during catechism. This book was very useful because the content was more concise, so that the students could understand easily. He modestly passed elderly members as well who were not stupid about religion and had good behavior to the fellow.

By understanding Christianity, the *zendeling* expects the students for truly living in western Christianity. However, what Brumund detected was the local Christians oftenly be caught using elements of tribal and Islam religions which difficult to separated it in their lives, such as superstition. Although it was not as much as before, but he still found the Christian parents who circumcised their children stealthy. What they did was not indicated that they were more inclined to Islam, but circumcision from their perspective was a sacred action to protect their children. This also applied to Christian ceremonies, such as baptism and communion.

Though the *zendeling* attempted to change the tribal and Islam followers to become Christians, the government putted themselves for being neutral toward anyone. C. M. Visser, the Governor of Maluku, wrote in 1851 that the governor encouraged local schools' program to open the yards, which were supervised by teachers, in each school. The schools tried to increase prosperity of the people. The NZG rules, in addition to the efforts of Christianization of "pagan" believers, should also need to improve the welfare of local Christian congregations. Visser saw this good idea which proposed by Christian school, and he also wanted to applied it in Moslem

area in order to increase the welfare in all areas of Maluku, including in Ambon. The Muslims, nevertheless, did not want their children to work under the supervision of Christian teachers. They thought that there was a purpose for Christianization behind Visser's efforts.

B. Plurality of Religion Today

In the 19th century, the *zendeling* seemed to emphasize the importance of education and baptism in the Christianization effort. These methods were used because western *zendeling* regards their religion's knowledge as brighter than the other religions' knowledge, as a father to his children. On the other hand, other religions surely also have truths that Westerners did not understand it, but they were not given the opportunity to change the discrimination thinking of *zendeling*.

However, education and baptism were just a tool for did evangelism. The *zendeling*, that influenced by the spirit of revival, focused on the work of the Holy Spirit in people's life, so that they were truly capable of manifesting Christianity in the midst of the world. People who came to *zendeling* and asked to know Christ more deeply, therefore, *zendeling* would ask the purpose of a person became a Christian. This was a starting point of transformation so he could interacted with true fellow Christians, but also testified to people who did not know Christ as Savior.[9]

The *zendeling's* Christianization to other religions is an irrelevant action for this live which always changed.[3] Ambon which is part of Indonesia, cling the slogan of *bhineka tunggal ika* which mean different but one, as well as Pancasila as the basic ideology of the nation. The concept of a *bhineka tunggal ika* is not an indication for sex differences but one race or tribal differences but one belief. On the other hand, the religion differences, in addition to differences in ethnicity and race, stand on the same vision and mission to build Indonesia as a nation. The first principle of Pancasila, "Belief in one supreme God" is an abstract idea, that it is understood in accordance with the teachings of every religions' perspective.[10] Therefore, there is a religious freedom that needs to be maintained in Indonesia, especially in Ambon.

Nevertheless, The understanding concept of first principle in Pancasila creates a exclusive understanding in some religions. John Hich speaks of religion as a "way of life" and a "way of salvation".[11] The effort of uniformity becomes a sign to not destroy the Indonesia identity in Ambon. This exclusive perspective is occurs in denomination differences, besides among religions, although there are some denominations that give priority to humanity actions. The tendency of suspicion can make segregation, disintegration, even physical conflict. The destruction of difference, in general, can happened if each religion has a big ego to the other believers, so the "appreciation" of the difference is lost. It is interesting that these people justify their exclusive mind and actions toward others and express their attitudes based on the will of God. In another words, a particularist God sided only to one religion. The concept of God loved fellow human beings is only limited to the similarity of groups or perspectives.

The Ambon situation that had a bad situation at the end of 20th century brought its own trauma for all levels of society.

This humanitarian conflict was rumored as an inter-religious conflict, although it was inseparable from the national scale's power.[12] The fact is both Islam and Christianity are the victims of the conflict. The Ambonese who used to live in a harmony have built their territory based on the same religious identity. Therefore they become really sensitive to other faiths.

It is inevitable that the efforts, which overcome the conflict in Maluku over the years, can be re-disintegration if the society are not properly maintained. The case of SARA (Tribe, Race, and Religion) is increasingly prevalent on a national scale since 2015. The former governor, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, dragged a case of blasphemy of religion and allegedly cited the holy verses in the Quran when he orated in *Pulau Seribu* on September 27th 2016. This case of blasphemy spreads increasingly, including in Ambon, and more people are sensitive of the religion. Based on the experience of the Ambon conflict in 1999 which has been preceded by the problems in national level, the Ambonnesse should maintain the harmony of religion by upholding the religious tolerance.

The exclusive perspectives in a religion, for the process of reconciliation in Ambon, potentially could destroy, not only the process of reconciliation in Ambon, but also the facts and principles of the state of Indonesia. The development of exclusivism is characterized by a misinterpretation of dogma or a doctrine, thus reflecting the wrong religious behavior. Therefore the action will eliminate the religious vitality that leads to humans. Religion, however, should bring a human spirit which capable for liberating, not oppressing.

The Church, that cannot ignoring the Maluku conflict, is an important part of the reconciliation process. The efforts made by the church and society through cultural approaches, such as *pela-gandong*, is a way of restoration against conflict, because it notices a person and society not based on religion. However, the process of reconciliation will not work properly and suspicion will never be loss if the society have not an attitude of openness and tolerance.

Living in harmony with other religions becomes an important challenge in postmodernism world. On the other side, it becomes an important opportunity to spread of God's character, purpose and mission in the world. The diversity must be preserved and maintained because it is a gift from God to all mankind. Seeing the difference as a threat, that all kinds of effort are made, such as forcing and committing violence to become uniformity, is a part to destroy God's work in this world. The difference, therefore, should not be seen as a threat, but as a wealth to complement each other. People need to see the different backgrounds of the fellows, including in different religions, as a family of God that has solidarity, a brotherhood, and a life that sustains each other.[13] So life as God's family reflects egalitarian fellowship regardless of religion. But it should be realized that openness to other religions does not mean that all religions are the same, so that people can change any religion, which called religious relativism, according to the desires of his heart, should be avoided. Each religion has its own distinctness that distinguishes it from one belief to another, they can learn from one another (Eph 2:19). Yet the openness to other religions does not mean that all religions are the same, so that people can change any religion according to

the desires of his heart, which called religious relativism, should be avoided. Each religion has its own uniqueness that distinguish each religion, so leaning from each religion is a must.

IV. CONCLUSION

The Dutch East Indies, which began to rule Indonesia since the early nineteenth century, freed the rights of all religions. However Christianization the tribal religion, in addition to the Islam, the Dutch *zendeling* did not fully respect the policies undertaken by the government. They also preserved the local Christians' faith from Isla, Tribal religion, even Catholics. The effort by the *zendeling* to replace man's belief to be Christian, besides the preservation of the church's faith itself, was teaching and baptizing. However, *zendeling* saw that a man's desire to be a Christian who is in God is the most important thing.

However, Christianization which is really exclusive, is an irrelevant action in this postmodernist era. People have realized that there is truth in each religion, because it has its own uniqueness. Christianization would make conflict and destruction to all mankind. Thus tolerance is needed in religious life to maintain a sense of brotherhood. Ambon, who had experienced religious conflict in 1999, maintained peace. The issue of SARA that was growing on the national scale is able to rebuild peace in Ambon.

Based on the limitations of data, the paper of the reality of religious diversity in Ambon is more accentuate in Western missionaries' perspective, so this article can not embrace different perspective completely. Therefore it can also be developed from the understanding of other religions, such as tribal and Islamic religions on that year to enrich the the history's article.

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